C

CABBAGE TREE HATS were a unique and common feature of Australian colonial dress, offering much needed protection against a sometimes harsh climate. They were broad-brimmed and high-crowned, and took their name from the cabbage tree palm, from the leaves of which they are said to have been originally made. They were reportedly worn as early as 1799, but became very popular in the nineteenth century, when their manufacture became a lucrative cottage industry. Those which remain are very finely woven, with a button on the crown in the shape of an anchor or star. They were favoured by the cabbage tree mobs, the gangs of Australian-born larrikins roaming Sydney's streets in the 1840s and 1850s.

CADELL, Francis (1822–79), river navigator and entrepreneur, was the son of a Scottish shipbuilder and arrived in Adelaide in 1852 after various seagoing expeditions. He made the first steam navigation of the Murray River mouth in August 1853 and reached Swan Hill a month later. Cadell formed the River Murray Navigation Company in 1855 and imported steamships from Scotland for further exploration of the Murray and its tributaries.

CAIN, John Snr (1887–1957), politician, began his parliamentary career in 1917 when he was elected Labor member of Jika Jika (later Northcote). He was a minister in the short-lived Labor government of 1924 and in 1937 became leader of the Victorian parliamentary Labor party, retaining this position until his death. Cain was premier for three terms: in 1943 for just four days, 1945–47 and 1952–55. Cain was the first leader of a Labor government with an absolute majority in Vic and introduced adult franchise in legislative council elections.

CAIN, John (1931–), politician, succeeded, some 27 years later, his father, John Cain, as Labor premier of Vic. After practising as a solicitor, Cain entered politics in 1973 as vice-chairman of the Victorian branch of the ALP. He was elected as member for Bundoora to the legislative assembly in 1976 and in 1981 became leader of the Victorian parliamentary Labor party. His party's victory in the 1982 state elections ended 27 years of Liberal government in Vic.

CAIRNS, James Ford (1914–), politician, followed an academic career at the University of Melbourne until his election as federal ALP member for Yarra in 1955. Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s Cairns was acknowledged leader of the left wing of the party and headed the Victorian protest against the Vietnam

Arthur Calwell. Caricature by 'Nichol', 1966.
FAIRFAX PHOTO LIBRARY

War. Cairns was appointed minister for overseas trade and secondary industry in the Whitlam government of 1972 and in 1974 became deputy prime minister and treasurer. He was dismissed from his post as environment minister in 1975 on the grounds of misleading parliament in the Loans Affair and resigned from his seat in 1977.

CALEY, George (1770–1829), naturalist and explorer, was born in Yorkshire, England. After working in Kew and other gardens he was appointed by Sir Joseph Banks to go to NSW as a collector. He arrived in Sydney in 1800 and spent the next decade exploring and collecting natural history specimens around Sydney, the Blue Mountains and the Hunter River, as well as in Van Diemen's Land. He sent vast numbers of plants, seeds and descriptions of birds and animals to Banks.

CALWELL, Arthur Augustus (1896–1973), politician, became president of the Vic branch of the ALP in 1931. He was federal member for Melbourne from 1940–72 and held ministerial office from 1943–49 as minister for information. He became Australia's first minister for immigration in 1945 and coined the term 'new Australians' for the non-British migrants encouraged to settle in Australia in the postwar years. He became parliamentary leader of the Labor party in 1960 and campaigned strongly against Australian involvement in Vietnam, but was defeated in the 1963 and 1966 elections and resigned as leader in 1967. He was created a papal knight in 1963.

CAMBRIDGE, Ada (1844–1926), poet and writer, grew up in England, married George Frederick Cross, a curate, in 1870 and travelled to Melbourne. As she later recalled in *Thirty years in Australia*, they moved about rural Vic, and her life, centred on parish work, gave her a wide range of colonial experience. Prior to her marriage Cambridge had published two books and from 1873 she began to write in earnest, to supplement the family income. *Up the Murray*, published as a serial in the *Australasian* in 1875, attracted immediate attention. Altogether she produced 21 novels, two autobiographies and many contributions to journals. Her three volumes of poetry established her as the first significant Australian woman poet.

CAMELS The first camels to arrive in Australia were a pair originally brought to Hobart and later bought by the NSW government. In 1846 the explorer J.A. Horrocks acquired a camel and demonstrated its suitability for work in Australia's interior by using it on his journey to the north of SA that year. During the 1860s and 1880s many camels were imported, and by the end of the century their numbers in Australia were estimated at about six thousand. A number of Afghans were also brought to Australia to run camel teams, which were put to many uses—exploring north and central Australia (including the expeditions of Burke and Wills, and Ernest Giles), constructing the Overland Telegraph line and the Trans-Australian Railway, carrying produce and mail, and boundary riding and police patrols. Camels' usefulness in the outback

'Merchant' Campbell. Oil by Charles Rodius, 1834.
MITCHELL LIBRARY

declined as rail and motor transport were extended, but in some districts they remained in use until the 1940s. By then feral camels were becoming a nuisance in some areas.

In 1973 Australia exported 65 camels to the United States, one of a number of consignments helping to meet demands from zoos requiring disease-free camels. In the late 1970s the adventurer and writer Robyn Davidson attracted worldwide interest by retracing Giles' desert routes by camel.

CAMPBELL, Robert (1769–1846), pioneer merchant and pastoralist, began trading in Sydney in 1798, importing cattle and general goods from India. Campbell constructed warehouses and a wharf at Sydney Cove and became involved in the administration of the colony. As a supporter of Gov Bligh, Campbell was arrested and fined in 1809 but reinstated by Macquarie in 1810. He was granted large areas of land in the 1820s and 1830s by Gov Darling, including the property he named 'Duntroon', which is now a military college in Canberra.

CANADIAN EXILES After the Canadian insurrection of 1839, 149 rebels were transported to NSW and Tas. In NSW they were treated kindly, and with the assistance of the local churches 29 free pardons were granted on 29 February 1844. All except three French Canadians eventually returned to Canada. The Tasmanian exiles received harsher treatment. Fifteen were sent to Port Arthur for trying to escape. In October 1843 thirty pardons were granted and others followed.

CANBERRA TIMES was founded by T. M. Shakespeare and his sons in 1926. The paper began as a weekly publication, but converted to a morning daily in 1928 with the aim 'To Serve the National City and through it the Nation'. It grew with the city, but remained a provincial newspaper until 1964 when it was purchased by John Fairfax Ltd. The aim of the new management was to present 'matters of national interest on broad, and independent lines, rather than in a partisan manner'. Distribution in other cities was to be minimal. The September 1986 circulation was 44 560.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT was frequent in the early decades of European settlement in Australia. Although many death sentences in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century England were being commuted to transportation for seven or fourteen years or for life, in the colonies erring male and female convicts and settlers (pregnant women usually excepted) still faced the prospect of punishment by death. The first to be executed, Thomas Barrett, charged with stealing colonial stores, was tried, found guilty and hanged on the same day, 27 February 1788.

Hangings were the usual means of execution. They were public events until the mid-1850s, when each colony began carrying them out behind gaol walls. During the later nineteenth century opposition to capital punishment increased for humanitarian reasons and because it was becoming apparent that the death penalty was not a deterrent to crime. The number of capital offences was gradually reduced. The Australian Labor Party generally took an abolitionist stance. Executions or reprieves in the twentieth century thus often depended on the party in government.

During the twentieth century all states and territories restricted the use of the death penalty by legislation or by imposing terms of life imprisonment subject to parole or the 'governor's pleasure'. The continuing debate between abolitionist and retentionist groups was rekindled by three cases in the late 1950s and 1960s. The first two ended in the death sentence being commuted, but occasioned great public outcry against capital punishment: the cases of Rupert Max Stuart, an Aborigine sentenced to death for the rape and murder of a nine-year-old girl at Ceduna, SA, in December 1958, and of Robert Peter Tait, a Scots immigrant, given the death penalty for having murdered an elderly woman, the mother of an Anglican vicar, in Melbourne in August 1961, gained widespread attention. The third case, arousing great controversy during 1966–67, was that of Ronald Ryan, sentenced to hang for killing a prison warder while escaping from Melbourne's Pentridge gaol in December 1965. Ryan's was to be the last execution in Australia and, to date, the abolitionists have won their case, though some statutes retain the penalty for offences of treason or piracy.

Qld was the first state effectively to abolish the death penalty in 1922, followed by NSW (1955), Tas (1968), the NT and the ACT (1973), Vic (1975), SA (1976), and WA (1984).

CARBONI, Raffaello (1820–75), linguist, traveller and writer, was born in Urbino, Italy. With a background of studying languages and radicalism, Carboni, after his involvement in the Rome campaign of 1849, went into self-imposed exile, travelling extensively through Europe. Attracted by news of gold discoveries in Australia he set sail for Melbourne in 1852. As a digger at Ballarat he had immediate success but a later venture ended in failure. After a period as a shepherd he returned to Ballarat where Peter Lalor appointed him to organise the foreigners behind the Eureka stockade. Carboni was also in the group which went to petition for the cessation of licence hunting. Following the stockade he was one of the twelve charged with, but acquitted of, high treason. Carboni left Australia for Europe in 1856. He worked as an interpreter and translator and published various books.

CARNEGIE, Sir Roderick Howard (1932–), businessman, joined McKinsey and Co, International Management Consultants in 1954 and by 1968 was director. In 1970 he joined Conzinc Riotinto of Australia and became its chief executive in 1972, working throughout the 1970s, albeit unsuccessfully, for an increase of Australian shareholdings within the company. Carnegie is also a director of the Australian Mining Industry Council and Myer Emporium Ltd.

CARRUTHERS, Sir Joseph Hector McNeil (1857–1932), politician, practised as a solicitor before being elected to the NSW Legislative Assembly in 1887 as member for Canterbury. He was minister for public instruction from 1889–91 in the last Parkes government and was responsible for the introduction of technical education in NSW. In 1894 he became member for St George and secretary for lands in the Reid government. Carruthers introduced the Land Act of 1895 which encouraged closer settlement. He became leader of the Liberal and Reform Party in opposition from 1902–04 and premier from 1904–07 before retiring because of ill health. He was appointed KCMG in 1908 and was the writer of *Captain James Cook RN; one hundred and fifty years after* (1930).

CASEY, Richard Gardiner, Baron Casey of Berwick and of the City of Westminster (1890–1976), politician, was born in Brisbane and educated at Cumloden and the Melbourne Church of England Grammar School. In 1909 he entered Trinity College in the University of Melbourne as an engineering student, but in 1910 moved to Trinity College, Cambridge, graduating in 1913 with second-class honours in the mechanical sciences.

He served throughout World War I at Gallipoli and in France, always in staff positions, achieving the rank of major; he won an MC and DSO and was mentioned in despatches.

After a period back in Melbourne as a company director, mainly in mining, he was appointed Commonwealth liaison officer in London, where in 1926 he married Ethel Marian (Maie) Sumner Ryan, daughter of Sir Charles and Lady Ryan of Melbourne. In 1931 he returned to Australia and entered federal

R. G. Casey, MP, as assistant treasurer in the government of J.A. Lyons. Caricature by Man *cartoonist Hottie Lahm.* Australia to-day, *c1934.*
BOOROWA PRODUCTIONS

parliament as United Australia Party member for the seat of Corio, becoming assistant treasurer in 1933 and treasurer in 1935. After the death of J.A. Lyons in 1939, he sought the prime ministership, but lost to R.G. Menzies. He served as minister for supply and development until 1940, when he went to Washington to open Australia's first diplomatic legation. In 1942 he accepted an extraordinary invitation from the British prime minister, Winston Churchill, to serve in the British war cabinet as minister of state in the Middle East, then in 1944–46 as governor of Bengal. Back in Australia after the war, he served a term as federal president of the Liberal party, re-entered federal parliament in 1949, and held the national development portfolio until 1951, when he was made minister for external affairs. He retired in 1960 with a life peerage, but returned to public life as governor-general in 1965–69.

A man of independent means, Casey was ambitious, but too scrupulous and earnest for politics, and performed best in diplomatic roles. He was a great success in London in the 1920s and in Washington and Calcutta in the 1940s. As foreign minister in the 1950s he played a major role in leading the country away from the 'white Australia policy' and into amiable dialogue with the new nations of Asia. One of the last of the great Anglo-Australians, equally at ease in London and Canberra, he was before all else a gentleman.
W.J. HUDSON

Further reading W.J. Hudson, *Casey*, Melbourne 1986.

CASH Martin (1808–77), bushranger, was transported to NSW for seven years in 1827. After receiving his ticket of leave he left for Van Diemen's Land in 1837. Two years later he was convicted of larceny and again sentenced to seven years. Four years were added to the sentence for escaping. He escaped yet again and joined forces with two experienced bushmen, pursuing a bushranging career on foot, robbing inns and the houses of well-to-do settlers. Cash was arrested in Hobart Town and sentenced to death. However this was commuted to transportation for life to Norfolk Island. He received a ticket of leave in 1854 and after four years in New Zealand settled on a farm near Hobart Town.

CASSAB, Judy (1920–), painter, was born in Vienna and studied in Prague and Budapest before migrating to Sydney in 1951. Her first exhibition was held at the Macquarie Galleries in 1953 and with her portraits of Australian artists, writers, actors and musicians she has won many awards including the Archibald Prize in 1960 and 1967. She was appointed CBE in 1969.

CASTLE HILL UPRISING was a rebellion of Irish convicts from Castle Hill, which culminated in a clash between some 300 poorly armed rebels and a detachment of the New South Wales Corps at Vinegar Hill (now Rouse Hill), near Parramatta, on 5 March 1804. Philip Cunningham, the rebel leader, was hanged without trial, as were seven others after court-martial; nine were heavily flogged and 34 sent to Coal River (Newcastle). The uprising, European Australia's first battle, reinforced endemic fears of insurrection.

CATHOLIC CHURCH (ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH) In 1820 Fathers John Joseph Therry and Philip Conolly were appointed to minister to the large Catholic population of NSW. Previously attempts to establish a Catholic priesthood had met with opposition from the British authorities. For over 30 years the faith was sustained by the laity.

Therry fought vigorously to win religious freedom and social equality for the Catholic population. The position improved under Gov Bourke, particularly with the passing of the Church Act (1836) which provided for state funding of the major religious groups.

W.B. Ullathorne was appointed vicar-general in 1833 and his review of the poor state of the church in Australia led to the appointment of the first bishop, J.B. Polding. Both of these early appointees were English Benedictines, keen to establish Benedictine monasticism as the basis of colonial Catholicism, an unwise choice given the Irish origins of most of the Catholic population and priesthood. Dioceses were established in Tas and Adelaide in 1844, Perth in 1845, Melbourne in 1847 and Brisbane in 1861.

The rapid expansion of the colonies through the 1840s and 1850s brought with it an urgent need for more priests. Catholic immigrants were predominantly Irish, and the campaign for an Irish-style church was pursued with vigour. By the 1860s the Benedictines had lost, new Irish bishops were appointed and Irish ecclesiastical policies were followed.

In the 1860s and 1870s the Catholic Church participated vigorously in the public debate concerning education, strongly opposing its secularisation. In response to the public education acts the church established an autonomous education system, staffed by religious orders of teaching nuns and brothers. The steady growth of the separate Catholic education system into the 1960s is largely responsible for the persistence, until recent times, of a distinctive Catholic subculture.

Catholics have generally occupied a lower socio-economic position in Australian society. Sympathy for the plight of the worker led Cardinal P.F. Moran, archbishop of Sydney from 1884 to 1911, to support Catholics in the labour movement, initiating a period of controversy in church–state relations. In 1916–17 Archbishop Daniel Mannix of Melbourne opposed conscription. This, together with his support of independence for Ireland, unleashed a wave of sectarian conflict lasting until the mid-1920s. Mannix was later a supporter of the Catholic Action Movement, which sought to impose Catholic social principles on the labour movement and rid it of communist tendencies. The movement was strongest in Vic under the leadership of B.A. Santamaria. It became the centre of a major public controversy over the role of Catholics in politics, and ultimately led to a split in the Labor party and the formation of the anti-communist Democratic Labor Party.

Catholics comprise 26 per cent of the population (1981 census). There are marked regional differences, with a higher concentration in the southeastern states and capital cities. Postwar immigration has significantly changed the composition of the church. Between 30 and 40 per cent of Australian Catholics are either migrants or children of migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds. The Irish dominance of the church has consequently been weakened and the church exhibits a greater diversity than previously.

JANE FOULCHER

CATHOLIC SOCIAL STUDIES MOVEMENT

Known also as the 'Movement' or the 'Industrial Movement', this semi-secret Catholic organisation came into existence in 1941–42 to oppose communists within Australian unions. Directed by B.A. Santamaria, the Movement was a lay Catholic body although it received moral and financial support from the Victorian church and particularly from its archbishop, Daniel Mannix. Having achieved their objective in substantially reducing communist influence, Movement organisers increasingly sought to shape ALP policies and candidate preselections. Previously dependent on the Movement's support and advice, in 1954 the leader of the federal parliamentary Labor party, Dr H.V. Evatt, denounced Movement influence, precipitating a major split in the party. The Movement was attacked by the Labor party and by influential sections of the Catholic Church and was wound up on directions from Rome. Its spirit and some of its personnel survive in the National Civic Council, but with greatly reduced influence.

CATO STREET CONSPIRACY was an English Jacobin plot of 1820 to seize arsenals, murder the British cabinet and establish a provisional government. Betrayed by an agent provocateur, the conspirators were sentenced to death, but five had their sentences commuted to life transportation. James Wilson, John Shaw Strange, Charles Cooper, John Harrison and Richard Bradburn arrived in NSW in September 1820 and joined the gaol gang at Newcastle. All received tickets of leave and became respectable members of society.

CAT-O'-NINE-TAILS Introduced to Australia by the convict overseers, this instrument was one of the most extensively used and brutal punishments in the penal colonies. The 'cat' consisted of a whip with nine knotted cords or tails attached to the handle. The usual punishment ordered by a magistrate was 25 to 50 lashes for offences such as drunkenness, disobedience, disorderly conduct and neglect of work.

CATTLE INDUSTRY While Australia has little more than 2 per cent of the world's cattle, in 1982–83 the industry's products accounted for 28 per cent of the nation's agricultural production by value and 8.1 per cent ($1 792 785 million) of all exports.
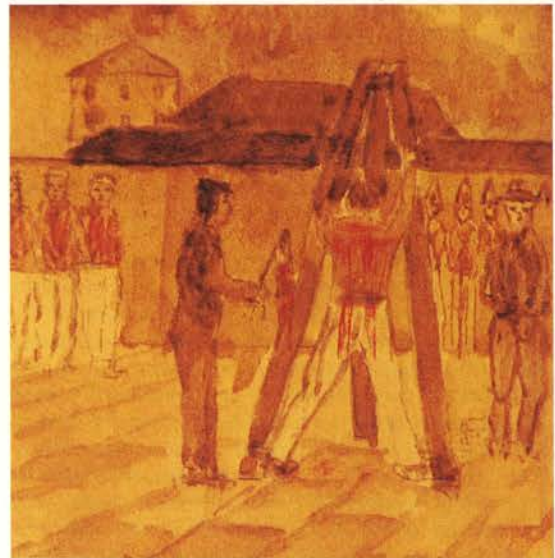
The 'cat' draws blood from the back of Charles Maher, who received 250 lashes at Norfolk Island in 1804. The chief gaoler recorded that the brutal flogging 'almost brought about a mutiny'. Watercolour by 'J. L.' in Robert Jones, Recollections of 13 years residence in Norfolk Island, 1823.
MITCHELL LIBRARY

In the five years to 1984 there was an average of 24 million cattle in Australia, of which 88 per cent were beef breeds. Three states accounted for 80 per cent of the total: Qld (40 per cent), NSW (24 per cent) and Vic (16 per cent). Surprisingly, in view of the reputation of the interior as cattle country, 60 per cent of all cattle were within 200 kilometres of the coast between Townsville and Adelaide, a direct reflection of a more favourable environment, and proximity to markets and shipping facilities. Cattle raising is an important activity on 40 per cent of the nation's farms.

The factors controlling Australian cattle numbers, particularly the beef herd, are climate, market prices and disease. Non-periodic short-term (5–10 years) climatic variations exert the most influence. Notable periods of herd increase were 1887–95, 1905–12, 1916–22 and 1966–76, during which peaks of 12.3, 11.8, 14.4 and 33.4 million head respectively were reached. All correlated with runs of good seasons, but that of 1887–95 also benefited from the development of techniques for freezing meat which for the first time made it possible to put Australian beef on the British market. The remarkable 83 per cent increase in 1966–76 was in part the result of a buoyant export market.

