

NAMATJIRA, Albert (1902–59), artist, was born in 1902, a full-blooded member of the Aranda, at the Hermannsburg Lutheran mission near Alice Springs. He married Rubina Elkalita in 1919 and spent his early years as a station hand. In 1934 he met the painters Rex Battarbee and John Gardner, when they visited the mission, and he was given lessons in watercolour painting by Battarbee. His landscapes were exhibited in Melbourne at the Fine Arts Society Gallery in 1938, all work being sold within two days of opening. Regular exhibitions over the following years brought financial success and lionisation by white society.

This was in tragic conflict with Namatjira's legal status as an Aborigine. Tribal obligations that demanded sharing of wealth also caused problems. In 1958 he was sentenced to six months imprisonment for distributing alcohol to other Aborigines. Although the sentence was reduced on appeal, he was broken in spirit, and died in 1959, four months after his release.

During his lifetime critical reaction to Namatjira's European-influenced painting was mixed, but a retrospective exhibition held in Alice Springs in 1984 saw the acknowledgment of his achievement as a painter of central Australian landscape and light.

RICHARD HAESE

Further reading J.D. Batty, *Namatjira: wanderer between two worlds*, Melbourne 1963.

NARCOTICS Australia's problems with narcotics began in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with opiates legally available in pharmacies and with opium brought in by the Chinese community. By 1910 Australia had the highest per capita consumption of addictive drugs in the western world, leading to the abolition of the pharmaceutical sale of narcotics in the 1920s. Legal trade in opium and cocaine was eradicated by severe legislation and rigorous police action in the 1930s.

Heroin was introduced to Australia for the first time by US servicemen during World War II. In 1956 heroin became a prohibited drug in all states but Victoria.

The 1960s and 1970s saw a dramatic increase in the use of narcotics and drug-related crime. On 15 July 1977, the anti-drug campaigner Donald McKay was murdered in Griffith, New South Wales. After extraordinary tardiness on the part of the New South Wales Labor government and the New South Wales police force McKay's murderer James Frederick Bazley was finally tracked down. He was convicted in April 1986.

The severity of Australia's drug problem in the last ten years is reflected in the number of federal and state investigations. They include the Royal Commission into Organised Crime, 1974 (A.R. Moffitt); the New South Wales parliament's Joint Committee on Drugs, 1978; the New South Wales Royal Commission on Drug Trafficking, 1978 (P.M. Woodward); the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Drug Trafficking, 1983 (D.G. Stewart). In April 1986 the Hawke government announced a national \$100 million 'Drug Offensive' aimed at reducing the unprecedented level of drug-related crime and increasing the community's awareness of the drug problem.

Further reading A.W. McCoy, *Drug traffic: narcotics and organised crime in Australia*, Sydney 1980.

NATHAN, Isaac (1790–1864), musician, arrived in Sydney in 1841 and opened a singing academy and became choirmaster at St Mary's Cathedral. An unofficial laureate to the colony, he composed several odes and celebratory pieces including 'Australia the wide and free' (1842) and 'Currency lasses' (1846). The 1847 performance of his opera 'Don John of Austria' made it the first to be composed and produced in Australia. Also interested in Aboriginal music, Nathan published transcripts of it in *The southern Euphrosyne and Australian miscellany* (1849).

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA Originally named the Commonwealth National Library, it was established in 1901 as the parliamentary library of the first commonwealth parliament. The 1912 Copyright Act ensured its acquisition of Australian



Thousands of limestone pinnacles, some up to five metres tall, attract visitors to the Pinnacle Desert in the Nambung National Park on the coast 244 kilometres north of Perth. Photograph by Kevin Diletti, 1983.

material and the National Library Act of 1960 formalised its national function. The building it now occupies in Canberra was opened in 1968 and houses over four million items.

NATIONAL PARKS The earliest Australian legislation protecting scenic areas was passed in Tas in the Waste Lands Act of 1863. Kings Park in Perth was dedicated for public use in 1872, but could hardly be termed a national park. In 1879 the world's second national park, and Australia's first, was dedicated south of Sydney. The 7300-hectare National Park was later to be renamed Royal National Park. Other early dedications were of parks at Fern Tree Gully, Vic, in 1882; Belair, SA, in 1891; and Wilsons Promontory, Vic, in 1898. These early dedications were normally under the various colonial and, later, state lands acts, and revocation of a reserve's status was relatively simple. The first national park in Qld, Witches Falls on Tamborine Mountain, was declared in 1908 under the State Forest and National Park Act, the first legislation in Australia to provide for setting aside national parks on a statewide basis

Policies of systematic acquisition and administration of national parks evolved only in the 1950s and 1960s. Legislation was passed in the various parlia-

ments to set up statewide bodies to manage and administer parks and other reserves and to give greater security to the reserved status of the parks. The Commonwealth National Parks and Wildlife Conservation Act was passed in 1975: major NT parks at Kakadu and Uluru were established under this act, as was the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park.

Governments and controlling authorities continue to attempt to reconcile the now generally accepted need to preserve significant areas with a wide range of pressures on existing parks and against further dedications. User pressure on the most popular parks, especially when ski or coastal resorts are involved, presents grave management problems. Mining in national parks where important ore bodies or petroleum reserves are present remains a vexed question. So does the relationship between national park management and Aboriginal land rights, as witnessed by the controversy surrounding the federal government's 1985 decision to return ownership of Uluru (Ayers Rock and the Olgas) to local Aboriginal groups.

NATIONAL SYMBOLS The overt function of a national symbol is to identify a nation in an international context, but it can also have a significant role within a nation, inspiring patriotism and consensus or

associating a sectional interest with the interests of the nation as a whole. The way in which such symbols emerge and are given legitimacy is complex. Some emerge readily from historical circumstances or needs, but others only acquire legitimacy through their association with dominant interests. Some appear relatively neutral while others embrace more obviously political values. A 'nation' being a complex and amorphous notion, there is clearly room for a fluid relationship between the symbol itself and the values it is supposed to convey.

Formal symbols, such as flags, coats-of-arms and the coinage, have tended to combine relatively neutral symbols of Australia—the southern cross, plants and animals—with British symbols such as the Union Jack, the lion or the crown. Informal national symbols are usually less contrived.

Australia did not exist as a sovereign nation until 1901, but the Australian colonies had long been expressing a sense of identity through various symbols. The southern cross appeared on flags from the early 1820s. The best-known was the flag raised by the miners at Eureka in 1854.

The distinctive flora and fauna of the continent also provided popular national symbols from an early date. The kangaroo has been the most enduring of all Australian national symbols, although the emu, the lyrebird and the koala bear have also been popular. Flowers were widely used in design, particularly from the 1880s, when motifs based on the waratah, wattle, bottlebrush, and eucalyptus became popular. Lucien Henry and R. T. Baker were particularly influential in technical colleges, where they encouraged the use of Australian flowers in designs for iron, glass and plaster work, furniture, jewellery, wallpapers and domestic wares. Such decorative work was prominent in the international exhibitions in Sydney in 1879 and Melbourne in 1880, in the arts and crafts movement of the 1900s, and in the revived crafts movement of the 1970s, when the planting of native gardens also became a popular way of asserting nationalism in the suburbs.

The southern cross and the flora and fauna of Australia were widely used as national symbols because they were relatively neutral, but they were not value-free. They reflected neoclassical scientific interest in astronomy, botany and zoology, and a European view of what was distinctive about Australia. Thus the kangaroo may have been chosen as a symbol because it was a scientific oddity in European eyes, whereas the British lion and the American eagle had been chosen earlier as symbols of national strength.

It is also significant that while native plants and animals were accepted as symbols, the original inhabitants were not. Europeans saw the Aboriginal population as a pest, a threat or an embarrassment, rather than as providing appropriate national symbols, because white settlement was necessarily a denial of the fundamental association between the Aborigines and Australia, their prior ownership of the land. Although commonly used in trademarks before World War I (often in a humorous context), it was

only in the 1950s that they were much used as symbols on ornaments, garden statuary and tourist souvenirs. Later, Aboriginal motifs were used in nationalist decoration, and boomerangs were commonly accepted as a symbol of Australia (for example, in the Buy Australian campaign launched in 1961).

Once the search for national symbols moved beyond natural phenomena, their underlying political function was clearer. In the late nineteenth century two figures were popularly used to represent Australia graphically. The first was the classical convention of an idealised woman, the Australian equivalent of Britannia, Columbia or France. She was usually blonde, as befitted the land of the wattle, and occasionally held a crook to represent the sheep industry. She was always young, clear-eyed, innocent and vulnerable, especially to foreign threats, and was often depicted as the daughter of Britannia or John Bull, with an implied balance between a continuing duty to Britain and a need to assert her independence. The second figure, the 'little boy from Manly', first appeared in 1885. He implied the same political relationship and the same values, but added masculinity and a greater assertiveness. Both figures fell into disuse some time after World War I.

Another type of symbol with clear political implications was the use of a particular product to represent the nation. The golden fleece, the miner's pick or the stook of wheat identified individual sectors of the economy with the national interest. A pastoral image of sheep and gum trees popularised by the Heidelberg school of artists became the most widely accepted summation of the Australian experience.

More complex was the use of certain occupations—the miner, stockman or shearer—as national symbols. Bush workers became powerful symbols of a more radical Australian nationalism and they were often used, in the *Bulletin* for example, as a focus for oppos-



Kookaburras and kangaroos have often been used by advertisers to promote Australian products. Label of cigarette papers, c1930.

BOOROWA PRODUCTIONS

ition to British interests. Yet what gave bush workers their ultimate legitimacy as national symbols was the role they played in the imperial economy, and increasingly in the empire's wars. They were respectable enough to represent Australia at Queen Victoria's jubilee, and to lead the federation procession in 1901. Other stock Australian types, such as convicts, bush-rangers, swagmen and larrikins, could be promoted as heroes, but they were never elevated into national symbols.

The expansion of local manufacturing in the late nineteenth century, coinciding with the beginnings of advertising, packaging and a consumer economy, inspired the search for national symbols to use as trademarks and brand names, which would exploit national sentiment to penetrate the domestic market. The coming of federation also encouraged national self-consciousness, and a debate as to whether the wattle or the waratah should be adopted as the national flower. The wattle won, because it grew in all parts of Australia and had associations of purity and cheerfulness, values which were vigorously promoted as representative of white Australia. The rising sun was also a popular federation symbol, standing for good health, purity and future achievement, which was an important part of a dominant developmentalist ethic. The sun was a common motif in 'federation' style architecture, and was being used on Australian soldiers' uniforms from 1902.

