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Folder Title:
Australia Research--Quotes/Color n.d. [OA 7565] [7]

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tralia) and two federal territories (the Australian Capital Territory and Northern Territory). Its parliamentary government is similar to Britain's, but its federal system, which divides power between the national and regional governments, resembles that of the United States.

Modern Australia has a pioneering history as a land developed first in the 19th century by people mainly of British ancestry. Through the wave of large-scale immigration from Britain and European lands that marked the post–World War II decades, and a more recent minor influx from Asia, Australia has gained a multicultural society. One of its contradictions is its low population density—5 people to the square mile (2 per sq km)—combined with urban concentration: two out of three of its citizens live in the eight largest cities, only one out of seven in rural areas, while the major cities continue to grow.

Combining the advances of the computer age with a lingering frontier tradition, Australia has retained some of the mystique associated with it since venturesome mariners from Europe in the 17th century first related tales of its unusual landscapes, unconventional animals, and Stone Age tribespeople. The first inhabitants arrived more than 40,000 years ago. They used simple watercraft for the comparatively short crossings from Asia, moving along the Indonesian island chain and finally reaching the northernmost areas of the Australian continent (which at times had land links with New Guinea). Successive generations drifted south into the unoccupied areas, and gradually they and later arrivals spread over the entire land. For the most part they were nomads, subsisting on plant roots, seeds, animals, birds, and fish rather than tilling the soil. Their only domesticated animal (which arrived with a later wave of newcomers) was the dingo, a hunting dog. At no time did the Aboriginals exceed about 300,000 in number; yet they remained in undisputed possession of the whole land until the arrival of Europeans.

Northern Australia was subject to intermittent contact by Malay fishermen and other Asian voyagers, but these visitors were unimpressed with the mangrove swamps and rugged coasts they encountered. Across the continent the long-established tribal groups remained undisturbed. Once European mariners entered the Indian and Pacific oceans, speculation grew about the nature of the still unexplored regions. In the 16th century cartographers filled the great void south of Asia by adding an imaginary coastline that they labeled Terra Australis Incognita, or Unidentified South Land. From their trading posts in the East Indies, the Portuguese learned of an uninviting land to the south, while the Spaniards, reaching the Philippines from America, speculated that King Solomon's gold mines might be somewhere in the mythical South Land. But it was the Dutch who made the first extensive exploration of Australia's northern and western coasts after they ousted the Portuguese from the Spice Islands (Moluccas). When they found nothing of commercial value, they lost interest.

The British showed their first serious interest in Australia after Lt. (later Capt.) James Cook discovered and charted the fertile east coast in 1770 and took possession of it as New South Wales. Favorable reports by Cook and fellow voyagers led to the founding in 1788 of the first white settlement, at Sydney. After a few years settlements were made at other points along the temperate-zone mainland coast and in Tasmania.

From the 1820's English wool spinners drew increasing supplies from Australia's expanding flocks of sheep, which spread across the grasslands of New South Wales and Tasmania. How-

A modern jackeroo, or young rancher-in-training, often mounts a motorbike on the job instead of a horse.

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Patches of white cling to the Snowy Mountains of New South Wales after winter's departure.

ever, after 50 years of settlement, little of the continent had been explored and the total European population was barely 150,000. By 1851, when gold was discovered, the figure was 400,000; thereafter the country experienced a period of extraordinarily rapid growth as rich gold finds lured a steady stream of settlers. Within a decade the population had trebled. Agriculture was stimulated, pastoral activities were expanded, and in gold-rich Victoria the rudiments of an industrial economy were established. Investment from abroad supported the construction of railways. By the 1890's the self-governing colonies that had become established were moving toward federation. The Commonwealth of Australia came into being with the adoption of a constitution on Jan. 1, 1901.

Unification under a single customs administration and adoption of a policy of tariff protection for domestic industry helped to stimulate manufacturing. During World War I shortages of goods led to industrial expansion, which continued in the 1920's as Australia became self-sufficient in steel production. Gradually the range of manufactures was extended, and during and after World War II major enterprises, including some heavy industry, were developed. By the 1960's home appliances, automobiles, farm implements, locomotives, ships, and precision-engineering products were being manufactured, as were chemicals, textiles, and paper. A significant part of the expansion resulted from investment by overseas enterprises. Sums were also drawn in for mining development. Farm production grew as well, although fewer workers were required because of mechanization.

Riding the worldwide commodity boom of the 1960's, Australia pressed on with expansion on many fronts and was steadily transformed by developments ushered in as a result of greater contact with Northern Hemisphere countries and the newer technologies. Still the world's leading wool producer, Australia developed a more varied manufacturing base and added greater dimension to the national wealth through successive discoveries of oil and coal and of a variety of other minerals (especially iron ore and bauxite) in huge quantities, consolidating the country's position as the world's leading exporter of ores. Living standards rose sharply, and the general buoyancy was maintained (with strong expansion of the gross national product) until the mid-1970's brought problems arising from inflated costs. The earlier exuberance was lost.

Until World War II, Australia followed Britain closely in foreign policy. Thereafter, its distinct role as a Pacific nation was more frequently stressed. Traditional concern over the pressures of overcrowded Asia grew more intense in the 1950's as Communist power was consolidated in China and Communist influence expanded in Southeast Asia. To help overcome poverty and hunger in underdeveloped lands, Australia supported aid programs aimed at economic advancement. Steadily, however, concern grew over Communist-backed subversion in Southeast Asia, and from the early 1960's defense outlays were increased.

While continuing close and active partnership with Britain, Australia pursued a firm and direct relationship with the United States. This partnership was cemented in 1951 in the ANZUS pact with New Zealand and the United States. From 1963, U.S. defense communications facilities were based in Australia, as well as space tracking and listening posts. Australia participated actively in the Vietnam War, and afterward links with the United States were further strengthened. Since World War II, Australia has played an increasingly important role in the overall defense policies applying to the Western Pacific and Indian Ocean regions.

R. M. YOUNGER
Author of "Australia and the Australians"

1. The Land

Australia is for the most part a vast, undulating plateau. Its 23,000-mile (36,800-km) coastline is characterized by long stretches of sandy surf beaches. Off the northeast coast the Great Barrier Reef—the longest coral reef in the world, stretching for 1,250 nautical miles (2,300 km)—fringes the continental shelf. Unlike every other continent, Australia lacks mountains of truly alpine structure and elevation.

Compared with the other continents, the Australian landmass is geologically very old and stable. The western two thirds is a shield area of Precambrian igneous and metamorphic bedrock perhaps 3 or 4 billion years old. East of the shield the land was built up within the last 500 million years.

CONTINENTAL DRIFT

Many plants and animals are unique to Australia or nearly so, having evolved for millions of years without contact with forms characteristic of other continents. Australia has, for example, many more kinds of marsupials than does America, where these primitive pouched mammals faced stiffer competition from placental mammals.

Some flora and fauna are related to South American types. Presumably they had common ancestors on a southern supercontinent from which Australia broke away in the remote past. More varieties of plants and animals resemble those of the Indonesian Archipelago. After Australia was formed it drifted slowly northward; when it approached its present position some species would have been able to migrate from Southeast Asia over relatively narrow sea barriers.

R. M. YOUNGER
Author of "Australia and the Australians"

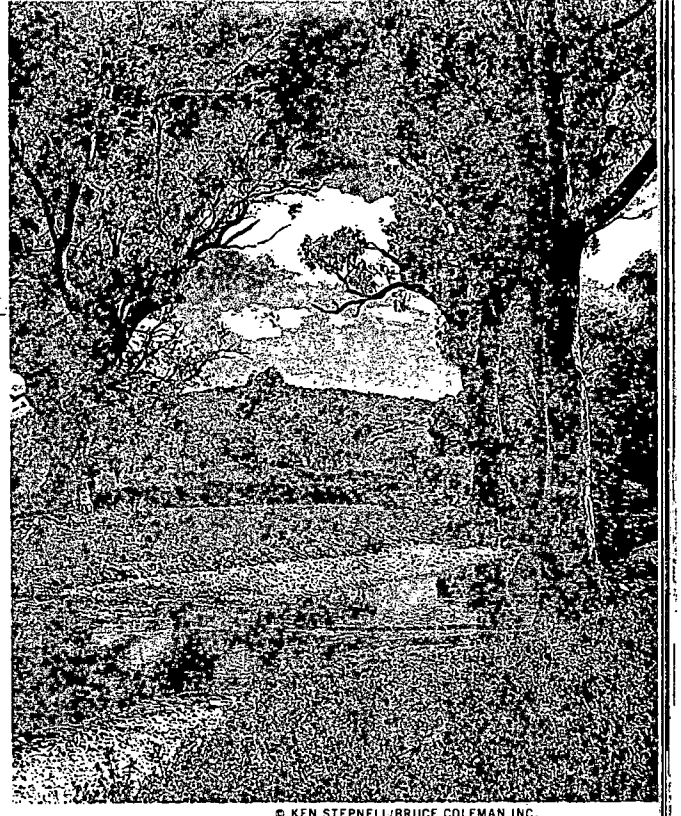
RELIEF AND DRAINAGE

The chief uplands in Australia are the Eastern Highlands, which have a width of 50 to 200 miles (80–320 km) along the eastern seaboard. Mount Kosciusko (7,310 feet, or 2,228 meters) is the highest peak, and only a few others rise above 6,000 feet (1,830 meters). The Eastern Highlands consist mainly of dissected plateaus containing many residual high plains, or tablelands, cut by deep river gorges. Through this complex of ranges runs a main divide, or water parting, that gives the area its common but inaccurate name Great Dividing Range.

The western slopes of the highlands lead down to interior plains. With a few interruptions caused by prominences of bedrock or by residual tablelands, the plains extend to the Flinders and Mt. Lofty ranges in South Australia and to the low but rough country around Mt. Isa and Cloncurry in western Queensland, at the borders of the Barkly Tableland.

Beyond this great belt of plains lies the Great Plateau, comprising more than half the continent and having an average elevation of 1,000 feet (300 meters). Above the general level of the plateau are many prominent peaks and ranges, some of which attain an elevation of 5,000 feet (1,525 meters). Mount Olga and Ayers Rock, two monolithic mountains of hard conglomerate, rise like islands from the sandy plains south of the Macdonnell Ranges.

Along the west coast the plateau breaks sharply down to narrow coastal plains along the Darling scarp in the hinterland of Perth. To the south, along the Great Australian Bight, the old rocks are covered by flat-lying limestones that form the treeless Nullarbor Plain. In the far northwest the Kimberley Plateau, separated from the Great Plateau by the Great Sandy Desert and the Fitzroy River valley, is a rugged and sparsely settled region. The plateau of Arnhem Land, at the northern limit of the Northern Territory, has similar characteristics, but many fine gorges cut its edges and afford dam sites for the monsoon-fed rivers of the region.