Drought brings corresponding reduction in cattle numbers. The most notable drought, that of 1895–1903, which affected almost the entire continent, was largely responsible for a 40 per cent drop in numbers, much of it in the last three years of the drought. A similar decrease from the all-time high of 33.4 million head to 22 million in 1984 was the result of a serious drought, depressed market conditions, and the effects of a major campaign to eradicate brucellosis and bovine tuberculosis which caused the virtual 'destocking' of many northern stations.

About 1862 a severe outbreak of pleuropneumonia caused a 22 per cent reduction in numbers and after 1880 tick fever (babesiasis) caused severe losses and marketing problems in northern herds. Inoculation and quarantine regulations have brought both under control.

In the eastern and southeastern margins of the continent, where more than half of the beef cattle are raised, adequate and reliable rainfall permits intensive management methods, often in conjunction with sheep and cereal raising; most cattle are range-fed, but feedlotting is becoming more common. In the remainder of the country cattle properties may contain thousands of square kilometres, but carrying capacities are low (10–35 head per square kilometre). Management of such large areas, far from sources of supplies and markets, severely limits their profitability.

Environmental conditions have also led to marked differences in beef cattle types. In the eastern highlands south of Townsville the Hereford has long been the preferred breed, followed by Shorthorns and Angus. The warmer north was originally stocked with Shorthorns, but over the last 40 years Zebu blood in various forms has been introduced, until now over 60 per cent of the cattle there carry some of these genes. Such crosses yield a large, sturdy-framed beast which combines a resistance to ticks and hot, humid conditions with an ability to do well on the indifferent tropical and subtropical pastures. Of these the Santa Gertrudis, introduced from Texas in 1952, and the Qld-bred Droughtmaster are the best known.

A special form of cattle is the water buffalo, feral herds of which roam the northern part of the NT. Numbering well over 100 000, they present both opportunities for commercial exploitation for human and pet food, and problems as an environmental hazard and a reservoir of disease.

Australia's dairy cattle are even more concentrated geographically than its beef cattle. In 1982–83, 86 per cent were in the 200 kilometre zone noted above, a consequence of the industry's basic dependence on the domestic market. Historically the country had become self-sufficient in dairy products by 1850, and numbers grew gradually to a peak of slightly over 5 million dairy cattle in the years between 1956 and 1963. Since then a steady decline, prompted largely by market conditions, has reduced numbers to under 2.8 million. Until after World War II, NSW was the premier dairy state, but thereafter Vic ranked first; in 1982 the three eastern states had 84 per cent of the nation's dairy cattle.

With increased emphasis on fluid milk production rather than butterfat, Friesians have become the most popular breed, accounting for over 40 per cent of the total. The domestically developed Australian Illawarra Shorthorn, and the Guernsey and Jersey breeds account for most of the remainder. Another new breed, the Australian Milking Zebu, gives promise as a satisfactory dairy breed for northern districts.

F.H. BAUER

CAWLEY, Evonne Fay (nee Goolagong) (1951–), tennis player, was born in Barellan, NSW, and moved to Sydney in 1962. She was the first Aborigine to compete at Wimbledon or represent Australia at world tennis. She was a member of the Australian Federated Cup Team in 1970 and Australian Women's champion 1974–76. In 1971 she won the Wimbledon, Victorian and French Women's Championships. She now lives permanently in the United States.

CAZALY, Roy (1893–1963), footballer, excelled as a youth at cricket, football and rowing. From 1909–20 he played without pay for the St Kilda Football Club, and in the 1920s with the South Melbourne Football Club (since 1982 the Sydney Swans). His hallmark was his ability to leap for the ball. He could mark and turn in mid-air, land and, in a few strides, send forward a long, accurate drop-kick or stab-pass. The cheer 'Up there, Cazaly' was taken up by the crowds and Cazaly became folklore. He was described as the 'greatest Australian Rules footballer between the two world wars'. He worked as a coach from the 1920s until 1951.

CEMETERIES The first Europeans buried in Australia were probably casualties on early voyages of exploration. In August 1699 Goodwin, a cook on HMS

Roebuck, was buried at Shark Bay, WA, and in May 1770, Forby Sutherland of HMS *Endeavour* was buried at Botany Bay.

Burial grounds were established near the first European settlements, but most of these have now been obliterated, and only some early monuments preserved. The oldest known of these, commemorating George Graves of HMS *Sirius*, who died in July 1788, is preserved in the NSW Archives Office. St John's cemetery, Parramatta, is the oldest undisturbed European cemetery in Australia, with monuments dating from 1791. While all cemeteries are historically significant to their local communities, some are especially so—for example, those at Kingston, Norfolk Island; East Perth; West Terrace, Adelaide; Carlton, Melbourne; Toowong, Brisbane; Rookwood, Sydney. Many churchyards contain cemeteries of note—in Sydney, St John's, Ashfield and St Thomas's, Enfield; St John's, Canberra; and at many places in Tas and SA.

The policy of clearing cemeteries for so-called 'pioneer parks' appears to have generally led to historical disasters, although some worthy projects have been carried out at St Luke's, Liverpool, NSW, and St David's, Hobart. Port Macquarie, NSW, has a fine cemetery park with graves and monuments undisturbed, but too often the problem posed by cluttered and overgrown Georgian and Victorian cemeteries has been resolved by the bulldozer, with the loss of a unique combination of biographical information, social history, literary and architectural taste, symbolism and craftmanship not found in lawn cemeteries and columbaria.   L.A. GILBERT

CENSORSHIP in Australia is administered through a combination of federal and state laws. The federal government oversees censorship of imported books, films and other products, and also covers Australian radio and television programs. Books, newspapers, films and plays produced within Australia are the responsibility of the six states.

In censoring literary material, items may be prohibited which are considered to be seditious or obscene. The Film Censorship Board can refuse to register an imported film for theatre or television if it is obscene or overly violent, though political considerations can also be involved. Similar criteria determine judgments on locally produced films. Radio and television broadcasters have to comply with standards established by the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal.

During wartime censorship provisions have been extended to protect national security and preserve morale.

CHAFFEY, George (1848–1932) and **William Benjamin** (1856–1926), pioneers of Australian irrigation, travelled to Australia in 1886 having successfully established irrigation settlements in California. The brothers had trained as engineers in their native Canada and were granted land along the lower Murray by the Deakin government on condition that the land was irrigated for agriculture. They established

settlements at Mildura and Renmark, selling blocks of land during Victoria's 1890s land boom. Problems with the irrigation system and the collapse of the land boom caused Chaffey Brothers Ltd to go into liquidation and in 1895 George returned to California. William remained and prospered in Mildura, becoming president of the Mildura Winery Company and the Australian Dried Fruits Association. He was elected first mayor of Mildura in 1920 and appointed CMG in 1924.

CHAMP, William Thomas Napier (1808–92), public servant, occupied various official positions in Van Diemen's Land from 1836, including commandant of the Port Arthur penal settlement. In 1856 he was elected as a member for Launceston to the new house of assembly and became Tasmania's first premier. From 1857–68 Champ held the position of inspector-general of penal establishments in Victoria and was largely responsible for the building of Pentridge gaol.

CHAN, Harry (1918–69), mayor, first elected president of the NT Legislative Council, was born in Darwin, the son of Chinese immigrants. In 1959 he was elected as the representative for Fannie Bay to the Darwin City Council. Upon the creation of the NT Legislative Council in 1962, he was elected the independent member for Fannie Bay and in 1965 became the council's first president. In 1966 Chan became the first Australian of Asian descent to hold the office of mayor when he became mayor of Darwin.

CHAPPELL, Ian Michael (1943–), and **Gregory Stephen** (1948–), cricketers, have both represented Australia in test matches. Ian was appointed captain in 1971 and his brother Greg took over in 1975 when he resigned. After Sir Donald Bradman, Greg Chappell is the highest scorer in Australian cricket, gaining 6325 runs in 77 tests. In 1977 the brothers resigned from test cricket and joined Kerry Packer's World Series Cricket.

CHARLTON, Andrew Murray ('Boy') (1907–75), swimmer, was born in North Sydney, NSW. He learned to swim at Manly. In 1923 he won the state championships, taking nineteen seconds off the world record for the 880 yards freestyle. The following year he equalled the world record for the 440 yards freestyle. At the 1924 Olympic Games in Paris Charlton won a gold medal in the 1500 metres. In 1927 he set a new world record for the 880 yards, but was unplaced in his events at the 1932 Los Angeles Olympic Games. Charlton's last and perhaps greatest race was the 880 yards event in the 1935 NSW state championship in which he defeated both the Australian and French champions. Charlton refused to turn professional and thereafter became a successful grazier.

CHARLTON, Matthew (1866–1948), Labor leader, son of a miner, worked as a miner at Lambton coalmine, Newcastle, NSW and became active in union politics. In 1902 he represented NSW miners at the national trades union congress. He was elected to the legislative assembly in 1903 as member for Waratah and then Northumberland and from 1910–28 was

member for Hunter in the House of Representatives. Charlton was leader of the federal Labor party in opposition from 1922–28.

CHATER, Gordon (1922–), actor, was born in London and came to Australia in 1946. After performing in Sydney's Phillip Street Revue he turned to television comedy in the *Mavis Bramston show* (1964–68) and *My name's McGooley*. More recently he has won considerable critical acclaim for his portrayal of an ageing transvestite in Steve J. Spears' *The elocution of Benjamin Franklin*.

CHAUVEL, Charles Edward (1897–1959), film director, born in Warwick, Qld. He returned to Qld in 1923, after a brief period in Los Angeles, to produce his own films. He released two films in 1926 which met with modest success. He worked in most areas of the film industry, as director, writer, distributor and cinema manager. In 1933, his first sound picture *In the wake of the Bounty* made good use of spectacular locations. Chauvel won the commonwealth government's film competition in 1935 with *Heritage*. *Forty thousand horsemen* (1940), a tribute to the Australian Light Horse campaigns of World War I, met with popular and critical success. His finest work, and Australia's first colour feature film, was *Jedda* (1955).

CHAUVEL, Sir Henry George (Harry) (1865–1945), soldier, was born at Tabulam, NSW and educated at Sydney and Toowoomba grammar schools. In 1886 he was commissioned in the Upper Clarence

Joseph Benedict Chifley. Oil by A. D. Colquhoun, commissioned soon after Chifley's death and completed in 1953.

HISTORIC MEMORIALS COLLECTION

Light Horse and in 1896 joined the Qld Permanent Military Forces with the rank of captain. In the Boer War Chauvel served with the Qld Mounted Infantry. He was promoted to lieutenant-colonel and made a CMG. In World War I he commanded the 1st Light Horse Brigade at Gallipoli, the Australian and New Zealand (Anzac) Mounted Division in Sinai and southern Palestine and the Desert Mounted Corps in Palestine and Syria. He was the first Australian to become a lieutenant-general and to command an army corps. As commander of the largest mounted force in modern warfare, his record was unequalled. He was appointed CB (1916), KCMG (1917), KCB (1918), GCMG (1919) and mentioned in despatches ten times. After the war, as inspector-general (1919–30) and as chief of the general staff (1923–30), Chauvel struggled to preserve the officer corps and the organisation essential for expansion in emergency. His repeated warnings about the changes in the balance of power and the dangers of reliance on Singapore went unheeded by the government. In retirement he devoted himself to ex-servicemen's and charitable causes, and was chairman of trustees of the Australian and Victorian War Memorials. From 1940 until his death, Chauvel was inspector-in-chief of the Volunteer Defence Corps.   A.J. HILL

Further reading A.J. Hill, *Chauvel of the Light Horse*, Melbourne 1978.

CHIFLEY, Joseph Benedict (1885–1951), politician, was born at Bathurst, NSW, and left school at fifteen, attending evening classes for fifteen years. He was a convinced Labor man by 1903, the year he joined the railways. In 1914 he became a locomotive driver and married Elizabeth McKenzie. Chifley was demoted because of his involvement in the strikes of 1917.

In the 1928 federal elections Chifley won his local seat of Macquarie and in March 1931 he became minister for defence in the Scullin government. He narrowly lost his seat in the Labor debacle of December 1931. For the next nine years his political life was dominated by the struggle with the breakaway Labor faction in NSW led by J.T. Lang. In June 1934 he became state president of the federal Labor party. Federal Labor gradually regained its strength, but in NSW three separate Labor parties contested the 1940 elections.

In 1936–37 Chifley sat on the royal commission on Australian monetary and banking systems. The report insisted that, contrary to the practice while Scullin was prime minister, responsibility for monetary policy had to lie with the government. Chifley submitted a short minority report attacking the private trading banks.

Chifley regained the seat of Macquarie in 1940. He became treasurer in Curtin's cabinet and, from December 1942, minister for postwar reconstruction. He handled war finances very capably. For example, over the six years of war, prices rose a total of 23 per cent, a modest increase considering the massive wartime reallocation of labour and resources. In 1945 Chifley guided through parliament two bills which
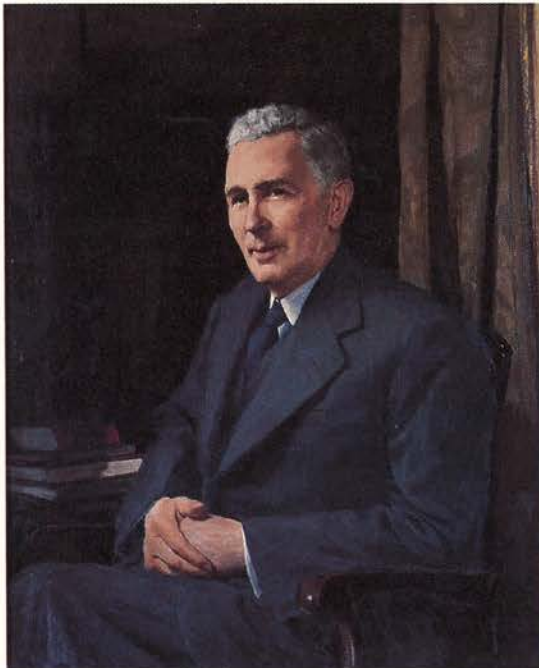
implemented federal government control over the banking system.

Soon after Curtin's death in July 1945 Chifley became prime minister. He led Labor to victory at the 1946 election. Contrary to widespread expectations, postwar Australia enjoyed unprecedented prosperity, with full employment. Chifley's government did much to shape the Australia of the succeeding generation. It improved social services. It set up TAA (1946) and turned Qantas into a wholly-owned government airline. In 1949 it authorised work on the Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Scheme. The government enlarged the House of Representatives from 74 to 121 and the Senate from 36 to 60. Proportional representation was substituted for the 'first-past-the-post' system of voting for the Senate; the deleterious effects of this on Labor's electoral prospects were still being felt forty years later. Chifley's government began the massive postwar immigration program, through which unprecedented numbers of non-Britons settled in Australia.

From 1948 serious problems affected Chifley's government. His adherence to petrol rationing antagonised many people. The communist-inspired NSW coal strike of June–August 1949 eroded his support throughout the political spectrum. His attempt to nationalise the private trading banks contributed most of all to his defeat at the 1949 election.

As leader of the opposition Chifley strongly criticised the Menzies government's Communist Party Dissolution Bill. Menzies convincingly beat him at the double dissolution election of April 1951. Shortly after re-election as opposition leader he died while working in his office as a state ball was in progress in King's Hall, Parliament House, to celebrate fifty years of federation.   JOHN ROBERTSON

Further reading L.F. Crisp, *Ben Chifley: a biography*, London 1961.

CHILD, Joan (1928–), politician, represented Henty, Vic, for the ALP in the federal House of Representatives 1974–75 and from 1980. She was chairman of committees and deputy speaker 1984–85, and in 1986 became speaker, being the first woman to hold that office.

CHILD ENDOWMENT is a subsidy the government pays to families to help them raise their children.

A child endowment scheme for commonwealth government employees was initiated in 1920 and for residents of NSW in 1927. In September 1927 a royal commission was appointed to consider a national system, but it was not until 1 July 1943 that the Child Endowment Act came into force. It provided for the payment of 5s per week for each child under sixteen, but excluded the first child. It was not means tested and was available to all parents, employed or unemployed, though it was usually paid to the mother. A child for whom endowment was claimed was required to have been born in Australia or to have resided there for twelve months. Eligibility was conditional on responsibility for maintaining the child, not on natural relationship, thus avoiding discrimination against illegitimate children or adopted children.

The main developments in the commonwealth's scheme have been a series of increases in payments and a broadening of the criteria of eligibility. Most important of these was the introduction of payment for the first child in 1950.

When introduced, the scheme offered substantial help to low-income families with several children, but decades of inflation subsequently reduced its value. In 1976 the commonwealth accordingly acted to remodel the scheme along more suitable lines. From 15 June 1976 taxation allowances for dependent children were abolished and the resultant revenue disbursed as large increases in child endowment, henceforth referred to as family allowance. The age at which payment ceased for students was raised from 21 to 25 years, and provisions in the Social Services Act which precluded payments for children of alien fathers were repealed.

Further adjustments were subsequently made to prevent payments being made for children with high incomes of their own, for children receiving a tertiary education allowance and for children permanently absent from Australia. In addition special supplements for low-income families were introduced in May 1983, while a dependent spouse rebate has been used to direct help to single income families.
                    TRACY BELL

Further reading C.V. Baldock and B. Cass, *Women, social welfare and the state in Australia*, Sydney 1983; N.G. Butlin, A. Barnard and J.J. Pincus, *Government and capitalism: public and private choice in twentieth century Australia*, Sydney 1982; T.H. Kewley, *Australian social security today: major developments from 1900–1978*, Sydney 1980.

CHILDBIRTH Before World War I most Australians were born at home. While women who could afford the five to six guinea fee were attended by a doctor, assisted by a nurse (generally untrained) who helped the mother before the birth and stayed for the month of her 'lying in', poorer women were usually cared for by a midwife alone, either at home or at the midwife's house, with the doctor being called if the midwife encountered difficulties.

Convict women of the early 1800s returned to the female factories to bear their children and serve their sentence for the folly of conceiving; their 'fallen' descendants of the late nineteenth century, however, were admitted to hospital for the birth of their first child alone, as it was commonly believed that a woman who bore a second illegitimate child was degenerate. In the nineteenth century only unmarried and destitute women gave birth in hospital. Traditionally 'rescued' by refuges and benevolent asylums, from the 1890s single women entered the new women's hospitals, such as the Women's Hospital, Sydney, which opened its doors in Crown Street in 1893, and the Queen Victoria Hospital, founded by Melbourne's female doctors in 1896.

The improved mortality record of hospitals boosted the popularity of hospital births from 1900. At St Margaret's Maternity Hospital, founded in Sydney in 1894, for example, the number of registered

Nurses at the Crown Street Women's Hospital in Sydney wheel in the new-born babies for their mothers' inspection – a practice common to most hospitals in the 1930s when it was unthinkable to allow babies to sleep in the same room as their mothers. Photograph, 22 Sept 1936.

MAGAZINE PROMOTIONS

births more than doubled between 1898 and 1902. Small private hospitals, often converted houses, flourished in the next two decades, encouraged by the £5 maternity allowance granted in 1912 by a federal Labor government, only to be overtaken in the 1920s and 1930s by the burgeoning public hospitals, which added paying beds and lost their association with poor relief. The transition from home to hospital births was completed by the 1930s, assisted in the country by the growth of bush nursing hospitals. Whereas 60 per cent of women cared for by the Victorian Bush Nursing Association gave birth in its cottage hospitals in 1927–28, the proportion topped 98 per cent by 1937. Throughout NSW, 91 per cent of women gave birth in hospital by 1939. As hospital care became the norm, doctor attendance rose from 63 per cent of deliveries in 1913 to 75 per cent in 1924, reaching 87 per cent for Australia as a whole in 1929.

A maternal mortality rate of over 5 in 1000 live births, accompanied by a high rate of deaths among babies in their first month of life, persisted into the 1930s. For mothers the three main causes of death were puerperal sepsis, or blood poisoning, toxaemia and haemorrhage. Infanticide and baby farming, a form of paid fostering to which illegitimate children were particularly vulnerable, had in the 1890s been the subjects of scandal, but by the 1930s the focus of controversy had broadened from infant deaths to include the death rate of mothers. Although sepsis, which

accounted for one-third of the total maternal mortality, had been shown in the nineteenth century to have an external source, some doctors and untrained midwives ignored germ theory and continued to neglect simple aseptic precautions, until irrefutable evidence in the 1930s deemed the haemolytic streptococcus, carried by nose, throat, hand or instrument, the major culprit.

The decline in the maternal mortality rate in the interwar years cannot be linked directly with the growth of medical interventionist childbirth procedures. By tradition collectively termed 'meddlesome midwifery', the use of forceps, operations and pain relief were the prerogative of the doctor. Forceps were often applied in ignorance or in haste in the first stage of labour in the early 1900s. The scope of obstetric surgery as a means of avoiding serious complications during normal birth grew as risks declined with the adoption of antisepsis, anaesthesia and blood transfusion from the turn of the century, allowing caesarean section to become fashionable from the 1920s. By this time obstetricians were preaching that it was just as necessary to go to a hospital for childbirth as for a surgical operation. But the death rate remained high, possibly because of the greater risks accompanying increased intervention. The attraction of pain relief, although expensive, lured more women to the doctor, for whom chloroform was the principal aid until superseded during World War I by scopolamine-morphine, or 'twilight sleep', and later by barbiturates and gas and air. The midwife, though her training improved, could not compete; she was redefined as an obstetric nurse, or assistant to the doctor. By World War II midwifery had become obstetrics in Australia, as elsewhere.