At a time when war was seen as the conclusive test of a nation's worth, it was inevitable that soldiers should be seen as representing the nation's best qualities. During World War I a popular image of the digger was of a larrikin soldier who was brave, but drank hard and refused to salute. But when he was made a national symbol, he was ennobled. He lost his notoriety and the suggestion of radicalism and came to stand for the masculine virtues of the day. Legislation banning the use of Anzac and associated words in trademarks heralded his ultimate sanctification. The failure of soldier settlement after the war, heightened by the depression, gave rise to another representative figure, the 'Aussie battler', whose persistence in unequal battles with government, the banks and nature itself was complacently applauded in the popular press.

Australia was highly urbanised in the nineteenth century, but it was only with the expansion of the heavy industrial base from the 1920s that the bias towards rural interests in national symbolism was deemed inappropriate. The lifesaver was a popular national symbol between the wars because he combined the traditional values of bush worker and Anzac—masculinity, bravery, mateship, love of sun—in a specifically urban context, and an unusually hedonistic one. The Sydney Harbour Bridge, completed in 1932, symbolised industrial achievement more directly, while the Sydney Opera House, which became a readily recognisable symbol in the 1970s, was identified with sophisticated urban culture.

Since the 1970s advertising agencies have been much more conscious of the ways national symbols

can be used in the interests of government and corporate images. Television has combined more subtle sets of values with images more complex than ever before. With the decline in the manufacturing sector, there has been some revival of outback imagery, but the main aim has been to identify particular political parties or corporations (often foreign-owned) with images that have already been established as national symbols.

This often demands the neutralising of these symbols. The most obvious case is the 'Ocker', who originated as a satire on Australian boorishness, became a popular, rather ironic sort of hero, but was then transformed into a bland advertising image. It followed a pattern set by other popular images such as the bush worker and the digger, which began with radical connotations but acquired a conservative significance once they were elevated into national symbols.

RICHARD WHITE

Further reading M. Betteridge, *Australian flora in art*, Melbourne 1979; M. Cozzolino, *Symbols of Australia*, Melbourne 1980; R. White, *Inventing Australia*, Sydney 1981.

NATIONAL TRUSTS are community organisations dedicated to the conservation of Australia's natural and cultural environment. They follow the



Martin Sharp, Luna Park and National Trust 1980.

This poster screenprint publicises an exhibition held at the National Trust on Observatory Hill.

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL GALLERY

tradition of Britain's National Trusts, established by the formation in 1894 of the English National Trust.

In 1945 in Sydney a small group of private citizens formed the first National Trust in Australia. In 1960 the NSW government passed the National Trust Act incorporating the organisation with its objectives to acquire, protect and preserve for the benefit of the public, lands and buildings of beauty or of national, historical, scientific, architectural or cultural interest; to safeguard natural features and scenic landscape and conserve wildlife; and to encourage and promote public appreciation, knowledge and enjoyment of these things.

Each state and territory has its own independent National Trust. The trusts are co-ordinated as the Australian Council of National Trusts to act at the national and international levels. However, each National Trust is constitutionally and financially independent. Its policies are decided by a council composed of members elected annually and nominees from various government departments and community organisations. Membership of the National Trusts in Australia exceeds 80 000 with over 35 000 in NSW. The National Trusts own a variety of properties and their example of restoration, voluntary advice and education has led to a broader consciousness of Australia's heritage. The National Trusts compile registers of heritage sites. The work of researching and recording carried out by volunteers and staff is a major task. Although totally independent of governments, the work of the trusts is used by governments when planning development. They also assist state governments on advisory bodies and assist and pressure governments in the interpretation of heritage legislation.

In 1973 the National Trusts were largely responsible for setting up the National Estate Committee of Inquiry which resulted in federal and state legislation. As a large pressure group among conservationists their role is one of persuasion and education to encourage Australians to appreciate and value their national estate.

JILLIAN OPPENHEIMER

NATIONAL WAGE CASES have been a feature of wage determination in Australia since the 1907 Harvester judgment by Justice Henry Bourne Higgins in the Court of Conciliation and Arbitration established the notion of a 'basic wage'. The Sunshine Harvester Company had applied to the court for exemption from excise duty on its products, this being granted to firms demonstrating that they paid their employees 'fair and reasonable' wages. In assessing how far the company's wages met that criterion, Higgins concluded that an 'average' family of five needed 42s a week to meet its cost of living. This, it was considered, should be the basic wage, which for an unskilled worker would be the total wage, though in the case of a skilled worker margins should be added for skill.

The effect of Higgins's judgment was to raise the wages of unskilled workers under federal awards by 17 per cent. It also gave unions a standard for just wages in negotiating with employers and arguing



This badge refers to the prices and incomes accord established in the early 1980s under the federal Labor government.

SPEARRITT COLLECTION

before state wage tribunals. The basic wage and margins added to it consequently became the foundation on which later wage claims were built.

In setting the level of the basic wage Higgins not only took into account the needs of the (male) worker, but also considered whether the economy could pay workers at that level. He thus established the two important and often conflicting principles central to subsequent wage determination—wage earners' needs, and the capacity of the economy to afford pay increases.

Various means for calculating basic wage adjustments developed. Following agitation by trade unions for the real value of the basic wage to be preserved as prices rose, the court in 1912 began using a retail price index to take account of price increases. In 1920 a royal commission recommended a basic wage increase of about 25 per cent; but this was not implemented because of uncertainty over the ability of the economy to sustain such a large increase. In 1922, however, automatic quarterly cost-of-living adjustments were granted, in response to price movements. These remained part of national wage determination until 1953.

In 1930, in response to requests from government and employers during the depression, the court reduced the basic wage by 10 per cent, arguing that because of the depression industry could not pay more; the cost of living had fallen; the reduction would increase employment; and, as the national income had declined by 10 per cent and there was high unemployment, workers in jobs must share the burden of the straitened economy. The argument against reduction was that the basic wage was a minimum living wage and should be inviolate; in addition any cut would reduce purchasing power, thus increasing unemployment further. The court twice refused to restore the cut, in 1932 and 1933, but in 1934 raised the

basic wage by more than half of the cut, and restored the quarterly cost-of-living adjustments. In 1937 it went on to divide the wage into a 'needs' component, which would continue to fluctuate according to the cost of living, and a prosperity 'loading', to take account of the ability of the economy to pay above the basic rate.

In 1940 the court refused to increase the basic wage because of the wartime emergency, but it pointed out that families of workers in lower income groups were experiencing hardship. The federal coalition government's child endowment scheme, introduced in 1941, was devised partly in response to these comments.

A series of postwar increases raised the basic wage from the prewar level of £4 to £11 11s by 1953. In addition the court had established a basic wage for women, who before 1950 had not been considered. That year the court set the rate for women at 75 per cent of the male wage, a rate that applied until 1969, when the principle of 'equal pay for equal work' was accepted and phased in over the next three years.

This general upward movement caused consternation among employers. Following high inflation associated with the Korean War, they complained to the court that price increases had eroded their ability to pay the quarterly cost-of-living adjustments to the basic wage, arguing that the purchasing power of the wage was now 25 per cent higher than two decades previously, and was therefore well above the level of minimum need. The wage was being set according to economic capacity rather than need, they argued, and prices had become irrelevant. The court agreed, and abandoned the automatic adjustment mechanism. Thereafter, it refused to alter the wage because of changes in prices, but granted increases in line with the ability of the economy to absorb a higher wage.

From 1954 to 1960 the court tried to adjust the basic wage annually according to seven economic indicators: employment, investment, production and productivity, overseas trade, the overseas balance of payments, the competitive position of secondary industry, and retail trade indicators. Problems arose over the appropriate weighting for each indicator, and its variability from year to year. In 1960 the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission (which had replaced the Court of Conciliation and Arbitration in 1956) adopted a new formula for adjustment based on prices plus productivity.

Difficulties in distinguishing the basic wage from the additional margins had emerged by the 1950s. What proportion of the workforce ever received the basic wage alone was uncertain; many workers by then were receiving various margins and loadings above it, not only for skill, as originally allowed through the Harvester judgment, but because of job factors like danger, dirt, weekend work and isolation. The notion of the secondary wage developed as more and more workers came to be paid above the basic wage, the court in effect setting a dual wage made up of the basic component and the secondary wage or margins. The idea of comparative wage justice led workers to judge the fairness of their own wages by

reference to the rates paid in other comparable trades. A rise in the secondary wage of one trade prompted workers in others to seek upgrading, resulting in a flow-on to other trades. A test case in 1952 led to the metal trades award becoming the measure for wage levels appropriate in other awards. As flow-ons subsequently became more or less automatic, national wage determination became more inflexible.

In 1967 the commission abandoned the basic wage plus margins, and instead adopted the notion of a minimum wage—a wage below which no employee working under federal awards could be paid. The difference between the minimum and the basic wage was that whereas the latter was a foundation wage, any increases to it lifting the wages of all workers, the former did not increase the wages of workers receiving more than the minimum, but simply raised the level for those at the bottom.

In fixing wages for workers under state awards the state wage determining tribunals had generally kept in line with the national basic wage, though some had aligned with it earlier than others. After 1967 they all followed the national minimum wage, although the term 'basic wage' remained current in NSW and Vic.

During the late 1960s unions moved away from national wage fixation via arbitration towards less centralised means of determination. The commission's conservative wage policies, competition for labour among employers, and economic conditions favourable to bargaining by unions together encouraged unions to seek wage increases through direct negotiation with employers rather than via the commission. As a result wage increases came more from awards gained in specific industries and less from national wage reviews. Until the late 1960s well over four-fifths of all award wage increases had come about through national wage cases, but by 1974 only one-fifth could be attributed to that source. The commission's role had become one of passing on to workers with weaker bargaining power the wage increases gained by unions in productive industries, with comparative wage justice the criterion.

Decentralised wage determination soon came to be associated with high inflation, unemployment and industrial disputes. By the end of 1974 inflation was approaching 20 per cent, award wages were increasing by 30 per cent annually, a record six million working days were lost in industrial disputes, and unemployment was nearing 5 per cent. Against this background wage indexation was introduced in March 1975, and served to re-centralise wage determination.