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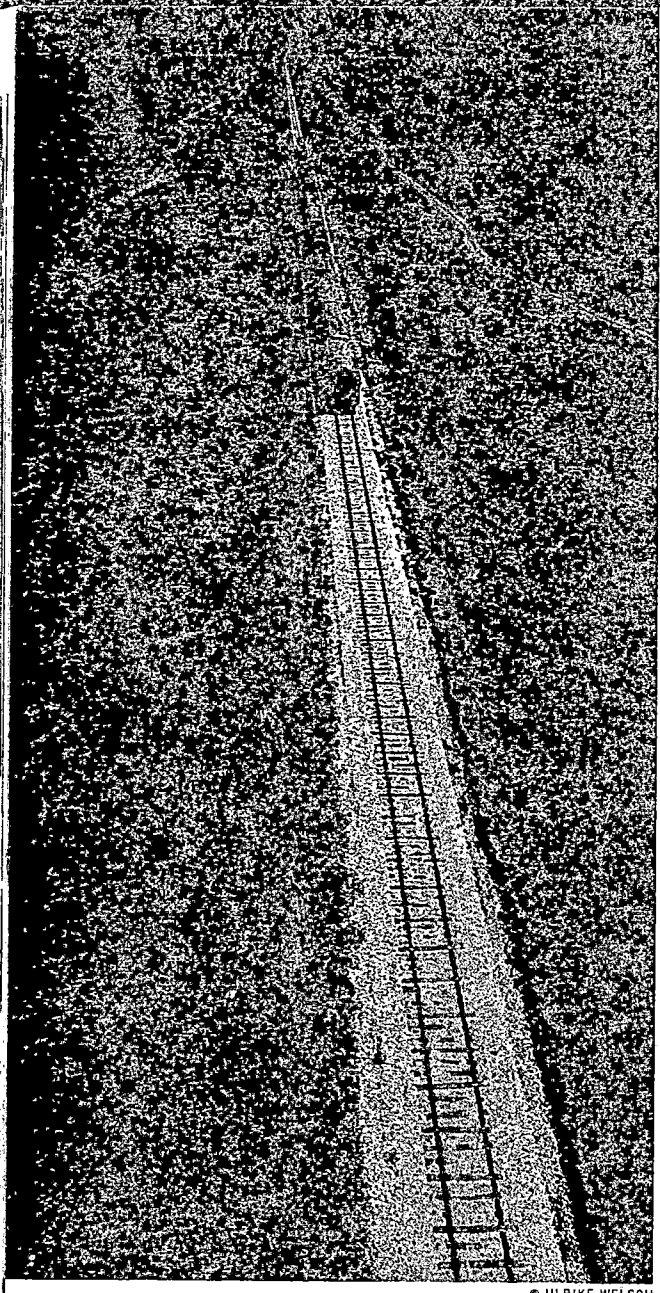
Spring wildflowers paint a eucalyptus grove in South Australia. The land rises toward the Flinders Ranges.

The desert and semidesert areas of Australia are notable for their endless array of parallel sand ridges. Formed for the most part in a more arid period, the ridges are partly fixed by vegetation, and in places the rivers flood out between them during the wet season.

The greatest river system in Australia is that of the Murray and its major tributary, the Darling. These streams rise in the well-watered Eastern Highlands and spread out in complex systems of distributaries in the Riverina district of New South Wales, especially along the Lachlan and Murrumbidgee rivers. After receiving the Darling, the Murray gains no additional tributaries but flows through semiarid scrubland in a much more restricted floodplain. Originally it was subject to great reduction in flow in summer, but its level is now maintained by dams, weirs, and locks.

In the eastern and southeastern coastal ranges many permanent streams run directly to the sea, although only a few have extensive catchments. The largest is the Burdekin in Queensland, which rises west of the highland axis and passes through a gorge on its way to the coast. A great engineering project in the Snowy Mountains of New South Wales diverts the headwaters of the



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Crossing the Nullarbor ("treeless") Plain, the Trans-Australian Railway runs 298 miles (479 km) without a curve.

Snowy River westward into the Murray River system, which is used for irrigation.

Thousands of square miles in the Great Plateau are riverless. Those watercourses in which temporary streams flow only rarely after rain are marked by lines of shallow salt pans, which appear on maps as lakes. The major streams of monsoonal northern Australia are permanent but subject to marked variations in flow. A very extensive area of the Northern Territory, western Queensland, and northern South Australia is drained toward Lake Eyre, 52 feet (16 meters) below sea level. The streams are fed only during the wet season. Their slow-moving floodwaters spread out in numerous distributary channels that form a natural irrigation system and yield excellent cattle pastures for a large part of southwestern Queensland.

EDWIN S. HILLS, *University of Melbourne*

CLIMATE

In general the climate of Australia is warm and dry, conducive to outdoor activity and good health. Winters are mild and summers warm to hot. Seasons are the reverse of those in the Northern Hemisphere. The major climatic zones are arranged fairly simply, chiefly because of the scarcity of large marine gulfs, the continent's predominantly east-west spread, and the lack of high mountains and high plateaus.

The northern 39% of the country lies within the tropical zone, and northerly monsoon winds bring it a wet season generally from January to April. Small areas of the far north—the Kimberley Plateau, Arnhem Land, and Cape York Peninsula—receive annual rain of 40 to 60 inches (1,000–1,500 mm), but much of it falls on infertile soil in uninhabited country. In the interior the rain is more unreliable and much less abundant, and the heat increases so that a large area on either side of the Tropic of Capricorn has a January mean temperature of over 86°F (30°C). The coast of northeastern Queensland has a high rainfall, exceeding 100 inches (2,540 mm) in the vicinity of Cairns where the southeast trade winds and the summer monsoonal influences combine.

South of the Tropic of Capricorn the climate is influenced chiefly by the great pressure belts of the Southern Hemisphere. Farthest north is the high-pressure belt near the tropic; next is the low-pressure belt of variables, which influences particularly the southern states; and finally are the roaring forties, which consistently affect Tasmania. As the pressure belts move north and south each year, the regions affected by them change correspondingly. In winter the variables bring rain to the southwest corner of the continent, to southern South Australia, and to Victoria, whereas in summer the high-pressure belt swings south and these areas experience drought. Because of the combined influences of tropical air masses, trade winds, and variables, New South Wales enjoys a rainfall that varies little throughout the year.

A strongly marked weather cycle of about a week's duration is one of the notable features of southern Australia. Hot northerly winds may raise temperatures to over 100°F (38°C) in Melbourne and Adelaide, but southerly air moving in as a cold front causes sudden squalls, rainstorms, and temperature drops of 30°F (17°C) or more.

Two factors materially affect the usefulness of rainfall in Australia. The first is variability, which is very great in the interior. The second is seasonal distribution, which is unfavorable in many areas. In addition, evaporation is extremely high in the areas of lower precipitation, so that the number of months during which plants experience growth conditions drops toward zero in the central third of the continent where annual rainfall is less than 10 inches (250 mm). Three fifths of Australia has a growing season of less than five months. Nevertheless, the parts with a favorable climate constitute a large area.

EDWIN S. HILLS, *University of Melbourne*

PLANT LIFE

The Australian flora is rich and exhibits peculiarities resulting from the continent's long geographic isolation. Angiosperms (flowering plants) underwent rapid speciation to produce a large number of genera that are endemic (native or confined) to Australia. *Eucalyptus*, with more

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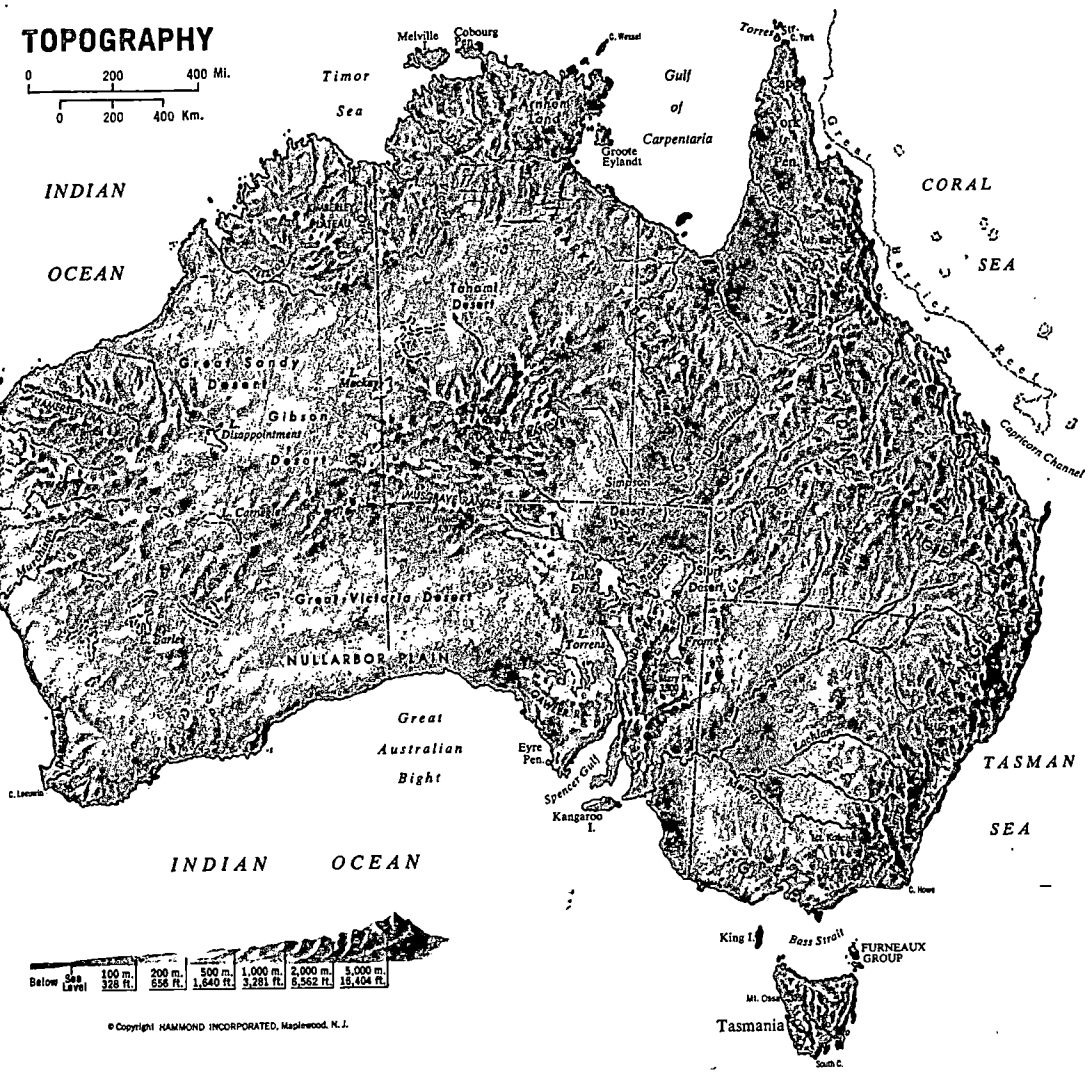
TOPOGRAPHY