The transition also affected Aboriginal women, who in the 1980s are beginning to demand a return to giving birth according to Aboriginal custom, without doctor, nurse or hospital, just as white society is seeing a swing back towards home births. Today the maternal mortality rate is minimal: eighteen women died from complications of pregnancy, labour and the puerperium in Australia in 1984.

PHILIPPA MEIN SMITH

CHILDE, Vere Gordon (1892–1957), archaeologist and political theorist, graduated from the universities of Sydney and Oxford. Due to his involvement in the Australian Union of Democratic Control and the anti-conscription issue, the Sydney University senate refused, on the advice of the department of defence, to confirm his appointment as tutor in ancient history in 1918. After various jobs and periods of unemployment, Childe became librarian at the Royal Anthropological Institute, London. In 1927 he was appointed first Abercromby professor of prehistoric archaeology at the University of Edinburgh. From the 1920s to the 1950s, he published over twenty books and 200 papers, pioneered a new way of looking at technology and revolutionised archaeology. In Australia perhaps his best-known work is *How labour governs* (1923). Childe returned to Australia in 1957 and fell to his death over Govetts Leap in the Blue Mountains, NSW.
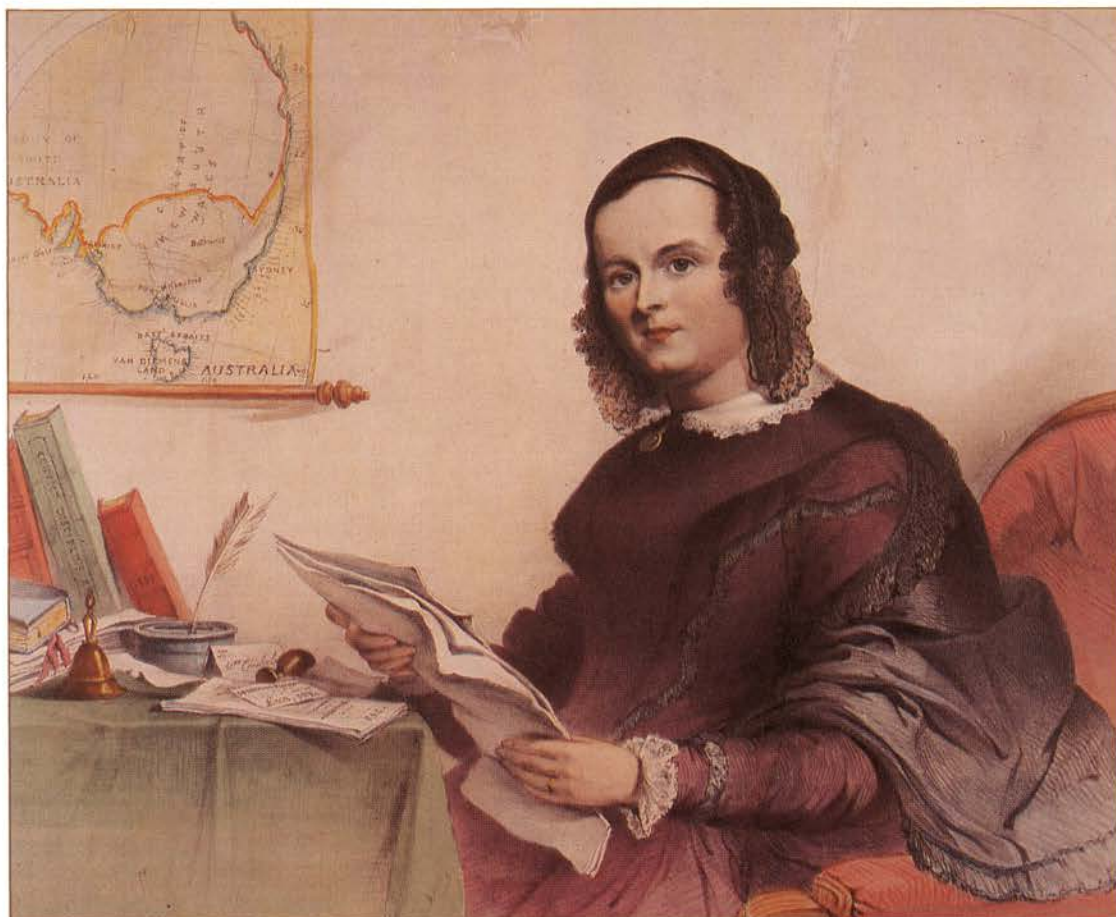
Caroline Chisholm, coloured lithograph by Melbourne artist and statistician Henry Heylyn Hayter, 1852. This portrait, reversed, appears on the $5 note.
NATIONAL LIBRARY

CHILDERS, Hugh Culling Eardley (1827–96), politician, arrived in Melbourne from England in 1850. He became an influential figure in the field of education, as both inspector of denominational schools in 1851 and auditor-general in the Victorian Legislative Council of 1852 which provided funds for the foundation of the University of Melbourne. He served as its first vice-chancellor until 1857 when he departed for England. Childers remained in Britain as an MP and held several cabinet positions 1865–86, including that of chancellor of the exchequer and home secretary under Gladstone, in which he was an important spokesman for the Australian colonies.

CHINA NAVAL CONTINGENT In 1900 NSW, Vic and SA offered to assist British forces involved in suppressing the Boxer Rebellion in northern China. HMAS *Protector*, SA's only warship, sailed for China in August with 200 Victorian and 200 NSW men aboard. The contingent saw no action in China and the Australian sailors were employed as police in Tientsin and spent the winter in Peking. The *Protector* spent four months acting as a dispatch vessel in the Gulf of

Pechili, returning in January 1901, four months before the naval contingents.

CHIPP, Donald Leslie (1925–), senator and Democrat party leader, was elected as a Liberal member for the federal seat of Higinbotham, Vic, in 1960 and six years later was appointed minister for the navy and first minister for tourism. He was minister for customs and excise 1969–72. During the caretaker Fraser administration of 1975, he held the ministries of social security, health, repatriation and compensation, but did not regain cabinet office after the 1975 election. Chipp resigned from the Liberal party in 1977 to become a founding member and leader of the Australian Democrats. He was elected to the Senate in 1977. He resigned as the party's parliamentary leader in 1986.

CHISHOLM, Caroline (1808–77), philanthropist, was born in Northampton, England, and educated by her mother and governesses. In 1830 she married Lieut Archibald Chisholm of the army of the East India Company. In 1838 they came to Australia, settling at Windsor outside Sydney.

In 1840 Capt Chisholm was recalled to active service in the Opium War in China, and his wife increasingly turned to the plight of recently arrived immigrants, especially women, who were unemployed, homeless, wandering the Sydney streets and in danger of drifting into prostitution. Appalled by the general neglect and apathy, she determined to give over her life to the cause of the immigrant poor. She combined a vigorous campaign to secure public and governmental awareness of the need to provide for the welfare of new migrants, with practical initiatives of her own. She first arranged that migrants be met at the wharves, then in 1841 opened a female immigrants' home which she ran herself; then she turned her attention to migrant employment. She accompanied many groups of migrant women into country areas on highly successful expeditions to locate them in jobs, and is credited, in the period 1840–46, with personally settling 11 000 people in employment.

Caroline Chisholm was convinced that families, wives and children ('God's police' she called them), were desperately needed to civilise Australian society. She spent the years 1846–54 in Britain, publicising and promoting Australian colonisation, especially by families. The outcome was the Family Colonisation Loan Society, which organised and financed the emigration of many families to Australia between 1850 and 1854. Mrs Chisholm returned to Australia in 1854, touring gold-rush Vic and promoting family emigration and organised welfare schemes. But she was dogged by ill health and money worries, and eventually returned to England in 1866. She was granted a pension until her death on 25 March 1877.

Mrs Chisholm's Catholicism, and the fact that many of the immigrants she assisted were Irish Catholic, led to charges of sectarian bias, notably from the Presbyterian minister Reverend J.D. Lang, in 1846. Such charges, though untrue, hampered her work, but despite them her contemporary reputation remained that of 'the emigrants' friend'. Her portrait and a depiction of the work of the Family Colonisation Society appear on the Australian five-dollar note.

PATRICK O'FARRELL

Further reading M. Hoban, *Fifty-one pieces of wedding cake: a biography of Caroline Chisholm*, Melbourne 1973; M. Kiddle, *Caroline Chisholm*, Melbourne 1957 (1950).

CHURCH AND SCHOOLS CORPORATION was established by charter in 1825 to provide for the maintenance of religion and education in NSW. It was controlled by a council of government officials and clergy of the Church of England, and was endowed with one-seventh of the lands of the colony. Surveying difficulties caused delays in its acquiring its land, while interfering with land acquisition by others, and the corporation was strongly criticised by people of other denominations. For both these reasons the recently-elected Whig government in London revoked its charter in 1833. A.G.L. SHAW

CINESOUND Cinesound Productions Ltd was formed in 1931 to take over the film-making role of Australasian Films. Controlled by Greater Union Theatres and using a new sound technique invented locally by radio engineer Arthur Carrington Smith, Cinesound produced seventeen commercially successful feature films directed by film maker Ken Hall until it postponed feature production for the duration of the war in 1940. Hall's films include his first sound feature *On our selection* (1932), *The squatter's daughter* (1933), *Thoroughbred* (1936) and *Dad Rudd MP* (1940), his last feature for Cinesound. He continued to make newsreels and documentaries for Cinesound Newsreel, the first regular Australian newsreel formed by Hall in 1931, until his resignation in 1957. In 1970 the company amalgamated to form Cinesound Movietone Productions but it ceased production in 1975.

CITIZEN MILITARY FORCES Citizen forces took a prominent part in Australia's military defence after the mid-nineteenth century, and after Federation a compulsorily enlisted Citizen Military Force was formed for home defence. After World War I it was re-organised to accord with the five divisions of the Australian Imperial Force, and during World War II it participated in fighting in New Guinea and the islands to Australia's north. Re-organised after the 1939–45 war, it became the Army Reserve under the Whitlam government. G.P. WALSH

CITIZENSHIP AND NATIONALITY Prior to Federation in 1901 all the Australian colonies had laws regarding the naturalisation or denization of aliens. The first person naturalised in Australia was Timothy Goodwin Pitman, an American businessman in Sydney, who was naturalised under the Act 6 Geo IV No 13, 5 July 1825. Australian citizenship was officially created by the Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1948, which came into force on Australia Day 1949, repealing all previous legislation. Previously persons of British or naturalised British status residing in Australia were simply classed as British subjects. Under the new legislation persons holding Australian citizenship were citizens of the commonwealth of Australia and British subjects and had the right to vote, to hold an Australian passport and to be appointed to any public office. Amendments to the act in 1973 removed the distinction between British subjects and aliens and allowed citizenship to be granted after three years' residence in Australia. The Australian Citizenship Act (1948–73) is administered by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs. G.P. WALSH

CLARK, Charles Manning Hope (1915–), historian, was born in Sydney, the son of Reverend Charles Clark, and Catherine, nee Hope, who was a descendant of Samuel Marsden. After attending Melbourne Grammar School and the universities of Melbourne and Oxford, Clark taught history in Melbourne and Canberra from 1946 to 1975. Students were inspired by his teaching and his published collection of documents outlining Australian history, but conservatives were affronted by his political comments. He devoted more time to research after he moved to Canberra

University College and in 1956 began his multi-volume narrative history of Australia. His publications from 1962 onwards precipitated a war of words as academics, antiquaries and journalists debated the merits of Clark's work. His public statements and political articles embroiled him in further conflict during the 1970s. But, encouraged by numerous readers, Clark persevered. His critics' zeal underlined his pre-eminence as the great enlivener of the study of Australia's past.   STEPHEN HOLT

Further reading S. Holt, *Manning Clark and Australian history*, Brisbane 1982.

CLARKE, Marcus Andrew Hislop (1846–81), novelist and writer, arrived in Melbourne from England in 1863 after the collapse of his father's legal practice. In 1865 he moved to a sheep station at Glenorchy, Vic, and began contributing articles to the *Australian Magazine*. He returned to Melbourne in 1867 and joined the *Argus*, gaining fame as a satirical commentator on society. Clarke is best known for his novel on convict life, *His natural life*, first serialised from 1870 to 1872 in the *Australian Journal*. It was published in revised form as a book in 1874 and then in 1929 was reissued by Angus and Robertson with the title, *For the term of his natural life*.

CLARKE, William Branwhite (1798–1878), geologist and clergyman, arrived in Sydney in 1839 as Anglican minister to St Peter's, Campbelltown, after serving as a minister in several parishes in rural England. However, Clarke's most important contribution to the colony was as a geologist rather than a clergyman. He discovered particles of gold in the Blue Mountains in 1841 and, after news of the discovery became public, suggested the existence of a field in Vic which led to the finds at Ballarat. Clarke also did valuable work on tracing the NSW coalfields and contributed to the first geological sketch map of NSW, issued by the department of mines in 1880.

CLASS In the popular mind Australia has often appeared as a country where wealth was the only basis for class differences. Some historians have approached the study of class from the same theoretical position, known as stratification analysis, which uses wealth, occupation and other criteria to describe hierarchies of classes at particular moments in our history.

In 1828 the term 'class' in the first formal census was used for civil status, which was indicated by the abbreviations 'B.C. for Born in the Colony; C.F. for Came Free; F.S. for Free by Servitude' and so on for another six 'classes'. Not only administrators but also ordinary colonists thought civil status important, making social and political distinctions between 'emancipists' and 'exclusives' in the 1830s. This was also the period when occupation most clearly marked out a separate class, the landowning gentry of the pastoral and agricultural districts of NSW and Van Diemen's Land. With its commitment to a code of gentility and its aristocratic pretensions, the gentry in this period was the closest Australia ever came to an exclusive upper class. After the convict period there

were relics of this form of upper class in the Western District of Vic and in the Darling Downs, but these pastoralists had lost their social exclusiveness. As they merged into the more common world of the very wealthy they became chiefly known for their defensive conservative politics.

Although certain occupational groups may be distinguished from time to time, such as the craftsmen who formed an 'aristocracy of labour' at the end of the nineteenth century, historians have tended to adopt the analytically less rigorous categories used in the past, writing of 'the working classes', 'the middle class', and 'the upper class'. Among the working classes there was a clear division between 'respectable' workers who sought to conform to middle-class mores and those who did not. The latter, despite better living conditions than in Europe, never accumulated enough wealth or education to move into the middle class, whereas skilled craftsmen often did, albeit temporarily in many cases.

Much discussed by intellectuals and politicans in the twentieth century, the middle class was necessarily amorphous and probably quite small. It included the sober, pious business and professional families of the suburbs and the nouveau riche of dubious morals and manners, as well as some craftsmen. Although difficult to organise, the middle class was the natural constituency of conservative politics, but when it lost faith in its political leaders it was a highly volatile force. On several occasions—notably in the citizens' leagues of the early 1930s and the peace and other social movements of the 1970s and 1980s, mobilisations of middle-class Australians have disrupted conservative politics. The upper class has gone through two stages. Before 1939 Australian millionaires were remarkably homogeneous. They were predominantly of English or Scottish origin, their wealth deriving from pastoralism, overseas trading and retailing. There were few self-made men among them; indeed, social mobility between classes was less than generally believed. After World War II the sources of great wealth diversified, but many of the new millionaires were drawn from the older families.

An alternative way of studying class was taken up by neo-marxist historians in the 1970s. Their class analysis focused on the construction of the state, the labour market and capital in the early days of settlement, the patterns of social conflict that soon emerged and the consequent mobilisations that produced a structure of dominant and subordinate classes. They traced the changing composition and structure of a ruling class dedicated to the preservation of capitalism, and the making of a working class that resisted and sometimes challenged the interests of the ruling class. Viewing Australian history in this way resulted in a division into four periods, distinguished by the dominant group in the ruling class and the degree of working-class challenge.

In the first period there were several question marks over the class structure, even though a capitalist economy was clearly in place. The pastoral gentry, the dominant group among the capitalists, used the

magistracy and the system of convict assignment to exercise legal and economic power over the convicts, but in the absence of self-government the gentry had no real political power. Moreover, although the convicts resisted in various ways, they never posed a threat to the emerging structure of power, because the source of their oppression lay in Britain. They were an extrusion of the British class structure rather than Australia's first subordinate class. In the second period class relations were much clearer. Beginning in the 1840s, the dominance of the gentry declined and assignment, a system of mainly direct coercion of labour, was terminated, thus allowing the labour market to assume a more central role in social and economic relations. At the same time the urban merchants entered the campaign for self-government; by the opening of the new parliaments in 1856 they were the leading political and economic force in the colonies, at the head of an alliance of workingmen, small capitalists and professional men. These businessmen-politicians' bourgeois view of the world soon became almost universal in the colonies.

The political and cultural hegemony of the mercantile bourgeoisie was challenged in the third period between 1890 and 1930 by the emergence of working-class politics. As a mass phenomenon it was demonstrated in many bitter strikes and in the organisation of stronger unions and Labor party branches, but the mobilisation of workers as a class was also cultural. The larrikin pushes of the working–class suburbs, the widespread belief that 'the cooperative commonwealth' was near, the rejection by young working-class women of domestic servitude and the decline of church attendance among the workers were some of the signs of a crisis of bourgeois culture. However, there were limits to this mobilisation, both internal and external. Internally the class was divided by different regional patterns of mobilisation and by the conflict between radical populism and social democracy. Externally, the working class was integrated into society by arbitration and welfare systems; its mass actions were repressed by the State; and its political advances were met by new businessmen's organisations, tighter financial control of conservative politics, and a specialised cadre of ruling class political leaders with mass appeal.

In the fourth period the ruling class stopped being on the defensive. A mass conservative political party was at last successfully established by R.G. Menzies in 1944, and during the second long boom bourgeois hegemony was re-established on a new economic and political basis. Industrialisation, promoted by the state during the two world wars and state-directed thereafter, had created a new, more dynamic business leadership whose political program could encompass both social welfare and government management of the economy, provided that economic growth continued. Until the 1970s this program worked: the trade unions ceased to grow and the Labor party suffered a series of electoral defeats.

Underlying these events was the fragmentation of the working class, domestically via urbanisation and economically via mass immigration and the growth of white-collar occupations. However, the working class retained a certain defensive strength. By the 1980s this was in doubt, as was the industrial bourgeoisie's strategy of welfare conservatism. High inflation and unemployment were met by a corporatist accord between some sections of labour and capital, but this accord was resisted strongly on both the left and the right. A new period in the history of the class structure appeared to be starting.   T.H. IRVING

Further reading M. Cannon, *Life in the cities*, Melbourne 1975; R.W. Connell and T.H. Irving, *Class structure in Australian history*, Melbourne 1980; P. de Serville, *Port Phillip gentlemen and good society in Melbourne before the gold rushes*, Melbourne 1980; J. McCalman, *Struggletown: private and public life in Richmond, 1900–1965*, Melbourne 1984.

CLIFT, Charmian (1923–69), writer, born in Kiama, NSW, became a journalist on the *Argus* in Melbourne after World War II. In 1947 she married George Johnston and they collaborated on *High valley* which won the *Sydney Morning Herald* prize of £2000 for the best Australian novel in 1948. In 1954 they moved to the Greek island of Hydra where she continued to write her own novels, including *Mermaid singing* (1956), as well as writing with Johnston. Returning to Australia in 1964 she wrote weekly columns for the *Herald* (Melbourne) and the *Sydney Morning Herald* which were reprinted in *Images in aspic* (1965) and *The world of Charmian Clift* (1970). These pieces were anecdotal or topical, written in her graceful, highly personal style, with honesty, compassion and wit. After her death a reader wrote: 'She had a quality in her writing that left her readers feeling they had not so much read an article, as spent a few minutes with a valued friend.'