Indexation involved quarterly wage adjustments related to increases in the consumer price index. It differed from the previous quarterly cost-of-living adjustment in that increases were not automatic, and indexation applied to the whole wage, not just a 'basic' component. Twelve quarterly reviews took place under the new system between March 1975 and December 1977. From March 1978 until September 1980 the reviews took place half-yearly. The wage increases varied from nil to 5.6 per cent, the latter

being full indexation (the same percentage increase in wage as in the consumer price index). More often the commission granted only partial indexation, believing economic conditions did not warrant full indexation. The partial increases led to industrial unrest, unions claiming that anything less than full indexation was an erosion of wages.

Wage indexation was abandoned in 1981. The Fraser government believed it inflationary; and employers had various 'sweetheart' deals with unions outside the indexation guidelines, such as paying over-award rates. Wage fixation again became decentralised, the unions seeking awards for their own industries. At the end of 1982 federal and state governments and employers agreed on a wage freeze, which lasted a year. The unions opposed the freeze, however. To restore harmony the new federal Labor government, elected in March 1983, sought a 'consensus' approach to determining wages, which resulted in a return to centralised wage fixing, with indexation at six-monthly intervals.

The outcome of the government's initiative was a 'prices and incomes accord' through which wage increases were technically a result of agreements reached between the unions, the government and employers, though the method of arriving at agreement was the adversary system of argument before the commission. Under the accord, wage increases usually came about as a result of a test case involving a particular union, whose cause would be taken up by the Australian Council for Trade Unions. Other interested parties—federal and state governments and employer organisations—would then contend the case before the commission. Any increase the commission granted would flow on to other unions under federal awards, and shortly thereafter state tribunals would convene, usually to pass on the increase to workers under state awards. IAN HOWIE-WILLIS

NATIONALISATION, the assumption of ownership of key industries and services by the government, has been a contentious issue in Australian politics. Socialist parties have traditionally included nationalisation among their objectives, and this has been a point of fundamental disagreement between them and supporters of private enterprise. The Labor party's attempt to nationalise private trading banks contributed largely to the defeat of the Chifley government in 1949. Despite continuing opposition, for example to a national health scheme in the 1970s and 1980s, the party retained nationalisation ('socialisation') in its platform.

NATIONALISM, as a popular and political sentiment, has been one of the most important forces in the history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, playing a central role in European political unification and the expansion of Western empires, and in colonial independence movements in the Third World. In the history of Australia as a white settler colony since 1788 nationalism has been comparatively weak; patriotism of colony (in the nineteenth century) and of race and empire (c1880–1939) have been stronger.

Australia has historically lacked important ingredients for nationalism—land borders with other peoples and states; a separate language and culture; or an indigenous people much more numerous than the colonial invaders. Only in the battle to overcome regional and local loyalties (from colonial jealousies to states' rights) has it experienced a major development of nationalism. On the other hand, sport, assertions of independence from British and, later, American influence, and opposition to the inroads of foreign capital, have raised nationalist sentiment at various times.

Nationalism can differ in type (political, economic, social, cultural) and in its political uses. Economic nationalists have historically supported Australian economic development (ranging from Buy Australian campaigns to restrictions on foreign ownership). Cultural nationalists have argued for the development of Australian culture and criticised the cultural cringe which favours imported culture. Political nationalism has varied from support for a great power (Britain or America) to the assertion of a more independent Australian role in world affairs.

The appearance of a self-confident 'new nationalism' in the 1970s and of popular, commercially promoted 't-shirt nationalism' in the late 1970s and 80s has been politically important. Social and cultural Australian themes and motifs—on t-shirts and in television advertising—have become popular, but without any real increase in political or economic nationalism. The new nationalism was, however, assertive and revealed itself in many directions. It could be seen in fervour over Australian sporting triumphs such as the winning of the America's Cup by the yacht *Australia II* in 1983 and the gold medals won by Australians in Commonwealth and Olympic games competitions.



AUSTRALIAN MADE

Launched in 1986, the 'True Blue' Australian Made campaign urges Australians to 'work together to help buy ourselves and our country out of trouble'.

ADVANCE AUSTRALIA FOUNDATION

It was apparent in the popular enthusiasm for Australian film and television drama with nationalist themes, such as the film *Gallipoli* and the television series *The Anzacs*. It was evident in debate over the national anthem and flag, and could also be seen in the many projects being prepared for the celebration of the bicentenary of European settlement in 1988.

STEPHEN ALOMES

NATIONALIST PARTY In November 1916, after the defeat of the first conscription referendum, W.M. Hughes, the prime minister, led the Labor pro-conscription followers to form a new ministry to prosecute the war and uphold the empire. In February 1917 this group combined with the opposition Liberal party to form a Nationalist ministry. They won the ensuing election in May and, although they lost the second conscription referendum, remained in office. The Nationalists also won the 1919 election but the government was beset by scandals and personal animosities. The new Country party gained the balance of power in December 1922 and forced Hughes out in the following month. S.M. Bruce became leader and was to remain prime minister until October 1929, pursuing 'national development' underwritten by imperial loans. After defeat in October 1929 and two years in opposition the Nationalists merged in May 1932 with dissident Labor men led by J.A. Lyons to form the United Australia Party.

NATIVE POLICE was the name generally used for the Aborigines employed at various times as trackers or in the constabulary by all Australian colonial police forces once Aborigines' superior bushcraft was recognised.

Following limited use of Aboriginal police assistants in Van Diemen's Land, an Aboriginal mounted police corps was established in NSW in about 1848 because of continual strife between settlers and Aborigines in outlying districts. The corps earned a reputation for ruthlessness. After a parliamentary inquiry into the corps in 1857, the Aboriginal troopers were reorganised and concentrated in the northern districts, which included Qld. The Horner Bank massacre (1857) occurred soon after, and the Aboriginal police were prominent in the heavy reprisals against local Aborigines then and in later similar incidents. After Qld separated from NSW in 1859, the Qld police continued to employ Aboriginal troopers until about 1900, when the corps was disbanded and the remaining troopers were allowed to enlist as trackers attached to the general force. In Vic corps of Aboriginal police operated during three periods—briefly in the late 1830s; from 1842 to 1852, during which time Aboriginal troopers patrolled mining areas, where the diggers resented them greatly; and in 1879–80 to help hunt the Kelly gang. In SA an Aboriginal constabulary was formed during 1852, but white police officers did not welcome it and it was disbanded in 1856, though police continued to use Aboriginal trackers when needed. In the NT uniformed Aboriginal constables and trackers were employed after the SA government



'Curunguam (and) Munight', two Native Police, drawn by William Strutt, hand-coloured lithograph by Thomas Ham in *Illustrated Australian* magazine, Melbourne 1851.

NATIONAL LIBRARY

took control of the territory, a practice continued after the territory was transferred to the commonwealth in 1911.

Colonial governments saw Aboriginal constabularies, as opposed to trackers, primarily as a means to control Aborigines. During the late twentieth century there has been a growing recognition that a need exists for better relations between the police and Aboriginal communities. One way of achieving this is the employment of Aborigines as ancillary members of state police forces. In WA, for instance, an Aboriginal police aide scheme allows Aboriginal ancillaries to be attached to police stations in districts with large Aboriginal populations.

NEW AUSTRALIA was the name of one of the two utopian settlements established in Paraguay by William Lane and his New Australia movement in the 1890s. Most of the settlers were trade unionists disillusioned by the failure of maritime, shearers' and miners' strikes. They hoped to create a new society on socialist principles, but economic difficulties, petty rivalries and Lane's rigid social attitudes led to the failure of the dream. In 1894 Lane and his supporters moved to a new colony, Cosme, but by the early 1900s both settlements had disintegrated.

Further reading G. Souter, *A peculiar people: the Australians in Paraguay*, Sydney 1968.

NEW AUSTRALIANS is a term devised to describe 'displaced persons' who arrived under an agreement with the International Refugee Organisation following World War II. In August 1949 the minister for immigration, Arthur Calwell, announced that in future these people would no longer be regarded as displaced persons but as 'newcomers, new settlers, or, preferably, new Australians'. The term reflected the government's official policy of assimilation of migrants into the Australian community and was intended to replace offensive terms such as 'Balt' and 'DP'. The term 'new Australians' continued to be

applied to European migrants whose native tongue was not English but has lost currency in recent years as the proportion of non-European migrants has increased and the concept of multiculturalism has succeeded that of assimilation.

NEW GUARD Formed in January 1932 in reaction to the policies of J.T. Lang's Labor government of NSW, the right-wing New Guard movement aimed to suppress 'disloyalty' to the British Empire and throne and combat 'communism'. Under Eric Campbell, its leader, the New Guard was organised into civil and military wings and claimed a membership of 100 000 within a year of its formation. Its most notorious involvement in state politics occurred in March 1932 when F.E. de Groot, a member of the movement, disrupted the opening of the Sydney Harbour Bridge by cutting the ribbon before Premier Lang. The New Guard was inspired by, and in some respects emulated, the fascist parties active in contemporary Europe, but was inactive by about 1935.

NEW HOLLAND was the name given by the Dutch to that part of Australia near the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). After the British settlement at Sydney Cove, it was often applied to the continent as a whole, though Matthew Flinders distinguished New Holland, in the west, from NSW to the east of longitude 135°. Its use gradually declined after about 1820.

NEW PROTECTION was a collection of policies designed to protect the standard of living, adopted by Alfred Deakin's Protectionist federal government

from 1905 to 1908 with the support of the Labor party. It aimed to protect those industries which paid a 'fair and reasonable' wage. Much of the legislation was declared invalid by the high court in 1908-09.

NEW SOUTH WALES Nobody knows why James Cook gave this name in 1770 to the east coast of the land that contemporary maps called New Holland, but New South Wales persisted as the name of the penal colony Arthur Phillip was sent to establish in 1788 at the place Cook had called Botany Bay. Its territory, greater than the area Cook had claimed, stretched from the northern tip of the continent to the south of Van Diemen's Land, and west to the 135th degree of longitude which ran between the coasts mapped by Cook and the Dutch.