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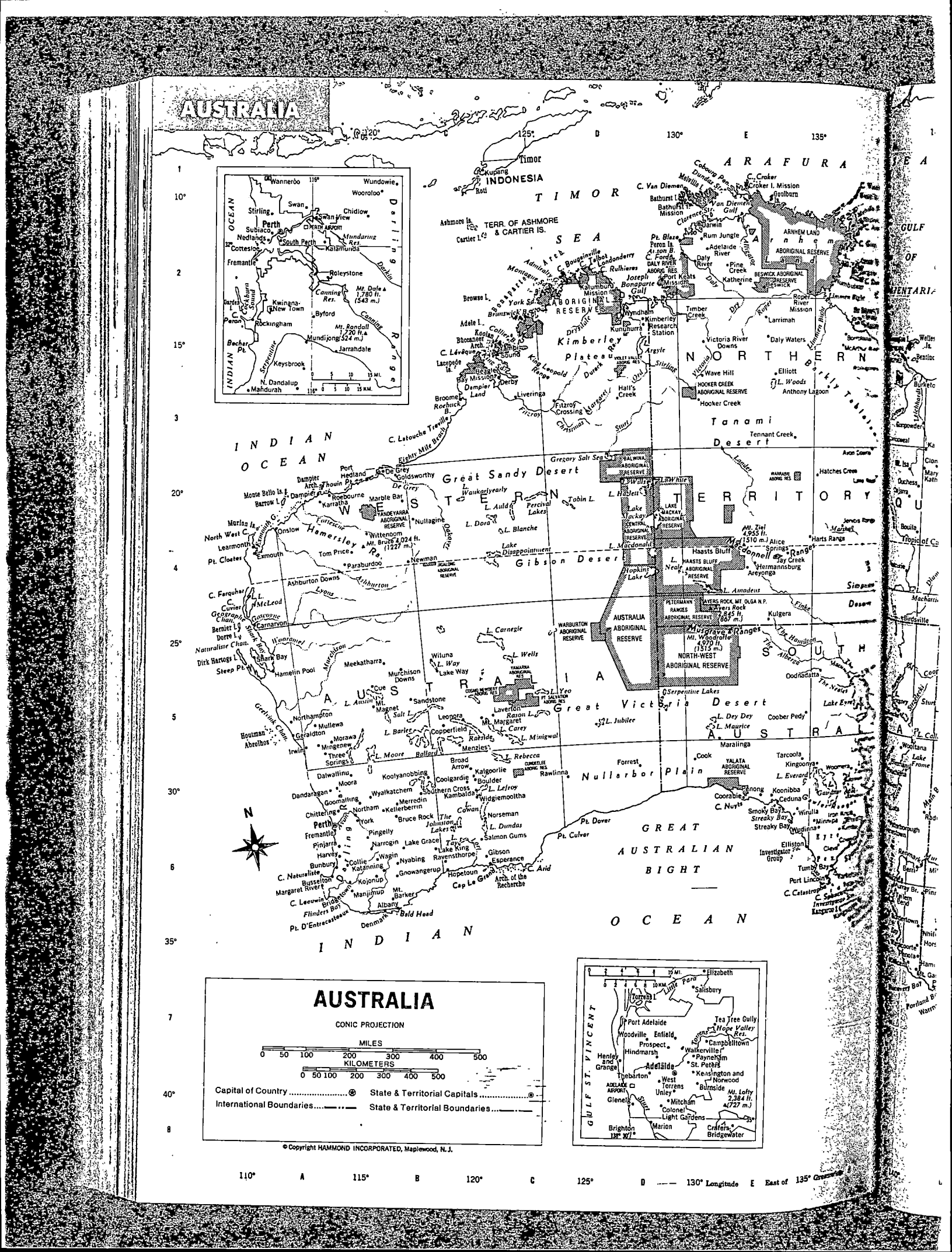
Adelaide (cap.), S. Aust. 882,520 ..... D 8
Adelaide, S. Aust. *981,886 ..... D 8
Admiralty (gulf), W. Aust. .. D 2
Albany, W. Aust. 15,222 .... B 6
Albury, N. S. W. 35,072 .... H 7
Alice Springs, N. Terr. 18,395 ..... E 4
Amadeus (lake), N. Terr. .... E 4
Arafura (sea) ..... E 2
Ararat, Vic. 8,336 ..... G 7
Armidale, N. S. W. 18,922 .. J 6
Arnhem Land (reg.), N. Terr. ..... E 2
Ashburton (riv.), W. Aust ... B 4
Auburn, N. S. W. 46,622 ... K 4
Australian Alps (mts.), Vic. ..... H 7
Australian Capital Territory 221,609 ..... H 7
Ayers Rock (mt.), N. Terr. ... E 5
Ayr, Queens. 8,787 ..... H 3
Bairnsdale, Vic. 9,459 ..... H 7
Ballarat, Vic. 35,681 ..... G 7
Ballarat, Vic. 71,930 ..... G 7
Banks (str.), Tas. ..... H 8
Bankstown, N. S. W. 152,636 ..... K 4
Barcoo (creek), S. Aust. .... F 5
Barkly Tableland, N. Terr. .. F 3
Barlee (lake), W. Aust. ..... B 5
Barrow (isl.), W. Aust. ..... A 4
Bass (str.) ..... H 7
Bates (mt.), Norfolk I. ..... L 5
Bathurst, N. S. W. 19,640 ... H 6
Bathurst (isl.), N. Terr. ..... D 2
Beenleigh, Queens. 7,839 .. J 5
Bega, N. S. W. 4,388 ..... J 7
Bendigo, Vic. 31,841 ..... G 7
Bendigo, Vic. *58,818 ..... G 7
Biloela, Queens. 4,643 ..... J 4
Blacktown, N. S. W. 181,139 ..... K 4
Blue Mountains, N. S. W. 55,877 ..... J 6
Bordertown, S. Aust. 2,138. F 7
Botany, N. S. W. 34,703 .... L 4
Botany (bay), N. S. W. ..... L 4
Bougainville (cape), W. Aust. ..... D 2
Bougainville (reef), Coral Sea Is. Terr. ..... H 3
Boulder-Kalgoorlie, W. Aust. 19,848 ..... C 6
Bourke, N. S. W. 3,326 ..... H 6
Bowen, Queens. 7,663 ..... H 3
Bowling Green (cape), Queens. ..... H 3
Box Hill, Vic. 47,579 ..... L 7
Bridgetown, W. Aust. 1,521 ..... B 6
Brighton, Vic. 33,697 ..... L 7
Brisbane (cap.), Queens. 942,836 ..... K 3
Brisbane, Queens. *1,028,527 ..... K 3
Brisbane Water, N. S. W. 71,983 ..... J 6
Broad (sound), Queens. .... H 4
Broadmeadows, Vic. 103,540 ..... L 6
Broken Hill, N. S. W. 26,913 ..... G 6
Broome, W. Aust. 3,666 .... C 3
Bruce (mt.), W. Aust. ..... B 4
Brunswick, Vic. 44,464 ..... K 7
Buccaneer (arch.), W. Aust.. C 3
Bulloo (riv.), Queens. ..... G 5
Bunbury, W. Aust. 21,749 .. B 6
Bundaberg, Queens. 32,560 ..... J 4
Burnside, S. Aust. 37,593 .. E 8
Burwood, N. S. W. 28,896 .. K 4
Busselton, W. Aust. 6,463 .. A 6
Byron (cape), N. S. W. ..... J 5
Cairns, Queens. 48,557 .... H 3
Camberwell, Vic. 85,883 ... L 7
Campbelltown, S. Aust. 43,084 ..... E 8
Canberra (cap.), Aust. *220,822 ..... H 7
Canterbury, N. S. W. 126,741 ..... K 4
Cape Barren (isl.), Tas. ..... H 8
Cape York (pen.), Queens... G 2
Capricorn Group (isls.), Queens. ..... J 4
Carnarvon, W. Aust. 5,053.. A 4
Carnegie (lake), W. Aust. .... C 5
Carpentaria (gulf) ..... F 2
Carrathool, N. S. W. 11,210. G 6
Cascade, Norfolk I. ..... L 5
Casino, N. S. W. 9,743 ..... J 5
Caulfield, Vic. 69,922 ..... L 7
Ceduna, S. Aust. 2,794..... E 6
Cessnock-Bellbird, N. S. W. ‡38,724 ..... J 6
Charleville, Queens. 3,523 . H 5
Charters Towers, Queens. 6,823 ..... H 4
Chelsea, Vic. 26,034 ..... L 8
Chinchilla, Queens. 3,161 .. J 5
Clarence (riv.), N. S. W..... J 5
Clarence (str.), N. Terr. ..... E 2
Cloncurry, Queens. 1,961 .. G 4
Cobar, N. S. W. 3,583 ..... H 6
Cobourg (pen.), N. Terr. .... E 2
Coburg, Vic. 55,035 ..... K 7
Coffs Harbour, N. S. W. 16,020 ..... J 6
Colac, Vic. 10,587 ..... G 7
Collie, W. Aust. 2,667 ..... B 6
Collinsville, Queens. 2,756 . H 4
Condobolin, N. S. W. 3,355 ..... H 6
Coober Pedy, S. Aust. 2,078 ..... E 5
Cooma, N. S. W. 7,978 ..... H 7
Coonamble, N. S. W. 3,090. H 6
Coopers (Barcoo) (creek), S. Aust. ..... G 5
Cootamundra, N. S. W. 6,540 ..... H 6
Coral Sea Islands Territory . J 3
Corfield, Queens. ..... G 4
Corinda, Queens. ..... K 3
Coringa (isls.), Coral Sea Is. Terr. ..... H 3
Cowan (lake), W. Aust. ..... C 6
Cowra, N. S. W. 7,900..... H 6
Croydon, Vic. 36,210..... M 7
Cumberland (isls.), Queens. ..... H 4
Cunnamulla, Queens. 1,627 ..... H 5
Curtis (isl.), Queens. ..... J 4
Cuvier (cape), W. Aust. .... A 4
Dalby, Queens. 8,784 ..... J 5
Dampier (arch.), W. Aust. .. B 4
Dampier Land (reg.), W. Aust. ..... C 3

‡City and suburbs. †Population of District. *Population of metropolitan area.