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R. CECIL CLIFTON,

Western Australia, in the heady years that followed the gold rushes of the 1890s, tried to attract farmers to large areas opened for selection. Many who responded to this government advertisement discovered that its claims about the weather were extravagant. Tourist handbook of Australia, *1904.*
BOOROWA PRODUCTIONS

CLOSER SETTLEMENT, the practice of settling large numbers of people on small blocks of land, has taken many forms in Australia, ranging from small land grants to ex-convicts to selection and soldier settlement schemes after both world wars. One colony, SA, was founded on the principle of closer settlement. The land legislation passed in colonial and state parliaments from the 1890s shared common characteristics, land already alienated and seen as suitable for closer settlement being repurchased and then sold in small blocks to settlers. Repurchase acts were passed in Qld (1891), WA (1896), SA (1897), Vic (1898), NSW (1901) and Tas (1907). Repurchase could be made compulsory except in WA. Government supervision of and preparation for settlement following these acts was better than in earlier years and finance was readily available through agricultural banks, first introduced in WA (1896). Closer settlement schemes were diverse. They promoted various forms of land-use, such as irrigation, dairying and wheat cultivation, and a variety of settlements such as co-operative villages in SA and Vic, group settlements in Qld, labourers' communes in NSW and working men's blocks in WA.   JOHN McQUILTON

CLOTHES From European settlement in 1788 until well into the nineteenth century Australian fashion was entirely British. Members of the small ruling classes brought with them their English clothes. Even the convicts were clad in the cast-offs of their former masters in England or Ireland before receiving their government issue of slops (institutional garments of a poor type) when these were available. The ladies of gentle birth making a life in their new country, nostalgic for the English mode, were kept up to date with its changes by letters and new arrivals.

By the 1830s brief fashion notes from London and Paris appeared in colonial newspapers and, by mid-century, in spite of an increased population, women still looked to Europe for their fashions, modifying them to suit their way of life. Changes in female clothes are so frequent as to be impossible to enumerate in this account, but a dominating feature in nineteenth century fashion was the variety of shapes produced by the understructure which peaked in absurdity in mid-century with the crinoline. A slim line, still with us today, began and ended the century. The narrowness of the waist emphasised throughout the nineteenth century ceased to be of major interest: the breast and legs have instead become focal points. For men the expansion of land settlement resulted in the adoption of a practical bush dress distinctive to Australia and one that has continued with slight variations to the present day: red or checked flannel overshirts, moleskins and wide-brimmed hats with fly veils.

Dressmakers and tailors who made to measure for individual customers were established early and by the 1880s some commercially-made clothing became available; a flourishing mail-order trade also catered for both men and women. About the same time local paper patterns began to provide help for home dressmakers. In the realm of high fashion, however,

Advertisement for the 'Austral Suit', on sale at Gowing Bros' menswear store, George Street, Sydney. Vanguard, *24 Sept 1910.*
ANU ARCHIVES OF BUSINESS AND LABOUR

imported and custom-made garments remained *de rigueur*. This trend continued, and in the twentieth century gathered pace with the spread of information to the masses through increased publication of magazines.

Today, contact resulting from instant world communications tends to impede the formation of a distinctive Australian style. Nevertheless climate and casual living have caused a dress style to evolve particularly suited to the outdoors, and while there lingers a *cachet* about imported clothes there has also been a marked increase in locally made fashion. This competitive market is the result of improved design and manufacturing standards: high quality off-the-peg clothes are available for the fashion conscious and even for export, with labels bearing Australian names. New trends in women's fashions appear to explode simultaneously around the world, and as Australian women have never liked to be behind the fashion, any time lag will remain purely seasonal.

In the early years of colonial Australia, vagaries of fashion were confined to the affluent; the majority were content with a costume uninfluenced by its fluctuations and one appropriate to their occupations. The development of manufacturing, the levelling of society and the growing financial independence of women during the twentieth century allowed fashion to come within the reach of everyone, albeit still with the distinction of rich materials and fine workmanship for the well-to-do.

As the twentieth century progresses, however, the main feature of the clothing and fashion industry has been the increase in mass production and the chain store retail trade. These have permitted items of popular apparel like denim jeans, t-shirts, track suits and jogging shoes to be mass marketed as soon as the public accepts them. Mass circulation fashion magazines and commercial television have ensured rapid adoption of such new fashions across the nation.

MARION FLETCHER

Further reading M. Fletcher, *Costume in Australia 1788–1901*, Melbourne 1984; C. Flower, *Clothes in Australia: a pictorial history 1788–1980s*, Sydney 1984; E. Scandrett, *Breeches and bustles, an illustrated history of clothes worn in Australia, 1788–1914*, Lilydale 1978.

CLUNIES ROSS, Sir Ian (1899–1959), scientist, studied veterinary science at the University of Sydney and in 1922 received the Walter and Eliza Hall Veterinary Research Fellowship. He did postgraduate work in England before becoming a lecturer at Sydney University. He worked for the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) in 1926–37, resigning to join the International Wool Secretariat. At the University of Sydney he was professor of veterinary science 1940–46, until his appointment as a member of the executive of the CSIR. Later this reconstituted body became the CSIRO and Clunies Ross became the first chairman, retaining the position until his death. He was the writer of over 60 research papers and was honoured by many institutions.
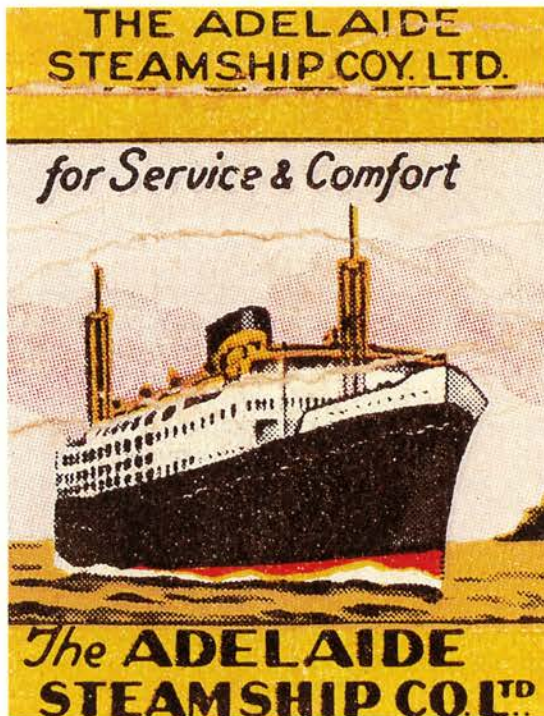
Match booklet provided by Adelaide Steamship Co Ltd on its passenger services.
BOOROWA PRODUCTIONS

CLYDE COMPANY, a Port Phillip and Victorian joint stock pastoral syndicate, was formed in 1836 by Captain Patrick Wood and Philip Russell, settlers on the Clyde River, Tasmania, and five related Glasgow merchant–investors with Liverpool and New York links. The company was managed by George Russell (1812–88), who followed his elder brother from Fife in 1830, and was a partner from 1841, when prospects were gloomy. It prospered, through practical on-the-spot control and restraint by the British partners, until 1857–58, when rising land values and the collapse of American cotton resulted in dissolution sales and George Russell's ownership of the Golfhill head station, near Geelong. Final figures showed a return of £258 000 for £78 000 invested. Dissolution of the partnership on 12 March 1858 was not proclaimed formally until 16 January 1874.

P.L. BROWN

Further reading P.L. Brown (ed), *Clyde Company papers*, 7 vols, London 1941–71 and *The narrative of George Russell*, London 1935.

COASTAL SHIPPING Ever since European settlement in Australia coastal shipping has been an important factor in economic development. It was conducted entirely by sail until steamers began servicing the Sydney–Hunter River trade in 1831. Steamer services south of Sydney started late in the same decade. Company organisation, which was established by the Hunter River Steam Navigation Co in 1839, became the norm for steamship operations during the 1850s. Some of the large coastal companies like the Australasian Steam Navigation Co and William Howard Smith and Sons dated from mid-century; others were a product of the 1870s or later, for example, Adelaide Steamship Co, Huddart, Parker & Co and Melbourne Steamship Co. The intercolonial trade was dominated by the larger companies and the intracolonial and riverine trades were the province of a whole range of smaller companies and partnerships.

Although railway construction accelerated from the 1870s there was no intercolonial connection joining Brisbane to Adelaide until 1891. The various railway systems became more serious competitors for coastal shipping during the 1890s. Before then waterborne transport was the key link between and within the colonies, carrying passengers and cargo, especially the bulky low-value items. The main threat to nineteenth-century operations was not the railways, but the fierce competition within the coastal shipping industry. This was replaced by monopolistic arrangements from the 1890s into the twentieth century. These collusive agreements guaranteed above average profits but also reduced the pressure to innovate. The result was a fairly slow rate of adoption of new techniques such as roll-on/roll-off ships. The two world wars provided a shock to the system and disrupted scheduled services stretching from Cairns to Fremantle, thereby diverting traffic to railway and road alternatives. The serious erosion of the coastal shipping market began in the interwar period and continued in the 1940s. After World War II the coastal fleets were obsolete, maritime industrial relations lowered productivity and profits, shipbuilding costs

Nothing like opposition, *a watercolour by George Lacy, c1855,*
illustrates the intense competition between Cobb & Co and its rivals
for the lucrative goldfields trade.
NATIONAL LIBRARY

were escalating and competition from road and rail transport increased.

In the 1950s many coastal companies amalgamated or went out of existence. By 1960 the coastal passenger trade had finished. Shore-based capital equipment was also run down, as the facilities at the outlying ports had not been properly maintained and those at major ports all required modernising. Only drastic rationalisation and the adoption of more modern technology, for example, container ships, enabled the remaining companies to survive. The often tense industrial relations along the waterfront continued until the federal government became involved in stevedoring and associated activities.

Several state governments established shipping services, but the Western Australian service, set up in 1912, was the only one of note. Federal government intervention commenced in the overseas shipping sphere after World War I and continued with the Australian Shipping Board in World War II. This became the Australian Coastal Shipping Commission in 1956 and by then most coastal vessels had been replaced with modern motorships. Government shipping was represented by the Australian National Line, which conducted coastal services and the overseas services introduced in the 1970s. New roll-on/roll-off ships and specialised cargo carriers were built for both services. As costs rose sharply after the 1960s the massive investment program in new port facilities became of crucial importance. Nevertheless, it is only by continually innovating that the coastal shipping industry can hope to achieve economic viability.

G.R. HENNING

Further reading J. Bach, *A maritime history of Australia*, Sydney 1976; N.L. McKellar, *From Derby round to Burketown*, Brisbane 1977; B. Pemberton, *Australian coastal shipping*, Melbourne 1979; P.J. Williams and R. Serle, *Ships in Australian waters*, Melbourne 1968.

COASTWATCHERS Formed during the 1930s as a voluntary organisation for the surveillance of the coasts of Australia and its territories, the coastwatchers numbered some 800 members by 1939. Under the control of naval intelligence the organisation was of vital importance during the campaigns in the Solomon Islands, Papua and New Guinea, remaining behind as the Japanese advanced and providing intelligence to Allied forces.

COATS OF ARMS The Commonwealth of Australia, all states and a large number of cities have adopted coats of arms as the result of lawful grants by the sovereign. The first commonwealth coat of arms was granted in 1908 and was replaced by the present coat of arms in 1912. It consists of the six state badges within an ermine border to signify federation, a crest comprising a seven-pointed gold star on a gold and blue wreath, and a kangaroo and an emu as supporters. State coats of arms were granted as follows: Qld, 1893; NSW, 1908; Vic, 1910; Tas, 1917; SA, 1936; WA, 1969.

G.P. WALSH

COBB & CO was the largest coaching company in eastern Australia from 1853 when Freeman Cobb and three other Americans imported American coaches and began services from Melbourne to Sandridge (Port Melbourne) and later to the goldfields. The company changed hands several times and in 1859 was acquired by James Rutherford and partners. In 1862 its headquarters transferred to Bathurst, NSW, where it expanded into other activities. Extending

into Qld in 1865, it operated there as a separate company. Railways pushed the coaches into remoter areas, and the last coach ran in 1924. It continues as a motor transport company.

COFFEE PALACES The temperance movement enjoyed considerable influence in Victorian politics from the 1880s and one of its earliest exponents was James Munro, Presbyterian, land boomer and politician. Munro established a series of 'coffee palaces' in Melbourne—in effect, hotels where travellers could stay without being tempted by alcohol. One of Melbourne's most famous hotels began life as a coffee palace—the Grand, now the Windsor Hotel. Unfortunately for Munro these hotels failed and unsettled his far-flung investment empire, resulting in his bankruptcy and ruin. The palaces attempted to trade out of their difficulties by accepting liquor licences.

COFFEY, Essie (1940–), film maker, singer and songwriter, is a member of the Murrawarri people of northwestern NSW. She is co-founder of the Western Aboriginal Legal Service (Brewarrina) and a member of the NSW Aboriginal Advisory Council and the Aboriginal Lands Trust. Her autobiographical film *My survival as an Aborigine* (1979) won the documentary section of the Greater Union Awards for Australian Short Films and the Rouben Mamoulian Award for the best short film.

COGHLAN, Sir Timothy Augustine (1855–1926), statistician, was appointed government statistician in the newly formed NSW Department of Statistics in 1886 and was responsible for devising the 1891 and 1901 censuses. During this time he published an annual series of statistical volumes entitled *The wealth and progress of New South Wales*, later to become *The official yearbook of New South Wales*, and in 1918 published a major four-volume work entitled *Labour and industry in Australia*. He was NSW Agent-General in London from 1905 to 1926 and was appointed KCMG in 1918.

COLBUNG, Ken (1931–), Aboriginal leader, was born to an Aboriginal mother and British father at the Moore River government native settlement, WA. He served in the army for fifteen years before spending five years as a field officer with the Foundation of Aboriginal Affairs, Sydney. He returned to WA in 1970, and became active in local Aboriginal organisations, serving variously as president of the WA Aboriginal legal service, chairman of the WA Aboriginal lands trust, council member of Sister Kate's children's home and administrative officer of Nyoongah Community Inc. He later helped the Nyoongah community establish an experimental school for Aboriginal children. In 1984 he became chairman of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, the first Aborigine to hold that position.

COLE, Edward William (1832–1918), bookseller, arrived in Vic from London in 1852 and, in 1865, after spending time on the goldfields, opened a secondhand bookstall in Melbourne's Eastern Market. He opened his first 'book arcade' in Bourke Street in 1873 and expanded into larger premises ten years later. By the turn of the century Cole's was one of the most popular and successful book businesses in Australia.

COLES, Sir George James (1885–1977), retailer, was born in Vic and opened his 'nothing over a shilling' store in 1914 in Collingwood. Five years later he opened a second store in partnership with his brother, Arthur William, selling 'nothing over two shillings and sixpence'. In 1921 he established a company and remained its director until 1931. Another brother, Kenneth Frank, was NSW director of the company from 1933–76. By the mid-1970s Coles' yearly sales from 580 stores throughout Australia were over $1 billion.

COLLEGES OF ADVANCED EDUCATION (CAEs), evolved out of the 1964 Martin Committee report. Whereas universities strive toward the acquisition of academic knowledge, CAEs have a more vocational orientation. They offer degrees, diplomas and associate diplomas, as well as other awards. A broad range of courses is available. Administered by the states, CAEs are federally funded. During the 1970s there was considerable growth in the number of CAEs, and total enrolments were only just short of those for universities.

COLLINS, David (1756–1810), lieutenant-governor, sailed with the first fleet to Botany Bay in 1788 as deputy judge advocate of the new colony. He worked closely with Gov Phillip until Phillip's departure in 1792 and was responsible under the governor for the colony's entire legal establishment. Collins returned to England in 1797 and was then commissioned to found a new settlement in Bass Strait. Collins landed at Sullivan's Cove on 16 February 1804 and founded Hobart Town where he remained as lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Land until his death.

COLOMBO PLAN This is a program designed to promote the economic development of south and southeast Asia by 'mutual co-operation and external assistance'. It was formulated following a meeting of commonwealth foreign ministers at Colombo in 1950. Programs devised under the plan include agricultural development, land settlement, irrigation and rural electrification, improvement of transport and communications and health programs. Provision of training for personnel in these areas is an important part of the scheme. In the 1950s and 1960s, the plan was most notable for bringing numbers of Asian students to Australia. Their presence helped to reduce the prejudices that underlay racially restrictive immigration policies.

COLONIAL LAWS VALIDITY ACT, an imperial statute, applicable to the Australian colonies, passed by the British parliament in 1865. It stated that future British statutes were to have effect in the colonies only if they expressly stated so or were applicable by 'necessary intendment'; it also provided that colonial

laws could be deemed void on grounds of repugnancy to British law only if they conflicted with such imperial statutes. The act enabled colonies to amend their own constitutions and to contain sections entrenched by requirements as to the 'manner and form' of these amendments. The act's application to the commonwealth was removed by the Statute of Westminster of 1931. In 1986 its effect on the states was removed by parallel legislation passed by the British, commonwealth and state parliaments, although its constitutional aspects were retained.

COLONIAL NAVAL DEFENCE ACT, 1865
From the mid-1850s the Australian colonies began to establish naval forces, and differences arose between the colonies and the Royal Navy over the nature and control of colonial naval forces. The British Colonial Naval Defence Act of 1865 established a policy for the provision, maintenance and use of colonial warships, which were henceforth restricted to local defence in the colonies' territorial waters.

COLONIAL OFFICE was the department of state in London which dealt with Australian affairs when the colonies were dependent on the United Kingdom. The secretary of state for the colonies, a member of the cabinet, appointed colonial governors and major officials, issued instructions to them and heard private (not legal) appeals against their actions, though he was, of course, constrained himself by acts of parliament, parliamentary opinion and the views of his cabinet colleagues. After 1856, the office ceased to interfere in the internal affairs of the colonies.

A.G.L. SHAW

COMMISSARIATS were imperial supply organisations. From Port Jackson, they spread to other settlements, receiving and distributing British and local goods. But they became key bodies in Australian banking and trade and in British funding and control of convict settlements. They were also means to finance private ventures in banking, trade, farming and manufacture. Their role shrank with the growth of local public finance and administration and with the cessation of convict inflow. They remained important in Van Diemen's Land until 1855 and in WA later in the century, and were vital to New Zealand settlement in the 1840s.

N.G. BUTLIN

COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE, created in 1903, was composed of leading cabinet ministers, members of the armed forces and civilian experts. Dominion statesmen were often invited to attend when in London. It dealt with large questions of policy, co-ordinating the activities of the army and navy (and later the air force), and although only a consultative and advisory body, without executive authority, it became the central point in British defence policy.

A.G.L. SHAW

COMMONWEALTH GAMES A meeting of athletes from British Commonwealth countries, modelled on and complementary to the Olympic Games, held every four years in the intervals between Olympiads. In 1891 J. Astley Cooper, an English-
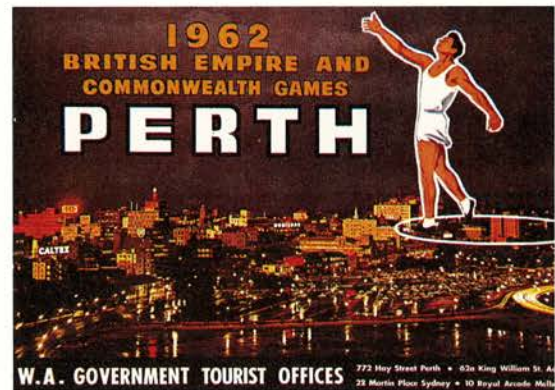
At the 1962 Commonwealth Games, Perth was host to competitors from more than thirty countries. Australia won 63 gold medals. This advertisement by the Western Australian Government Tourist Office was released nearly two years before the games opened. Australia to-day, *10 Oct 1960.*

man, advocated a pan-Britannic and Anglo-Saxon Olympiad. His idea roused some interest but nothing was done until the 'Festival of Empire', held to celebrate the coronation of King George V in 1910. Part of the festival program was a sports meeting in London in 1911, at which Australian Harold Hardwick won gold medals for swimming and boxing. In 1928, as a result of the friendliness between Empire athletes at the Amsterdam Olympic Games, the idea of an Empire sports contest took shape, based on the ideal that the games should be 'merrier and less stern' than the Olympics, substituting 'the stimulus of novel adventure for the pressure of international rivalry'. The first Empire Games took place in Hamilton, Canada, in 1930. The British Empire Games were renamed the British Empire and Commonwealth Games in 1954, British Commonwealth Games in 1970 and finally Commonwealth Games in 1978. They were held in Australia in 1938 (Sydney), 1962 (Perth) and 1982 (Brisbane).

G.P. WALSH

COMMONWEALTH GRANTS COMMISSION was established in 1933 to consider applications from the states for financial assistance under section 96 of the constitution. It followed dissatisfaction among the three less populous states, SA, WA and Tas, which claimed to be suffering as a result of federation in 1901. In its first report (1934) it recommended grants to the three states sufficient to adjust their budgets to the average of the other states. In 1972 the Labor government empowered the commission to consider the allocation of funds to local authorities (a function taken over by the State Grants Commissions from 1975) and between 1977 and 1980 it reviewed the per capita relativities used to allocate tax sharing entitlements among the states.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA is the official title of the nation as a whole. It is used to describe Australia both as a political and geographical unit and in relation to its central government.