Phillip found a more promising site than Botany Bay at Port Jackson, which Cook had named but not entered. The first convicts and their keepers were put ashore on a part of the harbour Phillip called Sydney Cove, after Lord Sydney, secretary of state for the colonies. By 1792 Phillip could report a secure population of 3000 people in and around Sydney Cove with another 1000 on Norfolk Island, 1600 kilometres to the northeast. By then he had persuaded the authorities in London to encourage free settlers, granted land for agriculture to officers and soldiers, and set convicts to work for them.

Under the next governors, Hunter, King and Bligh, mainland settlement was confined to the coastal lowlands. In the time of Governor Macquarie (1810-21), explorers crossed the tablelands of the Great Dividing Range and convicts built the first road from Sydney to the west. European animals (mainly sheep) and people (mainly men) began to occupy the western slopes, which had fertile land and reliable rainfall, though not yet the western plains which stretched away to desert.

Slowly land replaced sea as the colony's economic base. In the 1830s wool outstripped products from whales and seals as the main earner of export revenue. Wheat and other food crops were grown around Sydney, along the Hawkesbury and Hunter rivers to the north and in the Illawarra region to the south, but not until late in the century did the colony produce enough grain to feed all its people.

From 1825 NSW no longer included Van Diemen's Land. In 1829 the boundary was moved west to the 129th degree of longitude, to take in Melville Island, but Governor Darling proclaimed 'the nineteen counties', or settled districts, as the limits of location—from the Manning River down to the Moruya and west to near the present site of Orange. Within that boundary governors had given land free, most of it to military and civil officers and men who had emigrated as private citizens, some to freed convicts. In 1831 free grants were stopped and money from land sales was used to bring out poorer emigrants. Convicts built roads and bridges through the nineteen counties and still were assigned without charge to settlers.

Shepherds, overseers and animals easily crossed the unmarked boundary. Having no legal right to be there, owners of these sheep and cattle were called



The kitchen in this migrant hostel helps make 'thorough Australians'. Photograph, Feb 1953.

MAGAZINE PROMOTIONS

Gipps was the first governor who had to consult elected representatives of the people. In the earliest decades a governor's authority could be challenged only by rebellion or by appeal to London. Military officers rebelled against Bligh in 1808 when he tried to put down their traffic in alcoholic spirits, and were among those who accused Macquarie in London of extravagant public works and discrimination in favour of former convicts. J. T. Bigge, sent out as commissioner, found substance in these allegations. On his recommendation a nominated legislative council, composed of officials, was introduced in 1823. Non-official members were added in 1828 and the governor's power to override the council was removed; from 1842 two-thirds of the members were elected by men of property.

Newly enfranchised squatters demanded more security of tenure for their flocks beyond the nineteen counties than was given by the grazing licence, but without having to pay the one pound an acre that was now fixed as a minimum for purchase. The British government granted the squatters most of what they wanted in 1847 but made them wait a little for the full colonial self-government they were also demanding.

Transportation of convicts to Sydney was suspended in 1840 after a House of Commons committee had judged it unwise 'to stigmatize emigration by associating it with the idea of degradation and punishment'. Assisted immigrants and native-born colonists combined in the 1840s to resist any resumption of transportation, to protest at imperial generosity to the squatters and to demand that the coming colonial parliament be democratically composed.

The imperial government handed over control of land to the colonial legislature in 1852 and gave the colony in 1855 a constitution in which the government was responsible to a two-house parliament: an elected legislative assembly of 54 members (for which all men could vote from 1858) and a legislative council of 21 nominated by the government.

In 1861 NSW had more than 350 000 people and 6 million sheep, whose wool was the staple of the economy. As settlement thickened and spread, the colony itself actually became smaller. To the south, the Port Phillip district was proclaimed a separate colony, Vic, in 1850; the Moreton Bay district in the north, established as a penal settlement in 1824, became Qld in 1859; in the west SA took over the NT in 1863.

Gold rushes from 1851 had helped to increase and disperse the population as diggers tried their luck beyond Bathurst, up in New England and south around Braidwood and Araluen. But richer goldfields in Vic made that colony the most populous by 1861.

From 1856 to 1890 members of parliament formed and reformed into hopeful factions around a variety of leaders, of whom the most adroit were Sir John Robertson, a countryman who had lived in the colony since the age of five, and Sir Henry Parkes, a townsman who had come out as an adult assisted immigrant. Each was premier five times. Robertson passed selection acts in 1861 which promised to make

it easier for small farmers to compete with flock-owners for land. Parkes passed a public schools act in 1866 with the intention of giving elementary education to all children, and in 1880 withdrew public money from denominational schools, most of which were Catholic.

Priests interpreted this measure as an expression of Protestant and secular bigotry. Their opinions had some force in a colony where nearly 30 per cent of the people were Catholics with an Irish tradition of loyalty to their church. This loyalty sat comfortably, however, with loyalty to British institutions.

A typical colonial ministry had nine members: premier, treasurer, minister of public instruction, attorney-general, minister for justice, secretaries for land, mines and public works, and postmaster-general. Whichever faction occupied these offices, public servants got on with the jobs of providing public works, especially railways, and paying for them by selling crown land and raising loans in London.

The first government-owned steam railway in the empire ran between Sydney and Parramatta in 1855. By 1890 more than 2000 miles (3200 kilometres) of track had been laid, its rails four feet eight and a half inches (1.4 metres) apart, meeting Vic's five feet three (1.6 metre) gauge in 1883 and Qld's three feet six (1.1 metre) in 1888. (Not until 1932 did tracks of NSW, or 'standard', gauge run all the way to Brisbane, and not until 1962 were Sydney and Melbourne so connected.) Nearly all lines converged on Sydney and Newcastle, the port cities.

The pastoral frontier moved steadily west as men who had established properties in Vic and SA looked for unoccupied land on which to raise wool. Tanks, wells and artesian bores trapped water in otherwise dry land; fences replaced shepherds and enabled heavier fleeces; shearing machines were installed in sheds. High wool prices made it easy for station owners to borrow British money for improvements. By 1892, when the population was nearly 1.2 million, the colony carried more than 50 million sheep, over 60 per cent of the continent's total.

Robertson's selection laws, though vigorously subverted by pastoralists, did open land in some districts to families who raised crops on 320-acre (129-hectare) and after 1875 640-acre (259-hectare) blocks. Railways encouraged wheat farmers to move farther out, beyond the tablelands to the western slopes and into the Riverina; new technology and improved strains of wheat increased their yields. In coastal areas no longer planted with wheat, farmers grew maize and vegetables and dairy products for city markets. The co-operative butter factory built at Kiama on the south coast in 1884 became a model for dairy farmers elsewhere. By 1880 farmers on the tablelands were raising fat lambs for export in refrigerated ships.

All remaining Aboriginal territory was occupied before the end of the century. In 1871, one thousand could be counted as 'more or less in contact with white settlers' and the census taker estimated that another 12 000 lived 'in a wild and wandering condition'. By 1891 the expansion of settlement enabled all

to be counted for the first time: they numbered 5097. In 1868 it became an offence to supply Aborigines with liquor. In 1882 the Aborigines' Protection Board was appointed to ameliorate their condition as they dwindled, it was assumed, to extinction.

New towns appeared along rivers, in mining centres and beside railway stations, and older ones were consolidated. In 1861 most people lived in rural areas; by 1891 nearly twice as many lived in towns as in the country. From Narrabri to Wagga Wagga, from Newcastle to Hay, central government built handsome railway stations, public schools, court-houses and police stations, post and land offices. Commerce put up banks and stores. The churches erected places of worship, any fair-sized town having at least Church of England, Presbyterian, Methodist and Catholic churches, the last with a school adjoining. Town halls proclaimed a municipality or a shire. There might also be a cordial factory, a brewery, a tannery and some other light industry; but the railway would bring cheaper and better versions of their products, made in the capital.

Sydney itself became a set of municipalities, which proliferated after 1880 as trams and trains allowed workers to live farther away from office, factory or shop. The population had risen from 10 815 in 1828 and 53 924 in 1851 to around 383 000 in 1891. Melbourne was larger, with 473 000 people, but a British visitor would find in Sydney the amenities of any proud provincial city back home, and more: a university, a Catholic cathedral and the towering headquarters of the Lands Department, agent and symbol of prosperity.

But the boom was ending. Wool prices fell, British investors withdrew, immigration all but stopped. Economic depression was followed by ecological disaster as drought dried up overstocked pasture and rabbits which had crossed the Murray colonised the west of NSW, their ability to multiply contributing to a halving of the sheep population, to less than 27 million, between 1892 and 1902. One consolation for the colony's leaders was that Vic fared worse. Banks did not crash in Sydney as in Melbourne; fewer people fled to WA or elsewhere in search of work and the oldest colony became once again the most populous.

The new hard times helped provoke strikes in and after 1890. The major strikes failed but the defeated strikers contributed to a transformation of the colony's politics. At the election of 1891, 36 Labor candidates were among the 41 returned to the legislative assembly. The Labor men were suspicious of the movement to make a federal Australia. Federation was never a powerful NSW enthusiasm. Robertson, who died in 1891, campaigned against it. Parkes, living to 1896, was a late convert, having done his best in 1888 to have NSW renamed Australia. The attitude to federation of George Reid, premier from 1894 to 1899, earned him the nickname 'Yes-No'; only at the second of two referendums in 1898-99 did NSW vote in favour of the proposed federal constitution.

In national legend, as in the minds of some politicians, the real Australia was in NSW. The *Bulletin*,

the one national paper, came from Sydney and made the reputations of two authors recognised most widely as discerning truly Australian types and values: Henry Lawson and Banjo Paterson. Both were born on the western slopes in the 1860s, Lawson the son of a poor selector, Paterson a pastoral station owner's son. Each cherished as his subject the world of outback NSW.

Sydney's Centennial Park was the site for the proclamation of the Commonwealth of Australia on 1 January 1901, but the federal parliament opened on 9 May 1901 in Melbourne and the ministers of the new government had their offices there. Prickly bargaining between men from the two most populous colonies—from 1901, states—gave the nation a capital that would be within NSW but at least 100 miles (162 kilometres) from Sydney. From 1911 some 900 square miles (2330 square kilometres) of land just inside the southern boundary of the old nineteen counties became the ACT, to which Jervis Bay was added in 1915. That was the last reduction in the size of NSW, which with Lord Howe Island has 801 428 square kilometres of land, or some 10 per cent of Australia.