AUSTRALIA
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Timor
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Ashmore Is.
Cartier I.
INDIAN OCEAN
Wannerôo
Wundowie
Wooroloo
Stirling
Swan
Chidlow
Swan View
Perth
Subiaco
Nedlands
South Perth
Perth Airport
Mundaring Res.
Kalamunda
Cottesloe
Fremantle
Roleystone
Canning Res.
Mt. Dale 1,780 ft. (543 m.)
Darling Range
Darling Scarp
Kwinana-New Town
Byford
Canning
Rockingham
Mt. Randall 1,720 ft.
Mundijong (524 m.)
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Keysbrook
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Van Diemen Gulf
Clarence Str.
Pt. Blaze
Peron Is.
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Adelaide River
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Katherine
Beswick Aboriginal Reserve
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Admiralty Gulf
Bougainville
C. Talbot
Londonderry
Rulhieres
Montgomery Str.
Joseph Bonaparte Gulf
Kalumburu Mission
Port Keats Mission
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Bonaparte Arch.
York Sd.
Brunswick Bay
Aboriginal Reserve
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Timber Creek
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Barkly Tableland
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Alice Springs
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Haasts Bluff Aboriginal Reserve
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Hermannsburg
Areyonga
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Lake Disappointment
Great Sandy Desert
Gibson Desert
Port Hedland
De Grey
Goldsworthy
Dampier Arch.
Thouin Pt.
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Monte Bello Is.
Barrow I.
Roebourne
Karratha
Marble Bar
L. Auld
Percival Lakes
Tobin L.
L. Hasett
Vandeyarra Aboriginal Reserve
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L. Blanche
Marina Is.
North West C.
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L. Yeo
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Great Victoria Desert
Shark Bay Chan.
Geelvink Chan.
Houtman Abrolhos
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Finke
Desert
Alberga
Hamilton
Macumba
Neales
Lake Eyre
Strzelecki
Birdsville
Maralinga
Menzies
L. Moore
Ballard
L. Rebecca
Cundeelee Aborig. Res.
Broad Arrow
Kalgoorlie
Boulder
Coolgardie
Rawlinna
Nullarbor Plain
Forrest
Cook
Tarcoola
Kingoonya
Woomera
Lake Frome
Valata Aboriginal Reserve
L. Everard
Dalwallinu
Koolyanobbing
Moora
Dandaragan
Goomalling
Wyalkatchem
Southern Cross
Kambalda
L. Lefroy
Widgiemooltha
Merredin
Kellerberrin
Chittering
Northam
York
Bruce Rock
The Cowan
The Johnston Lakes
Norseman
L. Dundas
Salmon Gums
Perth
Fremantle
Swan
Darling
Pingelly
Narrogin
Lake Grace
Lake King
Lake Tay
Gibson
Esperance
Pinjarra
Harvey
Bunbury
Collie
Katanning
Wagin
Nyabing
Ravensthorpe
C. Naturaliste
Busselton
Margaret River
Kojonup
Gnowangerup
Hopetoun
C. Arid
Cap Le Grand
Arch. of the Recherche
C. Leeuwin
Bridgetown
Manjimup
Mt. Barker
Albany
Flinders Bay
Pt. D'Entrecasteaux
Denmark
Bald Head
Great Australian Bight
Pt. Dover
Pt. Culver
Ocean
Indian
Coorabie
C. Nuyts
Eucla
Smoky Bay
Streaky Bay
Wirulla
Minnipa
Wudinna
Elliston
Investigator Group
Tumby Bay
Port Lincoln
C. Catastrophe
Spencer Gulf
Kangaroo I.
Gulf St. Vincent
Elizabeth
Salisbury
Torrens I.
Little Para
Port Adelaide
Tea Tree Gully
Hope Valley Res.
Woodville
Enfield
Prospect
Campbelltown
Hindmarsh
Walkerville
Payneham
Henley and Grange
Adelaide
St. Peters
Thebarton
Kensington and Norwood
West Torrens
Unley
Burnside
Adelaide Airport
Glenelg
Mt. Lofty 2,384 ft. (727 m.)
Mitcham
Colonel Light Gardens
Brighton
Marion
Crafers
Bridgewater
AUSTRALIA
CONIC PROJECTION
MILES
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KILOMETERS
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Capital of Country
State & Territorial Capitals
International Boundaries
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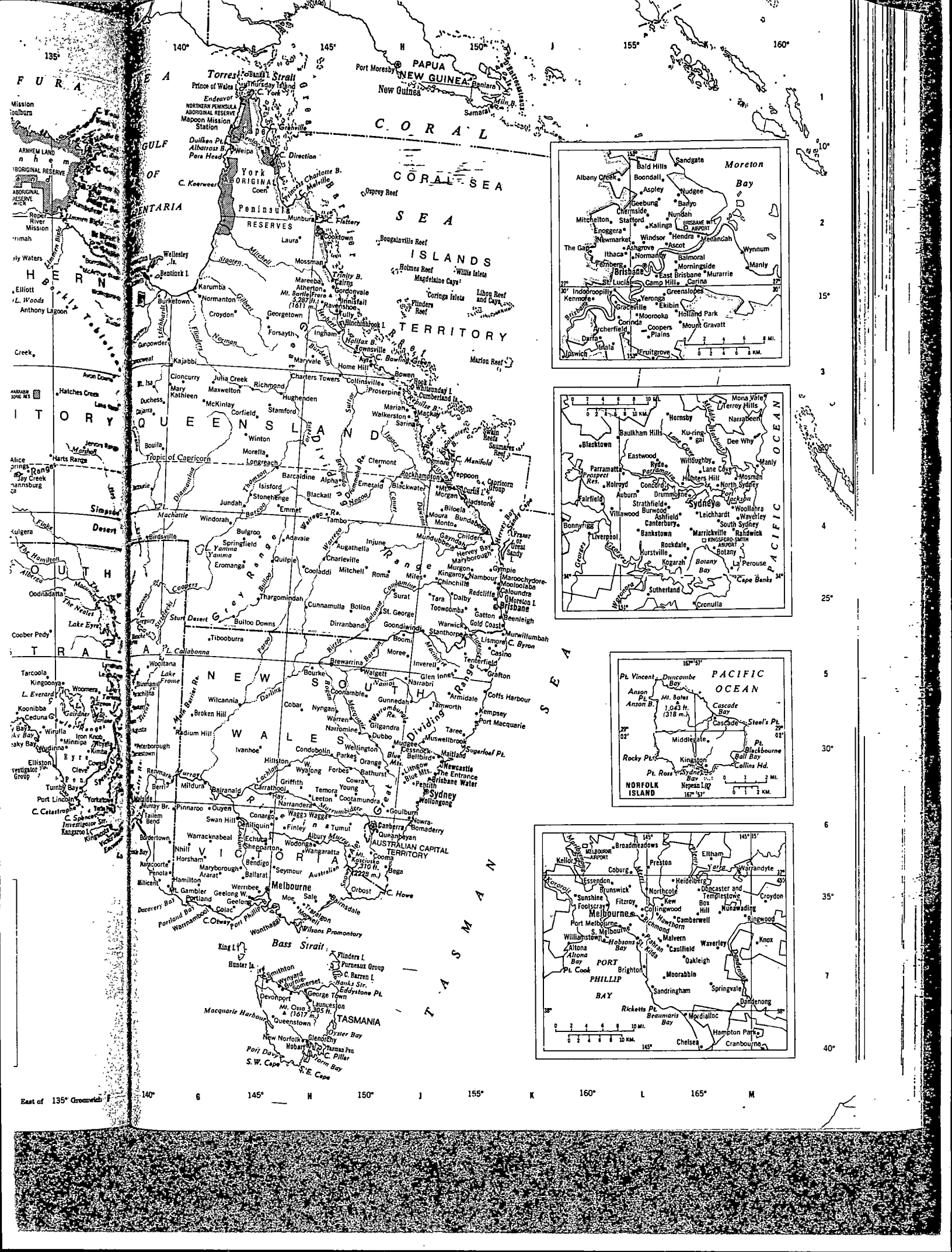
110° A 115° B 120° C 125° D 130° E 135° Longitude East of Greenwich


Moreton Bay
Brisbane
Sydney
PACIFIC OCEAN
NORFOLK ISLAND
Melbourne
PORT PHILLIP BAY
TASMANIA
Bass Strait
CORAL SEA
TASMAN SEA
AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY
NEW SOUTH WALES
VICTORIA
QUEENSLAND
NORTHERN TERRITORY
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
Great Barrier Reef
Great Dividing Range
Great Sandy Desert
Simpson Desert
Lake Eyre
Coral Sea Islands
Torres Strait
Gulf of Carpentaria
East of 135° Greenwich