On 31 March 1891, at the Sydney Federal Convention, the constitution committee presented to the full convention 'A draft bill to constitute the Commonwealth of Australia', the first official use of the title. The name had been suggested by Henry Parkes, President of the Federal Convention, and was enthusiastically endorsed by Alfred Deakin. According to Deakin, the name had suggested itself to Parkes through his study of the English Revolution and Oliver Cromwell's use of the term 'commonwealth'. On 1 January 1901, the six self-governing colonies became a united federal commonwealth.

Further reading J.A. La Nauze, 'The name of the Commonwealth of Australia', *Hist stud* 15, 73, 1971.

COMMONWEALTH POWERS REFERENDUM

In 1944 the federal Labor government sought a five-year extension of the wartime powers granted it by an all-party conference in 1942. The principal powers related to resettlement of ex-service personnel, employment, marketing of commodities, uniform company laws, monopolies, prices, production and distribution of goods, control of overseas exchange and loans, air transport, uniform rail gauges, national works, national health, family allowances, Aborigines, and freedom of expression. The opposition forced the bill to a referendum on 19 August, when it was defeated 2 305 418 No votes to 1 963 400 Yes, with No majorities in all states except SA and WA.

The government revived some of these proposals in 1946. On 28 September the first two issues won narrow majorities of the total vote, but were defeated because of No majorities in three states. A proposal relating to social services was carried to become section 51xxiiiA of the constitution.   F.B. SMITH

COMMONWEALTH SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH ORGANIZATION (CSIRO)

In 1916 the prime minister, W.M. Hughes, called together representatives of primary and secondary industry and science in a national conference on the role of science in relation to industrial development. A temporary body, the Advisory Council on Science and Industry, was formed as a result. In 1920 the Commonwealth Institute of Science and Industry was formed, to be replaced by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) in 1926. In its early years it was chiefly concerned with primary industry, but in 1936 its role was broadened specifically to

Photographing a crew briefing at Sydney's Bankstown airport before take-off on a CSIRO cloud-seeding flight. Rainmaking was one of CSIRO's best-known activities in the 1950s. Its efforts were not very successful. Photograph, Aug 1955.
MAGAZINE PROMOTIONS

include scientific assistance to secondary industry. The National Standards Laboratory resulted, and the organisation played an important role in the rapid development of industry necessitated by World War II. Under the Science and Industry Research Act 1949 the body was reconstituted as the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization (CSIRO). Amendments to the act in 1978 led to a further restructuring. Important work has been carried out in such fields as plant and animal breeding, pasture management, myxomatosis, pest and disease control, trace elements, paper manufacture from hardwoods, mineral exploration, wool textiles, solar energy, radio astronomy and atomic absorption spectrophotometry.

COMMONWEALTH–STATE RELATIONS

On 1 January 1901 Australia became 'one indissoluble Federal Commonwealth'. Each of the seven governments (the commonwealth and six states) was intended to be sovereign in its own sphere as there was too much suspicion, and too much genuine difference of interests, for closer union.

Despite this, some, including Alfred Deakin, three times prime minister of the commonwealth, recognised that federal power would grow at the expense of state power. The period 1901–14 saw the commonwealth gradually extending its power by virtue of the fact that it was a national government whose sovereignty extended over the whole continent.

The commonwealth's real strength lay in the fact that after ten years the states became ¬beholden to it for their revenue, as they had, of necessity, surrendered their most prolific and expandable taxation source, customs duties. From 1910, the commonwealth paid the states only a fixed sum each year and in 1927 a new financial agreement brought the borrowing powers of the states under the control of the Australian Loan Council, on which each state had one vote while the commonwealth had two as well as a casting vote.

During World War II the commonwealth acquired a uniform income taxing power to enable it to meet its heavy revenue needs. This move was consolidated after the war when the commonwealth continued to levy income tax; the states simply could not compete. Since that time, tight commonwealth control of the purse, and the use of tied grants for functions perceived as desirable but within the state legislative competence, have ensured, as Deakin foresaw in 1902, that the states remain 'legally free, but financially bound to the chariot wheels of the commonwealth'.

The Senate (intended to operate as a 'states' house) has rarely been significant in matters affecting the federal balance. Neither has the constitutional provision for the transfer of powers from one level of government to the other. Because the procedure for doing so is so difficult, the constitution has only rarely been altered by formal amendment. Judicial interpretation by the high court has given a limited flexibility, but that is an uncertain instrument of change. Two major attempts at large-scale alteration, by royal commission 1927–29 and by a convention in the years following 1973, failed completely. However, none of this has prevented many sensible agreements, for ends which seem desirable to all parties, being worked out between the governments by administrative means.

Political and administrative federalism will continue in the foreseeable future, partly due to lethargy and vested interest, partly due to fear of the unwieldiness of a fully centralised system and the worries of the more remote or less economically advanced states. If the states seem less powerful now in relation to the commonwealth than they did in 1901, this is not solely, and perhaps not even primarily, the result of a transfer of power. There has been continuous growth of power at all governmental levels, but especially within the commonwealth domain.   D.I. WRIGHT

Further reading B.W. Hodgins, D. Wright and W.H. Heick (eds), *Federalism in Canada and Australia: the early years*, Canberra 1978; W.G. McMinn, *A constitutional history of Australia*, Melbourne 1979; G.F. Sawer, *Modern federalism*, London 1969.

COMMUNIST PARTY DISSOLUTION BILL

Prime Minister Robert Menzies introduced the Communist Party Dissolution Bill into federal parliament in 1950, following a report by Mr Justice Lowe on the activities of the Victorian branch of the Communist party. The bill was passed despite criticism from both sides of the house, the labour movement and newspaper editors that it seriously infringed civil liberties. The legality of the act was successfully challenged in the high court by the Communist party and the trade unions, and a move to allow parliamentary powers to introduce similar legislation was defeated by referendum in September 1951.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA (CPA)

was officially formed on 30 October 1920. In 1922 the Soviet Comintern resolved a factional dispute within the newly-formed party by recognising the trade-union based United CPA as the official CPA; soon after this the rival ultra-Marxist Australian Socialist Party collapsed. Henceforth the party was known as the CPA, a section of the Communist International. It was controlled by the 'Trades Hall Reds', a group of militant union leaders, led by J.S. ('Jock') Garden, secretary of the NSW Labor Council.

The party helped shape the socialist program of the All-Australian Trade Union Congress of 1921. Two years later the CPA briefly affiliated with the NSW branch of the Australian Labor Party, but that party's federal conference declared communists ineligible for ALP membership. The CPA then sought to oppose Labor at the 1925 NSW elections, but a humiliating vote resulted. Soon after there was an abrupt abandonment of the party by the Trades Hall Reds, and party membership fell from about 1500 in 1920 to less than 250 in 1928.

Garden and the trade-union left continued to maintain links with the world communist movement through the Profintern (the Red International of Labor Unions). In 1928 Garden was elected to the world executive of the Profintern and Moscow-based front organisations continued to maintain strong links
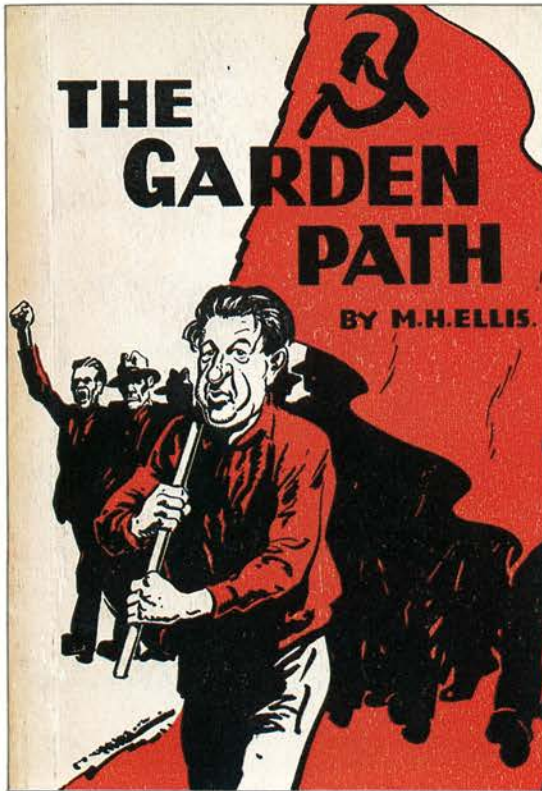
Historian and journalist Malcolm Ellis published several tracts alleging communist infiltration of the labour movement. In this book, published in Sydney by the Land *newspaper in 1949, he suggested that trades hall activist Jock Garden was leading the workers astray.*
SPEARRITT COLLECTION

with left-wing unions. In such a situation the CPA fulfilled a minor role for left-wing activists. The party's leading figure was J. Kavanagh, an Irish immigrant who sought to promote party identity and Leninist principles. However, in 1929 the Comintern communicated its displeasure with the leadership of Kavanagh and his supporters. They were replaced by J.B. Miles, L.L. Sharkey and H. Moxon. The new leaders announced their intention of applying the Comintern's current confrontationist strategy in Australia.

The CPA was also reorganised and thoroughly Stalinised during 1930–31. In the Depression the CPA's confrontationist policies proved attractive, and party membership rose to about 2500 in 1932, while its most successful front, the Unemployed Workers Movement, claimed a membership of over 30 000. Other fronts recruited trade unionists or interested intellectuals.

On these new bases of support the party began to expand its influence following the Comintern's return to a united front policy in 1934. By the outbreak of World War II the communists were a significant influence. During the war membership peaked at about 24 000. From mid-1940 to late 1941 the party was ban-

ned under wartime emergency powers. The party changed its name to the Australian Communist Party in an attempt to underline its growing nationalist and semi-popular identity.

As the Cold War developed, the party declined. By the time L.L. Sharkey had been forced out of the general secretaryship in 1965, the party's membership was small and its influence, even in the trade unions, was beginning to wane. Splits in the world communist movement were an important factor here, and led to local schisms: in 1963 a pro-Chinese faction broke away; in 1968 a pro-Soviet party split off; many other mini-parties appeared representing minority strands of Marxist–Leninist thought. All such groups opposed racism and sexism and most saw themselves as fulfilling an educational role. The CPA also pursued a policy of developing a coalition with social activists radicalised by their concern over such issues as environment, sexual identity, or peace and the nuclear threat. By late 1984 party membership was reported to be under 1300, and the party appeared to have little future as an independent left-wing force. FRANK FARRELL

Further reading B.J. Costar, '. . . and then there were three: the 1971 split in the Communist Party of Australia', in R. Lucy (ed), *The pieces of politics*, Melbourne 1975; A. Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia: a short history*, Stanford 1969; F. Farrell, *International socialism and Australian labour*, Sydney 1981; R. Gollan, *Revolutionaries and reformists*, Canberra 1985 (1975).

CONDER, Charles Edward (1868–1909), painter, lithographer and fan designer, arrived in Sydney from England in 1884 and worked with the lands department. He became a lithographic apprentice to a Sydney firm and in 1887 his drawings appeared in the *Illustrated Sydney News*. He attended classes at the Art Society of NSW and sent paintings to its annual exhibitions in 1887 and 1888. He met and was influenced by Julian Ashton, Phil May, Tom Roberts and others. In 1890 he left to study in Paris where he came under the influence of Toulouse-Lautrec. From 1895 he became increasingly preoccupied with fan designs made in water-colour on silk.

CONISTON MASSACRE refers to the murder of a number of Aborigines on Coniston station, NT, during two police expeditions to avenge Aboriginal attacks on two white men.

On 7 August 1928 dingo hunter Fred Brooks was killed by Aborigines on Coniston station, 255 kilometres northwest of Alice Springs. Drought had forced the Walpiri Aborigines to move closer to stations for food and water. Cattle spearings had increased, and tension between white and black was high, but the main reason for the attack on Brooks was probably the abduction of an Aboriginal woman.

C.A. Cawood, government resident of central Australia, sent out Mounted Constable William Murray with trackers Paddy and Major to find the killers. At Coniston station he recruited the lessee, R.B. Stafford, and three other men. They rode through a

number of Aboriginal camps, killing as they went. On 1 September Murray returned to Alice Springs with two prisoners, Padygar and Akirkra, who were tried for Brooks's murder but acquitted because of public sympathy for Aborigines in the aftermath of the massacre.

On 28 August pastoralist 'Nugget' Morton was also attacked by Aborigines, barely escaping with his life. It is likely that the attack was also related to the abduction of an Aboriginal woman. On 4 September Murray was sent out again. The death toll for both expeditions was put officially at 31 but unofficial estimates were between 70 and 100 deaths.

Public indignation about the incident was immense, and forced the federal Bruce–Page government on 13 December 1928 to appoint a commission of inquiry consisting of a police inspector, a police magistrate and C.A. Cawood. On 18 January 1929, they found the police action against the Aborigines entirely justified. Despite the favourable findings of the commission, many of those involved in the massacre, including Morton, Cawood and Murray, left the NT. The massacre marked the end of active resistance by the Walpiri, most of whom fled their country, but elsewhere in the NT it encouraged further conflict. It did, however, end the mounting of punitive expeditions against the Aborigines. In 1933 the idea of an expedition against Tuckiar, the leader of a party of Balamoomoo tribesmen who had killed some Japanese and a police constable, was quickly shelved in the face of public outcry.

The Coniston massacre indicated the need for a national policy on Aborigines, and contributed towards its eventual establishment.   TRACY BELL

Further reading A. Powell, *A far country: a short history of the Northern Territory*, Melbourne 1982.

CONSCRIPTION None of the Australian colonies provided for compulsory military service, but in 1903 the Commonwealth Defence Act introduced conscription within Australia in times of war. Only volunteers could be sent overseas. In 1911 compulsory military training was introduced for males aged between twelve and twenty-six. Aliens, theological students, school teachers, the medically unfit and those living more than five miles from training centres were exempt: most trainees therefore came from cities and larger towns. Conscientious objectors were not exempt despite appeals from pacifist organisations, but religious objectors and non-Europeans were given non-combatant duties.

Many young men co-operated, but the demands made on the limited leisure time of working-class youths aroused considerable opposition, particular.y from trade unionists. The Australian Freedom League, formed in 1912 to oppose compulsory training, had attracted by 1914 an estimated 55 000 members. By 1915 when 161 000 youths had been trained, there had been 34 000 prosecutions for failing to meet the various demands of the scheme and 7000 detentions.

During World War I training was suspended for those men who were eligible to enlist, and few
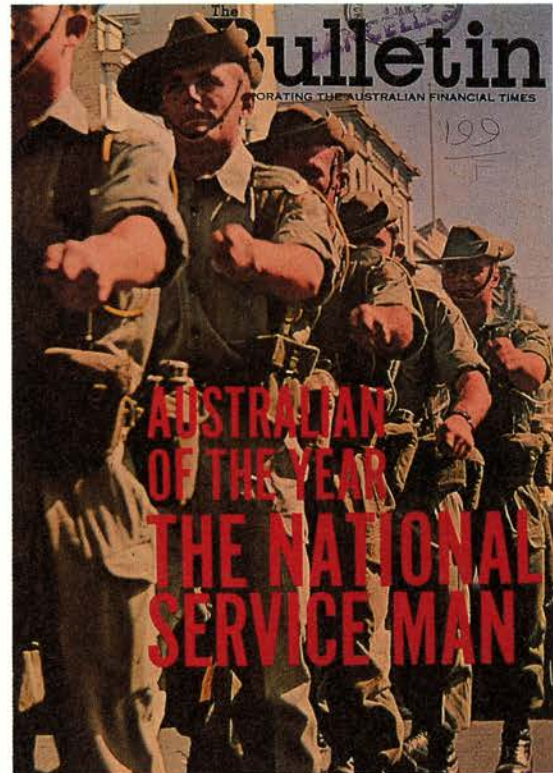
National service, or conscription, enabled Australia to make a substantial commitment to the war in Vietnam. Forty per cent of Australians in that war were conscripted. Bulletin, 7 Jan 1967.

resources were made available for the training of cadets. Compulsory training further declined in the interwar years. In 1929 the Labor prime minister James Scullin, largely as an economic measure but also because of Labor's long-standing dislike of compulsion, suspended compulsory training entirely, but did not repeal the legislation on which it was based.

In 1916 the Labor prime minister W.M. Hughes had attempted to introduce conscription for overseas service by means of a referendum. This proposal was rejected (1 087 557 Australians voted for and 1 160 033 voted against it) on 28 October 1916. In the following year Hughes, now head of the newly-formed Nationalist Party, held another referendum. This time conscription for overseas service was rejected by a slightly larger majority when 1 015 159 votes were cast in favour and 1 181 747 against. Historians have produced numerous analyses of voting but still find no compelling explanation for the outcome, which surprised many. A statistical analysis has suggested that women, immigrants, primary producers, men of military age and Western Australians, in that order, tended to support conscription, while Catholics and organised labour tended to oppose it. Voting in the conscription referendums was affected by a number of issues both overseas and local, including events in Ireland, the casualty rate in the war and the government's management of the economy.

In 1939, soon after the outbreak of war, the United Australia Party prime minister R.G. Menzies announced the conscription of all unmarried twenty-one-year-old men for three months' service in the militia or reserve forces. After initial opposition, the Labor party in June 1940 endorsed this measure. In February 1943, after intense debate within the party, John Curtin's Labor government amended the Defence Act again to enable conscripted militia to be sent into combat outside Australia and its territories 'for the duration of the present war', into an area defined as the South-Western Pacific Zone.

In July 1951 a compulsory training scheme was introduced by the Menzies Liberal–Country Party government which obliged all eighteen-year-old male Australians to undergo 176 days' training over a period of five years in one of the armed services. There was no significant organised opposition to the scheme and the number of those failing to register or otherwise to co-operate was negligible. The government limited the scheme in 1957 and abandoned it in 1960 largely in response to army pressure. The military believed the considerable proportion of the defence vote spent in producing large numbers of partly-trained conscripts would be better devoted to providing a smaller number of professional, highly trained soldiers with modern equipment.

A new system was introduced in 1965. National servicemen were now required to serve for two years in the regular army rather than the militia, which rendered them liable for overseas service. The government adopted this scheme, despite initial army opposition, because it envisaged a more active role for Australia in Asia, and believed that under prevailing employment conditions the army could not attain its required strength by voluntary enlistment. Between 1965 and December 1972, 804 286 twenty-year-old males registered for national service. Of these an average of 8500 were selected annually by a ballot based on birthdates. Aborigines and members of the armed services were exempt from registration. Exemptions from service were given to theological students, ministers of religion, the disabled and those determined by a magistrate to be conscientious objectors. Those married or enrolled for five-year service in the Citizens' Military Force within a certain period were granted indefinite deferment; approximately 44 per cent were rejected on medical, psychological or educational grounds, and students, apprentices and cases of hardship were granted temporary deferments.

A total of 63 735 conscripts served with the army from 1965 to 1972. From 1 January 1962 to 31 December 1973, 21 132 individual regular servicemen served a twelve month tour of duty in Vietnam compared with 19 450 national servicemen, who constituted no more than 50 per cent of each army unit there. In Vietnam 1479 national servicemen were casualties and of these 200 died, compared with 1795 casualties among regular servicemen of whom 242 died.

Compulsory military training generally enjoyed strong popular support in Australia, but unprece-dented opposition to this scheme was created by the obligation to serve overseas and hostility to the war in Vietnam. Its administration also aroused controversy, as conscientious objection to particular wars was not recognised and alternative civilian service was not offered. Defiance of the various provisions of the Defence Act grew over the period and popular approval, as measured by opinion polls, declined. Following the decision, announced in August 1971, to withdraw troops from Vietnam, the government reduced the term of service to eighteen months, but the scheme was not abolished until 5 December 1972 by an administrative decision of the newly-elected Labor government.   ANN-MARI JORDENS

Further reading J. Barrett, *Falling in: Australians and 'boy conscription' 1911–1915*, Sydney 1979; R. Forward and B. Reece (eds), *Conscription in Australia*, Brisbane 1968; P. Hasluck, *The government and the people 1942–1945*, Canberra 1970; P. King (ed), *Australia's Vietnam*, Sydney 1983; G. Withers, 'The 1916–17 conscription referenda: a cliometric re-appraisal', *Hist stud* 20/78, 1982, 36–46.

