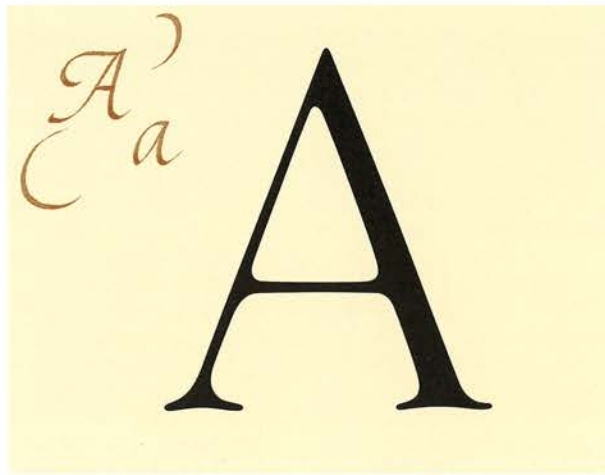


After a century of European settlement in Western Australia, an artist in the Western Mail State Centenary Number, July 1929, imagines 'Perth in 2029. A bicentennial dream'. Well before the sesquicentennial celebrations of 1979, these aircraft would look antiquated and the imagined city buildings would be eclipsed by high-rise reality.

BATTYE LIBRARY



ABELES, Sir (Emil Herbert) Peter (1924–), businessman, was born in Hungary and emigrated to Sydney in September 1949. In December 1950, with his friend George Rockey, he bought two trucks and founded Alltrans transport company. In 1967 Thomas Nationwide Transport (TNT) absorbed Alltrans, with Abeles as managing director. TNT sought to develop a 'total transport concept', carrying freight by truck, rail, sea and air. In 1972 TNT attempted to take over Ansett Airlines, a move which was blocked by legislation sponsored by the Victorian Liberal premier, Sir Henry Bolte. In 1979, in partnership with media proprietor Rupert Murdoch, TNT gained control of Ansett. Beginning in the late 1960s TNT expanded its operations worldwide, with interests in Britain, Europe, Asia, Brazil, South Africa, Canada and America, to become one of Australia's largest multinational companies.

While being a supporter of free enterprise, Abeles is a close personal friend of the Labor prime minister Bob Hawke. He participated in Hawke's National Economic Summit Conference in April 1983 and was a member of the committee which drafted the final communique of the conference. He was knighted in 1972. BRAHAM DABSCHECK

ABORIGINAL CRICKETERS' TOUR In 1868 a team of thirteen Aborigines mainly from western Vic played 47 matches in England, winning fourteen, losing fourteen and drawing the remainder. The team was coached and captained by former all-England player Charles Lawrence (1828–1916) and the best performer among the Aborigines was Johnny Mullagh (1841–91), who scored 1698 runs and took 257 wickets at 10 runs apiece. Their unusual names, dress and play, together with exhibitions of boomerang-throwing and other Aboriginal arts, excited much interest among English cricket followers. G. P. WALSH

ABORIGINAL LAND RIGHTS For at least 40 000 years the Australian continent was Aboriginal territory. A complex web of rights and obligations informed by considerations of kinship, marriage, sen-

timent, ceremony, resource management and residence bound groups to the land of their forebears. Religious celebration and daily practice alike emphasised the importance of land as an economic and spiritual resource.

In 1788 seizure of Aboriginal lands in the name of the crown began. Unlike the procedure adopted in other British colonies, no treaties were negotiated, no reparation offered. Continued reliance by successive governments on the *terra nullius* (apparently unused, therefore unowned) doctrine posed a formidable barrier to recognition of Aboriginal rights to land within Australian legal and political systems. (A recent case was *Coe v the Commonwealth* 1978.)

Arguments concerning Aboriginal sovereignty, prior occupation and the continuation of customary title have found little favour in the courts or parliament. The high court is yet to rule on the merits of the Torres Strait Islanders' claim (*Mabo v Qld* and the *Commonwealth* 1982). Also in the advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice a favourable review of the status of claims of indigenous minorities



Land Rights badge issued at the time of the Commonwealth Games, Brisbane 1982.

DEBORAH CLARK

against nation states is apparent (Western Sahara case 1975). By such measures as taking their case to the United Nations in 1983 and 1985, representation on the World Council of Indigenous People since 1975, setting up a tent embassy on the lawns of Parliament House in 1972, and the Gurindji walk-off from the Wave Hill station in 1966, Aborigines have engaged in political action which has embarrassed Australia in the eyes of the world.

To date it has been the more modest and particularist claims which have enjoyed some success. Following Mr Justice Blackburn's decision in 1971 that the common law did not recognise Aboriginal proprietary rights to land, the incoming Whitlam government moved quickly to appoint Mr Justice Woodward to inquire into ways in which land rights might be granted to NT Aborigines. The establishment of the Aboriginal Land Fund in 1974 and the passage of the Aboriginal Land Rights (NT) Act in 1976 went a long way to implement the recommendations of Woodward's 1973-74 reports.

Under this act, title to former reserve land was transferred to Aboriginal trusts; vacant crown land, albeit much of it desert, was open to claim; and a specially appointed commissioner heard the evidence of traditional owners and reported to parliament. But claims on the basis of need, recommended by Woodward and part of the original Whitlam bill, did not survive the change of government in 1975. Thus Aborigines resident in towns and on pastoral leases lost out.

Defending the act has been a constant struggle. It has been closely scrutinised in two reviews (1980 and 1984) and survived. Yet amendments designed to accommodate the mining lobby continued to be contemplated during 1986. The Australian Mining Industries Council claims that the act's provision of Aboriginal power of veto frustrates development. However, this provision has never been used by Aborigines.

Despite popular support for the 1967 amendments to the constitution, which empowered the commonwealth to legislate for Aborigines, the NT statute is the sole example of the exercise of federal responsibility. At the state level, only two governments have enacted legislation. The Pitjantjatjara Land Rights Act of 1981 and the Maralinga Tjarutja Land Rights Act of 1984 bring vast stretches of the northwest of SA under Aboriginal control. Under the NSW Land Rights Act of 1983, 4500 hectares of former reserve land was handed over to Aborigines. All existing legislation establishes land councils as the administrative and decision-making bodies, and includes provisions for degrees of control over mining, with major exceptions, including a national interest clause.

The two states where nearly half of the Aboriginal population of Australia lives have no legislation. In WA the prospects were dashed when the Burke government rejected the report of its own land commissioner, P. L. Seaman QC, in 1985. Under the current government in Qld there is little hope of legislation; only deeds of grants in trust to former reserves are being offered.

The Tasmanian Aboriginal Land Trusts Bill (1981-82) and the Victorian Aboriginal Land Claims Bill (1983) have lapsed. Title to three former reserves which constitute 0.01 per cent of state lands is vested in Victorian Aborigines, but in the ACT and Tas no land is held by Aborigines.

Initially Aboriginal organisations placed great faith in the promise of the Hawke government to enact national land rights legislation. The 1983 five point package, modelled on the NT act, included inalienable freehold title, control of mining, access to royalty equivalents, sacred site protection and compensation for land lost. But negotiations were protracted. The government disbanded the National Aboriginal Council, the one nationally elected Aboriginal organisation, and was reluctant to deal with the Federation of Land Councils. The 'preferred model' of 1985 significantly modified the original package. It was rejected by Aboriginal groups and eventually abandoned by the government.

Mining and pastoral lobbies have campaigned vigorously and persuasively on the platform that resources belong to all Australians and no one group should enjoy privileged access. Support for what was seen to be a new deal for Aborigines in 1967 was mainly in the southeastern states among urban voters. Now rural and development lobbies including the NT, which did not have a vote in the referendum, have become organised. The states are resisting federal intervention and in the current economic climate the commonwealth is unlikely to insist. Legislation will only proceed if all bodies can agree, and Aborigines are in a weak bargaining position. More and more they are thrown back on moral and political persuasion, but their case for special recognition of rights to land is difficult to pursue without a political, legal or economic base.

DIANE BELL

ABORIGINAL MISSIONS Christian missionary work among the Aborigines began as domestic experiments carried out by pious individuals and the colonial chaplains. The first missionary was murdered by 'drunken whites' in 1798. Government missions began with Macquarie's 'civilising' ventures (Native Institution, 1814), support of denominational missionaries, and the employment of church-affiliated Protectors in the 1830s. Missions were founded by the major missionary bodies: Wesleyans from 1821, London Missionary Society from 1824, Anglicans from 1832, Presbyterians and Lutherans from 1838, and Roman Catholics from 1843. Many of these missions closed due to unrealistic theological expectations, the negative attitude of officials, increasing racial tension in the community and competing attractions for the Aborigines in settled areas. Much of the pioneering work was done by missionaries from continental Europe: Gossner and Basle-trained Protestants and Italian Passionists in Moreton Bay, Moravians in Vic and north Qld, German Lutherans and Austrian Jesuits in SA, and Spanish Benedictines in WA. Missions to survive into the twentieth century include New Norcia, Lake Tyers and Ramahyuck, Hermannsburg, Warangesda, Yarrabah, Mapoon,



Native girls going to Trinity Church, watercolour, 1846. The artist, W. A. Cawthorne, was superintendent of the Trinity Church Sunday School in Adelaide.

MITCHELL LIBRARY

Mitchell River and Weipa. Most of the missions founded this century were in northern Australia, particularly in Arnhem Land by the Anglicans between 1905 and 1925. The Presbyterians opened new stations in north Qld, WA and SA while the Catholic and Methodist churches pioneered Bathurst Island (1911) and Goulburn Island (1916) respectively.

Chaplains and support staff were also appointed to government reserves (mostly Anglican but some Baptist and Church of Christ). More recently the chaplaincy system has been extended to a large number of the denominational missions handed over to the Qld government. Aborigines have a greater degree of Christian affiliation than the rest of the community, the highest proportion belonging to the Anglican communion, followed by the Roman Catholics. The Uniting Church, Lutherans and Baptists follow with much smaller numbers. One indigenous church has appeared, the Aboriginal Evangelical Fellowship, which is concentrated in urban southeastern Australia, while there has been a major religious revival in the north (Elcho Island). The Anglicans were among the first to ordain Aborigines with over sixteen working in the diocese of Carpentaria, while the first Catholic Aboriginal priest was ordained in 1971.

Some missions offered hope to young Aborigines through training schemes, co-operative farming methods and liberal policies; others reflected the popular stereotype: depressing paternalism, narrow fundamentalist repression and hand-out charity. But even the most unattractive missions have championed the Aborigines against outside exploitation and sought to protect them from 'degrading influences'. Missions in more recent decades have done much to restore pride in indigenous culture and have inspired new forms of Aboriginal culture such as bark painting in areas where such arts were not previously known.

NIEL GUNSON

ABORIGINAL MYTHS AND LEGENDS Mythology serves to sustain all features of traditional Aboriginal life. For an Aboriginal person a myth is a

vital force which has been revealed to man by powers which have always existed in the universe. These powers first manifested themselves at the beginning of time by taking the shape of ancestral figures emerging from the earth, giving the world shape and form, and finally returning to a state of rest under the ground. Since this mysterious beginning, Aboriginal man has continued to bear sacred powers in his person through revelation. This is what has come to be known in English as the Dreaming—a complex arrangement of mythological forces and ritual observances that guarantee life eternally. JOHN MORTON

ABORIGINAL PROTECTION BOARDS were an important means by which colonial and state governments implemented their Aboriginal policies. Their stated objectives were to protect Aborigines and oversee welfare arrangements. Boards existed in Vic between 1869 and 1957, NSW between 1883 and 1940, SA between 1940 and 1962 and WA between 1886 and 1897. In Vic, NSW and SA they were replaced by reconstituted bodies committed to a policy of assimilation. Nevertheless, the *modus operandi* and practical aspirations of the boards remained essentially unchanged. To many Aborigines, the boards were restrictive and tyrannical and, far from protecting Aborigines, were often powerful forces in the destruction of their way of life, culture and identity.

ABORIGINAL RESERVES Lands reserved for Australian Aborigines were not specific portions of tribal territory determined during treaty negotiations, as in other British colonies where indigenous title was recognised. Officials unilaterally decided location and size of all crown land tracts reserved (originally by authority of the colonial governor's commission) from 1827. From the 1860s the land act or Aborigines act of each colony (later state) provided for proclamation of areas 'temporarily reserved from lease or sale' for the 'use and benefit of Aborigines'. Government gazette proclamation was sufficient for partial excision or total revocation without consulting

Aborigines. Rare 'permanent' reservations required parliamentary consent for cancellation: the sole Victorian reserve made permanent (in 1884) was halved then cancelled without debate on residents' petitions.

Eligibility to live on reserves depended on legal definitions of Aboriginal identity based on lay opinions about skin colour. Residents never had a recognised title or right of permanent tenure, merely a claim to permissive occupancy subject to the vagaries of government policy which from 1886 erratically exiled the fair-complexioned and/or more industrious to encourage 'assimilation'. Colonial and state authorities were empowered to move Aborigines to any reserve, however distant from their homeland; to control residents' behaviour; and to evict or transfer elsewhere various categories of persons defined by legislation, regulations or managerial whim.

The total area reserved before 1901 was insignificant, although Qld proclaimed large reserves in Cape York after 1885. In southern Australia efforts to reserve adequate areas for 'hunting grounds' or agricultural settlements were defeated by pastoralist and farmer lobbies. Most reserves (rarely more than 10 to 1000 hectares of 'the worst, most useless land') were resumed when demanded by neighbours or, eventually, for closer settlement and soldier settlement schemes. Bitter memories of forcible dispossession have reinforced longstanding demands for land rights and compensation. Most large northern reserves created for church missions and government settlements in WA, SA and the NT were proclaimed between 1920 and 1931, including the vast central Australian and Arnhem Land reserves. Reserves totalling 20 per cent of the Territory's area became Aboriginal freehold under 1976 legislation. From 1966 to 1973 every state except Tas and Qld transferred extant reserves to an Aboriginal Lands Trust. In 1981 land set aside for Aborigines (reserves plus recently acquired freehold and leasehold) totalled 0.01 per cent of the area of Vic and Tas, 0.03 per cent of NSW, 1.7 per cent of Qld, nearly 9 per cent of SA and WA, and 28.3 per cent of the NT—in all, 9.35 per cent of the continent.

DIANE E. BARWICK

Further reading D. Barwick, M. Mace and T. Stanage (eds), *A handbook for Aboriginal and Islander history*, Canberra 1979; N. Peterson (ed), *Aboriginal land rights: a handbook*, Canberra 1981; C.D. Rowley, *The destruction of Aboriginal society*, Canberra 1970.

ABORIGINES Some Aborigines claim their ancestors originated in Australia. However, worldwide archaeological evidence suggests that people from the northwest pioneered this continent more than fifty thousand years ago. Over many millennia, about six hundred distinct Aboriginal groups developed and spread across Australia. They, along with the great creative spirits, continually refurbished the life forces of nature through sacred rituals. Each person was linked to the natural world by totems creating a symbiotic bond of land and people that was the essence of Aboriginal culture.

Responses to invasion The invasion of Aboriginal Australia after 1788 was piecemeal, initially being



The annual meeting of native tribes at Parramatta New South Wales – the governor meeting them, watercolour by Augustus Earle, c1825. Governor Macquarie introduced the ritual of an annual feast in 1816, and it was continued by Governor Brisbane.

NATIONAL LIBRARY

confined to Sydney, Hobart and other seaports. But from the 1820s the fertile parts of southern Australia were rapidly occupied by squatters with herds of livestock. The Aboriginal response to these strange invaders varied: avoidance and distant observation; fear and flight; an immediate defence of their land and families; a bewildered greeting of Europeans thought to be relatives returned from the dead; and wary attempts to form reciprocal relations in the traditional manner with these strangers. The uneasy peace that existed in some areas soon ended. Bargains were broken and trouble soon broke out owing to the immense racial, cultural and linguistic gulfs between the two peoples. Once it was perceived that the Europeans intended to stay, a fight for the land developed in most areas.

The Aborigines, fighting mainly as specific groups, fiercely defended their territories. They generally fought in guerilla fashion, conducting surprise raids on settlers and their flocks, before quickly retiring to dense cover or ranges. They occasionally engaged parties of Europeans in pitched battles, but to less effect. The Aboriginal fighting skills and weapons were a match for the inaccurate, unreliable and slow to reload pre-1850 muskets. The Aboriginal resistance was so strong that some squatters were bankrupted as a result of arson and stock stealing, and settlement was retarded. The fighting was often savage. Both sides, especially the Europeans, perpetrated some massacres, although a few massacres were in reality bitter fights to the finish by those outnumbered. The Aborigines succumbed to the force of numbers in the south and to post-1860 breech-loading and repeating rifles and revolvers on the northern frontiers. The warfare was spasmodic, and never involved all of those in any one district: indeed, some areas experienced minimal clashes. But overall about 2000 Europeans and 20 000 Aborigines were killed in frontier actions. These persisted in the north until 1930. (See AUSTRALIANS: A HISTORICAL ATLAS, ch 11.)

The fighting would have been more intense and protracted, at least on the eastern mainland, had it not been for the Aboriginal death toll from European diseases to which Aborigines had no immunity. The smallpox epidemics of 1789 and 1829 which devastated most tribes from south Qld to the Gulf of St Vincent (excepting Gippsland), reduced the affected population by more than 60 per cent. In both instances, the infection appears to have spread from Sydney, although a case can be made for transmission from Macassans on the far north coast. Introduced venereal disease was rampant, and lowered Aboriginal fertility, thus reducing population recovery. A lesser number of Aborigines perished from novel respiratory and European childhood diseases, and fewer again died from alcohol-related causes and malnutrition after extended contact with European society.

The European presence increased traditional inter-group fighting which caused more deaths. European foods attracted alien Aboriginal groups to settlements where clashes occurred. On the eastern mainland, the use of Aborigines as police troopers, who mercilessly hunted alien Aborigines, also increased traditionally based killings. Disease, violence and resource losses obliterated some groups and caused others to decline by 90 per cent within 20 years of European contact.

Surviving European control and protection The British government warmly supported civilising efforts to expiate the destruction caused by Euro-encroachment, and zealous Christians sought to convert the 'black heathen'. Thus began the often well-meaning attack on Aboriginal culture that lasted until recent times. There were numerous attempts to fashion Aborigines into Christian farmers, beginning with Gov Macquarie's Aboriginal school and farming scheme in 1814. However, Aborigines strongly rejected such efforts, and while they lost the fighting, they won the battle of the mind. Few converts were made, and crops withered from inattention. Aborigines believed their own ways were superior, and only valued such European things as steel axes and glass. The young were more inclined to flirt with European things, but even they remained strongly traditional. Yet Aboriginal culture was severely battered by the massive depopulation which disrupted kinship and marriage patterns and drastically thinned the ranks of elders who were the guardians of all sacred knowledge. Groups also lost free access to their lands and sacred sites.

While 'fringe dwellers' strongly resisted European culture, some southern Aborigines deliberately took to farming and even Christianity. In 1863, those Goulburn and Yarra people who had survived by combining traditional hunting and gathering with pastoral labour, initiated a reserve at Coranderrk, near Healesville. After early difficulties, it became the most successful of the Victorian reserves, being self-sufficient by 1875. Aboriginal houses there boasted rugs, sofas, wallpaper, clocks and gardens, and their owners dressed like other rural dwellers. After 1859 the Ngarrindjeri people collected at Raukkan mission,

Point McLeay, and experienced similar cultural transitions. They soon became capable farmers and bush workers and even preached to Europeans in the district. Similar transformations were under way at Poonindie mission near Port Lincoln, Ramahyuck mission near Sale, and elsewhere. Yet these people still retained their Aboriginality, but one fused with certain European values, particularly a pride in material achievements. However, paternalistic European managers undermined their efforts. The Coranderrk residents agitated for more self-management, to the point of strikes and parliamentary deputations, but to no avail. Several successful settlements were actually closed: Poonindie (1894) and Coranderrk (1928). Aboriginal initiatives were stifled in the late nineteenth century by Social Darwinist thought, which claimed Aborigines were inherently inferior, incapable of self-management, and destined to die out in competition with higher races.