Dandaragan, W. Aust. †1,748 ..... B 6
Dandenong, Vic. 54,962 .... M 7
Darling (riv.), N. S. W. ..... G 6
Darwin (cap.), N. Terr. 56,482 ..... E 2
Deniliquin, N. S. W. 7,354 .. G 7
D'Entrecasteaux (pt.), W. Aust. ..... B 7
Derby, W. Aust. 2,933 ..... C 3
Devonport, Tas. 21,424 .... H 8
Diamantina (riv.), Queens... G 4
Dirk Hartogs (isl.), W. Aust. ..... A 5
Disappointment (lake), W. Aust. ..... C 4
Doncaster and Templestowe, Vic. 90,660 ..... L 7
Drysdale (riv.), W. Aust. .... D 3
Dubbo, N. S. W. 28,986 .... H 6
Dundas (str.), N. Terr. ..... E 2
Echuca, Vic. 7,943 ..... G 7
Eddystone (pt.), Tas. ..... H 8
Elizabeth, S. Aust. 32,608 .. E 7
Elliston, S. Aust. †1,345.... E 6
Eltham, Vic. 34,648 ..... L 6
Emerald, Queens. 4,628 ... H 4
Encounter (bay), S. Aust.... F 7
Endeavor (str.), Queens..... G 2
Enfield, S. Aust. 66,797 .... D 7
Esperance, W. Aust. 6,375.. C 6
Essendon, Vic. 56,380 ..... K 7
Everard (lake), S. Aust..... E 6
Exmouth (gulf), W. Aust.... A 4
Eyre (lake), S. Aust..... F 5
Eyre (pen.), S. Aust. ..... F 6
Fairfield, N. S. W. 129,557.. K 4
Farquhar (cape), W. Aust. .. A 4
Fitzroy (riv.), Queensland... J 4
Fitzroy, Vic. 19,112..... L 7
Fitzroy (riv.), W. Aust. ..... C 3
Flattery (cape), Queens..... H 2
Flinders (riv.), Queens..... G 3
Flinders (range), S. Aust.... F 6
Flinders (isl.), Tas. ..... H 7
Flinders (bay), W. Aust. .... A 6
Footscray, Vic. 49,756..... K 7
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Fremantle, W. Aust. 22,484. B 2
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Furneaux Group (isls.), Tas. 1,039..... H 8
Gairdner (lake), S. Aust.... F 6
Garden (isl.), W. Aust..... A 2
Gascoyne (riv.), W. Aust. ... A 4
Gawler, S. Aust. 9,433 ..... F 6
Gawler (ranges), S. Aust.... F 6
Geelong, Vic. 14,471..... G 7
Geelong, Vic. *137,173 .... G 7
Geelong West, Vic. 14,823 . G 7
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Geographe (chan.), W. Aust. ..... A 4
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Geraldton, W. Aust. 20,895. A 5
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Gilbert (riv.), Queens..... G 3
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Glen Innes, N. S. W. 6,052.. J 5
Glenorchy, Tas. 41,019..... H 8
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Goondiwindi, Queens. 3,576..... H 5
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Great Dividing (range), N. S. W. ..... J 6
Great Dividing (range), Queens..... H 4
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Great Sandy (des.), W. Aust. ..... C 4
Great Victoria (des.) ..... D 5
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Grenville (cape), Queens... G 2
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Gunnedah, N. S. W. 8,909.. H 6
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Hamilton, The (riv.), S. Aust. ..... E 5
Hatches Creek, N. Terr..... F 4
Hawthorn, Vic. 30,689 ..... L 7
Hay, N. S. W. 2,958 ..... H 6
Heidelberg, Vic. 64,757 .... L 7
Hermannsburg, N. Terr. 541 ..... E 4
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Hindmarsh, S. Aust. 7,593 . D 8
Hobart (cap.), Tas. 128,603 . H 8
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Hughenden, Queens. 1,657 G 4
Hunter (isls.), Tas. ..... G 8
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Innisfail, Queens. 7,933 .... H 3
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Jamestown, S. Aust. 1,384 . F 6
Joseph Bonaparte (gulf) ... D 2
Kadina, S. Aust. 2,943 ..... F 6
Kalgoorlie, W. Aust. 9,145.. C 6
Kangaroo (isl.), S. Aust. 3,515 ..... F 7
Katanning, W. Aust. 4,413.. B 6
Katherine, N. Terr. 3,737 ... E 2
Keerweer (cape), Queens... G 2
Kempsey, N. S. W. 9,037 ... J 6
Kimberley (plat.), W. Aust... D 3
King (isl.), Tas. 2,592..... G 7
King (sound), W. Aust..... C 3
Kingaroy, Queens. 5,134 ... J 5
King Leopold (range), W. Aust. ..... D 3
Kingscote, S. Aust. 1,236 .. F 7
Kingston, Norfolk I..... L 6
Kogarah, N. S. W. 46,322... K 4
Koolan (isl.), W. Aust..... C 3
Kosciusko (mt.), N. S. W.... H 7
Kulgera, N. Terr..... E 5
Ku-ring-gai, N. S. W. 101,501 ..... K 4
Kwinana-New Town, W. Aust. 12,355 ..... B 2
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Latouche Treville (cape), W. Aust. ..... C 3
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Launceston, Tas. *64,555 .. H 8
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Lihou (cays), Coral Sea Is. Terr. ..... J 3
Limmen Bight (riv.), N. Terr. ..... F 3
Lismore, N. S. W. 24,033... J 5
Lithgow, N. S. W. 12,793 ... J 6
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Macdonnell (ranges), N. Terr. ..... E 4
Mackay (lake), N. Terr. ..... D 4
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Maitland, N. S. W. 38,865 .. J 6
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Manifold (cape), Queens. .. J 4
Manly, N. S. W. 37,080..... L 4
Mareeba, Queens. 6,309 ... G 3
Marion, S. Aust. 66,580.... D 8
Marrickville, N. S. W. 83,448 ..... L 4
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Maryborough, Vic. 78,518.. G 7
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Meekatharra, W. Aust. 989 . B 5
Melbourne (cap.), Vic. 2,578,759 ..... K 7
Melbourne, Vic. *2,722,817 K 7
Melville (isl.), N. Terr. ..... E 2
Melville (cape), Queens. ... G 2
Merredin, W. Aust. 3,520... B 6
Mildura, Vic. 15,763 ..... G 6
Mitcham, S. Aust. 60,309 ... D 8
Mitchell (riv.), Queens..... G 3
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Monte Bello (isls.), W. Aust. ..... A 4
Moora, W. Aust. 1,677 ..... B 6
Moorooka, Queens. 8,740.. K 3
Mordialloc, Vic. 27,869..... L 7
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Mornington (isl.), Queens.. F 3
Mossman, Queens. 1,614.. G 3
Mount Gambier, S. Aust. 18,193..... G 7
Mount Isa, Queens. 23,679. F 4
Mount Magnet, W. Aust. 618 ..... B 5
Mount Morgan, Queens. 2,974 ..... J 4
Mudgee, N. S. W. 6,015.... J 6
Mullewa, W. Aust. 918 ..... B 5
Murchison (riv.), W. Aust. .. B 5
Murray (riv.) ..... G 6
Murray Bridge, S. Aust. 8,664 ..... F 7
Murrumbidgee (riv.), N. S. W. ..... H 6
Murwillumbah, N. S. W. 7,807 ..... J 5
Musgrave (ranges), S. Aust. ..... E 5
Naracoorte, S. Aust. 4,758 . F 7
Narrabri, N. S. W. 7,296.... J 6
Narrandera, N. S. W. 5,813. H 6
Narrogin, W. Aust. 4,969... B 6
Naturaliste (chan.), W. Aust. ..... A 5
Nedlands, W. Aust. 20,257 . B 2
Newcastle, N. S. W. 135,207 ..... J 6
Newcastle, N. S. W. *389,207 ..... J 6
New Norfolk, Tas. 6,243.... H 8
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Norman (riv.), Queens..... G 3
Norseman, W. Aust. 1,895 . C 6
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Northampton, W. Aust. 750 A 5
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North Dandalup, W. Aust... B 3
Northern Territory 123,324. E 3
North Sydney, N. S. W. 48,500 ..... L 4
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Nowra-Bomaderry, N. S. W. 17,887 ..... J 6
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Nunawading, Vic. 97,052.... L 7
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Penrith, N. S. W. 108,720.... J 6
Pera (head), Queens. ..... G 2
Perth (cap.), W. Aust. 809,035 ..... B 2
Perth, W. Aust. *898,918 ... B 2
Peterborough, S. Aust. 2,575 ..... F 6
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Port Adelaide, S. Aust. 35,407 ..... D 7
Port Augusta, S. Aust. 15,566 ..... F 6
Port Hedland, W. Aust. 12,948 ..... B 3
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Port Lincoln, S. Aust. 9,846 ..... F 6
Port Macquarie, N. S. W. 19,581 ..... J 6
Port Melbourne, Vic. 8,585 . K 7
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Port Pirie, S. Aust. 14,695 .. F 6
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Preston, Vic. 84,519..... L 7
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Quorn, S. Aust. 1,049..... F 6
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Redcliffe, Queens. 42,223 .. J 5
Renmark, S. Aust. 3,475 ... G 6
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Rockdale, N. S. W. 83,719 .. K 4
Rockhampton, Queens. 50,146..... H 4
Rockingham, W. Aust. 24,932..... B 2
Roebourne, W. Aust. 1,688. B 4
Roma, Queens. 5,706..... H 5
Ryde, N. S. W. 88,948..... K 4
Saint Kilda, Vic. 49,366 .... L 7
Saint Vincent (gulf), S. Aust. ..... D 8
Sale, Vic. 12,968..... H 7
Salisbury, S. Aust. 86,451 .. E 7
Sandringham, Vic. 31,175.. L 7
Sarina, Queens. 2,815 ..... H 4
Shark (bay), W. Aust. ..... A 5
Simpson (des.), N. Terr..... F 4
Snowy (riv.), Vic. ..... H 7
South Australia (state) 1,285,033 ..... F 6
South Perth, W. Aust. 31,524..... B 2
Spencer (gulf), S. Aust. .... F 6
Springvale, Vic. 80,186..... L 7
Stanthorpe, Queens. 3,966 ..... J 5
Stirling, W. Aust. 161,858 .. B 2
Strathfield, N. S. W. 25,882. K 4
Streaky (bay), S. Aust. ..... E 6
Sturt (des.), Queens..... G 5
Sunshine, Vic. 94,419..... K 7
Sutherland, N. S. W. 165,336 ..... K 5
Swan Hill, Vic. 8,398 ..... G 7
Sydney (cap.), N. S. W. 2,876,508 ..... L 4
Sydney, N. S. W. *3,204,696 ..... L 4
Talbot (cape), W. Aust..... D 2
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Tanami (des.), N. Terr..... E 3
Taree, N. S. W. 14,697..... J 6
Tasman (pen.), Tas. ..... H 8
Tasmania (state) 418,957... H 8
Tea Tree Gully, S. Aust. 67,237 ..... E 7
Temora, N. S. W. 4,350..... H 6
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Traralgon, Vic. 18,057..... H 7
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Unley, S. Aust. 35,844 ..... D 8
Van Diemen (cape), N. Terr.. D 2
Victor Harbor, S. Aust. 4,522 ..... F 7
Victoria (state) 3,832,443... G 7
Victoria (riv.), N. Terr. ..... E 3
Wagga Wagga, N. S. W. 36,837 ..... H 7
Wangaratta, Vic. 16,202.... H 7
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Warwick, Queens. 8,853 ... J 5
Waverley, N. S. W. 61,575 .. L 4
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Wellesley (isls.), Queens.... F 3
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West Torrens, S. Aust. 45,099 ..... D 8
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Whyalla, S. Aust. 30,518 ... F 6
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Willoughby, N. S. W. 52,120..... K 3
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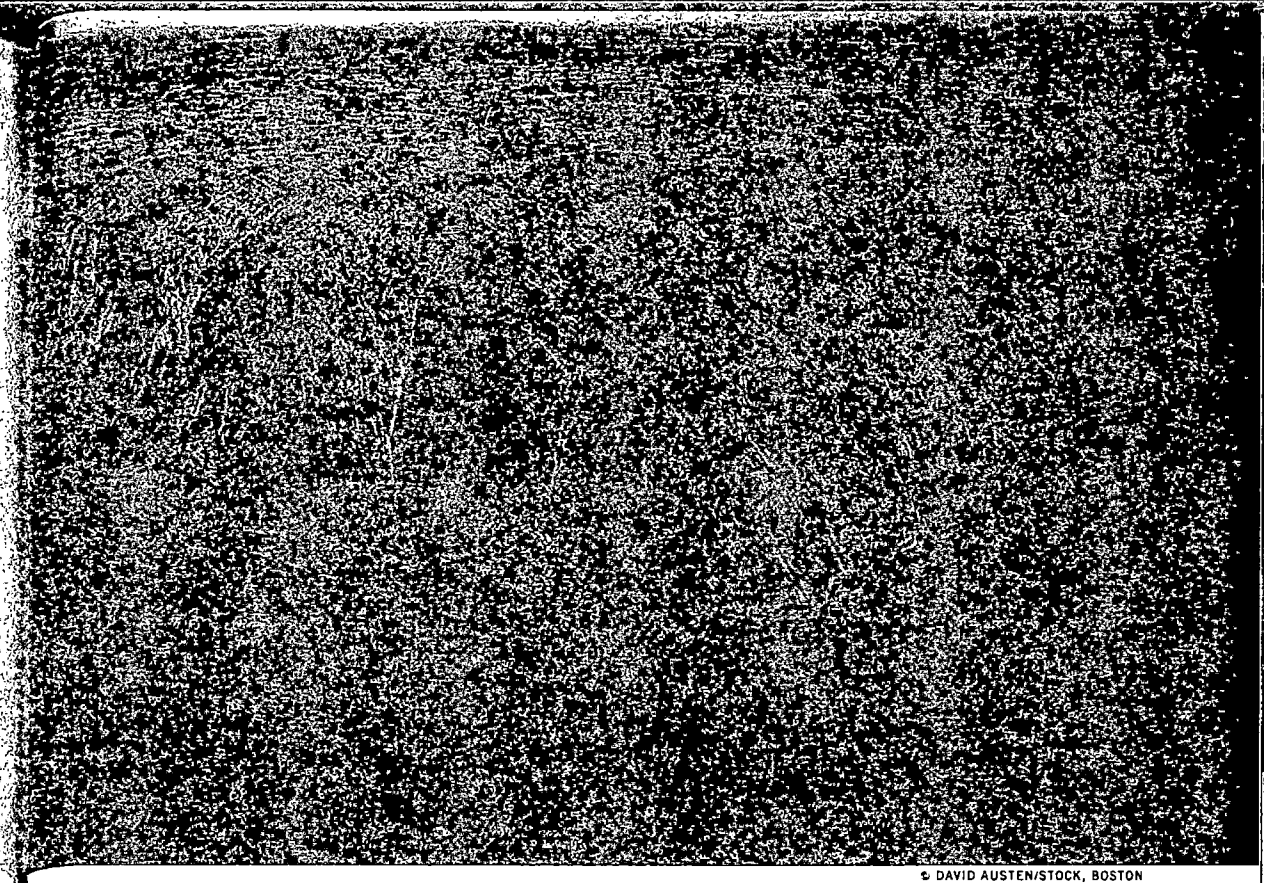
Winton, Queens. 1,259..... G 4
Wittenoom. W. Aust. 247 .. B 4
Wollongong, N. S. W. 169,381..... J 6
Wollongong, N. S. W. *222,539 ..... J 6
Wonthaggi, Vic. 4,797 ..... H 7
Woodville, S. Aust. 77,634 . D 7
Woollahra, N. S. W. 51,659. L 4
Woomera, S. Aust. 1,658... F 6
Wyndham, W. Aust. 1,509.. D 3
Wynnum, Queens. 10,794.. L 2
Wynyard, Tas. 4,582 ..... H 8
Yampi Sound, W. Aust..... C 3
York, W. Aust. 1,136 ..... B 6
York (cape), Queens..... G 2
York (sound), W. Aust..... C 2
Yorke (pen.), S. Aust..... F 7
Young, N. S. W. 6,906..... H 6