CONSTITUTIONS The constitution of a country is often said to consist of those statutes, rules laid down by courts and unwritten customary practices which are designed to regulate the powers of government, relations between levels and organs of the state, and the rights of individuals against the state. In Australia the word has usually referred only to statutes defining the powers of parliament, the courts and the executive, although other legal limitations (for example, habeas corpus) and popular ideals have also been appealed to as parts of 'the constitution'.
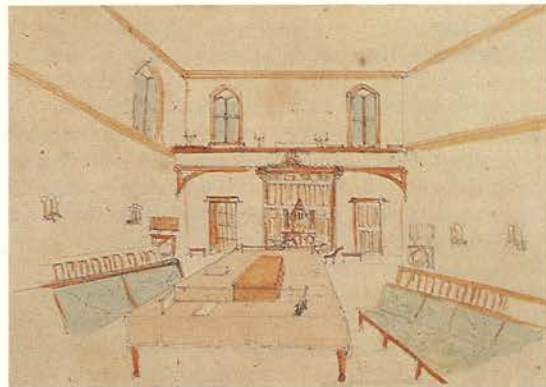
William Leigh, Interior of legislative council chamber Sydney, *1853. Pencil and watercolour.*
MITCHELL LIBRARY

In NSW from 1788 until 1823 the executive power of the governor as the representative of the crown was virtually unchecked by constitutional restraints. British acts passed in 1823 and 1828 established legislative councils and delineated respective powers of the legislature and governor. Representative government was introduced by the Australian Constitutions Act passed by the British parliament in 1842, but neither it

The container ship Bold eagle *at Glebe Island container terminal in Sydney Harbour. Photograph by Kevin Diletti, 1986.*

nor its successor, the Act for the Better Government of Her Majesty's Australian Colonies of 1850, provided that the executive was responsible to the legislature. Clamours by the colonists for further independence from Britain (mainly over the control of crown lands) led to constitutions being drawn up by the colonial parliaments and ratified with amendments by the British parliament in 1855–56, with the exceptions of Qld, which was constituted by an order in council in 1859 (consolidated in statute form in 1867), and WA which received a constitution act in 1890. The acts of 1842, 1850 and 1855–56 provided that constitutional alterations were to be reserved for royal assent, which effectively meant a veto by the British government. The power of self-governing colonies to amend their constitutions without being subject to this veto was granted by the Colonial Laws Validity Act in 1865.

In the 1890s demand swelled for the establishment of a federal government for the whole of Australia, and as a result of constitutional conventions held in 1891, 1896 and 1897–98 a constitution was drafted which, after approval by the colonies in referendums and passage by the British parliament, became the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 1900. The constitution provided for the establishment of a central legislative, executive and judiciary limited in powers in relation to one another and to the states, which retained their own constitutions and most

former powers, some co-ordinated with the commonwealth. Power was given to alter this constitution by passage of the amendment through both federal houses of parliament and ratification by a referendum which achieved a majority of votes overall and a majority of votes in a majority of states (four out of six states). Since Federation 36 separate amendments have been proposed in sixteen referendums, eight of which have been adopted.   ANDREW FRAZER

Further reading W.G. McMinn, *A constitutional history of Australia,* Melbourne 1979.

CONTAINERISATION, a method of moving cargo where a reuseable, weatherproof container with doors but no wheels is transferred by mechanical means between various modes of transport without rehandling its contents. Standardised containers were first used in Australia on the railways in the late 1940s. In the 1950s containers were used to transport goods between the mainland and Tas and in 1959 the first 'roll-on/roll-off' vessel, the *Princess of Tasmania,* was in operation, followed in 1961 by the first specially designed container ship, the *William Holyman.* The arrival of the *Encounter Bay* from Europe in 1969 marked the beginning of regular overseas container shipping services. Sydney's Port Botany, Melbourne and Fremantle are the major ports for handling containers.

CONTRACEPTION In their important book, *The end of demographic transition in Australia* (1977), L.T. Ruzicka and J.C. Caldwell state that the fertility decline from the 1870s to the 1970s 'may well have been the most momentous event of our times', reflecting fundamental changes and engendering more. The average issue of married women declined from an estimated seven children to women born in the 1830s and 1840s to 2.6 children to those born between 1904 and 1909, as fertility control became more widespread and assured.

The vulcanisation of rubber made possible rubber sheaths and diaphragms from the 1880s, the first cocoa suppository being manufactured about the same time. Evidence presented to the NSW Royal Commission on the Birth-Rate in 1903–04 suggests that contraceptives were freely imported into Australia from the 1880s and sold by chemists, as well as by some doctors; about 200 000 condoms and pessaries, both soluble and rubber, were imported every year. Local pharmaceutical firms manufactured quinine pessaries, sponges, syringes or douches, and abortifacients, which were widely advertised in the press. Women also made their own pessaries by melting quinine and cocoa-butter, which they cut into pieces when cool; a toilet sponge sliced into cubes with a tape tied to each supplied another home remedy. Some tried douching with disinfectants such as lysol, and vinegar and water. Separate bedrooms and abstinence were perhaps the oldest expedients, together with prolonged breastfeeding, attempts at a rhythm method, and withdrawal.

This cluster of unreliable techniques endured into the 1930s. Withdrawal and the condom remained the major methods, but were joined by spermicidal jellies and foaming tablets. The Marie Stopes or Dutch cap, too, increased in popularity, followed by the diaphragm and, from 1940, the Gräffenberg ring, a semipermanent device inserted by a doctor. It never overtook the popularity of the diaphragm, however, which became the characteristic method of the 1950s. The pill appeared in Australia in 1961. Used by almost half of all married couples by the end of the decade, the pill finally fractured class distinctions in fertility control.

The contraceptive revolution initially escaped working-class people, who were more likely to resort to abortion. Although a criminal offence, induced abortion was probably widely practised, its incidence increasing in times of economic recession. Desperate women fell downstairs or lifted heavy loads of washing in the hope that miscarriage would result, or tried abortifacient drugs and pills of apiol (parsley) and steel, savin and ergot, which, though generally ineffective, could cause gangrene and severe mental disturbance if taken frequently in large enough amounts. Married women were more likely to perform their own abortions, while single women would visit the abortionist, who might be a midwife, chemist, doctor or unskilled person known in the neighbourhood. The common aid of the abortionist, also used by women at home, was the catheter. Knitting needles and crochet hooks were also used.

The dangers of abortion subsided with the introduction of more liberal abortion laws in the 1960s in SA and in NSW and Vic in the early 1970s.

PHILIPPA MEIN SMITH

Further reading L.T. Ruzicka and J.C. Caldwell, *The end of demographic transition in Australia*, Canberra 1977.

CONVICTS AND TRANSPORTATION Between 1788 and 1868, about 137 000 males and 25 000 female convicts were transported to Australia. Whether NSW was founded in 1788 primarily as a penal settlement or whether the British government had more far-reaching imperial aims is a subject of controversy, but all agree that the desire to relieve overcrowding in the English gaols was an important motive for the settlement. However, after an initial burst (over 4000 in five years), few more than twice that number arrived in the next twenty years. Thereafter transportation became a more important 'secondary' (that is, non-capital) punishment in the penal code, and about 110 000 men and women were transported to NSW and Van Diemen's Land in the next 30 years.

Most of the prisoners were young men, as are most criminals. More came from towns, especially London, than from the countryside. Most of their offences were some form of theft. In many cases they were serving commuted death sentences, especially before the 1830s when the English criminal code was modified to reduce the number of offences punishable by death. Between about 1825 and 1840 approximately one-fifth of those criminally convicted at assize courts were transported. Fewer than 1000 British convicts could be in any way described as political prisoners, though these aroused the greatest attention; from Ireland there were about 600 'politicals', plus about 4000 who were involved in land agitation. Few convicts returned to the British Isles, because when set free they had to pay their passage home; on the other hand if the prisoners were married, the government assisted their families to go out to Australia.

On some of the early voyages ships were overcrowded and conditions bad, but after about 1800 the vessels were generally well regulated and carried 'surgeon-superintendents' (naval surgeons) from 1815. Although some voyages incurred many deaths, the overall mortality rate from 1803 onward was about 1 per cent, significantly better than in the emigrant ships on the much shorter voyages to North America.

In its heyday in the 1830s, Gov Arthur of Van Diemen's Land praised the system as one which provided a variety of punishments, which could be adjusted to suit the conduct of the prisoner. The most familiar experience for convicts was private service under the assignment system. Those who misbehaved could be placed in government gangs, usually working on the roads and sometimes in chains, or be sent to one of the penal settlements, where punishment was still more severe. Probably about 15 per cent of the convicts spent some of their time in the chain gangs or

at a penal settlement. The system also provided incentives to good conduct, the most common of which was the ticket of leave. There were also the conditional pardons, the condition usually being that the released prisoner did not return to the United Kingdom, and the free pardon, which was given very rarely.

Although Arthur praised the system as an effective punishment which deterred crime and reformed criminals, and although colonists welcomed it as supplying cheap labour, it had critics. Penal reformers in England regarded it as too lenient, especially for the convict in assigned service, and claimed that tickets of leave and pardons were too easily obtained. They would not believe the official statistics that contradicted their case, and they insisted they knew more about conditions in the colonies than did those who actually lived and worked there. In response to this criticism, in 1838 the government decided to abolish transportation to NSW (it was stopped in 1840) and to abolish assigned service in Van Diemen's Land, where all convicts would be worked under the probation system.

Convicts were sent to Western Australia between 1850 and 1868. These convicts were sketched aboard ship by an unknown artist in 1860. Ink and watercolour.
MITCHELL LIBRARY

This was begun in 1842, but unfortunately the concentration of convicts in the small southern colony at a time of economic depression so overwhelmed it that in 1845 the system had to be suspended.

The British government then made various efforts to disperse some of its convicts, who had been given tickets of leave at home, to various parts of the empire, including NSW, but most colonists no longer wanted them as immigration had reduced the need for cheap labour, and the probation shambles in Van Diemen's Land had underlined the social costs of the system. Agitation from Sydney, Melbourne and Van Diemen's Land pressed for an end to transportation, but it was its increasing cost, the building of penitentiaries at home and the discovery of gold in Australia (plus the resignation of Lord Grey as secretary of state) rather than colonial pressure that led to the decision to halt it in 1852. However, WA still wanted labour and had asked for convicts in 1850; it received nearly 10 000 men, who were usefully employed on public works, before transportation there was also stopped in 1868.

The convicts brought economic benefits to Australia, supplying much needed labour and a market for colonial produce, while British government expenditure was an important invisible export; on the other hand, they were said by the 1840s, probably with exaggeration, to be lowering the social 'tone' of the colony. The crime rate was slightly, though not enormously, higher than in England, and absconding convicts probably increased bushranging, but the 'convict stain', was soon obliterated by the enormous free immigration after the discovery of gold. For Great Britain, it provided an economical means of punishment that was an alternative to execution at a time when the unreformed gaols made long terms of imprisonment virtually impossible.   A.G.L. SHAW

Further reading J.B. Hirst, *Convict society and its enemies*, Sydney 1983; L.L. Robson, *The convict settlers of Australia*, Melbourne 1965; A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the colonies: a study of penal transportation*, Melbourne 1977 (1966); M. Sturma, *Vice in a vicious society—crime and convicts in mid-nineteenth century New South Wales*, Brisbane 1983.

COOK, James (1728–79), navigator, was born at Marton, near Whitby in Yorkshire, on 27 October 1728, to James Cook, day labourer, and his wife Grace, nee Pace. His father's employer, Thomas Skottowe, was sufficiently struck by the boy's intelligence to pay his modest school fees, and at eighteen he was indentured to John Walker, a Quaker engaged principally in the collier trade from Tyneside to London, which was an outstanding 'nursery of seamen'. Cook, very much the industrious apprentice, lived with Walker and studied hard on nautical topics. In 1755 Walker offered him the command of one of his ships, but Cook chose to join the Royal Navy.

With his solid experience, he was made master's mate within a month. In two years he was master, a warrant officer charged with the navigation and general running of a ship under the captain; he was again fortunate, gaining the attention of captain, later

admiral, Sir Hugh Palliser. In the Quebec campaign (1758–59) he was largely responsible for the charting essential to take the fleet upriver. He had made himself an excellent hydrographer, and from 1763–68 was in charge of surveying the Newfoundland coasts; his winters were spent in England working up the charts. On 21 December 1762 he married Elizabeth Batts; none of his six children had issue.

Observation of the 1769 transit of Venus across the sun's disc would provide a means of ascertaining the earth's distance from the sun, and in 1768 Cook was given command of an expedition, sponsored by the Royal Society, to observe it from recently discovered Tahiti. Sailing in the ex-Whitby collier *Endeavour*, he observed this in June 1769. After exploring the nearby Society Islands he sailed to New Zealand, not visited since Tasman in 1642, and spent six months making a careful chart of both islands. Cook then sailed westwards, sighting Australia on 19 April 1770, near Cape Howe. Proceeding up the coast, he spent a few days at Botany Bay and in July, after striking a reef, was compelled to repair in the Endeavour River near Cooktown. Making the first passage through Torres Strait since Torres himself in 1606, he made for Batavia (Jakarta), and reached England in June 1771.

His second voyage (1772–75) was perhaps the greatest in the history of exploration; only Magellan's seems comparable. Cook had two ships, *Resolution* and *Adventure*, both built in Whitby, in which he visited NZ and Tahiti, twice crossed the Antarctic Circle (the first man to do so), added to knowledge of Easter Island, the New Hebrides, and Tonga, and discovered (for Europeans) New Caledonia. He had also sailed, repeatedly, over the reputed position of the mythical southern continent 'Terra Australis Incognita'.

On his return Cook was appointed to Greenwich Hospital, but volunteered to lead an expedition to find the Northwest Passage around America, long sought from the Atlantic side. However, the enormous strain of the second voyage had told upon his health. He left England in July 1776 and sailed, with the *Resolution* again and the *Discovery*, by the Cape of Good Hope and Tas to NZ. Unfavourable winds prevented him from making Tahiti directly, and for no clear reason he spent four months in the Tonga group. After another four in and around Tahiti, he struck north, and in January 1778 discovered the western islands of the Hawaiian group. In March Cook sighted the Oregon coast, refitting in Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island. He then penetrated Bering Strait, and examined both the Asian and American shores until stopped by pack ice. Returning to Hawaii, he discovered the main island, and here he was identified with the god Lono, with whose celebration his visit coincided. He left on 4 February 1779, but the *Resolution* sprung her foremast and he had to put back to Kealakekua Bay. Probably owing to an internal infection, his judgment was failing, his tact in dealing with islanders had largely deserted him, and he was killed by Hawaiians on 14 February 1779.

Pre-eminent as a resolute and skilful navigator, a generally humane leader of men, until near his end a man of magnificent judgment and decision, Cook was also a keen observer of natural phenomena and of the social life of the islanders. His voyages were achieved with very little loss of life, though he did not so much 'conquer' scurvy as avoid it by a wholesale use of various anti-scorbutics. Few success stories can equal Cook's rise in a hierarchical age, from farm labourer's son to a fame immediate, worldwide, and lasting.

O.H.K. SPATE

Further reading J.C. Beaglehole, *The life of Captain James Cook*, London 1974.

COOK, Sir Joseph (1860–1947), politician, emigrated from England to Australia in 1885 and worked in the Lithgow mines until his election to the NSW legislative assembly in 1891 as Labor member for Hartley. Cook refused to take the Labor 'pledge' and left the party to join the Reid ministry as postmaster-general (1894) and minister for mines (1898). He held the Hartley seat until 1901, then entered federal parliament as member for Parramatta, which seat he held for twenty years. Cook became deputy leader of the Free Trade Party in 1905, and leader in 1909, when he combined with Alfred Deakin in the newly formed Liberal party. In this fusion he was minister for defence. In 1913 Cook succeeded Deakin as leader and became prime minister. He was defeated in 1914. Cook was Australian representative at the Versailles Peace Conference. He retired from politics to become high commissioner for Australia in London (1921–27), then returned to private life in Sydney.

COOKSLAND was the name proposed by J.D. Lang, in honour of Capt James Cook, for a separate colony to the north of 30°S (between Coffs Harbour and Grafton). Lang, who was active in the separation movements in both the Port Phillip district (later Vic) and the Moreton Bay district (later Qld), believed that 30°S was a natural border for a new northern colony, arguing his case in an 1847 publication, *Cooksland in north-eastern Australia*. In 1852 Lang further developed his ideas in a book, *Freedom and independence for the golden lands of Australia*, in which he proposed three separate colonies north of 30°S: Cooksland, which would run from 30°S to the Tropic of Capricorn; Leichhardtsland, from the Tropic of Capricorn to 17° 30' (the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria); and Flindersland, from 17° 30' to the tip of Cape York.

P.J.N. VARGHESE

COOMBS, Herbert Cole (1906–), economist, went to Perth Modern School on a scholarship, became a schoolteacher, took a degree by part-time study at the University of WA, then went to the London School of Economics, where he graduated PhD with a thesis on central banking. He returned to WA to teach, but in 1935 joined the Commonwealth Bank as assistant economist. He transferred to the commonwealth Treasury (1939) and was appointed to the board of the Commonwealth Bank (1942). The prime minister, Curtin, appointed him as director of rationing (1943), and after devising a workable solution to this wartime problem he became director-general of postwar reconstruction. Moved by Keynesian ideals and troubled
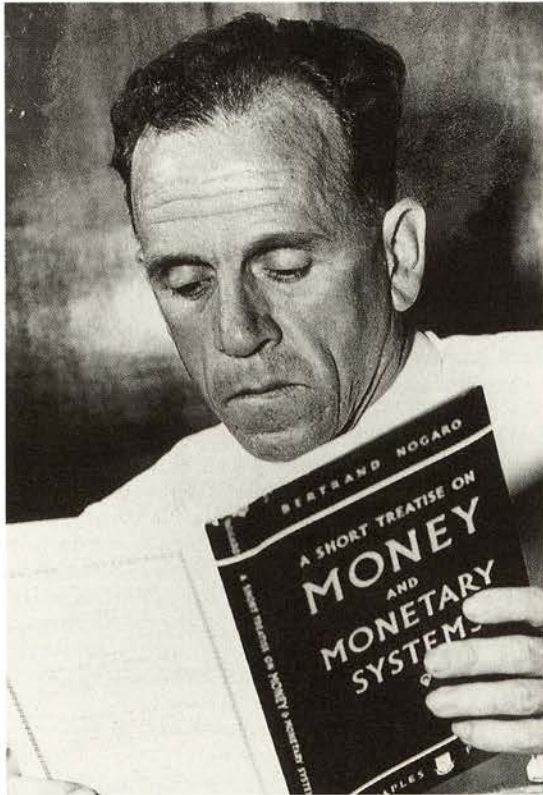
Herbert Cole 'Nugget' Coombs, c1950, when he was governor of the Commonwealth Bank and had completed some fifteen of his more than fifty years of diverse public service.

FAIRFAX PHOTO LIBRARY

by Depression suffering he had seen in England, Coombs worked with his minister, Ben Chifley, and an idealistic team of young civil servants to develop plans for full employment and social amelioration after the war.

The Chifley government appointed Coombs governor of the Commonwealth Bank (1949); on coming to office the Menzies government accepted the appointment, and renewed it (1956). When the Menzies government separated the central and trading functions of the bank (1959), Coombs became governor of the Reserve Bank and chairman of its board, posts he held until his retirement (1968). He was meanwhile an active promoter of the arts, a founder and first chairman (1964) of the Elizabethan Theatre Trust, resigning (1968) to become chairman of the newly created Council for the Arts, a position he held until 1964.

As head of postwar reconstruction, Coombs had played a leading part in the establishment of the Australian National University (ANU) as an institute for research and the training of postgraduate students through which Australian and Pacific societies might become better understood and the 'brain drain' to overseas intellectual centres might be stemmed. He was subsequently a member of the university's coun-

cil 1946–76, pro-chancellor 1959–68 and chancellor 1968–76. In 1968 he became first chairman of the council for Aboriginal affairs established by the federal government following the 1967 referendum which gave the commonwealth power to legislate on Aboriginal matters. The council raised public consciousness of Aboriginal affairs and encouraged the promotion of Aboriginal enterprises. Coombs combined his interest in Aboriginal welfare with a concern for the fragility of Australian ecology, and after his retirement worked in the ANU's centre for resource and environmental studies. Always a strong advocate of Aboriginal land rights, he was one of the promoters of the Aboriginal Treaty Committee (1979).

Coombs was personal adviser to seven prime ministers (Curtin, Chifley, Menzies, Holt, Gorton, McMahon and Whitlam) and headed the royal commision (1974–76) that produced a report of major importance on Australian government administration. Perhaps Australia's most distinguished civil servant in the twentieth century, he was described by Menzies as 'a man of immense ability and of the most impeccable integrity'. Short in stature and always wiry, he acquired the affectionate nickname 'Nugget'. A.W. MARTIN

Further reading H.C. Coombs, *Trial balance*, Melbourne 1981.

COPLAND, Sir Douglas Berry (1894–1971), economist, came from New Zealand to Tas in 1920 as professor of economics at the University of Tasmania. He moved to the University of Melbourne in 1924 where he was professor of commerce and dean of the faculty of commerce for the next twenty years. Copland's major contribution to Australian life was as economic advisor to federal governments from the 1930s to the end of World War II. He spent two years as Australian minister to China (1946–48) and returned to become first vice-chancellor of the Australian National University. Copland was chairman and founder of the Committee for the Economic Development of Australia 1960–66. He was appointed KBE in 1950.