As each area in the north was pacified after 1860, the Aborigines were forced on to pastoral properties where they received cast-off clothing and food scraps, but rarely wages, in return for labour. Others worked in the pearl shell industry. Northern development became vitally dependent on cheap Aboriginal labour. Aboriginal men and women enjoyed stockwork, and excelled at it, despite the squalid conditions and physical abuse they suffered. On some properties a close if unequal relationship developed between Aboriginal workers and European bosses. And the seasonal nature of pastoralism allowed time for Aborigines to pursue their ritual life. Indeed traditional culture remained vibrant on many northern cattle stations, since few bosses interfered as long as the work was done.

Traditional life was threatened more on the dozen Christian missions that sprang up along the far north coast and in the Centre after 1890. In return for food and protection from rapacious Europeans, Aborigines had to place their children in mission dormitories where they were drilled with Christian values. Most early missionaries were strongly paternalistic and bent on eradicating Aboriginal culture, particularly initiation and polygamy. By 1950, however, missionaries were tolerating traditional values and encouraging self-reliance. As well as their proselytising efforts, missionaries provided health care and succour for Aborigines, while other white Australians ignored them. Until recently few Aborigines were converted to Christianity.

Those in northern Australia not on missions or cattle stations mainly lived on government reserves, the model for which was the 1897 Qld Aboriginal Protection Act and its numerous regulations. An initial humanitarian concern to protect harassed Aborigines in northern Qld was perverted by paternalism and Social Darwinist thinking into a rigid control over their daily lives. Legislation in northern Australia and parts of the south prevented Aborigines from travelling, working, marrying, drinking alcohol or performing traditional ceremonies without permission. A host of petty regulations tried to shape

Aboriginal morals and manners, and intruded into private and family life. Aborigines could not vote and were not included in the census as Australians.

Several generations lived and died under such legislation and many became dependent and dispirited. One inmate of a NSW reserve, Kevin Gilbert, has called the experience a 'rape of the soul'. But even on the most mind-destroying reserves, some aspects of Aboriginality survived, and to most Aborigines the reserve was home. A number of Aboriginal people managed to live independently on missions and reserves, particularly in Vic and NSW. Despite battling poverty and discrimination, or perhaps because of it, they were able to lead an Aboriginal political awakening which dated from the 1930s.

Aboriginal activism The long decline of the Aboriginal population was arrested at 60 000 by 1930, confounding speculation that Aborigines would fade away completely. Governments were forced to consider the Aborigines' future. In this context, Aboriginal lobby groups which developed in southern Australia around 1930 made an impact. When white Australia celebrated 150 years of settlement in 1938, William Cooper and other Aboriginal leaders planned a Day of Mourning. Since then, Aboriginal activism has been continuous.

In 1939 the federal government adopted a policy of assimilation and planned for the citizenship requested by Aborigines. War interrupted this work, but also strengthened it, as about one thousand Aborigines served in the forces and thousands more undertook civilian war work. Many Aborigines in the eastern states moved to cities in the 1950s and formed advancement leagues and lobby groups. Rural groups also pushed for justice. Aboriginal stockmen in the Pilbara went on strike from 1946 to 1949 and gained better wages. Others soon followed them successfully. Finally in 1965 the Arbitration Commission granted equal wages to Aboriginal pastoral workers. But many became unemployed, as employers thereafter preferred white workers and machines. In the 1960s most governments changed their goal in Aboriginal policy from assimilation to integration, which accorded greater respect and freedom to Aboriginal culture. The old protective laws were dismantled, except in Qld, where this process only began in the late 1970s. In 1967 a referendum approved federal involvement in Aboriginal affairs and paved the way for federal money and legislation to promote justice for Aborigines.

On 26 January 1972 an Aboriginal tent embassy was pitched defiantly opposite Parliament House in Canberra, from which radical land and compensation claims were issued. The conjunction of the Aboriginal land rights movement and the reformism of the Whitlam Labor government produced the Aboriginal Land Rights (NT) Act of 1976. This allowed for Aboriginal claims to vacant or crown land where a traditional relationship could be demonstrated to a lands commissioner. It also offered protection for sacred sites against trespass, and gave Aborigines the right to veto mining unless it was deemed 'in the national interest'.

Under the act, Aboriginal people gained control of one-third of the NT. A few groups have established their own cattle stations, while others are fostering a more traditional use of land on outstations away from central settlements. A South Australian land rights act followed in 1981, which returned one-fifth of that state, mostly arid land, to the Pitjantjatjara people. Since then a white backlash has developed that has slowed the movement in other states.

In the 1970s, Aborigines, with some help from other Australians, created their own health, legal, housing and other welfare services. These made self-management a reality, within the constraints of budgets controlled by white Australian bureaucrats. This problem has been somewhat alleviated by the appointment of Aboriginal bureaucrats in the federal department of Aboriginal affairs. In 1986 its permanent secretary was Charles Perkins, an Aboriginal activist of long standing. A small but growing number of Aboriginal lawyers, social workers, and other graduates are filling professional places in Aboriginal service organisations. The Aboriginal presence is everywhere increasing. Aboriginal radio now beams from Alice Springs.

Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders numbered about 168 000 at the last count (1981), 1 per cent of the Australian population. This is about half their total of 1788 (although N.G. Butlin has recently suggested the 1788 population could have been one million). Aborigines are still far from achieving equality with other Australians. Their current life expectancy is twenty years below that of the rest of the population,



Tent Town, La Perouse, Sydney. The small Aboriginal community at La Perouse, founded in the 1880s, grew from 140 in 1940 to 555 in 1959. By the 1930s the settlement had become a well-known tourist attraction. Photograph, 5 June 1949.

MAGAZINE PROMOTIONS

and their rate of imprisonment fifteen times higher than that of other Australians. They are considerably poorer, less skilled and educated, and about four times more likely to be unemployed. But the achievements of Aboriginal professionals, community leaders, sportsmen and sportswomen are considerable, and this has boosted Aboriginal pride. Australia can only gain from the advancement of its original owners, still the most deprived and scorned minority in its history. (See also ABORIGINAL MISSIONS, ABORIGINAL RESERVES.)

RICHARD BROOME

Further reading R. Broome, *Aboriginal Australians: black response to white dominance 1788–1980*, Sydney 1982; K. Gilbert, *Living black: blacks talk to Kevin Gilbert*, Melbourne 1977; H. Reynolds, *The other side of the frontier: an interpretation of the Aboriginal response to the invasion and settlement of Australia*, Melbourne 1982; C.D. Rowley, *A matter of justice*, Canberra 1978.

ACCLIMATISATION SOCIETIES These mid-nineteenth-century bodies zealously but misguidedly introduced 'useful and ornamental' alien species, ignorant of how the newcomers would displace indigenous flora and fauna, cause environmental degradation and result in economic loss. The Victorian society, founded in 1861 and numbering Melbourne's leading scientists among its members, was among the keenest. Its 'successful' introductions included deer, the Indian myna, blackbird, house sparrow and starling, the last two imported to rid orchards of insect pests but soon causing extensive damage to crops. Individual acclimatisers made other disastrous introductions, such as rabbits, foxes and blackberries. Quarantine controls imposed by the colonial governments and the wisdom of hindsight increasingly curbed the acclimatisation movement from the 1870s.

ADAMS, Francis William Lauderdale (1862–93), writer, was born in Malta and educated in England before migrating in 1884 to Australia. He spent only six years in Australia but during that time contributed articles to the *Bulletin* and other journals. His most important contributions to Australian literature were two volumes of essays, *Australian essays* (1886) and *The Australians* (1893). Three years after his return to England, gravely ill with tuberculosis, he shot himself.

ADAMS, George (1839–1904), publican and Tattersall's founder, arrived in Australia from England in 1855. Adams spent his first twenty years in the colony working as a gold miner, station hand, butcher and publican. Then in 1878 he took over Sydney's O'Brien's Hotel, home of the Tattersall's Club. In 1881 he opened the club's race meeting sweep to the public. It became an enormous popular and financial success, but church opposition forced Adams to move the lottery to Qld (1893) and then to Tas (1895), where it remained for the next 58 years.

ADELAIDE STEAMSHIP COMPANY LTD was formed in 1875 by a group of SA businessmen to run a steamship service between Adelaide and Melbourne. The company entered the WA trade in the

1880s and continued to expand in the late nineteenth century. Between Federation and World War II the company's passenger and cargo shipping fleet was one of the largest in Australia. In the 1940s and 1950s the company began diversifying as changes took place in the shipping industry. With the disposal of its shareholdings in Bulkships Ltd in 1977 it ceased its connection with large-scale coastal shipping. Thereafter the company moved into investment and property ownership, vineyards and wine production, optical goods manufacture and distribution and engineering, acquiring a reputation for being an ambitious, expansive 'corporate raider'.

TIM GODFREY

ADMINISTRATIVE AND CLERICAL OFFICERS ASSOCIATION Commonwealth public servants were forbidden to combine with non-government employees in 1909 so various internal unions were formed. The clearest predecessor of the ACOA was the Australian Commonwealth Public Service Association founded in 1913. The ACOA remained largely a professional association until 1981 when anti-union legislation affecting government employees only and declining conditions and living standards provoked industrial action ending in a three day strike. The 40 000 strong ACOA affiliated to the ACTU in 1982.

Further reading B. Juddery, *White collar power: a history of the A.C.O.A.*, Sydney 1980.

ADVERTISER (Adelaide) is published by Advertiser Newspapers Ltd, incorporated in SA in 1929. The company was formed to acquire the business of J.L. Bonython and Co which had published the paper since 1858.

In 1931 the *Advertiser* absorbed the *Register* which traced its origins back to 1836, the year the colony was founded.

In December 1985 the Herald and Weekly Times Ltd held 29 per cent of the issued capital of the *Advertiser* which in turn held 31 per cent of the issued capital of Television Broadcasters Ltd. The latter also held a 11.92 per cent holding in the *Advertiser*. The newspaper, a morning broadsheet, is published every day except Sunday. The September 1985 circulation was 212 168.

ADVERTISING From its beginnings on shopfront signs and the front pages of early colonial newspapers, advertising in Australia has developed into a major industry. By the 1980s annual expenditure on advertising via television, radio, newspapers, magazines, cinemas, mailing and letterboxing, billboards and other outdoor forms was estimated at \$115 per head of population. The industry in the late twentieth century exemplified the best and worst features of Australian capitalism. It was innovative, encouraged creativity and enterprise, and stimulated economic growth by helping create new industries. It was also a gross exploiter: it promoted the 'fetishism of commodities'; it dictated continual shifts in fashion, often creating non-essential needs and it promoted a materialistic and exploitative view of the world and its resources.

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A simple recipe to reach over 70% of Australian women 2.7 times.*

Take 3 consecutive issues of New Idea ... Australia's leading weekly women's magazine.

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Number one with women every week.

New Idea

An advertisement to attract advertising in the magazine New Idea. Bulletin, 13 Aug 1985.

By the 1980s advertising was sophisticated and complex. It was closely integrated with all other sectors of the capitalist economy, and their profitability relied on its continuance. It utilised a diverse range of skills, employing specialists in areas as varied as market research, consumer psychology, packaging and the commercial arts (including design and layout, graphics, writing, music, animation, photography, electronic audio-visual effects). Enterprises developed to provide such specialised services, and they in turn became industries in their own right. The Australian film industry was but one to have benefited from the spin-off effects of advertising.

Throughout the nineteenth century the media available to advertisers were limited to handbills, hoardings and newspapers. Many newspapers have been appropriately named 'The Advertiser', including the main daily newspapers of Adelaide and Geelong. The rise of the cinema and commercial radio during the second and third decades of the twentieth century boosted the industry greatly. The advent of commercial television in the late 1950s provided advertising with its most influential medium. By the 1980s one-third of the money spent on advertising was on television advertisements, compared with less than one-quarter on advertising in the principal daily newspapers, the medium that ranked second.

Initially newspapers prepared advertisements for advertisers, but the conflict of interests where the one newspaper was designing advertisements for rival

clients encouraged the emergence of advertising contractors who designed the advertisement and secured the space required. Originally they charged the client a fee for service but as the industry grew they also took a commission from the newspapers on the advertising space sold. The increasing professionalism of the industry was evidenced in the appearance of its first 'trade' journal in 1908, the formation of 'institutes of admen' from 1912, and the convening of national conferences of advertising agents from 1918. The first national body promoting the interests of the profession, the Australian Association of Advertising Agencies, was formed in 1946. By the 1980s, when there were over 500 agencies in Australia, in addition to the in-house advertising and public relations departments cultivated by most large corporations and public bodies, some half-dozen national and federal organisations existed to represent the profession.

The Australian advertising industry came under increasingly heavy American influence. Its organisational form, mode of operation, artistic genre and language were all borrowed so heavily from the United States industry that eventually it was debatable whether a distinctively Australian industry existed. This trend was hastened in the decades following World War II as US-based advertising agencies bought into Australian agencies. During the 1970s concern at the extent of outside control led to the formation of the Australian-owned Advertising Agencies Council, which aimed to preserve the indigenous share of the industry. By the 1980s some 60 per cent of Australian expenditure on advertising was nevertheless being made through foreign-controlled agencies.

Also by the 1980s the industry was coming under increased regulation. Beginning in the early 1940s, the commonwealth government's radio broadcasting and television legislation had endeavoured to set standards of good taste and social responsibility for electronic media advertising; and from the 1960s the growing strength of consumer organisations led both commonwealth and state governments to enact consumer protection legislation prohibiting false and misleading advertising. The industry adopted its own Australian code of advertising practices in 1967, and set up the Advertising Standards Council in 1974. During the 1970s the powerful but adverse effects of television advertising were acknowledged in restrictions on advertising aimed at children, and in the banning of television advertisements for tobacco.

Whether legislation or self-regulation could raise the standard of propriety and responsibility in advertising remained debatable. Feminists, for example, remained pessimistic, arguing that, regardless of the standards set for it, the industry continued to exploit female sexuality and to perpetuate pejorative, stereotyped notions of women. The anti-smoking and environmentalist lobbies were also sceptical. Anti-smokers complained that restrictions on tobacco advertising had caused tobacco manufacturers to collude with the industry in resorting to other means of encouraging smoking; and conservationists protested that powerful mining, chemical, timber and land

development corporations used the industry to create a favourable public impression of their environmentally destructive activities. IAN HOWIE-WILLIS

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AGE One of Melbourne's major newspapers, the *Age* was started by the Cooke brothers on 17 October 1854 and in 1856 was purchased by the Scottish immigrants, David and Ebenezer Syme. David Syme, editor from 1860, used his paper to campaign on political and economic issues, especially protection. A penny newspaper after 1868, the *Age* grew in circulation from 38 000 in 1880 to 100 000 by about 1890; in proportion to population it had the largest circulation of any paper in the empire. By 1900 its circulation was 120 000 and its political influence at its peak. Syme died in 1908, and from 1922 the paper's supremacy was challenged by the tabloid, the *Sun News Pictorial*. The *Age* has long been regarded as one of Australia's best newspapers, especially under the editorship of Graham Perkin (1966–1975). In 1984 it became a wholly owned subsidiary of John Fairfax and Sons with a circulation of 235 900 by 1986.

AGENTS-GENERAL were appointed by self-governing colonies between 1858 and 1886 to represent the interests of their colonies in London. They acted as commercial and emigration agents and as an informal channel for communication between the mother country and colonies, they publicised the colony's resources and established a good reputation in England. The term of office was indefinite, sometimes being a lifelong appointment for a person of distinguished career in the colony. After Federation the states maintained the practice of keeping agents-general in London. The duties of the office became more and more oriented towards promoting commerce and tourism. As this happened the office was sometimes seen as a sinecure for retiring politicians—a reward for service to their parties.

AHERN, Elizabeth (1877–1969), socialist, pacifist and feminist reformer, worked as a domestic servant and joined the Victorian Socialist Party in 1905. She was a champion of women's rights and a strong internationalist and became one of the party's most effective propagandists, working in suburban and country areas. She was a member of the VSP's executive committee at various times between 1906 and 1918. In 1908 Ahern left for Broken Hill and married Arthur Wallace of the Barrier Socialist Propaganda Group. The following year she helped to form the Women's Socialist League. In 1916 she spoke vigorously against the war. At the same time Ahern became Caterers' Employees' Union delegate to the Trades Hall Council, secretary of the Women's Anti-Conscription Committee, and delegate to the Labor Women's Central Organizing Committee, an organisation in which she remained active until 1934.

ALIENS was a category under Australian citizenship regulations. It included all who were neither 'British subjects' nor Australian citizens. State and federal legislation, reflecting community attitudes, at times lumped aliens together with 'coloureds', both groups being subject to official discrimination. 'Aliens' and 'coloureds' were variously denied pensions, the vote and property-owning rights. They were also subject to various petty restrictions which, for instance, prevented them from farming irrigated land or working in furniture manufacturing or fishing. During both world wars 'enemy aliens' were interned under alien control regulations. Internments rose to 10 519 in 1942. In World War II non-interned aliens were obliged to enter national service with the Civil Aliens Corps, a body with a strength of about four thousand. The term 'alien' remained in official use until 1973, when the amended Nationality and Citizenship Act removed the distinction between aliens and British subjects.

ALLIED WORKS COUNCIL was established on 26 February 1942 by the federal Labor government to construct urgent defence works. Under the direction of the former federal treasurer and Qld Labor premier E.G. Theodore, it undertook the building of factories, roads, army camps, docks, aerodromes and oil installations. The Civil Constructional Corps, formed in April 1942 by enrolling older men in the armed forces and in 'unprotected' occupations, implemented many of the council's projects. It disbanded on 1 July 1946.

ALLUM, Mahomet (1858?–1964), camel driver, herbalist and philanthropist, arrived in Australia from Afghanistan in about 1890. He worked at a variety of jobs including station hand, butcher and camel driver, delivering supplies to inland townships and stations. From about 1929, living in Adelaide, he became a herbalist. Despite a conviction in 1935 for having posed as a medical practitioner while not registered under the Medical Practitioners Act, his practice continued to flourish. He asked no payment but accepted donations and his popularity and healing powers were widely attested to by his patients. His funeral procession in 1964 was over a mile long, and the bulk of his estate was left to institutions that cared for children.

ALUMINIUM INDUSTRY Australian production of aluminium ingot began in 1955 at Bell Bay, Tas, in a small plant owned jointly by the commonwealth and Tas governments. Aluminium smelting consumes a very large quantity of electricity and at the time, the island state produced Australia's lowest-cost (hydro) electricity for large-scale industrial use. Bauxite, the main commercial ore of aluminium, was imported from southeast Asia.