In the state parliament Labor was strong enough to become the official opposition in 1904 and the government in 1910. Labor politicians remained suspicious of commonwealth authority even when their comrades were in federal office; they opposed, successfully, referendums to increase federal powers in 1911 and 1913. On the other hand, federal protective tariffs nurtured manufacturing in NSW. So did the war of 1914-18. The Broken Hill Proprietary Company opened an iron and steel works at Newcastle in 1915, using coal from nearby fields and iron ore shipped from Whyalla in SA. At Port Kembla copper smelting began in 1908 and manufacture of copper cables, wires and tubes in 1917; in 1928 steel production began, which BHP took over in 1935. Sydney's factory workforce increased steadily in the new century, much of it in branches of British firms investing in the production of soap, food products and rubber goods, for example.

Soon after 1900 Sydney's population passed Melbourne's; the NSW capital has remained Australia's largest city. Within the state, more and more people became Sydneysiders: the capital housed 36 per cent of the NSW population in 1901, when it had over 480 000 residents, and more than half by 1954, when its population was 1 863 161. Innovations in transport let Sydney's people travel under the ground and above the harbour. In 1926 the city gained the continent's first underground railway, not emulated in Melbourne for more than half a century, and in 1932 the vast harbour bridge was opened. Sydney's ocean beaches became symbols for sunny and vigorous leisure, the most famous of them, unlike the gentler bay beaches of Melbourne and Adelaide, having peculiarly Australian names: Manly, Coogee, Bondi.

Woolgrowing tended to move back east after the disasters of the 1890s. Vegetation on the western plains never recovered. Rural landuse was subject



Mooney Swamp Road, watercolour by Colin Dunbar, 1978, depicts a scene near Deniliquin in the New South Wales Riverina.

DUNBAR COLLECTION

now to more government intervention, designed to disperse large pastoral holdings and encourage small farmers. The area under wheat and dairy production increased. An act of 1906 inaugurated the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area. Settlement began there in 1914, and public planners put up Griffith and Leeton to serve returned soldiers, immigrants and others who tried their luck in the region after the war.

Aborigines lived mostly in and around country towns, half of them on about twenty reserves. A census in 1928 reported 1197 'full-bloods' and 6846 'half-castes', the former category decreasing at every count and the latter increasing. An act of 1908 gave the Aborigines Protection Board complete control over Aboriginal reserves and power to do what it thought best for children, without consulting parents. 'Protection' became 'Welfare' in 1940, and assimilation, official policy.

Ministries became larger, not smaller, after the transfer of some powers to the commonwealth. Only the postmaster-general disappeared from the list of Parkes' time. Agriculture, Labour and Industry, Health, Transport, Local Government, Forests, Housing and Social Services were added in 1935. Labor appeared solidly entrenched after the election of 1913 until the ministry, like the federal Labor one, split in 1916 on the question of conscripting men for the war. The Labor premier, W. A. Holman, resigned and formed a coalition with anti-Labor men. At referendums in 1916 and 1917 NSW voted decisively 'No'; but Holman's Nationalists were returned at the election of 1917. In 1916 and 1917 the state experienced serious strikes among coalminers, railway workers, seamen and waterside workers.

Labor resumed office in 1920. The fearsome figure of J. T. Lang, Labor premier in 1925–27 and 1930–32, towered over allies and enemies as the state endured the capitalist world's worst depression. When Lang refused to pay interest to British bondholders on the state's public debt, the anti-Labor federal government led by J. A. Lyons paid the bills and empowered itself

to recover from the state. To prevent that happening, Lang ordered all state funds to be withdrawn from banks. On 13 May 1932, the state governor, Sir Philip Game, dismissed Lang's ministry, though it still had a majority in parliament. If the maverick populist premier had been returned at the election that followed, NSW would have been in for a turbulent time; but Labor had broken in two and the voters opted overwhelmingly for the new United Australia Party and the Country party. Lang remained balefully active in Labor affairs, harrying enemies in state and federal politics. He died in 1975, aged 98, just too soon to see Sir John Kerr dismiss Gough Whitlam.

The anti-Labor coalition that succeeded Lang in 1932 stayed in office until 1941. In 1934, it changed the mode of composing the legislative council, which Lang had tried to abolish. The new council consisted of 60 members, with groups of fifteen members being elected for twelve-year terms on a rotation basis. The electoral body was the combined legislative assembly (which now had 90 members) and legislative council, meeting in a joint sitting, an arrangement which lasted until a Labor-sponsored referendum in 1978 carried the principle of direct election for council members.

War came momentarily to the state's principal cities in 1942. Three Japanese midget submarines stole into Sydney Harbour on the night of 31 May and torpedoes hit a ferry, killing nineteen sailors; two of the submarines were destroyed. A week later two larger submarines shelled Sydney and Newcastle, doing little damage. Merchant ships were sunk by submarines off the NSW coast. For five years great passenger liners, converted into troopships, slid in and out of the harbour. Sydney's streets and bars were dense with American servicemen.

As in 1914–18, war encouraged secondary industry. The wartime mood of planning for national development had one great postwar monument, the Snowy Mountains Scheme, by which the commonwealth, NSW and Victorian governments embarked

in 1949 on a great project, completed in 1974, to catch the waters of the Snowy River high on the eastern side of the Great Dividing Range and send them west through tunnels to the Murray and Murrumbidgee, generating electricity for both states and the ACT, and delivering vastly increased supplies of water to dry land in the west.

After 1945 the coastal strip from Sydney up to Newcastle and down to Wollongong–Port Kembla became a single region of manufacturing, its least skilled jobs being done by increasing numbers of displaced persons and other assisted immigrants from Europe. Shopping streets which had traditionally just one Chinese restaurant and one Greek cafe became solidly Greek, as in Redfern and Newtown, or Italian, as in Leichhardt. Wollongong became the least British of Australia's cities.

Outside the urban region, coastal land was occupied by mixed farming, especially dairying; sheep and beef cattle grazed on the tablelands and the western slopes; some wheat was grown on the slopes, but the eastern part of the western plains was the main source of wheat and wool. Sheep numbers, 55 million by 1985, were about the same as in 1892, but they yielded more and better wool. Greater all-round rural productivity contributed to a continuing decline in the proportion of the workforce raising primary products; by 1985 it was below 6 per cent and many inland towns were losing population. By 1985, three-quarters of the state's 5.5 million people lived in Sydney, Newcastle and Wollongong–Port Kembla. But in that region, the proportion of people who worked in manufacturing was falling. Politicians were apparently helpless; their anger could not prevent the General Motors' Holden Limited assembly plant in Pagewood from closing down in 1980, adding 1200 to the disturbing number of unemployed.

As elsewhere, Aborigines contributed disproportionately to the figures for unemployment (and to any other measure of deprivation). At the census of 1981 more people identified themselves as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander in NSW (35 367) than in the NT and in any other state except Qld. A state Department of Aboriginal Affairs, formed in 1981, had as head Patricia O'Shane, of Irish as well as Aboriginal ancestry, the first Aborigine and the first woman to be head of a government department.

The ability of state politicians to deliver what they promised at elections was reduced permanently by the surrender to the commonwealth in 1942 of the power to levy income tax. Apart from improvements in education and transport, the reforms introduced by Labor governments from 1941 to 1965 were measures that cost the treasury little or nothing: the 40-hour working week (1947), compulsory unionism (1954), 10 o'clock closing of hotel bars (1955). The Sydney Opera House, commissioned by the Cahill Labor ministry in 1956 and hailed as a wonder of the modern world after its opening in 1973, was paid for entirely out of state lotteries.

Visitors from other states—more numerous in the 1950s as improved roads, rising real wages and

cheaper family cars encouraged long-distance travel—found NSW both familiar and different. The traveller from Vic noticed H-shaped rugby posts, unfamiliar beers and newspapers, clubs made sumptuous by the takings of poker machines (legal after 1956 in NSW, but illegal everywhere else). The end of the journey brought the expected glories of the harbour and the surf beaches of Sydney and the disturbing sight of policemen wearing pistols.

Labor was damaged less in NSW than in Vic when the party split in the mid-1950s. The hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Sydney remained benign to the ALP. Labor stayed in power until 1965, when a Liberal–Country party coalition under Sir Robin Askin began to preside over the remaking of Sydney, driving freeways through suburbs and encouraging 'development'. Labor's return under Neville Wran in 1976 heartened the party's faithful elsewhere, at a time when the Whitlam government had crashed and Labor was out of office in every other state except SA. Wran became federal president of the ALP in 1980 and his pragmatic style of government provided a model for the aspiring Labor leaders who took the party back to power in all states except Qld and Tas by 1983. He combined old Labor toughness with a new classless image and won four elections before retiring voluntarily in 1986.

As soon as Askin was dead and could not sue, newspapers alleged that he had enriched himself by corrupt toleration of crime. When the ABC published a charge that Wran had intervened improperly in the judicial system, he did sue, the ABC settling out of court with an expression of regret; a royal commission exonerated him. It was difficult to deny him credit for his efforts to strengthen industry and investment in the state, and to initiate important consumer and heritage legislation and other legal reforms.

The urge that moved Sir Henry Parkes to propose naming the colony 'Australia' is evident today in the message on NSW vehicle numberplates: 'the premier state'. If this is a boast about antiquity, it is unanswerable. If it is a claim to leadership, it has substance, for NSW has the highest population; its capital, the largest city, has replaced Melbourne as financial centre of the nation and is headquarters to a range of cultural institutions: the ABC, the Australia Council, Patrick White, the *Australian*, the *Bulletin*, the *National Times on Sunday*, the *Australian Financial Review*, the *Australian women's weekly*, *Woman's day*, Mike and Terry Willesee, *Sixty minutes*, Paul Hogan. The mixture of beers—Fosters, Swan, XXXX and Toohey's competing for every Australian thirst—and the incorporation of Sydney into the Victorian Football League may be glimpses of a more homogenised future, in which differences in texture of living from state to state will be harder to detect.