COPPIN, George Selth (1819–1906), actor and politician, arrived in Sydney from England in 1843 and was engaged as an actor at the Royal Victoria Theatre. He quickly became manager of his own successful theatre company and toured Tas, SA and Vic. In 1858 he was elected as a member of the Vic legislative council and was responsible for introducing the Real Property Act of 1862. He resigned in 1863 to promote new theatrical ventures at the Haymarket and Theatre Royal but returned to politics as member for East Melbourne (1874–77 and 1883–88) in the legislative assembly and for Melbourne (1889–95) in the legislative council.

CORAL SEA, BATTLE OF THE From February to May 1942 Japanese invasion of Australia seemed imminent, particularly after the bombing of Darwin. In May, in the Coral Sea off Australia's northeast coast, part of a Japanese invasion fleet whose objective

was Port Moresby, was intercepted by the Americans. A naval battle ensued in which for the first time the participants were never within sight of one another. After three days the Japanese withdrew, suffering a strategic reverse, if not a defeat. Australians treated the battle as a great victory, with Prime Minister John Curtin speaking of Australia's deliverance and equating it with the rescue of the British at Dunkirk. Thereafter Australians celebrated 'Coral Sea Week' as the anniversary of Australia's salvation from invasion.

COSSINGTON SMITH, Grace (1892–), artist, was born and educated in Sydney. She began drawing lessons with Dattilo Rubbo in 1910. After her return from England and Europe in 1914, her painting was inspired by the post-impressionist art which she had viewed there. Her *Sock knitter*, exhibited in 1915, was the earliest significant Australian response to this school and was at the forefront of the Australian modernist movement. She has continued to produce a large and consistent body of work, distinctive in its vibrant use of colour, representation of volume and space, and its concern for the objects of everyday life.

COUNTRY/NATIONAL PARTY OF AUSTRALIA The Australian Country Party arose as a tangible manifestation of rural political and economic protest in the second decade of the twentieth century. An agrarian pressure group, the Farmers' and Settlers' Association, first formed the party in WA in March 1913. At a state election the next year the new party won eight seats, and by 1920 there were Country parties in all states as well as in the federal parliament.

The Country Party's early policy demands were blatantly sectional in favour of rural producers, with lower tariffs and the implementation of wheat marketing schemes being accorded the highest priority. Ideologically the party was conservative and, except in Vic, generally pursued its objectives in alliance with the urban non-labour party of the day. This was particularly so in federal politics, where the party entered a coalition cabinet with the Nationalist Party on favourable terms in 1923. Coalitions then became the usual alternative to federal Labor governments, with the longest lasting for 23 years, from 1949 to 1972.

Voter support for the Country Party, except from the late 1970s in Qld, has been confined to areas outside the major cities. Population movements have not favoured the party, but it has been vigorous and resilient in coping with a shrinking electoral base. Its federal vote has remained remarkably stable since 1949, averaging 9.5 per cent, and at the 1984 national elections it won 14 per cent of the House of Representatives seats with 10.6 per cent of the primary vote. Performance in the states has been more variable, with Qld, where the party won government in its own right in 1983, consistently achieving the best results.

Leadership is always crucial to the survival of small parties, and in this respect the Country Party has been well served. It has had only seven federal leaders since 1920 (W.J. McWilliams 1920–21, Earle Page 1921–39, Archie Cameron 1939–40, Arthur Fadden 1940–58, John McEwen 1958–71, Doug Anthony 1971–84 and Ian Sinclair 1984–), and most have proved themselves extremely able politicians. The extra-parliamentary wing has exercised little direct control over the politicians, especially at the federal level.
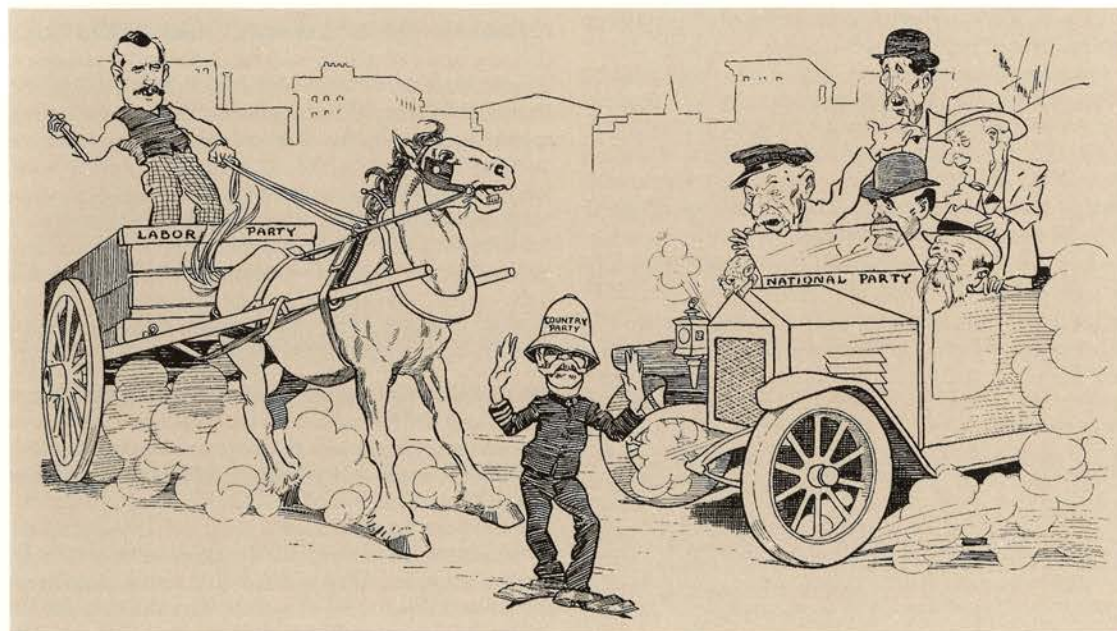
Cartoon comment on the Country Party's claim to control the balance of power in federal parliament. The party had been formed early in 1920 to bring together members from rural electorates. Bulletin, 4 Mar 1920.

Under the direction of John McEwen in the late 1960s the party underwent a major policy reorientation when the previous, implacable opposition to high tariffs was modified. Then in 1974, in a further attempt to shed the sectionalist image, the Qld branch changed its name to the National Party of Australia. The federal body moved more cautiously to become the National Country Party in May 1975 and did not fully embrace the Qld initiative until October 1982.

Undoubtedly the Country/National Party has had an important influence on the direction of Australian politics, and it seems likely to continue to be a major ingredient of the party system in the forseeable future. Yet its support is now concentrated in the three eastern, mainland states, and its leadership must remain sensitive to changing demands and circumstances if the party is to remain a potent force.

BRIAN J. COSTAR

Further reading D. Aitkin, *The Country Party in New South Wales: a study in organisation and survival*, Canberra 1972; B.J. Costar and D.F. Woodward (eds), *Country to National: Australian rural politics and beyond*, Sydney 1985; U. Ellis, *A history of the Australian Country Party*, Melbourne 1963; B.D. Graham, *The formation of the Australian Country parties*, Canberra 1966.

COUNTRY WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION The CWA is a non-sectarian, non-political organisation providing services for women and children living in rural areas. It began in NSW in 1922 and now has branches in all states; in 1952 a branch was also opened in Papua New Guinea.

The aims of the CWA are to improve the welfare and conditions of women and children, to promote better educational facilities for children and to reduce the drift of rural people to urban areas.

The CWA's activities have included the establishment of rest rooms, rest homes and baby health centres in country towns. It has also built holiday homes at the seaside and in mountain areas. It provides maternity support for country women, instruction in first aid, a home nursing service, physical culture activities, library services, handicraft instruction, music and drama groups, hospital visiting, and hostels for boarding schoolchildren.

The CWA is represented at the triennial conferences of the Associated Country Women of the World.

COURIER-MAIL (Brisbane) is published by Q!d Newspapers Pty Ltd, a company originally formed by Sir Keith Murdoch and John Wren, and now a subsidiary of Queensland Press Ltd. The paper was established in 1933 following the merger of two older rival newspapers, the *Brisbane Courier* (established 1846) and The *Daily Mail* (established 1903). In December 1985 Queensland Press Ltd was 40.85 per cent owned by the Herald and Weekly Times, and in turn owned 26.9 per cent of the Herald group.

The *Courier-Mail* is a conservative morning broadsheet published every day except Sunday. Its September 1985 circulation was 216 314.

COURT, Sir Charles Walter Michael (1911–), politician, emigrated from England to Perth with his family as an infant. He trained as a chartered accountant and from 1938–70 was a senior partner in the firm of Hendry, Rae and Court (Chartered Accountants). In 1940 he joined the AIF and rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, gaining the OBE for his services during the Bougainville campaign. He entered politics in 1953, winning the seat of Nedlands for the Liberal party, and was minister for industrial development and the north west (1959–71) and minister for railways (1959–67) at a time of major industrial and mineral resource development in Western Australia. The exploitation of iron ore deposits in the Pilbara region and the development of steelworks at Kwinana by BHP began under Court's ministry in the mid-1960s. In 1972 he succeeded Sir David Brand as leader of the WA Liberal party and two years later led the party to victory in state elections. Court's premiership was notable for strong anti-union legislation. He retired from parliament in 1982, having been knighted in 1972, appointed KCMG in 1979 and AK in 1982.

COURT, Margaret (nee Smith) (1942–), tennis player, won her first Australian championship in 1960 and went on to win the title eleven times in the next fourteen seasons. She was ranked as world number one women's seed from 1962–65 and in 1963 became the first Australian to win the women's singles title at Wimbledon. She retired temporarily from competitive tennis in 1967 when she married Barry Court, son of Sir Charles Court, and was awarded the OBE that year for her services to tennis. Margaret Court returned in 1970 to win the 'Grand Slam'—Australian, French, United States and Wimbledon singles titles—and turned professional in 1971. She retired from the professional circuit in 1974, after the birth of her second child.

COWAN, Edith Dircksey (1861–1932), social worker and politician, became involved in voluntary social work from 1890 onwards in Perth where her husband was a police magistrate. She was a leading public speaker in the WA women's movement and after receiving the OBE in 1920 for her war work, campaigned for women's democratic rights to enter parliament. In 1921 Cowan became the first female member of an Australian parliament when she was elected to the Legislative Assembly of WA. She lost her seat in 1924 but had successfully introduced, as a private member's bill, the Women's Legal Status Act of 1923, which opened the legal profession to women.

COWPER, Sir Charles (1807–75), politician, arrived in Sydney in 1809 with his father William Cowper. In the first elections under the new constitution in 1843, Cowper won the seat of Cumberland in the legislative council against James Macarthur. He became member for Durham from 1851–56, until the creation of the new parliament in which he became leader of the Liberal opposition. Cowper had five terms as premier between 1856 and 1870 and was responsible for introducing male suffrage (1858), the ballot and a municipalities act. He had been an eminent opponent of convict transportation. He was appointed KCMG in 1871.

COWPER, William (1778–1858), clergyman, arrived in Sydney from England in 1809 as minister of St Philip's Church. Until 1819 he was the only clergyman permanently in Sydney but refused Macquarie's frequent requests to become a magistrate. Cowper was a zealous evangelist and missionary worker, spending much of his time on the conversion of the Aborigines. He founded the Benevolent Society of NSW in 1817 and later started the fund for the rebuilding of St Philip's Church.

COX, William (1764–1837), roadmaker and builder, arrived in Sydney from England in 1799 as a commissioned lieutenant in the New South Wales Corps. He succeeded Macarthur as paymaster and acquired several farms. In 1803 he was suspended from office when a deficiency of £7900 in his regimental accounts was discovered. Although the amount was repaid he was sent to England in 1807 to answer charges but was never brought to trial. After resigning his commission he returned in 1810 and became a magistrate at the Hawkesbury. Cox took government contracts for building gaols, schools and other buildings in the Windsor district. The successful crossing of the Blue Mountains led in 1814 to Cox's being commissioned to supervise the making of a road through the mountains; 101 miles of road were completed in six months.

CRAWFORD, Sir John Grenfell (1910–85), economist and administrator, graduated MEc from Sydney University. He lectured there, conducted research and served as economic adviser to the Rural Bank of New South Wales before becoming director of research in the commonwealth department of post-war reconstruction. His subsequent career in the public service included terms as director of the bureau of agricultural economics (1945–60), secretary of the department of commerce and agriculture (1950–56), and secretary of the department of trade (1956–60). Returning to academic life, he was director of the research school of Pacific studies and professor of economics at the Australian National University (1960–67), and then the university's vice-chancellor (1968–73). In this period he was president of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science (1967–68). With a strong interest in developing nations, he was the first chairman of the advisory board of the Australian Development Assistance Bureau; and, among other overseas appointments, he was a member of the World Bank's 1964–65 economic mission to India, and was the bank's senior policy adviser on agriculture. Having special concern for Papua New Guinea, he served terms as chairman of the Papua New Guinea Development Bank and chancellor of the University of Papua New Guinea. Crawford was among the most able and respected of Australian public servants and university administrators in the postwar decades, governments of all persuasions seeking his advice on economic and academic matters. O.H.K. SPATE

CREMATION The world's first ritual cremation may have been performed in Australia some 26 000 years ago. Among white Australians the practice was unknown until well after the first English crematorium opened in 1885. Here as in England, reformers argued that cremation was more hygienic, economical, humane and egalitarian than earth burial. Adelaide's crematorium opened in 1903. In 1939 cremation was available in all state capitals, Newcastle and Launceston. In 1960 there were sixteen crematoria, in 1973, thirty-two, and in 1982, thirty-eight. By 1960 the number of cremations was proportionately higher than anywhere except the United Kingdom, even though the practice was forbidden to the Catholic quarter of the population. That prohibition was lifted in 1964. In 1982, 53 809 out of 114 771 dead bodies were cremated. K.S. INGLIS

CRICKET The first recorded cricket match in Australia was played between officers of a visiting ship at Sydney in 1803. With the military playing a leading role the game spread to Tas and Vic, these colonies playing the first intercolonial match in 1851, five years before the first match between NSW and Vic. Regular visits by English teams from 1862, the first test match played at Melbourne in 1877 and won by Australia, and Australian tours of England from 1878 stimulated public interest and Australian nationalism. Australia's most consistent successes came in the 1930s when its batsmen, led by Don Bradman, generally made high

scores and its spinners dismissed opponents cheaply. After 1945 the increasing skill of other nations provided more even competition and public interest continued to grow, the world record for a day's attendance being 90 800 spectators for a match between Australia and the West Indies in Melbourne in 1961.

CRIME Trends in crime in Australia have changed to reflect changes in Australian society. Crimes of aggression against persons were more frequent in the convict period when the population was predominantly male. Sexual crimes became more common as the imbalance between the sexes lessened. Following World War II, as mass consumption oriented values towards acquisition, high levels of acquisitive crimes became endemic. In later postwar decades the growth of organised crime, drug-related and white-collar crime were byproducts of continuing urbanisation and consumerism. While these developments have paralleled patterns of crime elsewhere, Australia, unlike other comparable nations, has only infrequently experienced politically motivated crime.

The most serious political disturbances have been mass protests rather than criminal acts, and incidents like the Irish convicts' rebellion (1804), the miners' revolt at Eureka (1854), the demonstrations during the conscription campaigns in World War I, and those of the anti-Vietnam War movement (late 1960s–early 1970s), fall into that category. Rioting, too, has been rare, the most notable incidents being the Kalgoorlie miners' riot (1934) and the clashes between Australian and American troops in Brisbane (1942) and Melbourne (1943).

Perceptions of what constitutes criminality have also changed. Some activities once permissible were proscribed later. Heroin and cocaine, for example, were freely used in medications until the 1920s but their use was strictly prohibited thereafter. Other activities once deemed criminal became more acceptable as a result of changing community values and the growth of a 'permissive society' in the 1960s. Thus, 'victimless' crimes such as homosexuality, prostitution and pornography were effectively decriminalised. Still other activities, notably the business operations of some 'white-collar' groups, came to be considered criminal following public debate in the 1970s and 1980s over the ethics of practices such as medical over-servicing and the promotion of tax avoidance schemes.

A significant development during the twentieth century was the emergence of organised crime, that is, crime conducted as an efficient business by professional criminal entrepreneurs. Between 1900 and 1920 legislation banning prostitution, off-course betting and the use of opium and cocaine, together with the imposition of restricted hotel trading hours, encouraged the development of a black market to provide services deemed illegal but still in popular demand. The black market economy enabled a class of professional criminals to develop. During and after World War II these people profited further by supplying consumer goods in short supply through wartime rationing. A few later branched out into running illegal abortion services and illegal casinos. Their abil-
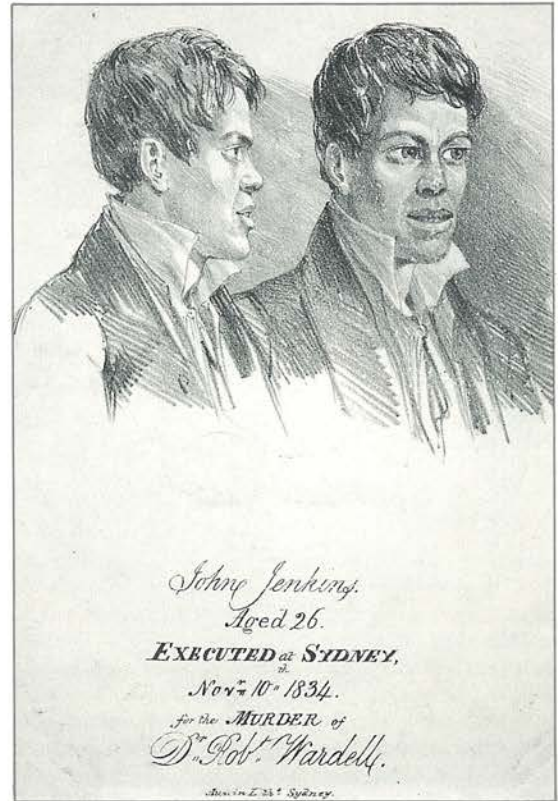
John Jenkins, a convict at large, was executed in 1834 for the murder of a Sydney barrister, Dr Robert Wardell.

ity to corrupt public officials and agencies became a particular threat after the advent of widespread heroin addiction in the 1960s. Heroin dealing in particular generated huge profits to criminal syndicates, enabling them to buy widespread influence within the police forces, judiciary, government bureaucracies and political parties. These links, and connections with crime networks overseas, enabled the principal criminal enterprises to enter an increasingly wide range of illegal enterprises, including prostitution, illicit gambling, the narcotics trade, tax avoidance, marijuana farming and marketing, the skimming of licensed club profits, the export of protected fauna and contract murder, in addition to investments in legitimate businesses.

Public concern over the extent and influence of organised crime led to a series of federal and state inquiries into crime and corruption from the mid-1970s. In NSW there were the Moffitt royal commission into organised crime (1974), the Lusher inquiry into NSW police administration (1981) and the joint commonwealth–NSW Stewart royal commission into drug trafficking (1981-82); there were inquiries into police corruption in Vic (1975), WA (1982) and SA (1982); and the commonwealth's Costigan royal commission into the activities of the Ship Painters' and Dockers' Union (1980–83) revealed widespread

organised criminal activity. In addition, the Australian Institute of Criminology (1973) and National Crimes Commission (1982-83) were set up by the commonwealth government to conduct research into and provide advice about criminal activity.

Public interest in criminology in Australia has focused on particular crimes rather than on the sociological aspects of crime generally. Among crimes to have been discussed in the wider context have been those of the more notorious bushrangers, who, as much as violent criminals, have been seen as members of a dispossessed class carrying on a class struggle against the dominating classes and institutions of colonial society. A similar, sociological, view has been taken of the numerous nineteenth-century killings of settlers by Aborigines, officially regarded as murders at the time but in retrospect increasingly seen as a protracted series of wars of resistance against European encroachment. Some crimes assumed legendary proportions because of their particularly violent, gruesome or bizarre nature.

IAN HOWIE-WILLIS

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CULTURE This article deals with the broad development of European culture in Australia. In modern usage, 'culture' can mean anything from 'the arts', narrowly defined, to the sociological notion of 'the whole way of life of a community'. Here it is taken to mean the ways in which the people in a society ponder and express their shared experience. For convenience the conventional distinction between 'popular' and 'high' culture is maintained, although it should be remembered that these categories are fluid, and that there is a broad 'middle' culture between them.

The most common interpretations of both high and popular culture have focused on what is distinctively Australian without sufficiently emphasising that Australia, an English-speaking, migrant-based and technologically advanced country, has been peculiarly open to international cultural influences. This dominant nationalist interpretation of Australian culture itself reflects Australia's cultural dependence on a European intellectual framework.