By the late 1950s, very large bauxite deposits had been discovered on Aboriginal reserves at Cape York Peninsula and Arnhem Land, while other large deposits were proven in the Darling Ranges close to Perth. Multinational companies developed these resources during the 1960s largely as politically stable, low-cost sources of bauxite and alumina, the

intermediate product for their overseas smelters. They also decided to produce metal for the small but protected Australian market. The Bell Bay smelter, purchased in 1960 by Comalco Ltd, was joined in 1963 by a plant near Geelong (Alcoa), and in 1969 by another at Kurri Kurri in the Hunter River valley (Alcan).

Since 1980, Australia has been the world's largest producer of bauxite and the largest exporter of alumina. Mines remain at Weipa (Qld), Gove (NT) and in the Darling Ranges. Alumina refineries are located at Gladstone (Qld), and Gove, with a further four in WA's southwest.

During the early 1980s, the development of large thermal electric power stations on the coalfields of Qld, NSW and Vic attracted new export-oriented smelters encouraged strongly by state governments. Large new smelters were in production by 1986 at Gladstone, Qld, (Comalco with Japanese partners), and at Tomago, NSW (Pechiney of France with Australian partners). A third was under construction at Portland in western Vic by Alcoa in partnership with the state government. By 1984 more than half of the much-expanded metal production was being exported,

R.H. FAGAN

AMALGAMATED METAL WORKERS' UNION

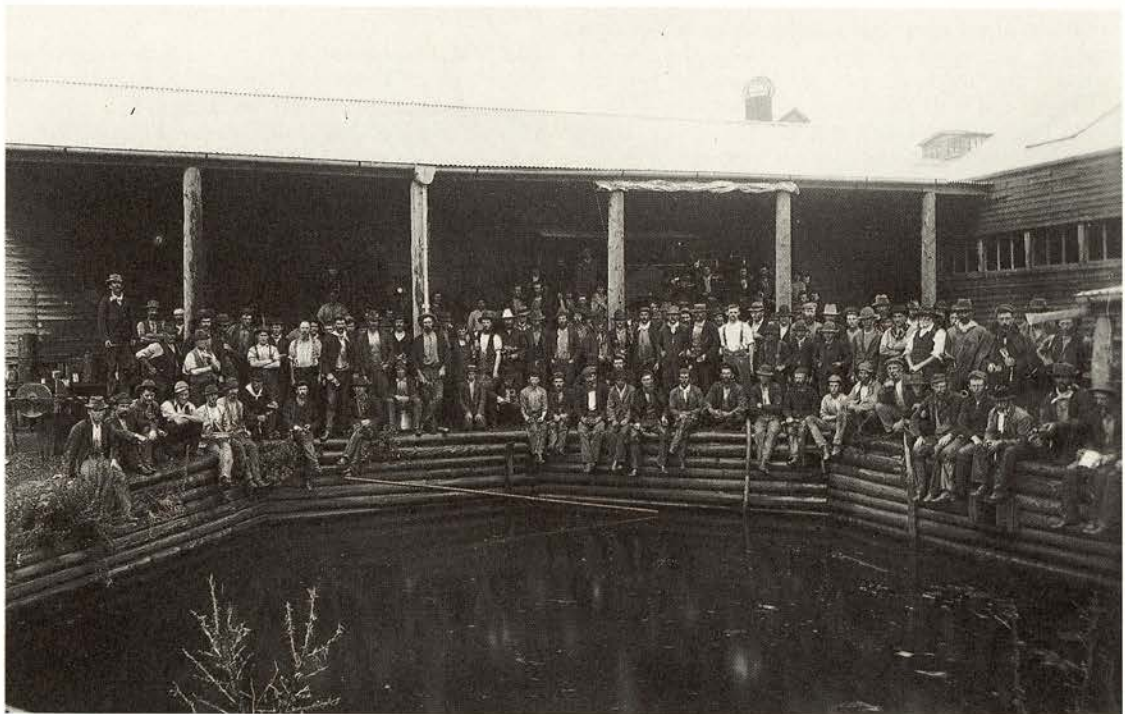
The origin of the AMWU can be traced to the founding, at sea in 1852, of the NSW branch of the Amalgamated

Society of Engineers. This was essentially a craft union, with social benefits and selective membership, and capable of strong action to protect and improve wages and conditions. As the Amalgamated Engineering Union, from 1920, it was the leader of skilled trades and in 1947 won an increased wages margin although it had been deregistered. Amalgamation with the Blacksmiths and Boilermakers and Sheetmetal Workers formed the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union in 1973. The metalworkers remained pacesetters of wages and conditions until the late 1970s and are firm supporters of the prices and incomes accord. Owing to many amalgamations this is now one of the largest and most influential of unions, having over 160 000 members in 1985.

Further reading K.D. Buckley, *The Amalgamated Engineers in Australia 1852-1920*, Canberra 1970; T. Sheridan, *Mindful militants: the AEU in Australia 1920-72*, London 1975.

AMALGAMATED SHEARERS' UNION (ASU)

was a trade union formed in 1886, as a result of unsatisfactory conditions for shearers in the wool industry, to unite local shearers' unions and to protect them from exploitation by employers. W.G. Spence was the union's founder and first president. The ASU began in Vic and rapidly spread through NSW and SA. Membership numbered 9000 in 1886 and 22 500 in 1889. The ASU amalgamated with the General



'Smoke oh! at the shearing sheds.' The gathering together of large numbers of men during the shearing season provided opportunities for collective action and the formation of a union. Over one hundred men posed for this photograph at Burrawong, near Moss Vale, New South Wales, c1880.

NEW SOUTH WALES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

Labourers' Union in 1894 to become the Australian Workers' Union.

AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF ENGINEERS (ASE), a metalworkers' trade union, was formed in Sydney in 1852 as a branch of the British union of the same name. The name was changed to Amalgamated Engineering Union in 1920, and the Australian branch remained an integral part of the British union until 1968. In 1972 the union joined with two other metalworkers' unions to form the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union, which with 167 445 members was then the country's largest union. The wage rates of 'typical' ASE members were for a long time the key to national wage determination.

AMBULANCE SERVICES began in Australia's larger cities in the 1890s. Early ambulances were only two-wheeled stretchers, soon replaced by horse-drawn vehicles, superseded in turn by motor vans. Concerned citizens formed 'city ambulance transport brigades' to provide regular services in Brisbane and Sydney in 1892 and 1895 respectively. The St John Ambulance Association ran Melbourne's first service from 1897. Police ran services in Adelaide (1891) and Perth, which also had a fire brigade ambulance (1903). Municipal authorities ran Hobart's early service.

Differing systems of control evolved but the trend has been towards greater government subsidisation and supervision. In NSW, Vic, Tas and Canberra services function under the overall control of public health authorities. Elsewhere, non-government agencies are the operators by arrangement with their governments. Queensland's Ambulance Transport Brigade co-ordinates services there, while state branches of the St John Ambulance Association run the services of SA, WA and the NT.

By 1985 the state ambulance systems had become a major item of public health expenditure, their annual cost amounting to over \$241 million. This cost was met by government funding, subscription schemes and fees for service. By then the annual number of patients carried was over 2.03 million (equivalent to about 14 per cent of the population), and 2120 ambulances run by some 5260 operational staff were in use. By tradition most services used voluntary as well as salaried ambulance officers to help keep costs down. In 1985 there were over 4500 volunteers in all Australian ambulance services except those of NSW and the ACT.

IAN HOWIE-WILLIS

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AMERICAN BASES IN AUSTRALIA The United States maintains an unspecified number of defence intelligence, communications and scientific installations in Australia. Though their purposes have never been completely disclosed to the Australian public, and possibly not to the Australian government, they are thought to form an integral part of the United States' global defence system.

The three most important are the naval communication station at North West Cape (near Onslow,

WA) and the satellite ground control stations at Pine Gap, near Alice Springs, NT) and at Nurrungar (near Woomera, SA). North West Cape, the first to be established, was set up as a result of an agreement between the US and Australian governments signed on 9 May 1963, and became operational in 1967. In announcing in 1962 that it would be built, Prime Minister R.G. Menzies did not make clear its function, which according to subsequent official literature, is to maintain contact with US submarines armed with nuclear missiles. The agreement provided for the Australian government to be consulted, but gave it no control over either the base or the purposes it might be made to serve. Labor parliamentarians were at first suspicious, but eventually approved the proposal, and others which followed, while maintaining the right of a future Labor government to renegotiate the agreement in order to allow Australia greater control over the facility. Left-wing opinion within and outside the party remained firmly opposed to this and other US bases in Australia, however. Pine Gap, which is controlled by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and monitors Soviet and Chinese military communications gathered by satellites in geo-stationary orbit, opened in 1969. Nurrungar, which also opened in 1969, is a link in the satellite system giving the US early warning of missile firings.

Other known US defence and scientific installations in Australia include a station at Smithfield (SA), a series of portable geodetic satellite observation posts; the National Aeronautics and Space Administration satellite tracking station at Tidbinbilla (ACT); a network of seismic stations operated by the US Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency at Hobart, Adelaide, Charters Towers (Qld), Alice Springs (NT), Mundaring and Narrogin (WA); a US Air Force solar observatory at Learmonth (WA); and an Omega navigation station at Darriman (Vic). In addition there were a number of stations run by the Australian Defence Signals Division, at Shoal Bay (near Darwin), Pearce (WA), Carbarlah (Qld), Watsonia (Vic) and Harman (ACT), to which exchange staff from US agencies were attached.

In deference to Australian sensibilities, all American-sponsored installations in Australia came to be officially designated as 'joint US-Australian facilities', and drew on Australian personnel and funding, but continued to exist primarily for US defence. As well as signalling to US warships, monitoring missiles and nuclear testing by other nations and eavesdropping on Soviet military communications, the bases were thought to play an important part in 'star wars' programs, carrying out scientific research towards the development of military space technology. Little information about them is available, however. Their full range of functions remains hidden from the Australian public.

IAN HOWIE-WILLIS

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AMERICAN INFLUENCE ON AUSTRALIA

Second only to the United Kingdom, the United States is the country with which Australia historically has had the closest associations. Despite this, American influences—political, social, economic and cultural—have always been controversial.

Almost from the beginning of European settlement the republican institutions of the US provided the obvious alternative to the British model. Administrators and legislators alike sought American precedents. After the discovery of gold in 1851, for example, the NSW government adopted some of California's mining regulations. The Australian and US constitutions have many parallels, seen for example in the terminology of 'House of Representatives' and 'Senate'; and continuing proposals for a bill of rights are modelled on that of America.

Economic contacts began in 1792, when colonists at Port Jackson bought essential supplies, including rum, from American trading ships. In January 1839 James Hartwell Williams took office as the first US consul in Sydney; later Melbourne became the focus of American enterprise, the consulate there being one of the main US Pacific posts. At the end of the nineteenth century, products of companies such as Singer, Kodak, General Electric, American Tobacco, National Cash Register, Otis, Standard Oil, and Vacuum Oil (later Mobil) were well known.

In 1940 Australia, which hitherto had left its diplomatic relations to Britain, finally succumbed to American pressure and opened in Washington its first diplomatic mission. The decision was not so much an assertion of sovereign status as a deepening of Australia's recognition of the importance of the US as a Pacific ally.

Such contacts were supplemented, both in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, by visits from US naval fleets and a wide range of Americans: mining engineers, educators, actors and entertainers, writers, doctors, evangelists and travellers. The impact of these visitors and their cultural baggage has been greater than that of American immigrants, although these have individually made their mark in a variety of fields, in spite of their small numbers.

Events of World War II and the arrival from 1941–45 of hundreds of thousands of young Americans in uniform, as M. Barnard Eldershaw has written, 'gave the Australians a sense of themselves'. At the same time, Americanisation remains a bogey to those who fear for their British traditions. Defence arrangements, including the ANZUS Agreement, which Australia initiated, and the presence of US bases, such as Pine Gap and North West Cape, also generate hostility.

Most Australians, however, continue to adopt American concepts, technology, and products, whether Alcoholics Anonymous and Neighbourhood Watch, computers and satellite communications, or Coca-Cola and break dancing.

E. DANIEL POTTS

Further reading L.G. Churchward, *Australia and America 1788–1972: an alternative history*, Sydney 1979;



Postcard, 1908.

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AUSTRALIA

N. D. McLachlan, 'The future America': some bicentennial reflections', *Historical studies* 17, 68, 1977, 361–83; E. D. and A. Potts, *Young America and Australian gold: Americans and the gold rush of the 1850s*, St Lucia 1974; E. D. and A. Potts, *Yanks down under 1941–45: the American impact on Australia*, Melbourne 1985.

AMERICA'S CUP In 1851 the Royal Yacht Squadron offered a one hundred-guinea cup to the winner of a race around the Isle of Wight. It was won by the schooner *America*, whose owners later gave the cup to the New York Yacht Club. The America's Cup, as it became known, remained in American hands until it was won by Australia in 1983. Australia unsuccessfully challenged for the cup five times: in 1962 *Gretel* was defeated by *Weatherley*; *Dame Pattie* lost to *Intrepid* in 1967; *Gretel II* was defeated by *Intrepid* in 1970; *Southern Cross* by *Courageous* in 1974, and in 1980 *Australia* lost to *Freedom*. In 1983 the Alan Bond syndicate yacht *Australia II* defeated the American defender *Liberty*. The cup was returned to America in 1987 when *Kookaburra III* was defeated by the American challenger *Stars and stripes*.

ANDERSON, John (1893–1962), philosopher, graduated from the University of Glasgow with first-class honours in philosophy, mathematics and natural philosophy in 1917. He lectured at several British uni-

versities before he was appointed Challis Professor of Philosophy at the University of Sydney in 1927. Anderson's teaching emphasised independent, critical thought and this led him into controversy, most notably in 1943, when in a series of lectures he attacked religious teaching in schools as detrimental to a child's spirit of enquiry. A furore followed but the university senate refused to censure him. He wrote many articles and essays.

ANDERSON, Maybanke Susannah (1845–1927), feminist, emigrated with her family to Sydney in 1855 and was educated as a teacher. Deserted by her husband, she began her own highly successful school. After a divorce she married Francis Anderson, professor of philosophy at Sydney University 1890–1921. Spanning three decades, her public career showed her to be an energetic worker for the advancement of women and educational reforms, working within groups in NSW such as the Womanhood Suffrage League and the Playgrounds Association. She wrote and published articles and books including *Mother lore* (1919).

ANDREWS, John Hamilton (1933–), architect, has designed many public and academic buildings in Australia, Canada and the United States, of which Scarborough College at Toronto University, Sydney's American Express building and the Cameron Offices in Canberra are particularly notable. Andrews has won many international and Australian awards, including in 1983 the Sulman award for the American Express Tower. In 1978 he published *Architecture: a performing art*.

ANGAS, George Fife (1789–1879), businessman, was born and educated at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. After beginning a career as a coachmaker, his business interests expanded into commerce and shipping, and he dreamt of making the newly founded colony of SA into 'a place of refuge for pious dissenters of Great Britain . . . and a place where the children of pious farmers might have farms on which to settle and provide bread for their families'.

Although he did not arrive in SA until 1851, he and his wife Rosetta, nee French, and family constantly championed the colony's cause. For example, Angas formed the South Australian Company, helped German settlers emigrate in 1838, and fought for the rights of the settlement before the 1841 select committee into its early failings. From his arrival in SA until 1866 Angas served as a member of the legislative council, but was disenchanted with the religious life of the new colony. After retirement from an active political career Angas settled on his Lindsay Park Estate near Angaston. When he died he was eulogised by the local press as the true founder of SA. ROBLINN

ANGAS, George French (1822–86), writer and artist, the son of George Fife Angas, who tried to interest him in the business world, embarked on a career as an illustrator and natural scientist. In 1842 he produced *A ramble in Malta and Sicily*; in 1847 *South Australia illustrated*, *The New Zealanders illustrated* and

Savage life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand; in 1849 *The Kaffirs illustrated* and *Description of the Barossa Range*; and in 1851 *Six views of the gold field of Ophir* and *Views of the gold regions of Australia*. His later publications included travelogues, poetry and narrative and scientific papers on the study of sea shells.

From 1853 until 1860 he was secretary to the Australian Museum in Sydney. After this appointment he moved to SA and became chairman of the Angaston District Council from 1860 to 1862. His involvement in a local scandal again led to his father's displeasure, and he was sent to England in February 1863. He lived in London until his death. ROBLINN

Further reading J. Tregenza, *George French Angas: artist, traveller and naturalist 1822–1886*, Adelaide 1980.

ANGLICAN CHURCH OF AUSTRALIA (until 1981 the Church of England in Australia) traces its origins to the foundations of the colony in 1788. It has played a dominant role in the nation's religious history and until recent years was the largest denomination in Australia. The first chaplains, Richard Johnson (arrived 1788) and Samuel Marsden (arrived 1794) were government appointees. With their successors they enjoyed a monopoly on public religion that lasted until the arrival of the first Catholic priests in 1820. Quasi-official status was not necessarily matched with financial support. Johnson built his own church in Sydney in 1793 at a cost of almost £60 and was not reimbursed until 1797. The formation of evangelical associations and the support of such societies as the Church Missionary Society were crucial to the early establishment of the church. Religious sentiment in the nascent colony was widely judged to be weak. The fact that local clergy often acted as magistrates added weight to the equation of religion and authority, as did the dominance of an evangelical perspective, with its harsh view of human nature.

The first bishop of Australia, William Grant Broughton (consecrated 1836), fought to uphold the church's position of privilege. With Gov Bourke's Church Act (1836), the church was assured of government funding for church building and clerical stipends, but simultaneously lost its primacy, becoming one denomination among many. The act did, however, help to finance the expansion of the church, which mirrored the spread of settlement. Separate dioceses were created in Tas (1842), and in Adelaide, Melbourne and Newcastle (1847). State aid was abolished in Qld in 1860, NSW in 1863, Tas in 1869, Vic in 1870 and WA in 1890. The first training college, St James College, was established by Broughton in 1845. The principal training centres are Moore and St John's colleges in NSW, Ridley and Trinity colleges in Vic, St Francis in Qld and St Barnabas and Crafrers in SA.

The diocese, headed by a bishop, is the basic organisational unit of the church. These are grouped into provinces, headed by an archbishop. A primate is elected from the diocesan bishops. The smallest unit of organisation is the parish, which is headed by a rector or vicar. The constitution adopted in 1962 (re-

placing the 1872 version) gives greater power to the general synod, which is composed of both clergy and laity.

While the 1662 *Book of common prayer* remains the basis of Anglican worship, the updated, indigenous *An Australian prayer book* (1978) has gained wide acceptance.

The Anglican Church contains a number of different theological traditions, the most prominent being the evangelical and Anglo-Catholic traditions. Two dioceses are predominantly evangelical, Armidale and Sydney, both in NSW. The latter is perhaps the most powerful in Australia, in terms of wealth, population and influence.

The 1981 census saw the Anglican and Catholic churches on a par for the first time (26 per cent of the population). The Anglican Church is expected to have moved to second place in terms of size among the Christian denominations in the 1986 census.

JANE FOULCHER

ANGRY PENGUINS was a quarterly cultural journal published from 1940 to 1946, which rejected both the nationalist and the conservative prescriptions dominating Australian art and literature at the time. It began as a publication of the Adelaide University Arts Association but, after the third issue, its main editors, Max Harris and John Reed, produced it independently. The journal's concern with modernism and the pursuit of the 'avant garde' made it the target of the 'Ern Malley' hoax and subsequent ridicule.