K S. INGLIS

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NEW SOUTH WALES CORPS This corps was raised as a unit in England in 1789 for service in NSW, where in 1809 it became the 102nd regiment of the Line. It served in the colony from 1790 until replaced by Gov Macquarie's 73rd regiment in 1810. When first raised it comprised four companies, each with a captain, two lieutenants, an ensign, three sergeants, three corporals, two drummers and 67 privates—that is, 316 men. By September 1807 the corps had grown to 589 men. The corps gained wealth and power through land grants and the spirits trade, especially between 1792 and 1794, when their commanding officer, Maj Francis Grose, administered the colony. Attempts by governors Hunter, King and Bligh to curb their power were answered by the Rum Rebellion of 1808, the deposition of Bligh, and government by officers of the corps until its recall. All officers except those on outpost during the rebellion were ordered home, but the rank and file were given the option of remaining, which almost half took up, forming the Royal Veteran Corps, which was disbanded 24 September 1823. Twenty-two officers and 345 non-commissioned officers returned to England.

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NEW STATES Before Federation several rural-based movements for regional autonomy existed in NSW and Qld, prompting the federation conventions to insert provisions into the commonwealth constitution enabling new states to be formed. The movement for a new state in northern NSW was revived at a meeting at Grafton in 1915 with the support of Earle Page, and spread to the New England tablelands in 1919. At the Armidale convention of June 1923 it emerged that similar movements existed in the Riverina (where closer association with Vic was demanded), southern NSW (centered on Goulburn) and in north and central Qld. Royal commissions were set up in 1923, 1929 and 1934 to investigate the claims for autonomy, which were influenced by declining transport and other services to these regions as well as perceptions of capital city hostility towards



Newspaper readers, *Illustrated Sydney News*, 15 June 1887.



Rural resentment of urban domination of New South Wales politics has surfaced in new state movements at various times since Federation. Cartoon by Norman Lindsay. *Bulletin*, 28 Apr 1921.

the country. The New England New State Movement was active between 1948 and 1967, when a referendum on the question was defeated by strong opposition in the Hunter region. The north Qld movement, which was strong in the 1950s, re-emerged in the 1970s with demands for the establishment of a new state, to be called 'Capricornia'.

NEWSPAPERS The *Sydney Gazette and NSW Advertiser* was first published by the convict George Howe on 5 March 1803, making it the first Australian newspaper. A weekly, printed on government paper by a government press, it contained official orders and notices as well as some news and advertisements. Until 1824 it was subject to government censorship. In Van Diemen's Land the *Hobart Town Gazette* of the ex-convict government printer, Andrew Bent, played a similar role. A more independent newspaper was the *Australian* of W.C. Wentworth and Robert Wardell, barristers, which first appeared in Sydney in 1824.

Governor Darling feared the effects of a free press in a convict colony and in 1827 sought to restrict it by means of licences and heavy newspaper taxes. Such restraints were imposed in Van Diemen's Land, but because of the disapproval of the chief justice, Sir

Francis Forbes, they were not carried into effect in NSW. Under Darling, E.S. Hall of the *Monitor* and A.E. Hayes of the *Australian* were each imprisoned for criminal and seditious libel, but after his departure such prosecutions were rare. Indeed Gov Bourke gave newspapers the valuable privilege of free postage, at the same time removing their liability for tax.

In other colonies the press commenced with European settlement. In WA, J.A. Gardner published a manuscript newspaper in 1830 and in Vic, J.P. Fawcner circulated one in 1838. The first issue of the *South Australian Gazette* on 18 June 1836 in London preceded the foundation of that colony by some months. During the nineteenth century newspapers flourished, their prices falling from one shilling a copy in the early days to as low as one penny. Although working men in Britain could afford only a weekly (Sunday) newspaper, in Australia they frequently bought a newspaper on weekdays.

Newspapers were owned by individuals (often printers by trade) and by partners, and occasionally by companies, leading to a broad range of political expression. The demand for newspapers of different views was such that by 1890 Bathurst, a town of 9000 people, could sustain three local dailies. By about 1882 Vic had one newspaper in publication for every 5867 people; in Britain the ratio was one to 18 000 people.

The number of country newspapers peaked in 1914 and the number of dailies in capital cities reached a maximum of 26 in the 1920s. In that decade a popular style developed, making many papers brighter and easier to read. In 1922 the *Sun News-Pictorial* was published in Melbourne as a tabloid in the style of the London *Mirror* and *Sketch*. Keith Murdoch introduced Lord Northcliffe's methods to the Melbourne *Herald*. On the front page, banner headlines, pictures and sensational or trivial news items replaced the tightly packed, grey columns of advertisements. Inside there were more pictures, cartoons and comic strips, sections on sport and entertainment, crosswords, competitions, women's pages and supplements. Editorials were abbreviated and sentences and paragraphs were made short and direct.

Increasingly, diversity of ownership gave way to concentration. In 1923 twenty-one proprietors published twenty-six capital city dailies; in 1982 three published seventeen dailies. These three companies were John Fairfax & Sons Ltd, News Corporation Ltd and the Herald and Weekly Times Ltd. Together with a fourth giant, Australian Consolidated Press, they controlled many national magazines, most suburban and country newspapers, chains of radio stations, and eight of the fifteen metropolitan commercial television stations. Oligopolies with multinational links had replaced small-scale owners with strong local attachments. The 'freedom of the press' now depended on boards of directors sanctioning the limited independence of editors and journalists.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the labour movement, dissatisfied with the existing press, established many newspapers. In 1890 the Qld



Pastor Douglas Nicholls in the pulpit, September 1950.
MAGAZINE PROMOTIONS

Worker was begun by William Lane and in Sydney, as a result of a maritime strike, the Labour Council established the *Australian Workman*. Labour dailies, such as the Adelaide *Daily Herald* (1910–24), the Brisbane *Daily Standard* (1912–36) and the Sydney *Labor Daily* (1924–40), eventually collapsed, the sole survivor being the *Barrier Daily Truth* founded in 1909 and published in Broken Hill.

Sales of newspapers in proportion to households declined from 1954. The circulation of 'popular' newspapers fell while that of 'quality' newspapers, directed at readers of higher socio-economic status, grew. Newspapers suffered from the competition of television news and entertainment, while public opinion surveys suggest that they were widely distrusted. Nevertheless the press remains important as a means by which advertisers may reach their markets and as a medium more independent of government than its electronic competitors.

R.B. WALKER

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NEWTON-JOHN, Olivia (1948–), singer, released her first record 'Till you say you'll be mine' in 1966. Her country style music was particularly popular in the United States. In 1974 she was named top female singer by the American Country Music Association and 'Banks of the Ohio' sold 250 000 copies. Since then Newton-John has achieved even greater success as a film star. She now lives permanently in America.

NICHOLLS, Sir Douglas Ralph (1906–), Aboriginal leader and governor, was born at Cumerogunga station, NSW. Educated to third grade standard and forced to leave the station at fourteen when he became

ineligible for rations, Nicholls was a rural worker until he discovered his skill at sport. Between 1927 and 1939 he played football for Northcote and Fitzroy in Melbourne and in 1935 was the first Aborigine to represent Vic. In 1929 he won the Nyah and War-racknabeal Gifts. He was regarded for many years as Australia's fastest sprinter.

Having become a Christian in 1932 Nicholls began to work for Aboriginal rights and welfare. He was an early member of the Aborigines' Advancement League and later its director (1969–74); he participated in the Day of Mourning by which Aborigines marked the sesquicentenary of European settlement in 1938; and he established the Churches of Christ Aborigines' Mission in Fitzroy in 1943 with himself as pastor. Between 1957 and 1963 he was a member of the Victorian Aborigines' Welfare Board, from which he resigned in protest at the closing of the Lake Tyers Aboriginal reserve, and in 1958 he established an Aboriginal girls' hostel, and was a foundation member of the Federal Council for Aboriginal Advancement.

Nicholls was the first Aborigine to be knighted (1972) and was also awarded an MBE (1957), OBE (1968), KCVO and was made Knight of the Order of St John (1977). In 1962 he was named Father of the Year in Vic. On 1 December 1976 he was appointed governor of SA, but retired on 30 April 1977 because of ill health.

Nicholls fought for the removal of discriminatory legislation and the acceptance of Aborigines as part of the Australian community, championed the restoration of Lake Tyers and Cumeroogunga to Aborigines, and worked for Aboriginal representation in parliament.

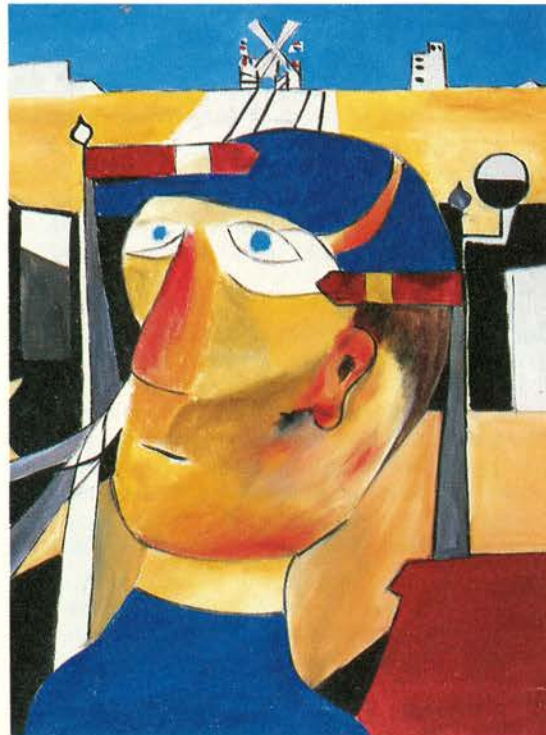
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NIGHTINGALE NURSES were trained under a system devised by Florence Nightingale. In 1866 the NSW premier Henry Parkes wrote to Nightingale requesting nurses for the Sydney Infirmary. On 5 March 1868 Lucy Osburn, lady superintendent, arrived in Sydney with five sisters trained at the Nightingale Training School attached to St Thomas's Hospital, London. At the infirmary they nursed, fought for more hygienic conditions and trained new nurses. By 1873 eighteen nurses and six probationers had been trained under the Nightingale system.

NINETEEN COUNTIES In 1829 Governor Darling sought to control the spread of settlement in NSW by proclaiming nineteen counties, bounded by the Manning River in the north, the Goulburn Plains in the south and the Wellington Valley in the west, and comprising in all about nine million hectares. Settlement outside the counties was forbidden. However, squatters quickly moved beyond these limits of location and government was powerless to stop them. In 1836 Governor Bourke permitted squatters to graze their flocks outside the counties for an annual licence fee, and in 1847 the counties were subsumed in a new

division of the colony, comprising the 'settled', 'intermediate' and 'unsettled' areas.