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Uluru, better known as Ayers Rock, swells up from the central Australian plain. Aboriginals hold Uluru sacred.

than 500 recorded species, is the most noteworthy example. Angiosperms became the dominant flora in place of gymnosperms (nonflowering seed plants, such as conifers), which persist conspicuously only in restricted areas. The continent's flora can be classified into three elements: Australian, Indo-Malayan, and Antarctic.

The most common species characterizing the Australian element of the flora belong to four families, or groups of genera: Myrtaceae (myrtle family), Proteaceae (protea family), Leguminosae (or Fabaceae, pea or pulse family), and Rutaceae (rue family). None of these is endemic. Of the five families that are endemic, none is widely distributed. Endemic genera, on the other hand, are abundant, aggregating some 500. Of particular interest besides *Eucalyptus* (in the family Myrtaceae) are *Darwinia* (Myrtaceae); *Banksia*, *Hakea*, and *Petrophila* (Proteaceae); *Pultenaea*, *Dillwynia*, and *Jacksonia* (Leguminosae); and *Boronia* (Rutaceae). All of these are exclusively shrubs except for *Eucalyptus* (usually trees), *Banksia* (trees or shrubs), and *Hakea* (shrubs or low trees). The Australian element is the characteristic flora of those parts of the continent with pronounced dry seasons.

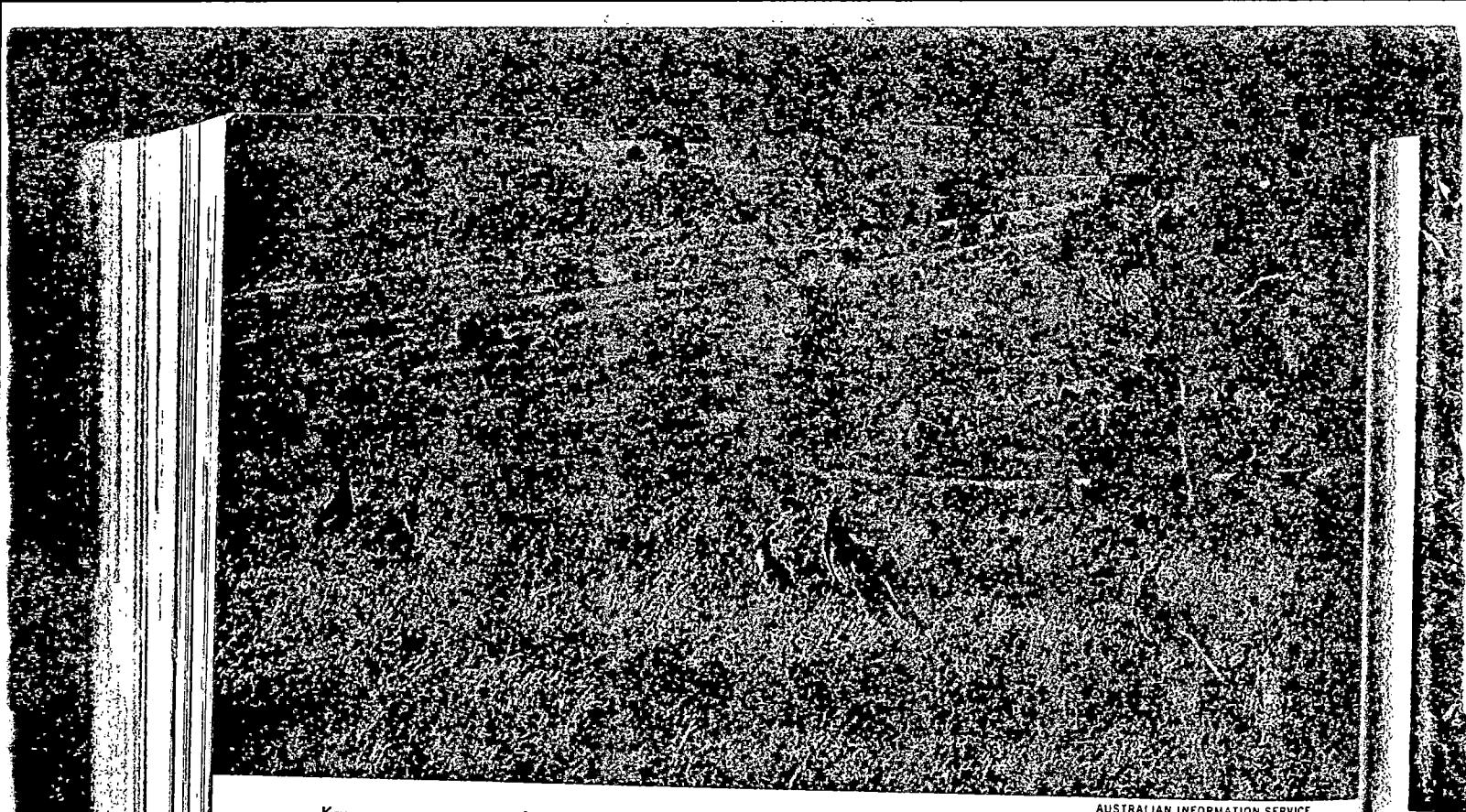
The components of the Indo-Malayan element are related to the flora of Southeast Asia. Speciation among this group likewise occurred in Australia, so that most of the present species are endemic. They constitute the rain forests of the north and northeast.

The Antarctic element is typified by *Nothofagus*, the Southern Hemisphere beeches found also in South America and represented in Antarctica by fossil pollens. In Australia this genus is confined to the colder parts of the mainland and to Tasmania.

Although the Australian continent is relatively dry, it is well vegetated, and many perennial species capable of surviving under desert conditions have evolved there. Even in the driest localities, where rainfall averages only 5 inches (130 mm) a year, perennial swards of saltbush (*Atriplex*) occur on the heavier soil types, while the sandy soils in such areas support scrubs of the mulga (*Acacia aneura*). A few dune areas are devoid of vegetation, while others are clothed with hummocks of the curious porcupine grass (*Triodia irritans*).

Areas that receive an average of at least 12 inches (300 mm) of rain each year are covered mostly with communities dominated by species of *Eucalyptus* or, in a few cases, by scrubs of *Acacia*. In the driest of these areas the eucalypts are dwarfed and assume a "mallee" form, which is characterized by the presence of a large, woody, underground lignotuber (root stock) producing many small stems usually less than 12 feet (4 meters) in height. With increased rainfall the height of the communities increases. Woodlands in which the trees are so spaced as to form a parkland occupy the areas of intermediate rainfall. Forests with trees taller than 300 feet (90 meters) develop in the wettest areas (the east coast and southwestern Western Australia), where the annual rainfall exceeds 30 to 40 inches (750–1,000 mm). As a rule, communities of different structural form are dominated by different species of *Eucalyptus*. Undershrubs and herbaceous plants occur below the trees. A general feature of all the species in these forests, woodlands, and mallees is the nature of the leaves, which are adapted to recurrent drought.

Interspersed among the tall *Eucalyptus* forests of eastern Australia are small areas of rain



AUSTRALIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

Kangaroos are among the native Australian animals that roam former farmland on a wildlife reserve near Canberra.

forest that are structurally similar to but floristically different from other tropical and subtropical rain forests. Occupying the soils of higher fertility, they are characterized by the broad, soft-leaved Indo-Malayan element of the flora. Small areas of beech-dominated rain forest (Antarctic element) are found at higher elevations on the mainland and in Tasmania.

Apart from desert and semiarid grasslands, only small areas of natural treeless grassland occur; these are found in central and southwestern Queensland and northern New South Wales. The dominant genera are *Astrebla* and *Stipa*. Most of the grassland used for grazing has been induced by the clearing of timber (chiefly *Eucalyptus*), followed by the introduction of fodder plants, notably clovers.

Australian plants as a whole are of little value as food, but timber is produced in abundance by certain species.