SUSAN McKERNAN

ANSETT AIRLINES OF AUSTRALIA Founded in 1936 by R.M. (later Sir Reginald) Ansett to operate between Melbourne and Hamilton, Vic, Ansett Airlines fought for a place in the postwar market by offering cheaper fares than the two major airlines, Trans-Australia Airlines and Australian National Airways (ANA). Having become a public company, Ansett Transport Industries in 1957 took over ANA, and then successfully absorbed many private airlines in Australia, as well as the interstate tourist coach firm, Pioneer. The company also extracted an important concession from the federal government, which formulated an enduring two-airline policy to accommodate Ansett demands for equal status with TAA. In 1979 Sir Reginald lost control of the company when the TNT group of companies and News Ltd acquired majority shareholdings.

ANSTEY, Francis George (1865–1940), politician and publicist, was born in London. After an unsettled childhood he stowed away to Australia, working as a Sydney-based seaman. In the late 1880s he moved (via Sale, Vic, where he married Catherine McColl) to Melbourne and joined its radical milieu. There he made his mark as a Labor politician in the Victorian (1902–10) and the commonwealth (1910–34) parliaments. His preoccupation with financial monopolies was reflected in his books, *The kingdom of Shylock* (1915, revised edition 1917) and *Money power* (1921). His account of the Russian revolution, entitled *Red Europe* (1919), combined with his theatrical oratory,

established him as a leading radical publicist. In 1930–31 his unorthodox economic views led him to support the Lang Plan, which resulted in his being dumped from the Scullin ministry. Bitterly disillusioned, he left politics in 1934.

PETER LOVE

ANTARCTICA Significant coastal exploration of Antarctica began in the 1840s with explorers such as Dumont d'Urville of France, Charles Wilkes of the United States and James Clark Ross of Britain. The earliest resident scientists, who landed in 1899, included two immigrants to Australia, Carsten Egeberg Borchgrevink and Louis Charles Bernacchi.

Major national expeditions began early in the twentieth century. The British Antarctic expedition of 1907–09 under Ernest Shackleton included Australian geologist Edgeworth David, who was one of a party to reach the South Magnetic Pole. In 1911–14 Douglas Mawson led the Australasian Antarctic expedition, which established three bases: on Macquarie Island, at Commonwealth Bay in King George V Land and on the Shackleton Ice Shelf in Queen Mary Land. Significant scientific research was conducted at these bases. Geographer Griffith Taylor and geologist Frank Debenham were Australian scientists on sections of the ill-fated Scott expedition of 1910–13.

Australian interest in Antarctica stemmed from the part played by its scientists in these expeditions and in the British–Australian–New Zealand Antarctic expedition of 1929–31, again led by Mawson. In 1930 Mawson claimed British sovereignty over part of the continent. The Australian Antarctic Territory was declared by a British order-in-council on 7 February 1933 and was ratified in 1936. This territory included all land from 160°E to 45°E and south of 60°S, but excluded Adelie Land, which was claimed by the French.

An Antarctic Division was set up within the Department of External Affairs in 1947, to be later transferred to the Department of Science and Technology. Bases were established on subantarctic Heard and Macquarie islands in 1947 by the first ANARE (Australian National Antarctic Research Expeditions) teams. Major expansion of activities took place under the directorship of Phillip Law (1949–67), with new ANARE bases established on the Antarctic continent at Mawson (1954), Davis (1957, closed 1965, reopened 1969), and Casey (1969). Since 1954 the Heard Island base has been used for short-term visits only. A new base in the Bunger Hills, known as Edgeworth David, was opened in early 1986 to promote research in that ice-free area.

Since 1954 Australian Antarctic exploration has concentrated on the Prince Charles Mountains, the Lambert Glacier basin, the Amery Ice Shelf, and regions of Kemp Land and Enderby Land. Over a million square kilometres of the continent has been explored, mapped and assessed in geological and glaciological terms. A great deal of meteorological and biological work has also been undertaken. Australian scientists have played active roles in the programs of the International Geophysical Year (1957), the International Biomedical Expedition (1980–81) and the BIOMASS

Projects of 1981–82 and 1983–84. Since 1955 relief operations, coastal exploration and marine research have depended on chartered Danish and Norwegian vessels. Much use has also been made of fixed- and rotary-wing aircraft. In the early 1980s, approximately 90 people were conducting research during the winter at Australian bases each year. This number increases during the summer months.

After the success of the International Geophysical Year, an international treaty of 1959 negated national claims to Antarctic territory and promoted international co-operation in the pursuit of peaceful scientific research on the continent. Australia has been a full party to the Antarctic Treaty from its beginning, and has full voting rights by virtue of its active scientific program in Antarctica. Scientific projects are co-ordinated by the Special Committee on Antarctic Research, an international organisation. Questions of environmental protection and the possible exploitation of mineral resources have been foremost in recent international conferences, including that held in Canberra in 1980.

ANTHONY, John Douglas (1929–), parliamentarian, succeeded his father, H.L. Anthony, in the House of Representatives as Australian Country Party member for Richmond, NSW, in 1957. He became deputy leader of the (National) Country party in 1966 and held ministerial office for the interior (1964–67) and primary industry (1967–71) during the Liberal–Country party coalition of 1964–67. He became party leader in 1966 and was deputy prime minister from 1971 until the government's electoral defeat in 1972. Upon the coalition's return to office in 1975, he resumed his position as deputy prime minister and became minister for overseas trade and minister for national resources until 1983 and the next change of government. In 1984 he resigned his seat.



John Antill (far right) at the preview of the first public performance of his ballet suite 'Corroboree' in 1950. The National Theatre Ballet performed the suite, with Antill conducting the Sydney Symphony Orchestra.

MAGAZINE PROMOTIONS

ANTILL, John Henry (1904–86), composer, studied the violin and composition at the Conservatorium of Music, Sydney, and later became a member of both the Conservatorium Orchestra and the ABC Symphony Orchestra. In 1934 he joined the staff of the Australian Broadcasting Commission and was its federal music editor from 1950 until his retirement in 1970. Outstanding among his many compositions is the ballet suite 'Corroboree', which was first publicly performed in 1950. One of the first authentically Australian pieces, the ballet blends elements of Aboriginal and western music. He received an OBE in 1971 and was made KCMG in 1981.

ANTI-TRANSPORTATION ASSOCIATION In response to the failure of the probation system, opposition to the continued transportation of convicts to Van Diemen's Land gradually increased from about 1843. The Launceston Association for Promoting the Cessation of the Transportation of Convicts, founded in 1847 and led by the Reverend John West, rapidly extended its activities, and was the first of a number of like bodies elsewhere. Calling for the co-operation of anti-transportationists in other colonies, it sponsored an intercolonial meeting in Melbourne in January 1851, which agreed on the terms of a League and Solemn Engagement of the Australian Colonies to oppose transportation. A further meeting in Sydney in April, the first conference of the united colonies, strengthened this League, which was extended to Adelaide in September and to New Zealand in October. Although the association set up a board to represent it in London, for some time the British government did not take its representations very seriously, and the decision to stop transportation in 1852 was as much due to the effects of the gold discoveries as to lobbying by anti-transportationists.

A.G.L. SHAW

ANZAAS (AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE) is an organisation that holds congresses about every two years in the principal cities of Australia and New Zealand where scientists and the general public meet and exchange scientific knowledge. The association of 38 colonial scientific bodies was formed at the suggestion of Archibald Liversidge (1846–1927), professor of geology and mineralogy at the University of Sydney, who saw the need for intercolonial co-operation in science as consonant with moves towards political federation. The decision to form the association was taken at a meeting on 10 November 1884 and the first meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) was held in Sydney on 28 August 1888. H.C. Russell, FRS (1836–1907), NSW government astronomer, was the first president and Liversidge acted as secretary from 1888 to 1909. In 1930 the name was changed to ANZAAS.

G.P. WALSH

ANZAC The Australian and New Zealand Army Corps headquarters in Cairo early in 1915 adopted the acronym which has become synonymous with the Gallipoli campaign and Australian soldiers in general.

The Anzacs who first went into battle at Gallipoli were part of a much larger force which consisted also of British, French and Indian troops, but because the Australians and New Zealanders were first ashore and because this was their countries' first major experience of war the campaign became peculiarly associated with them. The high reputation they won was deserved, but it also suited elements in the British press to praise the vigour and endurance of the Anzacs in unfavourable comparison with the prosecution of the war on the western front. This British adulation reinforced the pride and admiration for the Anzacs at home. On 25 April 1985, seventy years after the landing, the Turkish government agreed that the site of the Anzac landing at Gallipoli should be known officially as 'Anzac Cove'.

ANZAC DAY The first anniversary of the landing at Anzac Cove, 25 April 1916, was kept by the troops as a commemoration of their comrades who had died in the nine months of the Gallipoli campaign. In addition, there was a service at Westminster Abbey attended by the King and Queen, which had been preceded by a march of the Australian troops through London. With such an example as encouragement, Anzac Day began to be celebrated in Australia too. At first it was largely a commemorative occasion, but as the ex-comrades began to drift apart, the day became one of reunion. The second AIF happily accepted Anzac Day as their appropriate time for commemoration and celebration too. During the 1950s, in particular, Anzac Day reunions gained a reputation for boozy rowdiness. By the 1980s, when almost all participants were over sixty, the celebration was more restrained, and commemoration again predominated.

ANZAC PACT Known in New Zealand as the Canberra Pact, the Anzac Pact of January 1944 linked Australia and New Zealand in a co-operative agreement aimed at developing an international organisation to replace the defunct League of Nations. The pact also sought to promote the formation of a South Pacific regional body, which became known as the South Pacific Commission.

ANZUS TREATY Signed at a time of acute uneasiness over communist influence in southeast Asia, the Anzus (Australia, New Zealand and United States) Treaty of September 1951 committed the three to 'act to meet common danger' in the Pacific. Under it Australia gained the protection of a powerful ally but committed itself to become part of the US strategic orbit. The treaty seemed likely to become defunct after NZ withdrew in 1985 over the issue of visits by United States nuclear armed or powered warships.

APEX is a men's service organisation. Unlike similar bodies, such as the Rotary, Lions and Jaycees clubs, Apex was founded in Australia. Apex is based on local clubs, the first of which was formed in Geelong in 1930 by three architects. It aims to develop citizenship, provide fellowship and organise some community service. Members work on local projects such as providing facilities for the disabled, the aged, hospi-



Anzac Cove, photographed by Colonel A. Sutton, 1915. Army engineers quickly constructed a pontoon jetty to help unload supplies. The difficult terrain that hampered the landing is shown here: steep ridges, cut by deep gullies, rise sharply from the narrow beach.

AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL

tals and youth groups, and on wider projects, including aid to underdeveloped countries, child health and sponsorship of immigrants. By 1985 there were 14 500 members in 793 Australian clubs, and another 3500 in clubs in Papua New Guinea and southeast Asia, all under the Association of Apex Clubs. Only men aged 18 to 40 can join Apex, though women are included in some activities.

ARCHIBALD, Jules François (1856–1919), journalist, founded the *Bulletin* in 1880 with fellow Sydney *Evening News* journalist, John Haynes. The *Bulletin* came to be a highly influential journal and from 1902 to 1914 Archibald was its editor. He bequeathed an annual prize for the best portrait of 'any man or woman distinguished in art, letters, science or politics' painted by an artist resident in Australia or New Zealand. He also left money for a memorial to commemorate the joint action of Australian and French troops during World War I.

ARCHIBALD PRIZE The Archibald prize is offered each year for the best portrait painted, preferably of someone 'distinguished in arts, letters, science or politics'. The prize was established under the will of Jules François Archibald (1856–1919), the founder of the *Bulletin*. Since the first award in 1921, the prize has created several controversies, the most famous being the award of the 1943 prize to William Dobell for a portrait of Joshua Smith.

ARCHITECTURE in Australia can be understood in terms of three phases. From the first European settlement until about 1890 it overwhelmingly derived from Britain and may best be seen in relation to the architecture of other British colonies. From about 1890 until World War II American influence and internal nationalistic tendencies are increasingly significant. After World War II the influence of Europe is added to that of Britain and America, and most architects seek an international rather than a national

character in their work, despite a strong minority school centred on Sydney.

The Australian colonies were not architecturally unified. While Van Diemen's Land and the Port Phillip district were administered by NSW, their public buildings were to some extent controlled from Sydney. Architects in private practice were generally confined to a single colony and, in the cases of SA and WA, even public buildings were designed autonomously. Because of this there is no distinctively Australian character apparent before the middle of the nineteenth century.

Single-storey houses were more common in the Australian colonies than in Britain. Some of the earlier house plan forms in New South Wales were rows of rooms opening into each other or directly from the exterior to permit the maximum of cross ventilation. The need for external access as well as shade from the sun encouraged the adaptation of the verandah, though to what extent it can be seen as an importation from India remains a moot point. The early houses of

architect was John Lee Archer (1791-1852), who attempted some significant essays in Neoclassicism and the Greek Revival. It was James Blackburn (1803-1854) who really developed the Greek as well as the Norman for churches and, for the first time in Australia, the picturesque Italianate for houses.

Between the discovery of payable gold in 1851 and the collapse of the local financial boom in the early 1890s, Vic was the most architecturally active colony. The first years of the gold rushes saw the importation of many buildings, iron structures from England and Scotland, and timber ones from America, India, Singapore and elsewhere. From the later 1850s, terrace housing, a form derived from Britain but now characteristically ornamented with elaborate cast iron decoration of a lacelike character, developed most extensively in Vic. The inner suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne retain many terraces built between the 1850s and the 1890s.

The English Queen Anne Revival had an impact in Australia from the early 1880s, mainly in the form of a revival of face red brick work. Later in the decade the American Romanesque style was introduced in the same red brick. This style was not seen as simply another decorative import, but as a valid basis for the development of a distinctive national architecture, just as in the US. Towards 1890 there were a number of technical developments, many of them also derived from the US, which tended to transform local architecture further—electric lighting, hydraulic lifts, telephones, prismatic pavement lights and steel framing. The first skyscrapers were commenced in Melbourne in 1889 before the financial crisis and depression intervened.

Architects leaving Victoria for other colonies helped to spread nationalistic ideas and picturesque red brick designs across the colonies, and after Federation these elements are reflected in the Edwardian 'Federation style'. So far as this is a single style rather than a period term, it is a style for houses, and predominantly for single-storey houses. The principles of picturesque massing and informal planning culminated in a strong diagonal emphasis, often accented by a corner turret. The roof is a deliberately complicated assemblage of hips and gables and covered typically in Marseilles tiles. These red tiles, which are now so characteristic of Australia, are used little in France and hardly known at all in England. They were imported from Marseilles until World War I, and later made locally.

Although the Federation style was often associated with the deliberate introduction of Australian flora and fauna motifs, a different sort of nationalism was expressed by a revival of colonial Georgian forms early in the century. After World War I this revival assimilates into the general stream of British influenced Georgian Revival architecture, and only after the 1930s is it finally stripped back to the abstract forms of modernism. The single most stimulating impact upon Australian architecture in the twentieth century was that of the American Walter Burley Griffin (1876-1937), who in 1912 won the interna-



Sketch by Elaine Haxton, *Courier Mail* annual, 1954. In the 1950s and 1960s Queensland, which had lived with variants of the wooden stilt house for almost a century, suddenly became the centre of architectural experimentation. The Queensland coastline soon sported 'ultramodern' houses with butterfly roofs next to the more traditional Queensland house.

NSW were generally symmetrical and are best described as Georgian. The leading architect was Francis Greenway (1777-1837) and his local Georgian work is regressive in relation to the Regency style of his and other buildings in Bristol prior to his transportation. John Verge (1782-1861) was soon to practise in a more explicitly Regency manner, but this is the exception in NSW.

In Tas a cooler climate and a slightly later date of settlement, especially in the north, encouraged a more urbane architecture, often Regency in style and with small or no verandahs. Two storeyed buildings were common, stucco surfaces were normal in the north, and walls were often pilastered. The first notable

tional competition for the design of the federal capital of Canberra. He later settled in Australia and designed many extraordinary buildings in a highly personal and complex geometric style.

The influence of international modernism made itself felt before World War II; but it was the war itself and the subsequent period of building restriction, lasting more than a decade, which provided for the gestation of a local school of modern architecture. One of the Melbourne pioneers, the geometrically inclined Roy Grounds (1905–81) had already made a substantial impact in the early 1930s. He was joined in 1953 by the writer and populist Robin Boyd (1919–71), whose buildings tend to be more brittle and insubstantial, and by a member of the European movement, the German refugee Frederick Romberg (1913–). In Sydney the postwar immigrant Harry Seidler (1923–) brought an even more authentic infusion of German Bauhaus design, and he reinforced its impact by a campaign of aggressive self-promotion in such developments as the Australia Square tower in Sydney.

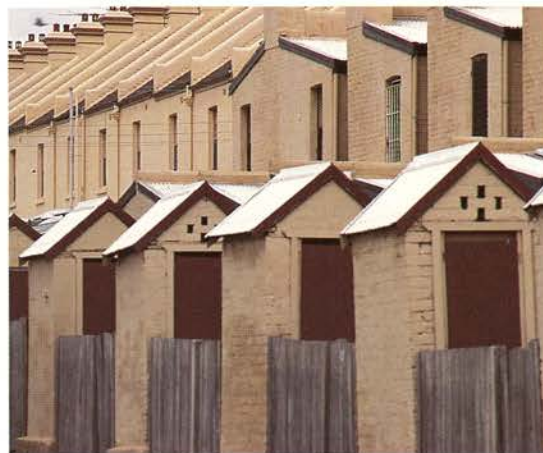
Nationalism was not forgotten. In Sydney the architect Sydney Ancher (1904–) attempted an unequivocally modern but distinctively Australian style. His later partner Ken Woolley (1933–) became the central figure of the 'Sydney School' which tended to use tiles, clinker bricks and stained timber (described by Robin Boyd as 'a tamed romantic kind of Brutalism'). In Melbourne something of the sort was developed by such architects as Graeme Gunn, who initially favoured concrete blockwork, and George Duncan, and it quickly percolated down into the lingua franca of the 'project house' and the speculative builder. Domestic architecture has remained the medium for the most characteristic Australian expression. The verandah and its derivatives have remained as prominent as they have been since the beginning of the nineteenth century in NSW.

MILES LEWIS

Further reading R. Boyd, *Australia's home*, Melbourne 1962; J. M. Freeland, *Architecture in Australia*, Melbourne 1967; R. Irving (ed), *The history and design of the Australian house*, Melbourne 1985.

ARGONAUTS CLUB This club was built round a late afternoon children's program on ABC radio which ran briefly in Melbourne in 1933–34, was revived nationally in 1941, and continued until 1972. It relied on heroic Grecian mythology for inspiration. Jason's quest for the golden fleece aboard the *Argo* was the central theme, and club members belonged to 'ships' named after Greek heroes or geographical features. Each session featured music, literature and science, and members competed for honours by sending in original contributions. At its peak in the late 1940s the club had over 50 000 members, with 10 000 new members joining each year, until children's television began making serious inroads on its membership in the late 1950s.

Further reading K.S. Inglis, *This is the ABC: the Australian Broadcasting Commission 1932–1983*, Melbourne 1983.



Rows of terrace houses were first built in Sydney in the 1830s. These examples are part of the Glebe Estate, a large parcel of church land subdivided for the construction of workers' cottages, which were built from 1841 onwards. They are still low-cost rental properties.

Photograph by Philip Quirk.