NOLAN, Sir Sidney Robert (1917–), painter, was born in Melbourne, studied part-time at Prahran Technical School, and briefly at the National Gallery School in 1934. He developed a purely abstract range of motifs allied both to avant garde European models and Asian ideographs. In 1938 Nolan became a foundation member of the Contemporary Art Society (CAS), then the focal point for radical art in Australia. He served with the 13th Supply Personnel Company during World War II and during this time, while stationed at Dimboola in Vic, developed an interest in landscape and figurative painting. Nolan continued to paint until the end of the war, exhibiting with the CAS in both individual and group shows. In 1945 he joined the publishing firm run by John Reed and Max Harris, providing the cover illustration for the infamous Ern Malley edition of *Angry Penguins*, which helped establish his reputation at the forefront of Australian cultural radicalism.



Railway guard, Dimboola, by Sidney Nolan, 1943. Along with the work of Drysdale, Tucker, Counihan and others, Nolan's paintings of the late 1930s and early 1940s ushered modernism into Australian art. Three years after he completed this painting, Nolan began his famous 'Ned Kelly' series, which further mythologised both the bushranger and the Australian landscape. Ripolin enamel on canvas, 77 x 64 cm. Presented to the National Gallery of Victoria by Sir Sidney and Lady Nolan, 1983.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF VICTORIA

In the years after the war Nolan developed a number of important images on Australian themes, the foremost of which was the Ned Kelly series of 1947–48. Using literary and historical sources, Nolan created memorable and telling images which juxtaposed powerful and highly individual motifs, such as the Kelly helmet, against sensitively rendered interpretations of the Australian landscape. Opportunities for travel during the 1950s led to a number of series based on such themes as Leda and the Swan, Gallipoli, and the exotic landscapes of Africa, China and the Antarctic.

Basing himself in London, Nolan established an international reputation while still strongly retaining his Australian identity. Painting prolifically, he explored many different media and avenues of expression, including design for the theatre, with which he had worked sporadically since gaining a commission for Serge Lifar's ballet *Icare* in 1940.

As the best-known and most public Australian artist of his generation Nolan has seen his works placed in the world's leading galleries, and in recent years has given many important works to national institutions. He was knighted for his service to art in 1981 and awarded the Order of Merit in 1985. He currently divides his time between England and Australia, exhibiting widely his current work.

GAVIN FRY

Further reading E. Lynn, *Sidney Nolan: Australia*, Sydney 1978.

NOONKANBAH, on the Fitzroy River inland from Derby, Western Australia, was bought by the federal government's Aboriginal Land Fund Commission in 1975 as a cattle station for local Aboriginal people. When mining companies staked claims on the land, the community appealed in vain to courts and in 1979 physically resisted oil exploration. In 1980 on the orders of the Western Australian government police escorted an oil rig from Perth. The Kimberley Aboriginal Land Council, with support from Aboriginal groups elsewhere, protested in and beyond Australia at the intrusion sanctioned by the state government. Pressure was exerted on the federal government to intervene, but it refused to override the state government.

Further reading C. D. Rowley, *Recovery: the politics of Aboriginal reform*, Melbourne 1986.

NORTH AUSTRALIA, a short-lived penal settlement established by Lieut-Col George Barney (1792–1862) at Port Curtis on the east coast of Qld in 1847 through the initiative of William Ewart Gladstone, secretary of state for the colonies. It was also known as the Gladstone Colony. The plan was to absorb certain classes of ex-convicts, mainly from Van Diemen's Land, and exiles, and to colonise northern Australia. Hostile Aborigines, excessive heat, heavy rains and mosquitoes made progress difficult, but relief came when Gladstone's successor, Earl Grey, caused the settlement to be abandoned after a few months. The town of Gladstone grew up on the site of the experiment.

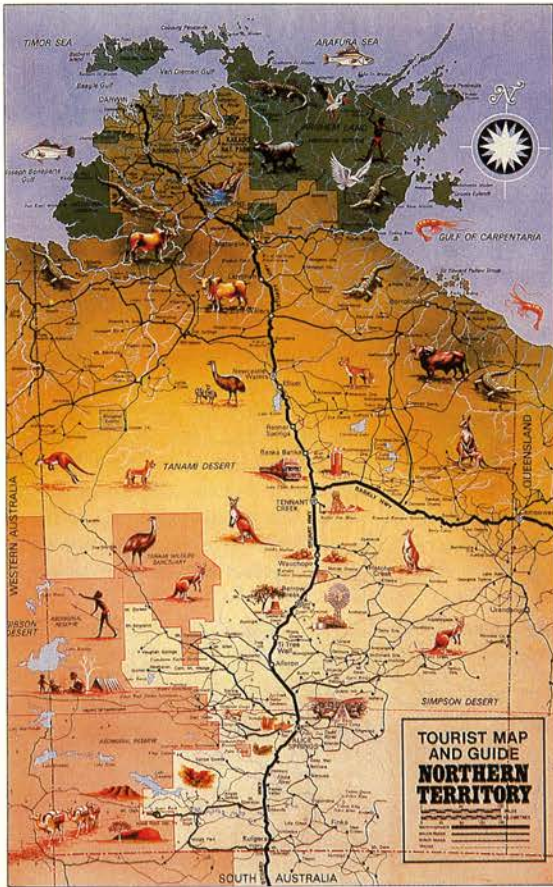
G.P. WALSH

NORTHERN TERRITORY Exploitation and neglect are major themes in NT history, well illustrated by the manner in which this great sweep of desert, monsoon bushland, stony range and plateau, nearly one-sixth of Australia, received its boundaries. Except for the northern coast they are all lines of latitude and longitude arbitrarily drawn on a blank map of the continent by the founders of neighbouring colonies: Western Australians (1829); South Australians (1834 and 1861); Queenslanders (1862). None cared that this area beyond their boundaries had no geographic unity. They had what they wanted of Australia.

Only the Aborigines have understood and accepted this land in its entirety. Legends imply their presence since time immemorial. Science dates their earliest known campsite in the Territory, near Oenpelli in Arnhem Land, at 22 000 years ago. But Lake Mungo sites in NSW are nearly twice as old; so if, as is generally believed, the Aborigines first entered Australia from the north, habitation sites in the Territory must be older still. One or two thousand generations of Aborigines may well have lived in the north, cut off for between 5000 and 12 000 years from all outside influence by the drowning of the last land bridge to New Guinea. We know very little of their lives and estimates of their numbers are hardly more than intelligent guesswork. F. L. Jones, basing his research on a conservative estimate of the pre-European population of Australia of 250 000 to 300 000, suggested that about 35 000 lived in the NT. Norman Tindale's monumental work, *Aboriginal tribes of Australia*, divides them into 126 tribes. The great majority lived in the north, the Top End, clustering thickly along the well-watered coastal lands with a wide variety of marine and terrestrial life. Here, population density probably reached as high a figure as anywhere in prehistoric Australia: 1.13 per square kilometre for the Gidjingali of Arnhem Land, according to Tindale. At the opposite extreme were the Walpiri of the Tanami desert, needing 90 square kilometres per person to eke out a living. Yet all the land had owners. To a people so finely attuned to the earth, no land was useless.

During the fifteenth century Arab and Chinese voyagers reached the Indonesian islands immediately to the north of Australia. There is little evidence that either discovered the continent. The Portuguese, who colonised Timor early in the seventeenth century, have a better but still tenuous claim; and the Dutch, who dispossessed the Portuguese of nearly all their island empire, became the first certain European discoverers of the NT coast. In 1623 the pinnacle Arnhem discovered the northwestern coast of the land now named after it. In 1642 Abel Tasman made the voyage that traced the outline of the whole northern coast. Other Dutch vessels visited sporadically for another century but, finding no profit, turned away.

The British came next. Settlement at Sydney in 1788 was soon followed by marine survey of the whole continent. In a series of voyages Flinders (1801–03), King (1818–23), and Wickham and Stokes (1837–43) charted the northern coast, encountering an



Ansett Pioneer Tours in 1984 encouraged tourists to visit the Northern Territory and see Aboriginal people, animals and spectacular scenery.

BOOROWA PRODUCTIONS

Indonesian people, the Macassans, who annually sailed their wooden-hulled *praus* to the Kimberley and Arnhem Land coasts in search of trepang for the Chinese market. From these encounters, and knowledge gained from the surveys, sprang the belief that a trading centre on the Territory coast might rival the success of Singapore and forestall French designs on that part of Australia. Thus three military trading posts grew up on the Territory coast: Fort Dundas, Melville Island (1824–28); Fort Wellington, Raffles Bay (1827–29); Victoria, Port Essington (1838–49). They proved to be too far from shipping lanes and population centres and were therefore short-lived.

Confident in their claim to the whole of Australia and increasingly preferring to maintain their world trading interests by treaties and naval might rather than direct settlement, the British lost interest, although they did provide stimulus for the first major land explorations of the NT—Leichhardt's journey from Qld to Port Essington in 1844–45 and Gregory's from the Victoria River to the Gulf of Carpentaria in 1855–56. From that point, imperial interests were superseded by those of Australians.

South Australian pastoralists and their govern-

ments subsidised the explorations of John McDouall Stuart, from 1858 to 1862, which took him through the central ranges to the north coast; and they used his work as a basis for laying claim to the NT. This was bold indeed, for SA had a mere 140 000 people and half of its own area was unexplored. But in 1863 the imperial government, having no better plan, reluctantly allowed them to have it.

SA held the Territory for 47 years. Colonial leaders hoped to repeat in the north the growth of their own society, self-supporting and ever-expanding. It did not happen. When the federal government took control in 1911, the Territory's public debt stood at £4 million and pastoralism seemed to be the only permanent industry the area would support. Part of the reason was the small resource base of the ruling colony; part lay in the inability of South Australians—or anyone else—to see that the commercial-agricultural base on which they had built their own prosperity could not, under nineteenth-century conditions, be transferred to the vastly different environment of the north. Moreover, rapid changes of government (SA had 42 ministries in the 43 years from 1857 to 1900) made continuity of policy difficult. Greater enthusiasm was expressed for the notion of speculation in Territory lands and minerals from the comfort of Adelaide, than for the reality of going north to help tame a new country.