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University of New England, Australia

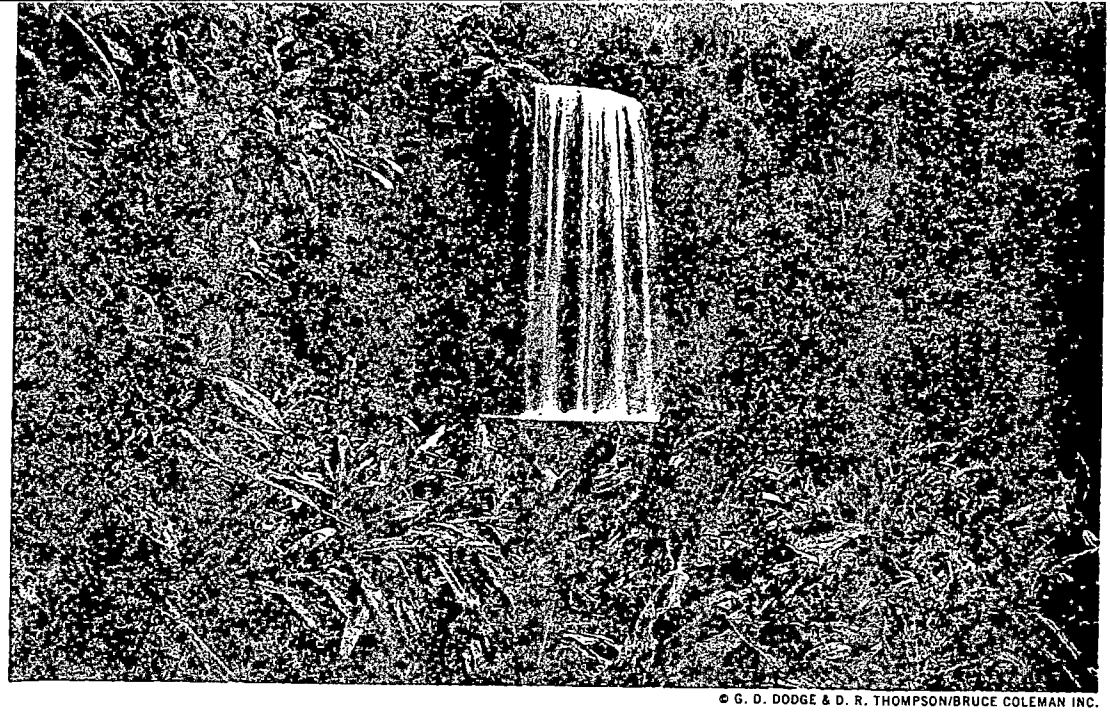
ANIMAL LIFE

The native Australian fauna is one of the most interesting in the world. Long isolated and lacking competition from the superior types that developed in other parts of the world, it remained fundamentally unchanged until the arrival of Europeans late in the 18th century. Whereas the Aboriginal culture was adapted to sustain the native fauna, European agriculture and placental mammals modified or destroyed the old ecological balance in many areas.

Although the ancient fauna is best exemplified by the furred animals, it is by no means confined to them. The primitive shrimplike crustaceans *Phreatocopsis* and *Phreatoicus* are living fossils, and the inch-long bulldog ants (*Myrmecia*) exhibit many primitive insect features. The bivalve mollusk *Neotrigonia* is known in other parts of the world as a fossil shell, and the lungfish (*Neoceratodus*) and Port Jackson shark (*Heterodontus*) are among the last living remnants of an ancient type of fish.

Australia's peculiar furred animals, however, command the greatest popular interest. The unique egg layers (monotremes) and many of the varied forms of pouched mammals (marsupials) are restricted to the Australian continent. The monotremes are true, warm-blooded, fur-covered mammals that nourish their young with mother's milk. But their reproductive organs are so primitive that they lay leathery-shelled eggs—like the eggs of their reptilian ancestors—from which the young subsequently hatch. The platypus (*Ornithorhynchus anatinus*) is an aquatic animal with a flattened, naked muzzle similar to the bill of a duck. It lays two eggs each year in a nest made at the end of a long burrow in a riverbank; the eggs are nearly spherical and about a half inch (0.2 cm) in diameter. The echidnas, which are found in New Guinea as well as in Australia, are the only other egg-laying mammals known; they usually lay one egg each year.

The numerous species of Australian marsupials are very diverse and occupy many different habitats. The most salient of their anatomical peculiarities is the female's pouch, situated in the abdominal region and containing the teats of the mammary glands. The young, born in an imperfect condition, enter the pouch and remain there until they are fully developed. Small insectivorous-carnivorous marsupials, such as the marsupial "mice" (*Sminthopsis*) and "rats" (*Antechinus*), live under stones and logs. Slightly larger carnivorous forms, misleadingly called native cats (*Dasyurus*), make their homes in hollow logs. The related Tasmanian devil (*Sarcophilus*) and Tasmanian wolf (*Thylacinus*) are as large as a terrier and an Alsatian dog, respectively. Truly arboreal forms embrace some 23 species of Australian opossums ranging in size from the tiny dormouse opossum (*Cercartetus* or *Cercaërtus*), a nectar- and insect-eating animal, to the gray opossum (*Trichosurus*), which is as



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Cascading waters roar through a tropical rain forest in northern Queensland.

large as a domestic cat and is herbivorous. Some opossums have developed a parachutelike body membrane that allows them to glide from one tree to another. Allied to the opossums is the well-known koala (*Phascolarctos*), a large-eared arboreal marsupial that feeds on eucalyptus leaves. The kangaroolike animals (Macropodidae), characterized by their hopping gait on elongated hind legs, comprise more than 50 species. The rat kangaroos (subfamily Potoroinae) may be smaller than rabbits, while the larger species (*Macropus*) can measure 6 feet (1.8 meters) tall when erect.

Although the flight of birds has allowed much intercontinental migration, a typical Austral-Pacific avifauna flourishes. Flightless birds possessing primitive features are represented by the cassowary (*Casuarius*) and the emu (*Dromaius*). The former is confined to the rain forest of the northeast, while the latter is distributed throughout the continent. Parrots (Psittaciformes) are well represented, with more than 50 species, and the nectar-feeding honey eaters (Meliphagidae) number about 70 species. The lyrebird (*Menura*), a mimic of tremendous voice, is found in the damp fern gullies of the eastern coastal mountains. Bowerbirds (Ptilonorhynchidae) are noted for the distinctive structures built by the male to attract females. Such groups as quail, birds of prey, waterfowl, waders, and perching birds are well represented.

The reptilian fauna is typically Indo-Australian. Geckos (Gekkonidae), monitor lizards (Varanidae), dragons (Agamidae), and skinks (Scincidae) are widely distributed. There are no true adders (Viperidae), but many species of elapid snakes (Elapidae) with toxic venom are present. The largest of these, the taipan (*Oxyuranus*), reaches a length of 11 feet (3.5 meters), and species such as the tiger snake (*Notechis*), the copperhead (*Denisonia*), the brown snake (*Demansia*), and the death adder (*Acanthophis*) are all lethal, although few exceed 5 feet (1.5 meters) in length. The python family (Boidae) is represented by the Queensland python (*Liasis*), which attains a length of 21 feet (6.4 meters), and some 10 species of smaller rock pythons (*Liasis*), carpet snakes (*Morelia*), and rock snakes (*Aspidites*).

C. W. Brazenor
National Museum of Victoria

ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS

Beginning in the 1960's, recognition of a wide range of environmental issues led to active and widely publicized debate in Australia on

A scuba diver explores the Great Barrier Reef, a system of coral reefs and islands lining coastal Queensland.

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Lake Pedder, in the wilderness of southwestern Tasmania, was formed by damming the Gordon River for hydropower.

aspects of the universal problem of balancing economic with ecological interests. Perceived threats to the natural environment included urban sprawl; emissions from automobiles, power stations, and factories; wood cutting; the encroachment of new mining operations, dams, and settlement on wilderness areas; and, as part of general nuclear concerns, the mining of uranium. With responsibility in the broad field shared between the state and the federal governments, a succession of legislative initiatives created new organizations to handle individual aspects of the problem. At the same time, public participation in the formulation of advice grew, with citizen action groups and labor unions in the vanguard.

All states have ministers responsible for matters pertaining to the protection of the urban environment, rural and wilderness areas, and the historical heritage. Each ministry commands an array of enforcement agencies. At the national level, environmental issues were recognized in 1971 (in a department styled Home Affairs and Environment). Environmental impact reporting has been introduced as a prelude to all major development, and rational use of resources has become an objective. Federal-states councils on the environment and on conservation meet regularly to monitor progress, discuss standards, and coordinate broad policy direction.

R. M. YOUNGER
Author of "Australia and the Australians"

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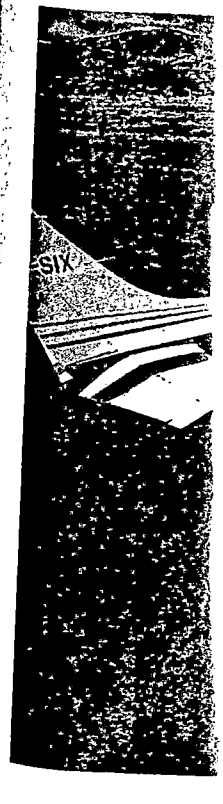

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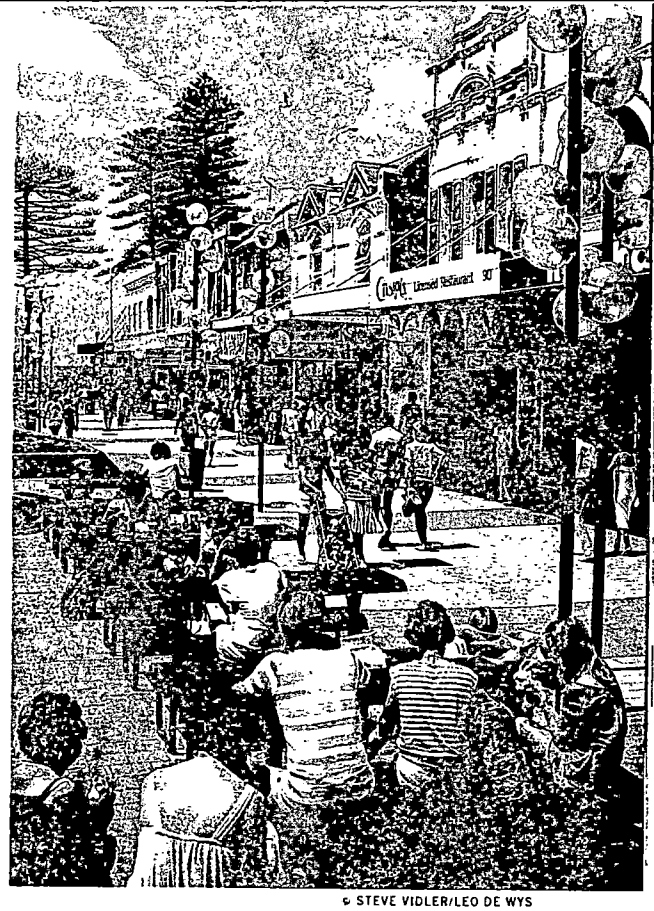
2. The People

With a population of 15 million Australia is one of the world's most sparsely inhabited countries, averaging 5 persons per square mile (2 per sq km). Even more striking is the concentration of people in a few coastal cities, notably Sydney and Melbourne, which together account for 40% of the national population. Moreover, the state capitals, all of which are on the seacoast, contain at least 40% of their states' populations: Melbourne (Victoria), Perth (Western Australia), and Adelaide (South Australia) each accounts for over 70% of its population; Sydney (New South Wales), for over 60%; Brisbane (Queensland), for over 45%; and Hobart (Tasmania), for over 40% of its population.