WILDLIGHT PHOTO AGENCY

ARGUS (Melbourne), launched in 1846 by William Kerr. Two years later Edward Wilson purchased it, and with his partner Lauchlan Mackinnon they absorbed the *Melbourne Daily News* in 1852. This association established a family ownership which made the *Argus* influential in Australasian affairs, and which continued until 1936 when it became a public company. The London Daily Mirror group purchased the company in 1949, when the formerly conservative morning broadsheet adopted a popular policy supporting Labor. London's expectations were not realised and the *Argus* closed in 1957 after being purchased by the Herald and Weekly Times.

ARMSTRONG, Gillian May (1950–), film director, won a scholarship in 1973 to the Australian Film and Television School, Sydney, where she made two outstanding short films. She then directed a documentary, *Smokes and lollies* (1975), for the South Australian Film Corporation and *The singer and the dancer* (1976), a longer feature. In 1978 her film *My brilliant career* won immediate critical and popular acclaim, and was shown at Cannes. Her next feature, *Starstruck* (1982), was a rock musical, and she has also directed rock music videos. In 1983–84 she made *Mrs Soffel* for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer in Hollywood, USA. With relatively few films Gillian Armstrong has acquired a remarkable reputation as a director. Although not overtly feminist, her films are about women seeking release from social restrictions.

CHRIS CUNNEEN

ARTHUR, Sir George (1784–1854), colonial governor, was born in Plymouth, the youngest son of John Arthur, a well-to-do brewer and former mayor, and Catherine, nee Cornish, of a Devonshire landowning family. After a brief spell in business, he bought a commission in the army in 1804, and his gallantry in Egypt and Walcheren attracted the attention of his

superiors. In 1812, he was posted to Jamaica, where in 1814 he married Eliza, the daughter of Lieut-Gen Sir Frederick Smith, who bore him seven sons and five daughters. Appointed that year as superintendent of the English settlement at Belize (British Honduras), he gained respect as a capable administrator before his somewhat highhanded attempts to protect slaves from cruelty aroused strong local opposition. In 1822 he went home on sick leave, and on recovery was appointed lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Land, where he arrived in 1824.

He greatly improved the administration of the convict system by combining incentives for reform with severe punishment for delinquents who were put into chain gangs or sent to the penal settlement he established at Port Arthur; he closely supervised police, magistrates, the masters of assigned servants and the issue of tickets of leave, explaining his methods in *Observations upon secondary punishment* (1833) and *Defence of transportation* (1835). A devout evangelical, he strove to improve local morals and behaviour by extending religious teaching. Unfortunately he was unable to protect the Aborigines. He removed a number of incompetent and dishonest officials, but his authoritarian methods aroused opposition, and in 1836 he was recalled. He then sold his substantial landholdings very profitably, but accusations of impropriety proved as unfounded as those of 'tyranny'; official inquiries resulted in his vindication. He later served as lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada (Ontario) and governor of the Bombay presidency.

A.G.L. SHAW

Further reading A.G.L. Shaw, *Sir George Arthur, Bart., 1784–1854*, Melbourne 1980.

ASHES Cricketing contests between England and Australia became common in the second half of the nineteenth century and, for some Australians, became a test of national character. The Australian team in England in 1882 was a strong one and beat—by seven runs—an English team at The Oval. When a sporting newspaper published an obituary notice 'In affectionate remembrance of English cricket' it included the words 'the body will be cremated and the ashes taken back to Australia'. In 1883 a group of Melbourne women burnt a bail and, placing the ashes in an urn, presented them to the victorious English captain. This tiny urn now resides at Lords in London. The ashes represent cricket supremacy between England and Australia; the victorious team is said to have won them.

ASHTON, Julian Rossi (1851–1942), art teacher and artist, was born in England and attended art schools in both London and Paris before migrating to Australia for health reasons in 1878. He worked as an illustrator for different publications before turning his attention to painting and teaching at the Art Society of NSW. In about 1895 he began his own art school which not only endured but always enjoyed a considerable reputation. His influence was strongest on landscape painting. Among his students were Elioth Gruner, Thea Proctor, William Dobell and Sydney Long.

ASKIN, Sir Robert (1909–81), politician, Liberal premier of NSW from May 1965 to 1975. The son of a Sydney tram driver, Robin, who changed his name to Robert in 1971, grew up in Glebe, worked in banking and entered politics as member for Collaroy in 1950. He became party leader in 1959. When anti-Vietnam demonstrators threatened to block visiting United States President Lyndon Johnson's motorcade in 1966, Askin told the driver to 'Run over the bastards'. He was appointed KCMG in 1972 and GCMG in 1975. After his death, allegations that he had been closely associated with organised crime, allowing illegal gambling and police corruption to flourish, led to a taxation department investigation of his \$1.9 million estate. The tax probe concluded that large sums Askin had said came from his gambling winnings had in fact come from other sources.

ASSIGNMENT SYSTEM The system under which convicts were assigned to work for private employers was called the assignment system. The employers had to provide accommodation, clothing and rations, as prescribed by the government, and were supposed to offer religious instruction. They often offered 'indulgences' as incentives to good conduct. They could not punish their servants directly, but had to report offences to a magistrate. Convicts found guilty might be punished by flogging, or returned to government service. The government could withdraw servants from unsatisfactory masters.

The system provided employers with cheap labour (according to Gov Gipps their employment was worth about £10 per year per man to the settler); at the same time the government saved between £12 and £15 per year per man in expenses. Assigned service also taught the prisoner a skill. Accusations that the punishment of being assigned was too lenient were ill-founded, although this was the reason for abolishing it. There is no doubt, however, that the convict's lot varied considerably under different masters.

A.G.L. SHAW

ASSIMILATION is a term used in different contexts at various times in Australian history to describe the incorporation of minority communities into the wider society. It was used from the 1940s to late 1960s in relation to non-British immigrants, who, it was assumed, would become indistinguishable from the host community. However, while most immigrants probably became acculturated, many were reluctant to forsake their discrete cultural identities. The cultures of many homelands therefore survived among immigrant communities, calling into question assumptions about the supposedly uniform nature of Australian society. Rather than homogeneous, Australian society could be seen as one to which numerous cultural minorities—Aboriginal, German, Jewish, Italian, Greek and Chinese as well as the more numerous English, Irish, Scots and Welsh—had been contributing since the early years of European settlement.

The notion that Australia had been multicultural throughout the period of European occupancy gained



The Prospector, by Julian Ashton, 1889. Oil on canvas. Ashton moved between various styles of painting. This painting is firmly within the European pictorial tradition. Reproduced with the permission of the Julian Ashton Art School.

ART GALLERY OF NEW SOUTH WALES

currency through the activities of Al Grassby, federal minister for immigration 1972–74 and first commonwealth commissioner for community relations 1975–82. He and other ‘multiculturalists’ believed assimilation implied the cultural extinction of non-British minorities. Instead, they argued, ‘integration’ should be the goal, cultural minorities being encouraged to retain their discrete traditions while participating as equals in mainstream society.

Assimilation was also a term used until the 1960s to summarise various federal and state policies on Aborigines which aimed ultimately at their absorption within the white community. In this sense it came into use during the 1930s, by which time it appeared that Aborigines were not dying out, as had been assumed earlier. Increasingly vocal protests against ‘protectionist’ policies by Aboriginal organisations, and the views of anthropologists like A.P. Elkin, who had been arguing that Aboriginal policies should aim to enable Aborigines to enter the social and economic life of the wider society, began making an impression on the federal government. This became evident in 1939 when the minister for the interior, John McEwen, announced that Aborigines under his control—chiefly those in the NT—would be prepared for ordinary rights of citizenship. Few people thought the period of ‘preparation’ could be other than protracted, however, and war intervened to prevent the policy being elaborated. In the postwar years the federal government extended various social service benefits to Aborigines. It did so through a paternalistic institutional framework of missions, managed reserves and pastoral employment. This denied individuals the full amount and control of the money and services due to them.

During the early 1950s assimilation became the avowed aim of commonwealth policy on Aborigines when Paul Hasluck, as minister for territories, took responsibility for the NT and its Aborigines. To him, assimilation meant helping Aborigines to achieve ‘the same manner of living as other Australians’. However, the ordinances meant to bring this about intensified paternalism. The director of welfare, for instance, was given wide powers of control over the movement of individuals, while wages for Aborigines working in the pastoral industry were set at a fraction of the rates for whites. Ironically, assimilation accentuated segregation in the NT because, to assist ‘preparation’, the government set up separate Aboriginal townships, often away from the towns and in areas where there was little employment.

Assimilation remained federal policy until the mid-1960s. The commonwealth government, through a constitutional amendment in 1967, gained power to legislate for Aborigines in the states, with whom it began to share responsibility for Aboriginal affairs. All states but Qld abandoned the discriminatory legislation (Qld began falling into line in the late 1970s). Aborigines now received such rights as the vote and award wages. These changes rendered assimilationist policy obsolete, and ‘integration’ became the objective. Aboriginal leaders everywhere denounced

assimilation as genocide, because carried to its conclusion it would have meant the extinction of their culture and race.

IAN HOWIE-WILLIS

Further reading J.I. Martin, *The migrant presence*, Sydney 1978; C.D. Rowley, *Outcasts in white Australia*, Canberra 1970.

ASTLEY, Thea Beatrice May (1925–), writer, was born in Brisbane and educated at the University of Queensland. She has taught in schools in Qld, NSW and at Macquarie University. She has published many novels including *Girl with a monkey* (1958), and *A descendant for gossips* (1960), which was dramatised for ABC television in 1983. She has also published short stories and uncollected verse and has won the Miles Franklin Award on three occasions.

ASTON, Matilda Ann (1873–1947), writer and teacher, was blind from the age of six but pursued her education at St Kilda School for the Blind and later at Melbourne University. She became a music teacher and later head of the school she had attended. Tilly Aston published nine books of verse and prose, including *Maiden verses* (1901), *Old timers* (1938) and an autobiography, *Memoirs of Tilly Aston* (1946). She was a founder of the Victorian Association of Braille Writers and president of the Association for the Advancement of the Blind until her death.

ATKINS, Richard (1745–1820), judge advocate, arrived in Sydney from England in 1791 and was appointed magistrate and the following year registrar of the vice-admiralty court. John Macarthur made a number of public accusations against him but Gov Hunter sided with Atkins, and Macarthur resigned his position as inspector of public works. Atkins replaced him in 1796 and later that year became acting judge advocate. On the death of Richard Dore in 1800, Atkins became deputy judge advocate and two years later attained the full position of judge advocate until being replaced on the arrival of Gov Macquarie in 1810. He returned to England as one of Bligh’s witnesses at the trial of Lieut-Col Johnston, but later faded into obscurity and died insolvent.

ATKINSON, Caroline Louisa Waring (1834–72), naturalist and writer, was from early childhood interested in the natural environment, and under the guidance of her artistic mother studied and drew the forest plants of Kurrajong Heights, west of Sydney. She sent specimens to a number of eminent botanists, resulting in a number of new plant species being named after her. Atkinson also anonymously published two minor novels, *Gertrude, the emigrant* (1857) and *Cowanda, the veteran’s grant* (1859). In 1869 she married fellow botanist J.S. Calvert.

ATOMIC BOMB TESTING Twelve nuclear weapons, commonly called ‘atomic bombs’, were exploded in Australia during the 1950s in British government weapons testing programs. In addition there was a series of some thirty minor trials between 1953 and 1963, involving numerous firings to test components of nuclear weapons. The tests were carried out

following agreements between the Australian and British governments. In the first explosion, on 3 October 1952, at the Monte Bello Islands 150 kilometres west of Dampier, WA, a bomb was exploded aboard a British frigate, HMS *Plym*. Dr W.G. (later Lord) Penney, the British government's chief superintendent of armament research, was in charge of this and subsequent tests. The second series of major tests took place in October 1953, when two nuclear bombs were detonated near Emu, in the northwestern corner of the commonwealth's restricted zone surrounding the Woomera rocket range in SA. Two further bombs were exploded at Monte Bello in May–June 1956. In early 1955 the Australian government decided to establish a permanent test site for British nuclear weapons, south of Emu at a place selected by Penney and later known as Maralinga (an Aboriginal word meaning 'thunder'). Seven bombs were exploded in the area over the thirteen months September 1956–October 1957, and minor trials continued until April 1963.

Following the rise of the anti-nuclear movement in the 1970s and 1980s there was continued criticism of the way the tests had been conducted. This prompted the commonwealth in 1984 to set up a royal commission under Justice J.R. McClelland to inquire into British nuclear testing in Australia. He found that the Australian prime minister, R.G. Menzies, had initially agreed to the tests without reference to cabinet and without scientific knowledge of the hazards involved. He also found that, despite assurances to the contrary by the British and Australian officials supervising the tests, safety precautions had been inadequate; radioactive fallout had occurred over wide areas inhabited by Aborigines; and the test areas remained contaminated. He recommended that the British government should pay for the cost of cleaning up the remaining contamination, while the Australian government should compensate the Aboriginal groups on whose lands the tests had taken place.

French nuclear testing at Mururoa atoll in the Pacific from 1967 was a further matter of concern to both the anti-nuclear movement and the commonwealth government, and led to strained Australian–French relations.

Further reading J.R. McClelland, J. Fitch and W.J.A. Jones, *The report of the royal commission into British nuclear tests in Australia*, Canberra 1985; J. Smith, *Clouds of deceit: the deadly legacy of Britain's bomb tests*, London 1985; J.L. Symonds, *A history of British atomic tests in Australia*, Canberra 1985.

AUSTRALASIA denotes a loosely defined geographical region at different times deemed to include Australia, New Zealand and neighbouring archipelagos of the southwest Pacific. The term was used from the early era of European exploration of the Pacific, when a large landmass was thought to exist somewhere southeast of Asia. As the coastlines of separate landmasses in the region were defined, it signified Oceania generally, but later meant just Australia and NZ. Even the latter usage became less

common, in deference to sensitivities in NZ, and by the 1980s its most frequent use was in the names of firms and organisations with interests spanning Australia and neighbouring nations.

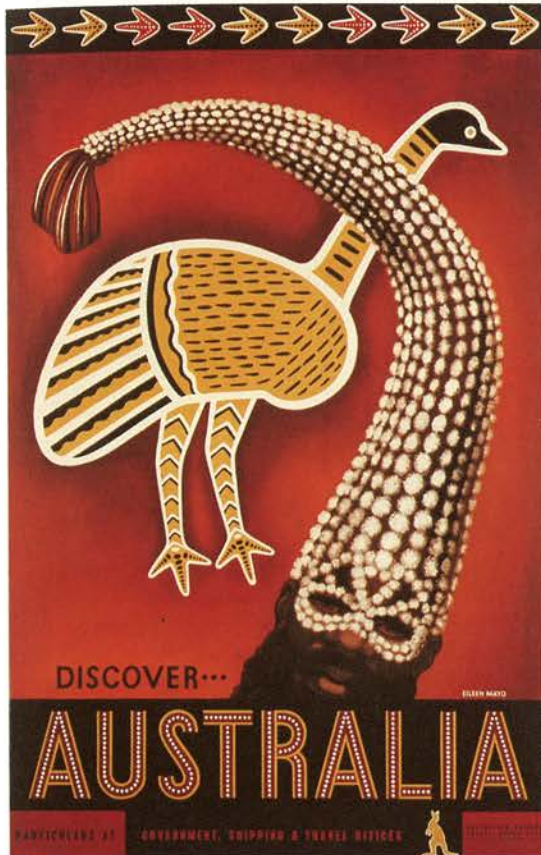
AUSTRALASIAN LEAGUE One of a number of anti-transportation bodies the league was founded in Melbourne in 1851 and waged its campaigns vigorously. It lodged advertisements with the press, sent petitions to the colonial and British governments, established a nine-member committee in London to promote its cause there, appointed the Reverend John West (active earlier in the anti-transportation movement in Van Diemen's Land) and held meetings in both Australia and Britain.

The League won its first victory in April 1851, when an order-in-council of 1848, by which NSW had again been made a penal colony, was revoked. Having accomplished its purpose with the cessation of transportation to Van Diemen's Land, the League was dissolved in 1854 and its leaders turned their attention to colonial self-government.

AUSTRALIA (the name) Two thousand years ago the Alexandrian geographer, Claudius Ptolemy, guessed at the existence of a vast southern land which he called Terra Australis Incognita (unknown southern land). In 1606 Pedro Fernandez de Quiros discovered the New Hebrides which he believed to be part of the great southern continent 'Austrialia del Espiritu Santo'. Cook believed de Quiros's discovery lay northeast of his own—NSW, which he supposed was the eastern coast of New Holland, the name used by Dutch navigators for the land they had begun visiting the previous century.

Matthew Flinders' *Voyage to Terra Australis*, published in 1814, recommended the adoption of the name Australia, which he used several times in the text. After receiving Flinders' charts in April 1817, Gov Macquarie used the title in official correspondence, and on 21 December 1817 he formally proposed its adoption. Except at the Hydrographic Office of the Admiralty, England was loath to do so; but the word was entering common usage in the colonies. The name and its importance were confirmed with Federation, though prior to this it had been incorporated into the names of two colonies, SA and WA.

AUSTRALIA COUNCIL The Whitlam government established this statutory authority in 1973 to channel federal aid to the arts. The council succeeded an earlier body, the Australia Council for the Arts (founded 1968), and took over the functions of the Commonwealth Literary Fund, Commonwealth Art Advisory Board and Commonwealth Assistance to Composers. It has been chaired successively by H.C. Coombs, Peter Karmel, Geoffrey Blainey, Timothy Pascoe and Donald Horne. Its functions include advising the government on, maintaining high standards in, and encouraging greater access to and participation in the arts, as well as raising awareness of the nation's artistic accomplishments. It is governed by a panel of fourteen appointed members, and distri-



Many graphic artists appropriated Aboriginal symbols and images in their attempt to portray Australia for both domestic and international markets. Eileen Mayo, travel poster, c1937.

AUSTRALIAN TOURISM INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION AND THE AUSTRALIAN TOURIST COMMISSION

butes its annual appropriation through certain centrally organised programs and eight boards covering Aboriginal arts, community arts, crafts, design arts, literature, music, theatre and visual arts. All boards operate according to the 'peer group principle', each comprising eight to ten artists or artworkers who decide on grants to artists and arts organisations within the board's area of concern.

During 1985 debate arose over what share of the council's budget (\$47 million in 1985–86) should go to major organisations such as the Australian Opera and the Australian Ballet Foundation, which were criticised as being disproportionately costly and 'elitist'; and over the imposition by the Theatre Board of 'ceilings' on grants to major drama companies. Further debate occurred over the extent to which the council should independently decide how its funds were disbursed, or accept government direction on the earmarking of funds for major companies.

AUSTRALIA DAY is observed throughout Australia on 26 January, the anniversary of Gov Phillip's landing at Sydney Cove in 1788. Anniversary dinners

were held on 26 January in NSW from early in the nineteenth century, and in 1818 Gov Macquarie ordered an official celebration. Known as Anniversary or Foundation Day, it was proclaimed a public holiday in 1838. In Vic, promoted by the Australian Natives' Association, the day was called ANA Day and, after 1931, Australia Day, the name subsequently adopted throughout the nation.

AUSTRALIA FELIX, name given to the southernmost part of mainland Australia by the explorer Sir Thomas Mitchell in 1836; known also up to 1851 as the Port Phillip district and after that date as the colony of Victoria. Mitchell wrote in his journal 'I named this region Australia Felix [fertile Australia], the better to distinguish it from the parched deserts of the interior country'.