From 1788 to the 1880s To early European settlers, culture meant civilisation, and was seen as a process of accumulating ideas and attitudes, literature and art, fashions and pastimes, and systems of agriculture and government. These were imported into an environment which the first white settlers saw as uncivilised. What art and literature was produced by Europeans within Australia was aimed at providing an objective account of the new continent. Explorers and scientific draughtsmen began the tradition that the first task for writers and artists was to come to terms with the Australian landscape.

As Europeans established themselves more securely in Australia, culture was increasingly associated with moral improvement. Between the 1840s and the 1880s in particular they created cultural institutions which were intended to raise the moral tone of the population. These included mechanics' institutes, public libraries, universities, galleries and museums, as well as comprehensive education systems.

Despite this activity, many British and Australian intellectuals regarded Australian culture with disdain. They shared a view of culture as the product of a leisured class or an intelligentsia. They attacked Australian materialism, blaming it on democracy and the lack of a cultural heritage. In fact there were other barriers to the development of high culture. The colonies were small societies in which writers and artists could rarely make a living from their work. Many writers, painters and musicians survived on a part-time amateur basis. Upper- and middle-class women, as a de facto leisured class, were particularly diligent in practising and promoting the arts.

Popular culture in Australia was largely a product of British industrialisation. Sport and picnics were popular and an Australian tradition of melodrama emerged, but generally Australians expressed themselves through a mass urban culture similar to that of other Western societies. There was little opportunity
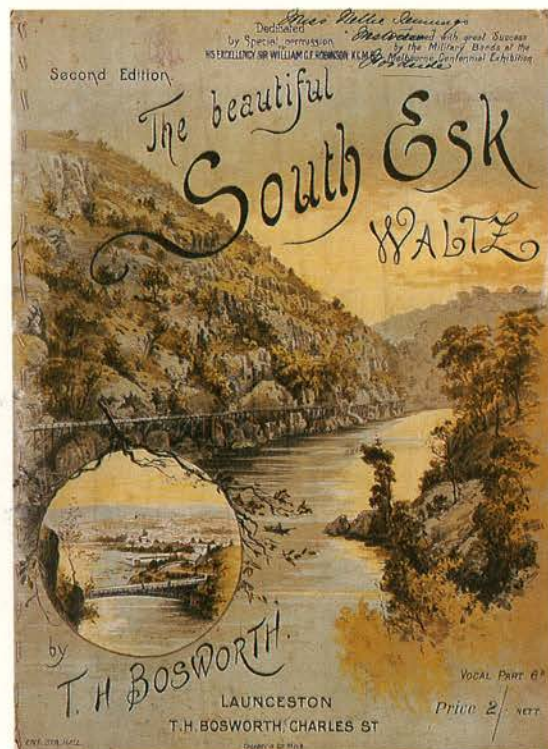
While Vienna danced to the 'Blue Danube', the people of Launceston waltzed to the music of local composer T. H. Bosworth. Sheet music, 1880s. Cover lithograph by Troedel & Co, Melbourne.
QUEEN VICTORIA MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY, LAUNCESTON

for the development of an indigenous folk culture. Some immigrants, particularly the Irish, kept up a variety of folk traditions and transformed them in the process. Outside the cities there was a more distinctive culture in the songs, yarns, work practices and behaviour of men in the pastoral industry.

From the 1880s to 1914 From the 1880s culture in Australia assumed a distinctively national flavour. The cultural nationalism emerging in Europe and America struck a chord with a new generation of Australian writers and artists, who were likely to be native born and ready to challenge the cultural dominance of immigrants. Their works now appealed more widely across the classes. Mass literacy, greater affluence and printing technology created a new, much wider market. This encouraged the development of strong Australian traditions in the short story, the ballad and the cartoon. The new generation regarded themselves as the true purveyors of an Australian national culture, quite different from their international peers and their predecessors, whose work they portrayed as implacably English. Writers and artists were becoming more professional. One effect of this trend was to emphasise masculine values in Australian culture, as the 'amateur' culture with which women had been associated was overshadowed.

Foremost in this nationalist culture were the painters of the Heidelberg School and the writers and artists associated with the *Bulletin*. Seeking to portray the 'real' Australia to the new market, they were sympathetic to democracy and the conventions of artistic realism.

From 1914 to the 1950s World War I encouraged in Australia and elsewhere a trend towards cultural as well as economic isolation. A broad middle culture, combining nationalism with a regard for Empire, railed against foreign decadence. Australia and Britain were seen as bulwarks of sanity and genuine cultural values, holding out against post-impressionist art, free verse, atonal music, immoral novels and subversive ideas. Such imports were often censored.

At the same time many younger writers and artists, with women again prominent, expressed a growing interest in modernist trends and their application to Australia. They were frustrated by their isolation from what they regarded as the sophisticated cultural metropolis of London. Many of them lived or travelled for long periods abroad.

The new media of the twentieth century—the cinema, gramophone, radio, advertising—gave popular culture a more commercial basis. Many writers and artists resisted dominance by these forms, associating them with 'Americanisation'. Public participation in cultural production, though still strong in the 1930s, increasingly gave way to cultural consumption. The formation of the Australian Broadcasting Commission in 1932 fitted into what was becoming a standard pattern, in which middle class culture was staunchly British-oriented while more popular culture was American. However, in the late 1930s and 1940s the ABC also became a focus for a new, nationally-minded intelligentsia. The fact that A.A. Phillips could coin the term 'the cultural cringe' in 1950, and that middle-class Australians dropped their habit of calling England 'Home' signalled an increasing confidence among scientists, academics and businessmen as well as artists, writers and musicians about being Australian. One no longer had to live abroad to be an intellectual.

Since the 1950s After World War II, high culture was more closely linked with the rapidly expanding universities. They provided a critical framework with courses in Australian literature, art and history, and academic posts for a number of writers and composers. High culture became more secure, but also more academic and insulated from the rest of society, with many intellectuals using the university as a refuge from which they continued to berate Australian materialism, and to look back to the radical nationalism of the 1890s as the touchstone of Australian culture.

The broad middle culture still resisted 'Americanisation'. But most Australians during the cold war were politically pro-American, and their suburban life styles had American models. The dominant culture also retained Australian elements, such as local art shows dominated by landscapes recalling the Heidelberg School, Australianised Christmas cards and carols and most vigorously, the Australian tradition of children's literature. American influence on popular culture increased with the introduction of televi-

A street performer entertains children at the Northbridge Festival, held each year since 1976 as part of the Festival of Perth.
FESTIVAL OF PERTH

The Adelaide Festival, which has been held biennially since 1960, features both 'high' and 'popular' culture. Its program has included performances and exhibitions by many acclaimed overseas and local artists. Program cover by Martin Sharp.
ADELAIDE FESTIVAL

sion in 1956 and the growing spending power of young people. In the 1960s, however, the surfing cult acquired an Australian identity despite its American roots, and the strength of British pop music provided diversity and inspiration.

Major new ingredients were non-British immigrant cultures. In spite of pressures to 'assimilate', many immigrant groups maintained their own languages and cultural forms. By the 1970s their presence, along with more overseas travel by native-born Australians and a vogue for cosmopolitanism, produced a cultural mix which, though somewhat bland when expressed officially as 'multiculturalism', did give a new complexity to the mainstream. The middle class linked ethnicity with sophistication and experimented, in food and wine particularly, with gusto.

From the late 1960s, with an increasing proportion of the population in their late teens and twenties, there

was greater support for the theatre, pop music, television, the film industry and literature. New kinds of support came from governments which began to see an electoral advantage in cultural activities.

As European culture in Australia approaches its bicentenary, high culture remains diverse and dependent on government assistance. Popular culture, particularly sport, has become more closely linked to commerce. An influential community arts movement has emerged to counter commercial influences and corporate control. The middle culture is becoming more vocal in its patriotism, although ironically often using American models. More and more Australians live in 'traditional', 'colonial' homes, plant native gardens, research family history and restore old buildings. In many areas the bicentenary has focused attention on Australian culture; but whether its effects will prove to have been merely celebratory, or to have led to critical reassessments of future directions, remains to be seen.   RICHARD WHITE

Further reading G. Serle, *From deserts the prophets come*, Melbourne 1985 (1973); P. Spearritt and D. Walker (eds), *Australian popular culture*, Sydney 1979; R. White, *Inventing Australia*, Sydney 1981.

CUMPSTON, John Howard Lidgett (1880–1954), doctor and public servant, graduated in medicine from the University of Melbourne in 1902 and began a career in preventive and public medicine. After studying contagious diseases in London he joined the Commonwealth Quarantine Service in 1910 and in 1913 became its director. On the creation of the commonwealth department of health in 1921, Cumpston became its director–general, a position he held until he retired in 1945. He published numerous medical papers and also historical biographies, of Sir Thomas Mitchell and Charles Sturt among others.

CUNNINGHAM, Allan (1791–1839), botanist, was sent by Sir Joseph Banks as a botanical collector, first to Brazil, and then in 1816 to NSW. He accompanied John Oxley down the Lachlan in 1817, and P.P. King on four voyages to the north and west coasts from 1818–21. In 1823 he explored north of Bathurst, discovering Pandora's Pass into the Liverpool Plains. Later expeditions included one in 1827 on which he discovered the Darling Downs, and another in 1828 from Brisbane to the pass now called Cunningham's Gap. He returned to England in 1831, coming back to Sydney in 1837 as colonial botanist. Resigning his position within months after a disagreement with the governor over his duties, he made a brief visit to New Zealand. Though he published several articles on botany and geography most of the information on the thousands of specimens he collected remained unpublished at his death.   W.G. McMINN

Further reading W.G. McMinn, *Allan Cunningham: botanist and explorer*, Melbourne 1970.

CURLEWIS, Sir Adrian Herbert (1901–), judge, second child of writer Ethel Turner and Arbitration Court judge Herbert Raine Curlewis, studied law at the University of Sydney and was admitted to the Bar

in 1927. He served as a District Court judge 1948–70. A keen swimmer since childhood he was president of the Surf Lifesaving Association continuously from 1933 and wrote various publications in related fields. He was also a founder and president of Outward Bound in NSW.

CURRENCY The first fleet brought no coinage to Australia other than that in the personal possession of its individual members. Perhaps it was thought unnecessary, as the convicts would work unpaid, everyone would receive commissariat supplies, and the colony would soon be self-supporting. Perhaps too, currency was among the many things the authorities overlooked. For the first few years of settlement most trading therefore involved bartering commodities in demand, like corn and rum. Sundry foreign coins arriving on visiting ships and passing into circulation included Spanish dollars, the value of which was set at five shillings in 1791—the first attempt to impose standard values on the haphazard variety of coins in use.

By 1800 the currency consisted of British banknotes and treasury bills, coins of several foreign countries, and promissory notes issued by merchants, shopkeepers and officials. Promissory notes became common, but were open to abuses such as forgery and value manipulation. The clique of military and civil officers who monopolised trading profited from them; and it was this group, too, who encouraged the use of rum as a measure of exchange. Early governors attempted to stamp out the rum trade, but they, too, were obliged to use rum as currency: Gov Macquarie, for instance, used it in paying for the construction of the Sydney–Liverpool road and the Sydney (or 'Rum') Hospital.

Continuing coin shortages made the use of diverse currencies necessary. Many coins arriving in the colony soon departed on trading ships, a problem Macquarie tried to solve in 1813 by making a shipment of £10 000 worth of Spanish dollars the basis of a local coinage. He had the coins' centres punched out, and the resulting 'ring' ('holey dollar') and centre ('dump') stamped with the colony's name and the values of the coins thus made—five shillings and fifteen pence. After the Bank of New South Wales was established in 1817 it issued banknotes for amounts between five shillings and five pounds, and paper tokens for those from a shilling to two shillings and sixpence. When these measures did not overcome the shortage of conventional currency, more Spanish dollars were imported. Attempts to make them the standard ended in 1826, when the British government decreed sterling to be the standard, after which British coins were used.

As other colonies were founded they made their own arrangements, but generally the same miscellany of bank notes, coins and promissory notes circulated widely. After the gold discoveries of 1851 gold dust was also used for a time, and before long Australian gold coins were being struck. In 1852–53 SA minted its own gold coin, known as the 'Adelaide office pound' or 'sovereign'; in Vic local firms issued a

The Decimal Currency Board conducted an extensive campaign to tell Australians about the introduction of decimal currency. A catchy jingle, to the tune of 'Click go the shears', advertised the date of the changeover, 14 February 1966.
MAGAZINE PROMOTIONS

limited amount of specie in gold, silver and copper in 1855, which became known as 'kangaroo office' coins; and a branch of the Royal Mint established in Sydney in 1855 began striking distinctively Australian gold sovereigns and half-sovereigns, though from 1867 they were almost identical to their British equivalents. A second branch of the Royal Mint was established in Melbourne in 1872, and a third in Perth in 1899. The coins struck in these branches were distinguishable by the 'S', 'M' or 'P' marked on them according to their mint of origin.

The colonial economies expanded during the gold rushes, prompting the appearance of other forms of currency. Business houses in the 1840s issued their own coins, known as tokens, to overcome the shortage of small change. Eventually so many tokens were circulating that the Victorian and NSW governments banned them, in 1863 and 1868 respectively, but they continued in use long after that. As further private banks opened they, too, issued banknotes, backed by their holdings of gold. During the depression of the 1890s, when a number of banks either failed or suspended payment, the public lost faith in private banknotes, but their issue resumed after the banking crisis had passed.

Although the constitution vested coin and note issue in the commonwealth, no swift transition to a uniform Australian currency occurred after Federation. Australian sovereigns and half-sovereigns continued circulating with British coins, and paper money consisted of the notes of fifteen private banks and the Qld treasury (which had banned banknotes in 1893). Commonwealth silver coins (florins, shillings, sixpences and threepences) were issued from 1910, and bronze coins (pennies and halfpennies) from 1911.

Commonwealth paper money (from one to a hundred pounds) consisted only of the existing notes overprinted with the words 'Australian Note' and the date of issue, 1 December 1910. The first specially designed commonwealth pound, an interim multicoloured note known as the 'rainbow', appeared in 1913, and was followed that year by a distinctive series of commonwealth ten-shilling, one-, five- and ten-pound notes, and later by notes for twenty, fifty and a hundred pounds. The only major changes thereafter were new series of coins and notes (as one monarch succeeded another), several commemorative issues (such as the crown or five-shilling coin issued to mark the coronation of George VI in 1937), and the withdrawal of notes of higher denomination (those over £10) from 1945.

In 1963 the commonwealth government announced a transition to decimal currency. After public debate over the name of the major unit (the prime minister, Menzies, favoured 'royal'), the government opted for 'dollars' (each equivalent to the ten-shilling note) and 'cents'. A new Royal Australian Mint opened in Canberra to produce the coinage, and later a new note-printing works in Melbourne. The changeover occurred smoothly on 14 February 1966 after months of public education. The new notes (designed by Gordon Andrews) were for one, two, ten and twenty dollars, and the coins (designed by Stuart Devlin) were for one, five, ten, twenty and fifty cents. Five-dollar notes followed in 1967, $50 notes in 1973, $200 gold coins in 1980, and $100 notes in 1984, the year a one-dollar coin replaced the one-dollar note. Several commemorative issues of the fifty-cent and $200 coins have appeared, and a special ten-dollar silver coin marked the 1982 Commonwealth Games in Brisbane.

IAN HOWIE-WILLIS

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CURRENCY LADS AND LASSES was the name given by the 1820s to the native-born Australians in jesting reference to the inferior value of currency (paper money) against sterling. By 1851 currency comprised 43.5 per cent of the population of NSW. Early observers identified distinctive characteristics: they were tall, slender and fair, and more hardy than the British born. Russel Ward, in *The Australian legend*, analysed other traits: affinity with and pride in their country, simplicity, independence and hostility to authority. Ward argues that these characteristics, though temporarily swamped by free immigration, became an integral part of the Australian character.

CURTIN, John Joseph (1885–1945), politician, was born at Creswick, Vic, left school at twelve and worked in the printing trade and as a clerk in a factory. He joined the Victorian Socialist party about 1906 and from 1911 to 1915 he was secretary of the Victorian Timber Workers' Union. For failing to comply with the conscription call-up he was briefly gaoled.

In February 1917 he sailed to Perth to become editor of the *Westralian Worker* and for the rest of his life made Perth his home, despite long absences for his work. In 1927–28 he was a member of a federal royal commission on introducing child endowment. He was Labor member in the House of Representatives for Fremantle from 1928 to 1931, being critical of the Scullin government, but lost the seat in the landslide of 1931. In 1932 he earned some income from journalism and from working for the state government.

Curtin regained Fremantle in 1934, and in October 1935 narrowly defeated F.M. Forde to succeed Scullin as Labor leader. He worked skilfully to reunite Labor, and sensibly handled the potentially divisive issues of the party's attitude towards the Italian invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) and the Spanish Civil War. He was also unusual among Labor parliamentarians of the time in making thoughtful, sensible contributions to the defence debate. Contrary to government policy, he thought that Australia could not rely on Britain's navy for its defence. He advocated a more self-reliant policy, with the army and air force playing a more important role. His party gained some seats at the 1937 elections.

For the most part, Curtin's conduct was exemplary while he was a wartime leader of the opposition from September 1939 to October 1941. He was not a factious critic of the Menzies government. His refusal to join Menzies in a national government was most likely in the best interests of the nation as well as of the party, which probably would have split into two if such a government had been formed. The comparatively harmonious relationship between Curtin and

Australia's prime minister John Curtin offers Britain's foreign secretary Anthony Eden a light at a conference of empire prime ministers held in London in 1944.
FAIRFAX PHOTO LIBRARY

Menzies continued in a new form when the Advisory War Council was formed in October 1940, after elections which left the government dependent on the votes of two independents.

Curtin disagreed with Menzies on the basic question of the extent to which Australia should send military forces to fight by Britain's side in the Middle East and Europe, but it is hard to say if Labor would have been so isolationist had it been in power. When Curtin became prime minister in October 1941 he continued Menzies' policy and sent reinforcements to the Middle East. After Japan attacked in December he did not ask for the Australian divisions in the Middle East to be returned to the Pacific. It was the British prime minister, Churchill, who first suggested that two AIF divisions be shipped to the Japanese front. On 5 January 1942 Curtin's cabinet agreed to this proposal. In February there was a fierce cable argument between Curtin and Churchill over the latter's wish to divert the returning Australians to Burma. Curtin's insistence that the convoy proceed to Australia, a sound strategic decision, has done much to enhance his place in Australia's history.

As invasion by Japanese forces seemed likely, Curtin appealed to the United States for help. America sent reinforcements and, at Curtin's invitation, General Douglas MacArthur assumed command of all Allied troops in the southwest Pacific.

Curtin was a conscientious wartime leader who, during the critical months of December 1941 to March 1943, effectively united Australians in allocating for war purposes the maximum possible amount of national resources. He established a harmonious working relationship with MacArthur, but unfortunately became increasingly subordinate to the domineering general. Australia's interests sometimes suffered. A prime example was MacArthur's frustration of Curtin's attempts to solve the problem of divided command in the RAAF. In Curtin's defence, having asked for American help, he could not be too obstreperous in dealing with MacArthur. Curtin's work was fittingly rewarded in his party's sweeping victory in the 1943 election. He saw Germany defeated, but died on 5 July 1945, six weeks before Japan surrendered.   JOHN ROBERTSON

Further reading L. Ross, *John Curtin: a biography*, Melbourne 1977.

CUSACK, Ellen Dymphna (1902–81), writer, was born in Wyalong, NSW. Her published works include twelve novels. *Jungfrau* (1936) was runner-up in the 1935 *Bulletin* competition and *Come in spinner* (1951), written in collaboration with Florence James, won the *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney) Novel Competition in 1948. Her novels and plays have been translated into 34 languages and broadcast by the ABC and BBC. She was awarded the Order of Australia in 1981.

PATRICIA HOLT

CUTHBERT, Betty (1938–), athlete, Olympic gold medallist, was a champion sprinter from the age of fifteen when she won the Australian Junior 100-yards title. In the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games she won the gold medal in the 100 and 200-metre sprints and the 4x100-metre relay, becoming the first Australian to win an Olympic gold medal on Australian soil. After several unsuccessful years, she won the 400 metres at the Tokyo Olympics (1964) and then retired. She was created MBE in 1965.

Betty Cuthbert boarding a plane at Kingsford-Smith airport, Sydney, on her way to the 1962 Commonwealth Games in Perth.
FAIRFAX PHOTO LIBRARY

CYCLING Cycle racing, which began in Paris in 1868, started in Australia in 1869 at the Melbourne Cricket Ground. It became extremely popular from the mid-1880s, stimulated by the prestigious Austral Wheel Race, established in 1887. Cycle racing attracted large crowds and some gambling after becoming a professional sport in 1890. Corruption, associated with betting, however, served to destroy the professional sport. Cycling continues as a means of transport for children and some adults, as a recreation and as an Olympic sport in which Australia has achieved some success.