Thus the act of 12 November 1863, which first regulated the settlement of the NT, laid down that the area must pay for its own governance. This was to be done by selling half a million acres of town and country lands, before survey, and site unknown. Speculative companies, set up in Adelaide and London, bought most of the land orders. The first planned survey, at Escape Cliffs in 1864, failed dismally through poor choice of site and the incompetence of the party leaders and government alike. The second attempt, at Port Darwin in 1869 under the control of George Goyder, surveyor-general of SA, succeeded. But few came north to take up the lands they had bought and absentee ownership remained the bane of Darwin until a federal Labor government compulsorily acquired all town property after World War II.

The Overland Telegraph Line, built through the heart of the Territory between 1870 and 1872, was a magnificent engineering feat and helped to ensure the permanence of Darwin; the commercial benefit went to Adelaide. Telegraph poling parties discovered gold in the Yam Creek–Pine Creek area south of Darwin. The news brought a few hundred men north in 1872, only to find themselves living in severe conditions and excluded from many of the scarce alluvial deposits by mining companies with access to government. They left in disgust, but gold fever gripped Adelaide. Sixty companies absorbed the funds of investors in 1874. Most collapsed when it became known that the gold-bearing reefs were fragmented and difficult to mine. The few that genuinely tried found themselves starved of funds by disillusioned investors, and of labour, because the independent miners had left the fields. They brought in Chinese from 1874. Within a

few years the Chinese largely controlled Territory mining; but the boom was over. The South Australian government eased the mining regulations and built, between 1886 and 1889, a railway from Darwin to Pine Creek, but these measures could not save the goldfields from decline.

From 1884 pearling leavened the population of Darwin with a heterogeneous mix of Asians, and provided them with an uncertain living until the 1960s. But agriculture failed to flourish in the harsh wet-dry climate and poor soils of the Top End. In 1875 the Adelaide government offered a bonus of £5000 for the first 500 tons of sugar produced from Territory cane. This led a Melbourne syndicate to plant cane on Daly River land. At the same time B.C. de Lissa tried to grow cane near Darwin, on ironstone and gravel. An investment of £20 000 resulted in the production of twelve tons of sugar. In 1884 de Lissa abandoned the area and, undermined by his failure, the Daly River venture collapsed before sugar production could begin. Bad management ruined a promising coffee plantation at Rum Jungle. Other ventures did no better and the Territory acquired a reputation for agricultural failure which persists to the present day.

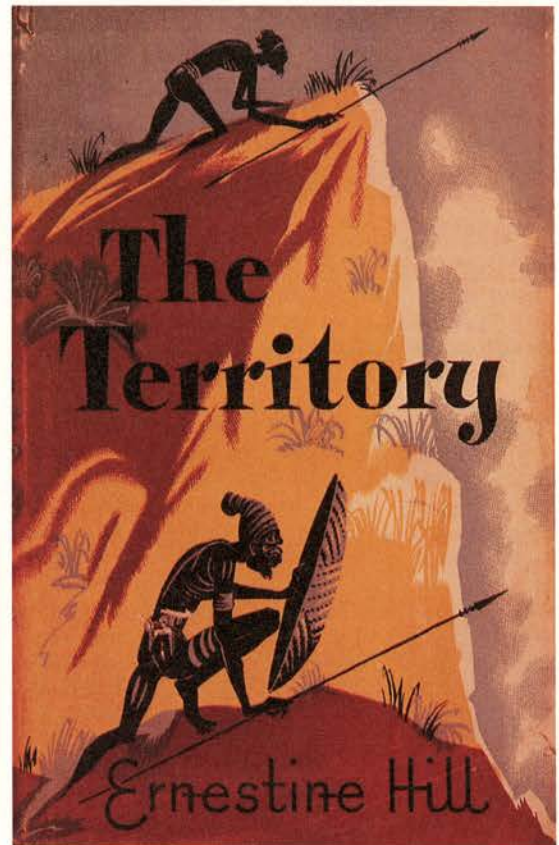
Pastoralism became the major force in spreading white settlement across the Territory. From the early 1870s South Australian graziers gradually extended into the central range country. Further north, the Barkly Tableland, the Top End and the Victoria River country became extensions of the Qld pastoral frontier. By the end of 1882 nine-tenths of the Territory had been applied for as pastoral lease: desert, swamp or barren stone, it made no difference. Much of this activity was wild speculation and the land was not stocked. Some genuine attempts ended in the Australia-wide depression of the 1890s, and the whole industry was plagued by insecure tenure, poor stocking rates, poor management, drought, flood, disease and lack of markets. By 1909 little more than one-quarter of the Territory was held under pastoral lease or permit. Most of this was concentrated in the better cattle country of the Barkly, Victoria River and central regions, and a pattern of ownership emerged that still exists: central Australia became the province of the relatively small, independent cattlemen, while the north was dominated by large companies.

For the Aborigines pastoralism became both a curse and a grudging salvation. A pattern of misunderstanding, intolerance and violence developed in the NT, much as it had wherever Europeans had settled in Australia, but in the north it was mitigated by the chronic shortage and high cost of white labour, which forced the pastoralists to turn to the Aborigines. They traded their labour for little more than subsistence and the chance to remain near their tribal lands, but they kept their identity.

In 1911 the commonwealth government accepted both the NT and its debt from SA. By then the main features of modern Territory society were in evidence. Foremost among these was the pattern of settlement, with Darwin as the only major port and centre of government; Arnhem Land and the western deserts the

domain of Aborigines; a wide belt of cattle country stretching westward from the Qld border through the Barkly Tableland, the Katherine area and the Victoria River country into the Kimberleys of WA, and separated in the south by desert and Tennant Creek from the cattle lands of the central ranges with their focal point at Alice Springs. Only government connects that area to the rest of the Territory; economically and culturally, it looks to SA.

The economic basis of that pattern—pastoralism, mining and government—remains, too, though changed in scale and relative importance. The pastoral industry is still the only large-scale user of the land and is still beset by the problems of remoteness, marginal conditions of production and uncertain markets. Mining, in steady decline until the early 1930s, then received a boost from the discovery of gold, silver, copper and bismuth at Tennant Creek, but reached national significance only in the 1960s, with the development of iron ore deposits at Mount Bundy and Francis Creek, bauxite on the Gove peninsula of Arnhem Land and manganese on Groote Eylandt.



*Elizabeth Durack drew this dramatic cover for Ernestine Hill's book *The Territory* at a time when its white population numbered only a few thousand. Published by Angus and Robertson in 1951 the book portrayed an ancient society which was finding it difficult to come to terms with European settlers.*

BOOROWA PRODUCTIONS

Huge uranium deposits in the Alligator River region have been partly developed since the 1970s, and the offshore oil and gas deposits of the Timor Sea show promise.

Federal administrators were slow to learn from the South Australian experience. Half-hearted support for a Darwin meatworks delayed its opening in 1917 and hastened its closure two years later; mining policy did nothing to halt decline until the 1930s; commonwealth agricultural schemes repeated mistakes made previously as did large private projects in the 1960s and 1970s, so that the Territory's agricultural prospects are still uncertain. Government policies did little to halt discrimination against Aborigines and Chinese until after World War II. In 1942 commonwealth defence policy failed to protect Darwin from attack. That war saw the evacuation of most civilians and three years of military rule, experiences shared by no other part of Australia.

The war focused national attention on the north, however, and in the prosperous years that followed high rates of commonwealth spending on defence, education, communications, welfare services, housing and Aboriginal affairs were instrumental in raising the population of Darwin from about 5000 in the immediate postwar years to 65 000 in 1985, and that of Alice Springs, with the help of tourism, from 1000 to more than 20 000 over the same period. Aborigines gained full citizenship rights in the 1960s and land rights in the 1970s, and the tenacious Chinese Australians finally won an honoured place in Territory society. For the first time the NT shares in the general prosperity of Australia, albeit an uneasy prosperity, for it is the gift of the commonwealth.

Politically, federal governments have scarcely surpassed the concepts of their South Australian predecessors who tended to see the NT as a colony for exploitation, experiment or neglect at will, but did allow settlers to retain their voting rights for South Australian state and, after 1900, federal elections. In 1911 the commonwealth abolished all that and emphasised the Territory's new status by placing its administration, for a time, under the minister for external affairs. Since then, Territory politics have centred on regaining the status held by other Australians, a process both slow and incomplete: one non-voting member in the House of Representatives from 1922, with full voting rights only from 1968; two

Senate seats from 1975; the right to vote in national referendums from the 1970s; a government-dominated legislative council in 1947, gradually changed to a fully elected body by 1974 and to self-government in 1978—but a self-government that lacks national political influence and depends on the federal government for 90 per cent of its funds. Full statehood is seen as the only way that Territorians can have a significant voice in national affairs and their own fate—but that, too, is within the gift of the commonwealth.

The heritage of Territorians differs from that of other Australians in various ways: in isolation from the rest of the continent, nearness to Asia, war experience, location in the tropics, and the powerful influence of the Aborigines who form one-quarter of the population. Above all it is the long colonial experience that sets them most apart. When that experience is coupled with the subtle drawing power of this stark land, it can produce a passionate belief in the Territory which extends to the bounds of reason and beyond.

ALAN POWELL

Further reading P. Donovan, *A land full of possibilities*, St Lucia 1981; P. Donovan, *At the other end of Australia*, St Lucia 1984; R. Duncan, *The Northern Territory cattle industry 1863–1911*, Melbourne 1967; A. Powell, *Far country: a short history of the Northern Territory*, Melbourne 1982.

NORTON, John (1862–1916), journalist and politician, migrated to Sydney from England in 1884 and two years later became editor of the *Newcastle Morning Herald*. In Sydney he became editor and sole proprietor of *Truth* in 1896 and in 1900 founded the *Sportsman*. Elected to the NSW Legislative Assembly in 1898 he denounced W. A. Holman in 1906, charging him with corruption. Norton lost his seat to Holman, but represented Darling Harbour from 1907 to 1910.

NOSSAL, Sir Gustav Joseph Victor (1931–) has been director of the Walter and Eliza Hall Institute of Medical Research in Melbourne since 1965. Nossal has continued the brilliant work in immunology and tropical diseases begun at the institute by Sir Macfarlane Burnet. He has played an influential part in the setting of research priorities in Australia and in communicating the importance of scientific research to the community.