AUSTRALIA FIRST MOVEMENT The Australia First Movement (AFM), a right wing nationalist body, was formed in October 1941 through the efforts of P.R. ('Inky') Stephensen. Stephensen, a writer and former Qld Rhodes scholar, had been engaged as a journalist by a Sydney businessman, W.J. Miles, the founder in 1936 of the *Publicist*, a journal espousing Anglophobic and pro-Facist views. AFM borrowed its name from the *Publicist's* slogan, 'Australia First', and sought to promote ultranationalist ideas such as the recall of Australian military forces from war zones beyond Australian territory. It soon caught the eye of army intelligence officers, who, particularly after Japan entered the war, feared it might conspire with the Japanese. In early 1942 military security advised the federal government to apprehend AFM activists. Perhaps swayed by war hysteria, the government agreed. Stephensen and sixteen other AFM members were arrested and interned in March 1942, thus effectively ending both AFM and the *Publicist*. Most were released by the end of 1942, but Stephensen not until August 1945. By then a federal judge, T.S. Clyne, was completing an inquiry into the detentions, commissioned by the government in May 1944. Clyne found that while nine detainees had been properly interned, having acted in a manner likely to hinder the war effort, the other eight had been unjustifiably detained and deserved compensation.

Further reading B. Muirden, *The puzzled patriots: the story of the Australia First Movement*, Melbourne 1968.

AUSTRALIA HOUSE, at the eastern junction of the Strand and Aldwych, London, was built over the years 1913–18 as the centre of Australian government activity in Britain. It houses the Australian High Commission and offices of departments with interests in Britain. It also functions informally as a focus of communal life among the tens of thousands of Australians living or travelling in Britain. In 1986 it had 391 staff.

AUSTRALIA PARTY, arising from the Liberal Reform Group, was founded in 1969, mainly at the instigation of Gordon Barton, a Sydney businessman

who wished to end Australian involvement in the Vietnam War. It strove to hold the 'middle ground' between Australia's two major party blocs, but while its program of social reform was progressive, its electoral success was mediocre, none of its candidates gaining election. In 1977 many of its members deserted to the recently formed Australian Democrats, and its influence quickly waned.

AUSTRALIAN, founded in Canberra in 1964 by News Ltd (later News Corporation Ltd), is Australia's first national daily. The founders envisaged 'a newspaper of intelligence, of broad outlook, of independent spirit and of elegant appearance . . .' and it was to be run from Canberra and printed in Melbourne and Sydney on the Murdoch presses. The paper used international press services and had permanent overseas correspondents. Its first editor was Maxwell Newton. The *Australian* is a morning broadsheet published every day except Sunday. Since 1966 it has been run from Sydney and in September 1985 its circulation was 129 050.

AUSTRALIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCE After several abortive attempts to establish a national academy of science in Australia in 1901, 1921 and the 1930s the Australian Academy of Science was established by Royal Charter on 8 February 1954. Its main aim is to promote and disseminate scientific knowledge, establish and maintain standards of scientific endeavour and achievement and to recognise outstanding contributions to the advancement of science. The academy represents Australia in the International Council of Scientific Unions and other international scientific organisations, holds scientific conferences, prepares teaching material for secondary school science and publishes scientific material. The academy is located in a distinctive dome-shaped building in Canberra which opened on 6 May 1959; its Sir Adolph Basser Library was opened on 26 April 1962. Members are designated Fellows of the Australian Academy (FAA). G. P. WALSH

AUSTRALIAN AGRICULTURAL COMPANY LTD was formed by act of parliament in London in 1824 and took up one million acres (404 700 hectares) crown grant in NSW (in three blocks at Port Stephens, Peel River and the Liverpool Plains) for the purpose of raising sheep with fine wool. From 1830 to the 1920s the company was also the first, and later one of the largest coalminers at Newcastle. Since the 1920s it has owned a number of properties in NSW, Qld, NT, and WA, the main concerns being cattle and wheat. In 1976 the company's head office was transferred from London to Tamworth. P. A. PEMBERTON

AUSTRALIAN ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION An act of federal parliament in 1953 created the commission to undertake operational, research, training and public education roles relating to the search for, mining and treatment of uranium in Australia. It initiated and controlled development of the Rum Jungle mine from 1954 and supervised the formation of contractual arrangements with the British and US



Sir Bernard Heinze, music advisor to the ABC since 1934, signing autographs after the first ABC Youth Concert, which he conducted at the Sydney Town Hall in May 1947.

MAGAZINE PROMOTIONS

governments. It also encouraged exploration and development by commercial interests, mainly by providing data from large-scale aerial surveys. The commission was a partner in the Ranger development until the federal government divested its interest in 1980.

Construction of the Lucas Heights research establishment on the southern outskirts of Sydney began in 1955. Its two research reactors have allowed work in the fields of nuclear power, enrichment technology and waste disposal techniques. It has produced radio isotopes for medical and industrial use throughout its life. In 1981 some of the commission's non-research functions were transferred to the Institute of Energy and Earth Resources with CSIRO.

AUSTRALIAN BALLOT Although bills aimed at introducing voting by secret ballot in Britain came before the British parliament at various times from 1830 (only to be rejected by the House of Lords), the secret ballot became known as 'the Australian ballot' because it became the practice first in Australia. Agitation for the secret ballot in the eastern colonies preceded the granting of responsible government in 1855, soon after which this form of balloting became law in Vic (19 March 1856) and SA (2 April 1856). At first voters had to delete the names of candidates they did not favour from their ballot papers, but in 1858 SA introduced a different method, devised by its returning officer, W.R. Boothby. This allowed for a box to be printed alongside each candidate's name, the voter marking a cross in the one preferred. NSW and Tas adopted the SA practice in 1858, Qld in 1859, WA and New Zealand in 1870. Britain followed in 1872, Canada in 1874, Belgium in 1877, Massachusetts in 1888, and elsewhere in the US soon after.

AUSTRALIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION The Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) began on 1 July 1932 as Australia's government-run broadcasting service. At this time it had a total of 12 radio stations. By the early 1980s it had grown substantially, operating a medium-wave AM radio service of 3 networks and 94 stations, a 6-station domestic short-wave radio service, an FM network of 23 stations, the overseas service Radio-Australia, and a national colour television network operating through 251 transmitters and translator stations. The ABC also publishes books, produces records and tapes, manages orchestras and organises concerts.

The ABC produces programs for a wide range of interests and tastes, including classical and popular music; drama; features; educational, religious, children's and rural programs; sport; news and current affairs. These programs are not of mass appeal by commercial broadcasting standards, but they cater to needs not always served by commercial radio and television.

The ABC is a statutory body run by an appointed board. Recently government inquiries have investigated the organisation's funding and administration. One result was the change in name to the Australian Broadcasting Corporation in 1983.

Further reading K. S. Inglis, *This is the ABC*, Melbourne 1983.

AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY The Territory for the Seat of Government, as it was officially known until 1938, was proclaimed on 1 January 1911, exactly ten years after the federation of the Australian colonies. It is an enclave of 2358 square kilometres at the centre of the 13 000 square kilometre catchment of the Upper Murrumbidgee Basin upstream of Burinjuck Dam in the southern tablelands of NSW, some 300 kilometres south from Sydney. Canberra, the national capital and Australia's largest inland city with a 1986 population of about 260 000, occupies an urban area of some 250 square kilometres in the northern extremity of the Territory.

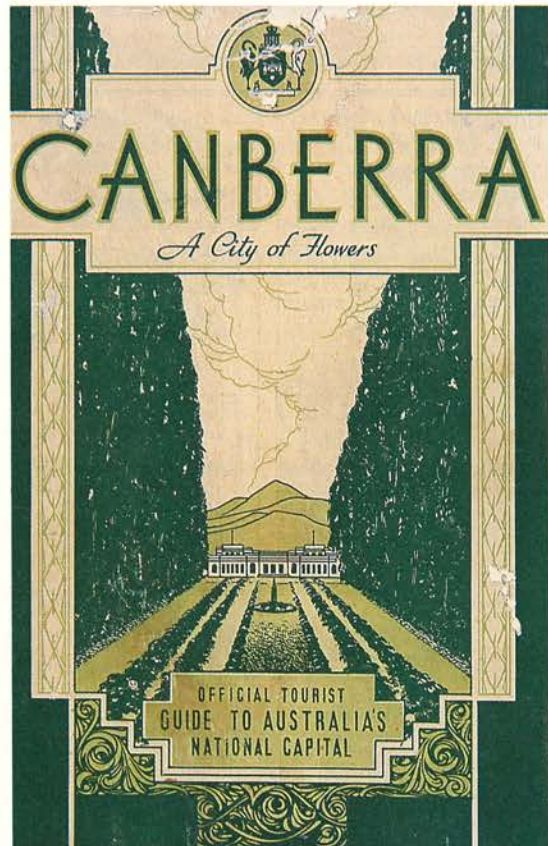
The establishment of the Territory was written into the Australian constitution. Section 125 required that the seat of government of the commonwealth should be determined by parliament within territory of not less than a hundred square miles granted to or acquired by the commonwealth in the state of NSW, not less than one hundred miles from Sydney. A further provision, that 'Parliament shall sit at Melbourne until it meet at the seat of Government' was intended as a short-lived consolation to Victorian claims to have Melbourne become the federal capital. It was the temporary capital for 26 years.

Section 125 was an uneasy compromise inserted in the draft bill for the constitution at a conference of state premiers in January 1899. The first constitutional referendum in June 1898 had failed in NSW because the location of the seat of government had been left to parliament to decide. Section 125 made the amended draft acceptable to a majority of the NSW electorate.

Assured that the federal territory would be in

NSW, the state government issued a royal commission in November 1899 to Alexander Oliver QC, president of the State Land Appeal Court, to report on suitable sites for the seat of government. From 45 sites nominated by federal capital leagues throughout the state Oliver recommended three localities. His first was a tract of 1200 square miles of the southern Monaro (Bombala), extending south to the Victorian border and midway between Sydney and Melbourne. It would have needed over 200 miles of new state railways. He gave equal second place to the Yass Territory, 950 square miles between Yass and Queanbeyan, and to a tract of 883 square miles at Orange—Canobolas.

Oliver's report was tabled in the NSW parliament in October 1900, ready for the first session of the yet-to-be-elected commonwealth parliament. In April 1901 the premier transmitted the report to the first prime minister, Barton, and in September sent a further report on a fourth site, Tumut. Apart from a general acceptance of Oliver's recommendation that 'the acquisition of a territory very much larger than the minimum area [100 square miles] will . . . prove of inestimable benefit', the new parliament paid scant regard to his report. In 1902 parties of senators and



The makers of Canberra, starved of resources to put up buildings suitable for a national capital, recommended it to tourists in 1938 as 'a city of flowers'.

BOOROWA PRODUCTIONS

members toured by coach and train to inspect numerous sites in drought-stricken NSW. At the end of the year a Capital Sites Enquiry Board, headed by John Kirkpatrick, a Sydney architect, was appointed (and later given a royal commission) to report on eight sites, later to become nine with the addition of Dalgety. The search was not for a federal territory but for a 'seat of government', which they assumed would require an area of two and a half miles square for an ultimate maximum population of 50 000. The commission made no recommendations but ranked the sites for each of a number of characteristics. By this assessment Albury and Tumut should have been the favoured sites.

In a series of elimination ballots in October 1903 the House of Representatives voted for Tumut and the Senate for Bombala, but the issue was not resolved before parliament was prorogued. The new parliament, in August 1904, finally enacted the Seat of Government Act which said that the seat of government should be within a radius of seventeen miles of Dalgety and within a territory of not less than 900 square miles. It raised a storm of protest in NSW.

The Carruthers government considered that Dalgety was too remote and inaccessible, too far beyond the 100-mile limit, and asked that the high court be invited to interpret the true intent of section 125 of the constitution. Carruthers also set in train investigations of the Canberra district, described as Yass—Lake George, for which his government had expressed its preference. Carruthers' successor in 1907, Premier Wade, pursued the idea with Prime Minister Deakin.

The whole question was thrown open again when Deakin introduced a bill to 'determine more definitely the seat of government of the Commonwealth in the neighbourhood of Dalgety' in April 1908. In another series of elimination ballots in the House of Representatives in October 1908 the Canberra site was included but dropped in an early round; finally Yass—Canberra won with 39 votes against Dalgety with thirty-one. The Senate ballot in the following month was equally divided, with 18 votes each for Yass—Canberra and Tumut until a Victorian senator changed sides in favour of Yass—Canberra.

The Seat of Government Act of 1908 settled on the district of Yass—Canberra as the site for a territory of not less than nine hundred square miles 'with access to the sea', which, it was understood, would be at Jervis Bay. The act also provided that compensation for any freehold land acquired by the commonwealth should not exceed the 1908 value.

Surveys by the state surveyor R.C. Scrivener fixed a 12-square-mile site for the capital astride the floodplain of the Molonglo River in the Canberra valley and delineated the area suitable for the impounding of 'ornamental waters' within the city site. The proposed territory extended southwest across the Murrumbidgee to embrace the catchment of the Cotter River (for the city's water supply) and to the southeast embracing the entire catchments of Molonglo and Queanbeyan rivers (including the town of Quean-

beyan—population 1500) to the southeast, an area of some 900 square miles. (See 'Canberra—the nation's capital' and map in *Australians: a historical atlas*.) The government of NSW refused to cede the 465 square miles of the Molonglo and Queanbeyan catchments lying, with Queanbeyan, to the west of the Goulburn—Cooma railway line but agreed that the catchments should be protected. To compensate and to avoid amending the Seat of Government Act's provision of 'not less than 900 square miles', the territory boundary was brought south of the city site to extend several miles up the Murrumbidgee and include the catchments of its tributaries, the Naas and Gudgenby rivers.

These boundary changes made for reasons of expediency had unforeseen advantages. The extension of the territory south of the city site was required in the 1970s to accommodate Canberra's third urban district of Tuggeranong for a population of 90 000, and the greater part of the river catchments became the Namadgi National Park in the 1980s. An area of 940 square kilometres, the park occupies more than one-third of the Territory and adjoins the Kosciuszko National Park in NSW, forming part of the Australian Alpine Park System.

The Commonwealth Seat of Government Acceptance Act of 1909 and the New South Wales Seat of Government Surrender Act 1909 ratified the agreement reached between the two governments including paramount rights of the commonwealth over the waters of the Molonglo and Queanbeyan rivers. Negotiations with the government of NSW to obtain full territorial rights over the catchments continued for several years without success. A further provision, the right to use the waters of the Snowy River 'for the generation of electricity for the purposes of the Territory' paved the way for the Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Scheme in the 1940s.

The Seat of Government Administration Act 1910 adopted the NSW legislation as the laws of the Territory unless superseded by other legislation of the commonwealth and included a most important provision 'that no Crown lands in the Territory shall be sold or disposed of for any estate of freehold', this confirmed of a principle that had been raised at the constitutional convention, enunciated by the first prime minister, Edmund Barton, and advocated without dissent in successive parliaments.

The Territory for the Seat of Government was proclaimed on 1 January 1911 and Territory Ordinance No 1, For the Provisional Government of the Territory, provided that the laws and law enforcement provisions of NSW should apply in the Territory as though it 'continued to form part of the state'. But the responsible minister, the fustian clown King O'Malley, a stern opponent of 'stagger juice', added a further provision: 'No licence to sell intoxicating liquor in the Territory shall be granted; and no such licence existing . . . shall be removed to other premises . . .' The only licensed premises in the Territory was The Cricketers' Arms, many miles from the city site along the road to Yass. Thousands of workmen



One of the entries in the Federal Capital Design Competition launched by the Commonwealth Parliament in 1911. Australian and British institutes of architects placed a boycott on the competition.

NATIONAL LIBRARY

and the first permanent residents had to rely on the only slightly less remote public houses of Queanbeyan until 1928, after parliament had moved in and prohibition was quickly lifted.

Starting in 1950 with a resident magistrate, the court system in the Territory, with the establishment of a supreme court in 1934, eventually became independent of the state. Much of the body of law of NSW—as at 1 January 1911—was superseded by commonwealth legislation and Territory ordinances, mostly concerned with matters of administration. Civil and criminal law for the Territory continued to rely, in large measure, on the state legal system as in force in 1911, although that system, by repeal and amendment, has since been kept up to date. NSW had itself adopted the imperial body of law extant in 1828, and much of this, although repealed in NSW, has remained fossilised in the Territory. An ACT reform commission established in 1971 has had minimal success in removing antiquities from the laws governing the Territory.

In 1911, when the Territory came under commonwealth sovereignty, the prospects of creating a new national capital fired the fertile imagination of the minister responsible for Home Affairs, King O'Malley. The officers of the works branch of his department looked forward to undertaking the commonwealth's greatest works project, but the priority tasks were the acquisition of the city site, rabbit eradication, re-afforestation and the arrest of soil erosion of the drought-stricken lands. The reafforestation work was extended over the years to a vigorous planting program which transformed the naturally treeless Canberra valley, creating a richly landscaped setting for the national capital.

Almost half the lands of the Territory, over 1000 square kilometres, mainly in the hilly to mountainous uplands to the south and west, were crown lands ceded to the commonwealth by the state. The freehold grazing properties had to be acquired and a start was made on those in and around the city site. The historic homestead and property of Duntroon had already been leased in 1910 in anticipation. The Royal Military College started there in 1911, the first official commonwealth institution to establish in the Territory. The second was the Commonwealth Solar Observatory at Mount Stromlo later in the year.

An international competition for the design of the federal capital was won by Walter Burley Griffin in 1912 but his design was set aside in favour of a plan prepared by a departmental board which, although adopted by the Fisher government on the recommendation of King O'Malley, was widely condemned as unsuitable. It was nevertheless the adopted plan when, on 12 March 1913, O'Malley arranged a glittering ceremony on Capital Hill (then known as Kurrajong) for the official naming of the national capital by Lady Denman, wife of the governor-general.

A new minister, William H. Kelly, responding to substantial criticism of what became known as the board's plan, had the Cook government invite Griffin to Australia. In October 1913 he was appointed federal capital director of design and construction. But the outbreak of war and continuing disputes, which led to a prolonged but fruitless royal commission into the administration of the federal capital in 1916–17, delayed progress. By 1920 when the Hughes government was being pressed to observe the constitutional requirement to establish a federal capital in the Territory, it had become apparent that Griffin had neither

the training nor the temperament to administer the program of works needed.

A Federal Capital Advisory Committee, set up under the chairmanship of (Sir) John Sulman, on which Griffin refused to serve, succeeded in launching a program of works including a provisional parliament house. In 1925 the job was taken over by a federal capital commissioner, (Sir) John Butters, who succeeded in making ready for the opening of parliament on 9 May 1927, 26 years after the opening of the first parliament in Melbourne. With public servants and their families transferred from Melbourne, the resident population in Canberra's widely scattered incipient suburbs soon numbered about 7000.

The Depression put an end to Sir John Butters' Federal Capital Commission and to further progress in the building of the national capital. The constitutional requirement for the seat of government had been met and the governor-general was in residence. The former seat of one of the more substantial grazing properties, Yarralumla, became what proved to be the permanent Government House.

Makeshift provisions were made to meet the needs of commonwealth administration in the post-Depression years and increasingly so during World War II and the postwar years. Temporary buildings for both housing and offices proliferated. The early visions were submerged in expediency until, in 1955, when the population was approaching 35 000, a Senate select committee, contemplating the haphazard development sitting within fragments of Water Burley Griffin's grand design, described the scene 'not as monumental regions symbolising the character of a national capital but more as graveyards where departed spirits await a resurrection of national pride'.

The Menzies government responded with the establishment of the National Capital Development Commission in 1958, charged with the responsibility for the 'planning, construction and development of the City of Canberra as the National Capital' and provided a flow of funds appropriate to the purpose. The immediate task was to take up a program of transferring central offices of the commonwealth administration that had remained (and flourished) in the temporary capital, Melbourne. This required not only government office buildings but the construction of new fully equipped residential areas, with what the commission described as 'normal basic community requirements', accounting for most of construction expenditure.

A third category 'national works', while accounting for only about 5 per cent of the annual budget, transformed the central areas. Lake Burley Griffin, spanned by two handsome bridges, was completed in 1964 and the 'monumental regions' which the Senate committee had viewed with dismay ten years before began to fulfil their promise. The population reached the 75 000 contemplated in Griffin's plan and began to occupy new urban districts in the adjoining valleys. Growth continued at unprecedented rates. In the 1970s the acquisition of the remaining 400 square kilometres of freehold land was resumed, but the

early ambitions for the raising of revenues from the rental of privately occupied leasehold land was abandoned. The Gorton government, in a misguided effort to win a by-election for the solitary ACT seat in the House of Representatives, promised to abolish land rents. The commonwealth relinquished its equity rights in—and the future revenues from—land valued in 1971 at \$230 million.

Political representation for the disenfranchised Territory population became a lively concern of the permanent inhabitants, acrimoniously resentful of the omnipotence of the Butters' Federal Capital Commission. When the commission was wound up in 1930 and the Territory came under the divided responsibility of several departments, the first advisory council of seven members, three elected, four nominated by the government, was established as a stopgap until a better system of representation could be devised. The advisory council lasted for 44 years; the only changes were an increase in numbers, to five elected members in 1952 and later eight.

None of the innumerable debates on self-government offered satisfactory answers to the difficulties of reconciling local independence and responsibility with the requirements of, and the responsibilities attaching to, the commonwealth seat of government. But in anticipation of ACT self-rule the Whitlam government in 1974 replaced the advisory council with a wholly elected 18-member legislative assembly with a wide spread of political affiliations, from two newly created federal electorates. Later in the year the new electorates returned for the Territory two members to the House of Representatives and two first senators for the Territory were elected to new seats in the Senate.

These moves apparently assuaged whatever thirst there was for self-government. At a referendum in 1978, 63 per cent voted for the status quo. The government acknowledged this rebuff to the legislative assembly by renaming it the house of assembly. The Hawke government in 1985 refused to accept this democratic rejection of self-rule and introduced a bill for the progressive enlargement of the powers of a legislative assembly of thirteen members from single-member electorates. There was strong protest and the bill was amended to allow for some members to be elected by proportional representation from the electorate at large. The Democrats in the Senate, supported by the Opposition, insisted on proportional representation in all electorates and the government abandoned the bill. The house of assembly met for the last time in June 1986 and the minister for the Territory announced that self-rule for the ACT was 'years off'.

PETER HARRISON

Further reading: R. Atkins, *The government of the Australian Capital Territory*, St Lucia 1978; K.F. Fischer, *Canberra: myths and models: forces at work in the formation of the Australian capital*, Hamburg 1984; R. Pegrum, *The bush capital: how Australia chose Canberra as its federal city*, Sydney 1983; F. Watson, *A brief history of Canberra*, Canberra 1927. L. Wigmore, *The long view*, Melbourne 1972 (1963).

AUSTRALIAN COLONIES GOVERNMENT ACT

This 1850 act of the British parliament came about as a result of an inquiry by the Privy Council's Committee on Trade and Plantations, which, in response to petitions from Australia, had considered means of improving government in Australia. The act aroused resentment in Australia, as some thought it would continue the overriding control of the British government; but in practice it provided the basis for the development of self-government in the Australian colonies. It gave the NSW Legislative Council increased powers, and granted representative government to SA, Van Diemen's Land (Tas) and the Port Phillip district, which was separated from NSW and renamed Victoria. Provision was also made for the penal colony of WA eventually to have representative government. The act enabled the colonies' legislative council to become one-third nominated and two-thirds elected; it broadened the franchise by reducing the property qualification to £100 or occupancy of a house worth £10; and it empowered the legislative councils to establish new bicameral legislatures. It thus gave the task of initiating further constitutional change to the colonies, which then promptly moved to take advantage of its provisions. As a result, responsible bicameral parliamentary government was introduced in Vic at the end of 1855, in NSW, Tas and

SA during 1856, in Qld (which separated from NSW in 1859) in 1860 and in WA in 1890.

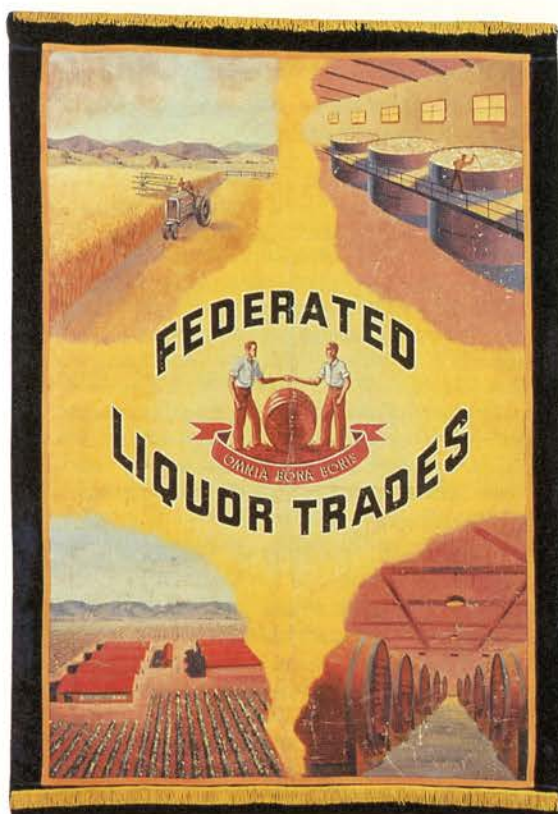
AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS (ACTU)

the body co-ordinating Australia's trade unions, was set up in 1927 to be the national voice of the union movement. It then consisted of a small executive and two delegates from each of the trades and labour or trades hall councils that co-ordinate union activity at the state level, but delegates from the six main industrial groups among the affiliated unions were added later (1957). Some unions would not at first affiliate, notably the Australian Workers' Union, then the nation's biggest, which did not affiliate until 1967; and the union movement in WA did not affiliate until 1962. This, and ideological conflicts within the leadership of affiliated unions, weakened the ACTU in its early decades. However, the ACTU came into national prominence and gained in strength by representing the union movement effectively in wage cases before the Commonwealth Arbitration Commission, and by intervening to help settle industrial disputes that affected wide sections of the community through disruptions to essential public services. Its two presidents in the three decades from the late 1940s, A.E. Monk (1949-69) and R.J.L. Hawke (1969-80), helped bring it power and prestige, and became national figures. Mergers with the major groupings of white-collar unions, the Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Associations (1979) and the Council of Commonwealth Public Service Organisations (1981), also strengthened the ACTU greatly. In this period, too, the ACTU broadened the scope of its activities, taking action on public issues such as apartheid in South Africa and French nuclear testing in the Pacific.

Further reading J. Hagan, *The ACTU: a short history*, Sydney 1977.

AUSTRALIAN DEMOCRATS This centrist political party was formed in May 1977 by a former federal Liberal minister, D.L. Chipp, shortly after he had resigned from the Liberal party. It set up branches in all states, and by the end of that year was claiming 8000 members, many of them from other 'middle ground' minority parties. In the December 1977 elections two of its candidates, Chipp (Vic) and Colin Mason (NSW), were elected to the Senate. Standing firmly against nuclear arms and the uranium industry in particular, the party increased its representation progressively in subsequent federal elections. With seven senators elected in December 1984 (but still no members in the House of Representatives), the party continued to hold the balance of Senate power it had succeeded in capturing in March 1983.

AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION LEAGUES campaigned for the early federation of the Australian colonies, and for related causes like free-trade between the future states and federal control of tariffs and principal railway routes. The first leagues formed in Corowa and Albury in 1893, followed by leagues in Sydney (1893), in Melbourne, Bendigo, Ballarat and other Victorian towns (1894), in Adelaide (1895),



The Federated Liquor and Allied Industries Employees' Union of Australia was founded in 1910 and affiliated with the ACTU on a state basis in 1927 and on a federal basis in 1955.



AIF reinforcements leaving Port Melbourne on the Ajana in July 1916. Streamers were thrown from shore to ship as a last contact. Gradually they broke as the ship pulled away.

AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL

Brisbane (1898) and Auckland, New Zealand (1899). The leagues conducted rallies to convert those who doubted the benefits of federation, stirring up patriotic feeling with rousing songs and poems. They also organised combined conferences which passed resolutions to push colonial parliaments towards federation.

AUSTRALIAN FLYING CORPS Australian military aviation began shortly before World War I with the establishment of a flying school at Point Cook (Vic). In 1915 a small flying unit was sent to join British forces in Mesopotamia, and a flying corps was raised as part of the AIF. Four Australian Flying Corps squadrons saw action, No 1 in Sinai and Palestine and Nos 2, 3 and 4 on the western front. Its pilots and mechanics formed the core of the Royal Australian Air Force, created in 1921.

AUSTRALIAN GAS LIGHT COMPANY Australia's first gas company was floated in Sydney in 1836 by Ralph Mansfield. Legislation authorising the laying of pipes under the streets was passed in 1837, and construction of gasworks with equipment imported from England began in 1839. Supply began on 24 May 1841, serving 181 private subscribers and eight hotels. Sydney's streets were also lit by gas, replacing earlier oil lamps. Production was transferred pro-

gressively from the original Darling Harbour site to suburban Mortlake from 1886. The company has maintained a supply monopoly over most of metropolitan Sydney. Natural gas from Moomba, SA, was first used in Sydney in 1976, and local manufacturing plants have closed as a result. Under the company's constitution individual shareholdings were limited to 2 per cent of the total, a condition which aroused controversy in 1986 when it was revealed that one shareholder had managed to acquire substantially more than that amount.

AUSTRALIAN IMPERIAL FORCE, FIRST Formed at the outbreak of World War I, the first Australian Imperial Force (AIF) was the major Australian military contribution to the war. Composed of volunteers for active service overseas, it was devised by Brig-Gen W.T. Bridges and Maj C.B.B. White because the home defence force formed under the so-called 'Kitchener' scheme consisted of young men not yet ready for active service.

Enlistment opened on 8 August 1914 and the first quota of 20 000 was quickly filled. Despite a British request for brigades which could be integrated into British formations, the AIF was organised into a division (later expanded to five infantry divisions) plus five light horse brigades, the Australian Flying Corps

and the Australian Army Nursing Service. A second division was raised in 1915, a third in 1916 while the 4th and 5th were formed from the 1st and 2nd after the Gallipoli campaign.

Over 330 000 men embarked overseas with the AIF, about one-fifth of whom were recruited from country districts. The AIF served in Egypt, Gallipoli, Sinai, Palestine, Britain, and on the western front in France and Belgium. Almost half of those who served were wounded and 59 000 died on active service.

AUSTRALIAN IMPERIAL FORCE, SECOND In October 1939 when the Australian government decided to raise a volunteer force for service overseas, a second Australian Imperial Force (AIF) was formed, on the model of the first AIF.

Its first division (numbered the 6th to follow the five militia divisions which had inherited the first AIF's traditions) embarked for the Middle East in January 1940. The 7th Division was raised in April, and the 8th and 9th (which were formed overseas from odd units already raised) later in 1940. The second AIF served in Britain, Palestine, North Africa, Syria, Lebanon, Greece and Crete in the European and Mediterranean theatres of war, and in Malaya and Singapore, the Netherlands East Indies, Papua, New Guinea, Borneo and the Solomon Islands in the south-west Pacific theatre.

Over 690 000 men and 35 000 women enlisted in the second AIF. It fought as part of British formations in the Mediterranean campaigns and served with Australian militia divisions in the Pacific.

AUSTRALIAN INLAND MISSION Established by the Presbyterian Church of Australia in 1912 to provide for the medical, social and spiritual needs of those living in isolation in outback Australia. The first superintendent of the mission was John Flynn, who remained in charge until his death in 1951. The Mission established a Flying Doctor Service in 1928 to bring medical help to isolated patients.

AUSTRALIAN JOCKEY CLUB The Australian Jockey Club (AJC) conducts racing at Randwick and Warwick Farm racecourses in Sydney, with major carnivals each spring and autumn. It was established in 1842, and held races at Homebush before moving to Randwick in 1860. The club's pre-eminence stems from its early revision of the rules of racing to suit Australian conditions, and its careful regulation of all aspects of racing.

AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY The Australian Labor Party is Australia's oldest political party and the only one which, despite two major and several minor splits, has continued to exist throughout the last ninety years. It was founded in NSW in 1891 by trade unionists who hoped to gain through parliamentary action those advances which they had failed to win by strike action. Trade unions have remained an integral part of the party and some unionists still regard it simply as the political wing of the broader labour movement.

The party spread through all states within twenty

years, with a minority Labor government, lasting a week, being formed in Qld in 1899. By 1912 the party had held office (in some cases without a majority) in every state. The federal party, formed when the commonwealth parliament first met in 1901, won a majority in both houses in 1910.

The party's organisation is federal in structure. Each state has its own branch, made up of local area branches and affiliated unions. State policy is determined by an annual state conference; decisions between conferences are made by the state executive. The parliamentary party, known as the caucus, elects the party leader, provides the pool from which ministers are elected and, when in power, governs, theoretically within the limits set by conference.

The federal party is a coalition of state branches. The national conference, originally made up of six delegates from each branch, now includes one hundred delegates. Each state's representation is based on the size of its population. The four leaders of the federal party and the six state parliamentary leaders are *ex officio* delegates. The national conference is the supreme policy-making authority and the final court of appeal for disputes. Between biennial conferences, the national executive (made up of two delegates from each state, one from each territory and the four leaders) has the power, within the constraints of the party policy, to do whatever it regards as necessary for the general welfare of the party. It can dismiss and disband state branches where it sees this as necessary to improve the party's electoral chances, and has done so. The federal caucus elects its leader and when in government determines the order in which the policy issues will be put into effect.

Three basic principles underlie Labor organisations. In the belief that the rank and file ought to participate in decision-making, all delegates are elected; they have to face regular re-election; and they are bound to support all party decisions reached by a majority vote. Accountability and majority rule are accepted as essential.

Inevitably the system does not always work smoothly. Branch-stacking, vote-rigging and the expulsion of members have all taken place. Policy, particularly after the mid-1960s, has been largely developed from above by the parliamentary leaders, rather than coming from the rank and file. Conference often accepts the government's policy, rather than dictating policy to the government. The principles of democratic participation remain, however.

History Around 1915 Labor's almost unbroken successes in the states and federally meant that it appeared to be the dominant party. But then came its first great split. In 1916 the prime minister, W.M. (Billy) Hughes, held a plebiscite to authorise the introduction of conscription for overseas military service. Many members of parliament and unions opposed the move. When the referendum was defeated, Hughes and his supporters walked out of the caucus before they could be expelled, and formed a separate National Labor government, supported by the conservative opposition. Labor remained in opposition

federally until 1929, when J.H. Scullin was elected prime minister just before the Wall Street crash. Without a majority in the Senate and without the economic knowledge to combat massive unemployment, the government floundered for two years. Several leading right-wing members, including Joe Lyons, joined the opposition, and finally a left-wing splinter group, owing allegiance to the NSW premier, Jack Lang, brought the government down.

The 1940s were Labor's greatest years. The party was led in wartime by John Curtin, and after his death in 1945 by Ben Chifley. Adopting Keynesian economics, it espoused full employment, large public works schemes like the Snowy Mountains Hydro Electric Scheme, a strategy of postwar reconstruction and an extensive (if exclusively white) immigration policy. However, Chifley's attempt to nationalise the banks was declared unconstitutional by the High Court; in 1949 he was forced to send in troops to end a coal strike; and he was finally defeated in that year by a country tired of regulation.

Between 1949 and 1972 Labor was out of office federally, a situation caused in part by a split in 1955 when the anti-communist Democratic Labor Party was formed. In 1972, running on the slogan, 'It's time', and promising electors equity in education, health and urban renewal, Gough Whitlam swept Labor to power. But unfavourable economic circumstances blurred his vision. Inflation and unemployment soared. A hostile Senate forced him to the polls in 1974; Whitlam was narrowly returned. When the opposition tried to unseat Labor in 1975, Whitlam refused to hold an election, and after a month of growing tension, his government was unexpectedly dismissed by the governor-general, and was easily defeated at the ensuing election.

Recovery for Labor—from 1977 to 1983 under Bill Hayden's leadership—was slow but steady. In 1983 Hayden was replaced by Bob Hawke in a coup on the day the election was called. Promising conciliation and consensus, Hawke won office—and was returned twenty months later.

Labor has been more successful at the state level. It was in power in Qld from 1915 to 1929 and from 1932 to 1957, when its leaders included T.J. Ryan, 'Red' Ted Theodore, and finally Vince Gair, who split the party in 1957—an event from which it has not yet recovered electorally. In NSW Jack Lang was a controversial premier from 1925 to 1927 and from 1930 to 1932, when he was dismissed by the governor. Labor regained office in 1941 and remained in power until 1965. Neville Wran led the party to victory in 1976. The party was less successful in Vic, where its only two majority premiers were John Cain (1945–47; 1952–55), and his son, also John Cain (1982–). In SA the party was mainly in opposition until the dominance of Don Dunstan (premier 1967–68 and 1970–79) changed the state's political image. The party enjoyed long periods in office in Tas (1939–69 and 1972–82). In WA Labor governments ruled for extended but spasmodic periods, 1924–30, 1933–47, 1953–57, 1971–74 and from 1983.

By the mid-1980s the Labor party was enjoying an unusual period of hegemony nationally, being in government federally and in NSW, Vic, SA and WA.

Ideology Labor is often said to be a socialist party. Andrew Fisher in 1908 claimed 'we are all socialists now'. Other observers referred to the ALP's policies as 'socialism without doctrine'. In practice the party's ideology has always been complex. In 1921 its objective was 'the socialisation of industry, production, distribution and exchange', but the same conference added the 'Blackburn interpretation' which limited it to 'the extent necessary to prevent monopolies'. Such tension between ideological purity and pragmatism has always existed.

Labor has always been a parliamentary evolutionary party; it was never committed to revolution. At least three ideological strands can be seen. The left of the party, with its most vocal supporters usually in Vic, wants a radical redistribution of wealth, widespread nationalisation and intervention in the economy. The right, represented often in the long-serving governments in Qld and NSW, is usually pragmatic, electorally-oriented and socially conservative. In the middle is a group (now called the centre left) which believes in the idea of 'the light on the hill' that was Chifley's inspiration; it wants change and equity to be introduced, but within the context of careful economic management. Juggling for position within the party by these three groups is continuous. Factions have become institutionalised, and now dominate the party's internal affairs.

PATRICK WELLER

Further reading L.F. Crisp, *The Australian federal Labor Party; 1901–1951*, London 1958 (1955); P. Kelly, *The Hawke ascendancy*, Sydney 1983; R. Murray, *The split: Australian Labor in the fifties*, Melbourne 1970; P. Weller (ed), *Caucus minutes 1901–1949*, Melbourne 1975; P. Weller and B. Lloyd (eds), *Federal executive minutes 1915–1955*, Melbourne 1978.

AUSTRALIAN LEGEND was a term used by Russel Ward in his book of the same name (Melbourne 1958, 3rd edition 1978), to analyse the Australian mystique. He identified national characteristics: mateship, independence, egalitarianism, adaptability, anti-authoritarianism and secularism, and traced them back through the pastoral workers to the convicts, stressing the contribution of the Irish and the native born. Critics have argued that the influence of factors such as cities, capitalism, free settlement and women has been underplayed; Ward has replied by reiterating the difference between the mystique and the reality.

AUSTRALIAN MUSEUM Originally established in 1827 as the Colonial Museum, the Australian Museum in Sydney was Australia's first museum. One of the world's best natural history museums, its collections and research span the fields of geology, anthropology, palaeontology and natural sciences. Its museum education service, set up in 1946, is the oldest in an Australian museum.

AUSTRALIAN MUTUAL PROVIDENT SOCIETY, established in 1849, is now Australia's largest life insurance office founded on the mutual principle. Its aim was to encourage low-income earners to make voluntary provision for their old age and for their dependents. Representatives of the society were appointed throughout NSW, in Port Phillip, in New Zealand (1854) and in London (1908). The society was granted an Act of Incorporation in 1857.

Prior to 1950, the society restricted its business to life insurance, but later began to diversify its activities: it underwrote non-life insurance through a subsidiary company, entered the short-term money market and made large-scale equity investments in industrial and commercial companies and in real property. In 1981 it held Australia's largest share portfolio spread through most sectors of commerce and industry, and owned extensive property including many office, retail and industrial buildings. It was granted a banking licence in 1986.

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL AIRWAYS Two companies have used the name Australian National Airways. The first was formed by Sir Charles Kingsford Smith and C.T.P. Ulm in 1929, using Avro X aircraft similar to the 'Flying Cross'. The depression, and the loss of 'Southern Cloud' on 21 March 1931, caused ANA to cease regular flights in June that year.

The second Australian National Airways, with no connection to the first, was formed in 1936 by the merger of Holyman Airways, which had introduced DC2 aircraft to Australia, with Adelaide Airways and West Australian Airways, founded in 1920. Airlines of Australia, which introduced the DC3, was absorbed in 1942. From 1946 to 1948, ANA flew the Pacific route under charter to British Commonwealth Pacific Airways. Competition from Trans Australia Airlines (TAA), and some poor investment decisions, caused financial difficulties, and in 1957 the airline was taken over by Ansett Transport Industries, becoming Ansett-ANA. J.D. WALKER

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL LINE is a commonwealth-owned shipping line conducted by the Australian Coastal Shipping Commission, a body set up in 1956 (replacing the earlier Australian Shipping Board). ANL began with a fleet of 44 government ships taken over from the previous board, but soon commissioned the construction of new vessels employing modern techniques like roll-on/roll-off transportation and containerisation. The first of these was the *Princess of Tasmania*, which went into service on the Melbourne-Devonport run in 1959. ANL extended its operations to the trade with Japan and Europe in 1969, to New Zealand and North America in 1972, and to the Philippines, South Korea and Hong Kong in 1975. By 1985 the ANL fleet had 27 ships, ten of which were chartered from other firms.

AUSTRALIAN NATIVES' ASSOCIATION The Victorian Natives' Association originated in Melbourne in 1871 as a friendly society paying hospital, medical and funeral benefits to subscribers, who had to be Victorian-born males over the age of sixteen. In

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL AIRWAYS

FLIGHT 106

R M A KATTANA DATE 29/3/51

TRIP MELBOURNE TO SYDNEY

OUR POSITION WILL BE PASSING
AT 4.04 PM WRS CANBERRA

OUR ALTITUDE
ABOVE SEA LEVEL IS 9000 FEET

OUR GROUND SPEED IS 254 mph
HEAD WIND TAIL WIND 30 mph

OUTSIDE TEMPERATURE
IS 42°F

WE WILL ARRIVE AT MASCOT
AT 4.55 PM on time

REMARKS Sydney weather - fine.

CAPTAIN Kae Kelly

FIRST OFFICER R. Jones / E. Jones

HOSTESS R. Highland

Please pass to next passenger

ANA flight log, 29 March 1951. In aircraft without intercom systems from cockpit to cabin, details of the flight were passed from passenger to passenger.

BOOROWA PRODUCTIONS

1872 it became the Australian Natives' Association (ANA), and offered membership to Australian-born males, theoretically including those from Australia's Pacific dependencies, Aborigines and New Zealanders. The ANA initially developed slowly, with the first branch outside Vic being formed at Charters Towers, Qld, in 1879. In the nationalistic fervour of the 1890s its membership increased markedly throughout the country, even though its parochialism was obvious.

As reflected in its early slogan, 'Advance Australia', the ANA promoted a consciousness of Australia. It favoured a Greater Australia incorporating New Guinea, the New Hebrides, and New Zealand, but supported imperial ties if Australia benefited. The ANA strongly supported the federation movement. A proposal frequently made at its national congresses, that Foundation Day, 26 January, be officially and uniformly celebrated as Australia Day, was not adopted until 1935. Among other nationalist causes, the ANA promoted the maintenance of the White Australia policy, the establishment of a national defence system with a citizens' military force and a navy, the unification of railway networks, the introduction of decimal currency, the welfare of Aborigines, mothers and infants, and the encourage-

ment of Australian art and literature. Though it had argued for women's suffrage in the nineteenth century, it was not until 1964 that its merger with the Australasian Women's Association enabled women to become ANA members.

Many prominent Australians have been members, including Sir Isaac Isaacs, and prime ministers Barton, Deakin, Scullin, Bruce, Menzies and Holt. Although the ANA earned a name for strident nationalism, its fundamental welfare work continued, and in the decades following World War II it took on additional insurance and building society operations.

Further reading J.E. Menadue, *A centenary history of the Australian Natives' Association 1871-1971*, Melbourne 1971; B.C. Fitzpatrick, *Australian Natives' Association 1871-1961*, Melbourne 1961.

AUSTRALIAN PATRIOTIC ASSOCIATION

Formed in Sydney on 29 May 1835, the Australian Patriotic Association resulted from widespread agreement among colonists that the time was ripe for an elected legislature in NSW. Some leading members saw the association itself as an embryonic 'house of assembly' in which formal debates would be carried on, and votes taken on political issues for submission to the executive government. The association agreed on two alternative plans for reform, one of which seems to have been used by the British authorities in devising the constitution of 1842. Because of defec-

tions, apathy and internal quarrels no meetings were held after 1838, though statements continued to emanate from the ruling committee as late as 1840.

ALAN ATKINSON

AUSTRALIAN RAILWAYS UNION The major state railway unions were amalgamated into the ARU in 1920. Prior to this, railway workers had a stormy history, resulting in a Railway Strikes Suppression Act in Vic, 1903. The Amalgamated Railway and Tramway Service Association started the NSW general strike of 1917, and was virtually destroyed by the defeat. The ARU had over 43 000 members in 1985.

AUSTRALIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY The Australian branch of the Red Cross is a member of the International Red Cross, the organisation of societies founded following the first Geneva Convention in 1863 to embody the humanitarian ideals of Henri Dunant. The Red Cross was not formally established in Australia as a discrete organisation until early in World War I, promoted by Lady Munro-Ferguson, the wife of the then governor-general. With such patronage and the support of each of the state governors' wives, the Red Cross quickly gained prominence. Local Red Cross groups raised large sums of money to provide 'comforts' for the AIF abroad, and hospitals were staffed for the returning war wounded.

The Australian branch became independent of the British Red Cross in 1927, and was incorporated by



Agony and ecstasy at an Australian Rules game in Melbourne, 6 May 1950.

MAGAZINE PROMOTIONS

royal charter in 1941. During World War II the Australian Red Cross organised comforts and correspondence for many thousands of Australian prisoners of war. Since its early days as a wartime relief agency it has developed numerous other functions, the best known of which is its blood transfusion service. Others include disaster relief, care of the aged and disabled, overseas aid, service to refugees, and training the public in first aid and home nursing. The society is a federal body consisting of eight state and territory divisions, with national headquarters in Melbourne. By 1985 it had over 300 000 members in Australia.

AUSTRALIAN RULES is the only mass spectator sport developed in Australia to suit Australian conditions. The game emerged in Vic in 1858 to provide recreation for cricketers in the off-season. It had no connection with other versions of football games although observers have noted some similarities with Gaelic football. The ball may be kicked or punched, and when 'marked' (caught on the full after being kicked over 10 metres) the player holding the mark is entitled to a free kick. There is no offside rule. Australian Rules became the dominant code in all but two Rugby-playing states (NSW and Qld). The speed of the game and the spectacular skills, physical clashes and courage it displays, helped by aggressive marketing, have made it Australia's favourite winter sport.

AUSTRALIAN SECURITY INTELLIGENCE ORGANISATION (ASIO), a domestic counter-espionage agency, was created by the Chifley government in March 1949. Its statutory support came later, from the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation Act of 1956, introduced by the Menzies government. This empowered ASIO to gather and evaluate information relevant to the nation's security, and to communicate this to those deemed relevant by its director-general, who in turn reports to the attorney-general. In practice this has meant collecting information on individuals and organisations whose activities could pose a threat to national security. Further functions have been screening public servants who work with classified information, and advising government agencies on measures for protecting the security of personnel, documents and facilities. Its powers do not include those of enforcement, arrest or detention. Although responsible only for internal security, ASIO has developed fraternal links with its counterparts in allied nations, and maintains overseas liaison posts to deal with agencies such as MI5 in Britain and the US Federal Bureau of Investigation.

ASIO has been at the centre of several political controversies. Among these have been the ASIO role in the defection of the Soviet diplomat Vladimir Petrov in 1954, and a visit organised by Lionel Murphy, attorney-general in the Whitlam government, to ASIO's Melbourne headquarters in 1973 to obtain information he claimed ASIO had withheld from him. In 1983 the expulsion of a Soviet diplomat, Valery Ivanov, following ASIO's phone-tapping of a former Labor party general secretary, renewed allegations of political bias within the organisation.

As a result of its concern about ASIO, the Whitlam government in 1974 appointed Justice R.M. Hope as royal commissioner to investigate the intelligence services. His report in 1977 criticised aspects of ASIO's previous operations but reaffirmed the need for such an organisation. The report led the Fraser government in 1979 to enact legislation redefining ASIO's powers. In the wake of the Ivanov affair the Hawke government appointed Hope to carry out a further inquiry into security matters. While the second Hope report generally commented favourably on ASIO, the government in 1985 announced it would legislate to reinforce the organisation's accountability by requiring it to report to parliament, and would set up a parliamentary joint committee to oversee the intelligence services generally.

Further reading R. Hall, *The secret state: Australia's spy industry*, Sydney 1978; R. Walsh and G. Munster, *Secrets of state*, London 1982.

AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE was founded in Sydney in 1887 with W.H. McNamara and J.E. Anderton as co-secretaries. It was one of numerous socialist groups formed in the 1880s and 1890s as workers realised that the development of capitalism in Australia was bringing about an inequitable distribution of wealth. Influenced by various overseas socialist writers, its members espoused a confusing variety of sometimes conflicting doctrines; and it probably had fewer than 100 members at the most, drawn mainly from Sydney's inner suburbs, with small branches in Newcastle and Melbourne. It nevertheless provided a forum in which people later important in the labour movement learned socialist ideas: members included W.A. Holman (NSW premier 1913–20) and W.M. Hughes (prime minister 1915–23). When the Labor party formed in 1891 the league affiliated with it. Its idealistic but doctrinaire and sectarian brand of socialism was not well-accepted, however, and in 1898 it split from the party, which it believed was uninterested in restructuring society. It unsuccessfully stood six candidates for the Senate in 1901 under the name Socialist Labour Party, and in 1907 helped form the Socialist Federation of Australia, later the Australian Socialist Party, one of the groups that became the nucleus for the Communist Party of Australia in 1920. As such the league was a direct antecedent of the groups and factions which later made up the left wing of the Australian labour movement.

Further reading R. Gollan, *Radical and working class politics: a study of eastern Australia 1850–1910*, Melbourne 1960.

AUSTRALIAN TEACHERS' FEDERATION The ATF was formed in 1922 and functions as a professional association. Of the state affiliates the NSW Teachers' Federation and the Victorian Secondary Teachers' Association are the most militant and since the mid-1960s have engaged in strikes to win their demands. The ATF has been affiliated with the ACTU since 1979 and has 154 000 members.

Further reading B. Bessant and A.D. Spaul, *Teachers in conflict*, Melbourne 1972.

AUSTRALIAN WOMEN'S WEEKLY Founded by Frank Packer and E.G. Theodore, the *Women's weekly* first appeared in 1933 in Sydney and soon became available in all states. The *Weekly* was a women's magazine examining a wide variety of issues while not ignoring traditional 'women's interests', such as homemaking and cooking. Widely read by men as well as women, it established the base for the expansion of Australian Consolidated Press, now one of Australia's largest media empires. Eventually television and more age-specific magazines eroded the *Weekly's* market. In 1982 the *Weekly* began to be published monthly.

AUSTRALIAN WORKERS' UNION (AWU) was formed in 1894 by amalgamation of the Amalgamated Shearers' Union and the General Labourers' Union. The ASU was the second union of labourers founded in Australia and was generally a powerful enforcer of hard-won conditions, although it was defeated in 1893-94. The AWU aimed to embrace all workers within its ranks and so blocked attempts to establish the One Big Union and was even suspicious of the ACTU, with which it did not affiliate until 1967. The AWU has been a conservative force in the Australian labour movement, failing to support various strikes such as the 1917 general strike in NSW. With the decline of the industries it covers, the influence of the AWU has also waned although it still had over 120 000 members in 1985.

AUSTRALIND In 1840 the Western Australia Company was established to solve Western Australia's labour shortage by encouraging immigration through a new colonisation scheme. Land was sold in London to small farmers, and a town site, Australind, near the present site of Bunbury, was laid out. It was never completed. The first settlers arrived in March 1841 but by 1842 immigration had ceased. The scheme collapsed because of insufficient funds and the unsuitability of the area for settlement.

AUTOMOBILE ASSOCIATIONS, representing motorists' interests, developed in every state during the first decade of this century. The Automobile Club of Australia (later 'Royal') formed in Sydney in March 1903. At first the automobile associations staged motor rallies, but soon their principal concern was to lobby for better road facilities, higher speed limits and more favourable conditions for licensing drivers and registering vehicles.

The National Roads and Motorists Association of NSW, now the largest such body (1 781 000 members in 1985), was established in 1923 to fight for better roads, but soon developed into a statewide agency offering emergency roadside mechanical services to members, a function motorists' organisations in other states also adopted. Further services included tourist and accommodation information, vehicle inspection, legal advice, finance, insurance, and reciprocal entitlements to service for members of interstate and overseas sister bodies.

A federal organisation, the Australian Automobile Association, formed in 1924 to link state groups and

to press for a uniform traffic code and an extended federal road scheme. Later, as traffic accidents became a major cause of death, federal and state bodies pushed for road safety campaigns, as a result of which the National Road Safety Council was formed in 1947. By 1985 total membership of bodies affiliated with the AAA exceeded 4 160 000.

AVIATION, COMMERCIAL Commercial aviation did not become significant until after the rapid technical development and increased interest generated by World War I, although some passengers and airmail had been carried earlier. Many aviation companies resulted from the enthusiasm, often misplaced, of returning wartime pilots. The first paying passenger was carried from Sydney to Melbourne and return in 1920. Queensland and Northern Territory Aerial Services Ltd (Qantas) was established in November 1920 to operate commercial flights, but Western Australian Airways, although founded some nine months later, was first to begin operations with a scheduled air service between Geraldton and Derby from December 1921. Qantas began operating the Charleville-Cloncurry route in November 1922. Australian Aerial Services Ltd was the third important pioneering company, operating in the southeast and linking Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney and Broken Hill. This early phase of development in commercial aviation was over by the late 1920s when further expansion was largely curtailed during the Depression. Australian National Airways Ltd (ANA), however, was established in 1929 by Kingsford Smith and Ulm. Within a short time a daily Sydney-Melbourne service and a Melbourne-Hobart service were operated by Avro Ten airlines. Australia's first major civil air disaster, the disappearance of the *Southern Cloud* over the Snowy Mountains, caused ANA to suspend operations in June 1931. The company ceased operations in 1932.

The first airmail service from Australia to England began in April 1931. Qantas Empire Airways was formed in 1934 to carry airmail from Brisbane to Singapore as part of the Australian-England route: the first regular extended service by an Australian-registered aircraft was in early 1935. A service was operated by Short Empire flying boats based at Rose Bay, New South Wales, from mid-1935. Internal airlines also expanded rapidly in the mid to late 1930s. Holyman Airways, Adelaide Airways and Western Australian Airways merged in 1936 to revive the ANA company name: by 1939 it was the leading airline. New safety regulations and better navigational equipment came into being after 18 lives were lost in a crash on Mount Dandenong, Victoria, in 1938. Ansett Airways was founded in February 1936.

Many civil aircraft were pressed into military service during World War II. Furthermore, the airlines were invaluable in maintaining internal and external communications during the war years.

Rapid expansion marked the postwar years. Qantas Empire Airways concentrated increasingly on its overseas operations, later divesting itself of all internal routes. It was bought out by the Australian govern-



A view of Koombana Bay or Port Leschenault, Australind, Western Australia was published in London for the Western Australia Co in the early 1840s to attract immigrants to the new colony. By the time of publication, the settlement was already failing. Hand-coloured lithograph by F. C. Dibdin from a sketch by Louisa Clifton.

NATIONAL LIBRARY

ment on 30 June 1947. Flights from Sydney to London were cut from seven days with flying boats in 1946 to 63 hours in Lockheed Super Constellations in 1954. A trans-Pacific service was established in 1954 and extended to give the first round-the-world service by an Australian airline in 1958.

ANA had a near monopoly on interstate routes in 1945 when the Chifley Labor government attempted to nationalise the airline industry. The high court, however, ruled this move unconstitutional. As an alternative, the government set up Trans Australia Airways (TAA) which began operation in September 1946. TAA enjoyed a competitive advantage and quickly increased its share of the market until the 'two-airline policy', giving TAA and ANA equal treatment, was introduced by the Liberal-Country Party government in 1952. Ansett Transport Industries acquired ANA in 1957, the combined airline operations were known as Ansett-ANA until 1968. The 'two-airline' agreement was confirmed by a 1957 act.

The first turbojet airliner, the DH106 Comet, arrived from England in July 1949. QEA ordered seven Boeing 707 jetliners for delivery from 1959, the first non-United States airline to do so. The airline's

name was changed to Qantas Airways Ltd in 1967: by 1986 its fleet consisted of 24 Boeing 747s and 2 Boeing 767s. Turboprop aircraft were introduced to domestic routes in 1959 and turbojets in 1964.

The two airlines policy was extended to 1977, then 1982, and, in 1982, to 1989. Smaller airlines have entered to operate alongside TAA and Ansett. East-West Airlines, the most successful, has aggressively challenged the two-airline agreement, largely by offering cheaper fares and new routes.

AYERS, Sir Henry (1821–97), politician, arrived in Adelaide from England in 1840 and five years later was appointed secretary of the SA Mining Association. In 1857 he was elected to the first legislative council under responsible government and retained his seat for some 36 years. Ayers became minister without portfolio in the first Dutton government of 1863 which lasted only eleven days. Ayers then formed his first government which was equally short-lived. There were eighteen ministries formed between 1863 and 1873 and Ayers was premier in four of them. Ayers was appointed KCMG in 1872 on completion of the overland telegraph line. Ayers Rock is named after him.