In number of inhabitants, Sydney (the largest city) and Melbourne rank in the 3 million category; Brisbane, Perth, and Adelaide have about 1 million people each. No other city has above 500,000, and Canberra, the national capital, contains about half that number.

Population becomes increasingly sparse with distance from the major urban centers. The 19th century aim of establishing a large rural community had only qualified success despite persistent efforts; a second-generation drift to the cities resulted from the stringencies faced by smallholders because of uncertain rainfall. The usual sheep and cattle grazing and grain growing were augmented in a few districts with irrigation crops, while along the northeast coastal strip sugarcane was successfully established. However, the vaster areas continued to be used principally for wool production (in the temperate zone) and beef production (in the tropics), employing minimal labor.



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Relaxation is the keynote in Manly, where the bustle of Sydney is left behind for leisurely shopping and sunning.

The weekly mail-and-supplies plane services a remote Aboriginal settlement in central Australia.

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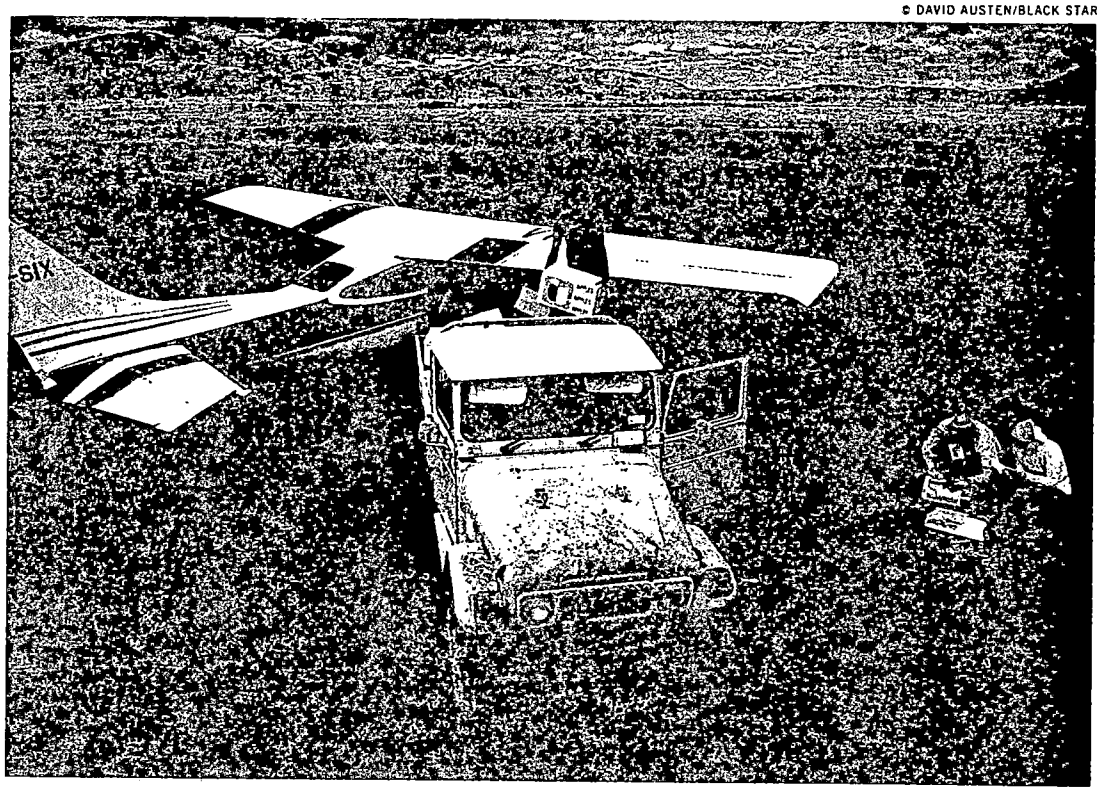
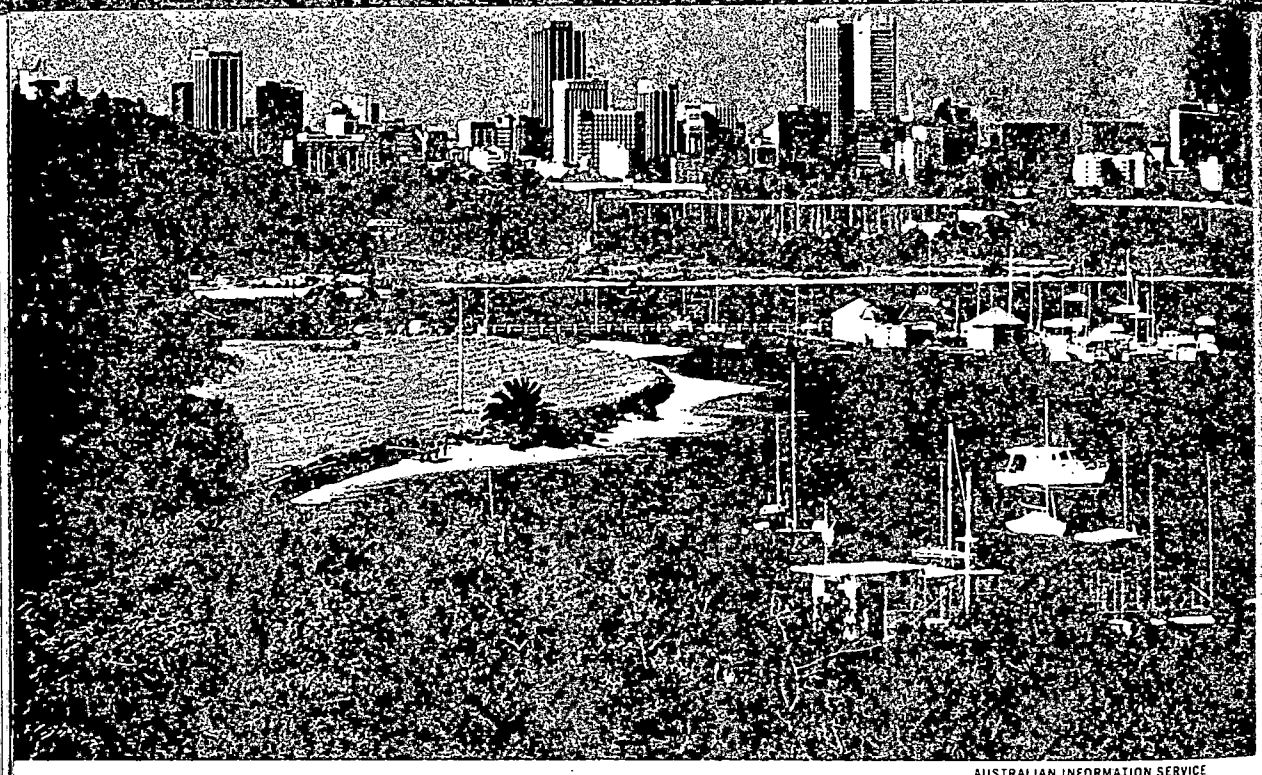




AUSTRALIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

Central Perth overlooks a broadening of the Swan River. The city is the capital of Western Australia.

Urban growth rates in the 1980's varied among the major centers of population. Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Hobart all slowed to about a 1% increase a year, approximating the national average. By contrast, Perth grew by almost 3% a year and Brisbane by over 2%, while the city of Gold Coast, a leisure and resort center near Brisbane, registered an annual increase of 6% to 7%. In all three places growth reflected the drawing power of sunshine, although in Perth prosperity from Western Australian mining was a major factor. Canberra also exceeded the overall level of population increase. Meanwhile the smaller cities and towns serving rural areas were steadily losing population.

A considerable degree of residential relocation occurs, much of it intrastate or local and in particular within individual cities. By official estimate, over a five-year span 43% of the population move, the most mobile group being those between the ages of 20 and 34.

The "graying" of Australia has been running a few years behind a similar trend in other Western nations. However, men over 65 and women over 60 (pensionable ages) are expected to increase in number by more than 2% a year to become the fastest-growing age component of the population.

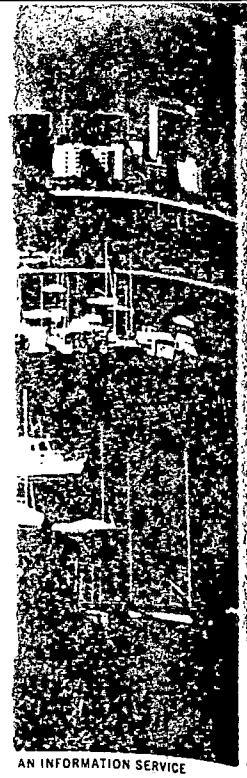
Immigration and Population Growth. Modern Australia was created under the stimulus of active, officially sponsored immigration, which produced a continuing inflow of people attracted by the opportunities offered in a "new" country experiencing broad economic expansion. Of the two components of population growth, natural increase declined from 150,000 a year in the early 1970's to about 130,000 a year after 1976, while net immigration showed marked volatility.

The non-Aboriginal population is almost wholly of European origin and is composed principally of descendants of immigrants from the United Kingdom and Ireland, supplemented after 1945 by arrivals from other countries. In the 1980's, 79% of the people were Australian-born. Of the 21% born overseas, Europe accounted for about 15%, Asia 3%, and other areas (including the Americas) 3%. The prime source of those of foreign origin was the United Kingdom and Ireland (37%). About 9% were born in Italy, 5% in Greece and Yugoslavia each, 3% in Germany and the Netherlands each, and 2% in Poland; New Zealand represented 6% of the foreign-born, with miscellaneous countries making up the remaining 30%. Approximately 50,000 Vietnamese reached Australia after 1975, as did hundreds of thousands of settlers from other Asian countries.

Immigration has long been a crucial factor in Australia's population growth. Because of the slowness of family formation in the early decades of settlement, when men outnumbered women by more than two to one, the Australian-born did not equal the overseas-born in number until the 1870's. By the 1880's, however, natural increase had become the prime source of growth. Nevertheless, people drawn to Australia as a land of opportunity were a major factor in enlivening the national outlook and accelerating national development.

Population building gained major attention when concerns about an underpeopled continent were loudly voiced—in 1905–1914, the 1920's, and the early 1940's. In the 1950's and 1960's new arrivals numbered well over 100,000 a year: a similar number of births over deaths provided a total annual growth rate of over 2%. In 1966 the traditional "restrictive" immigration policy applying to the entry of non-Europeans was relaxed, and Asians began to be admitted. All told, between 1945 and 1975 approximately 3.5 million people arrived in Australia, including more than 350,000 refugees.

By the early 1970's, Australia's newcomers were no longer seen as candidates for simple or



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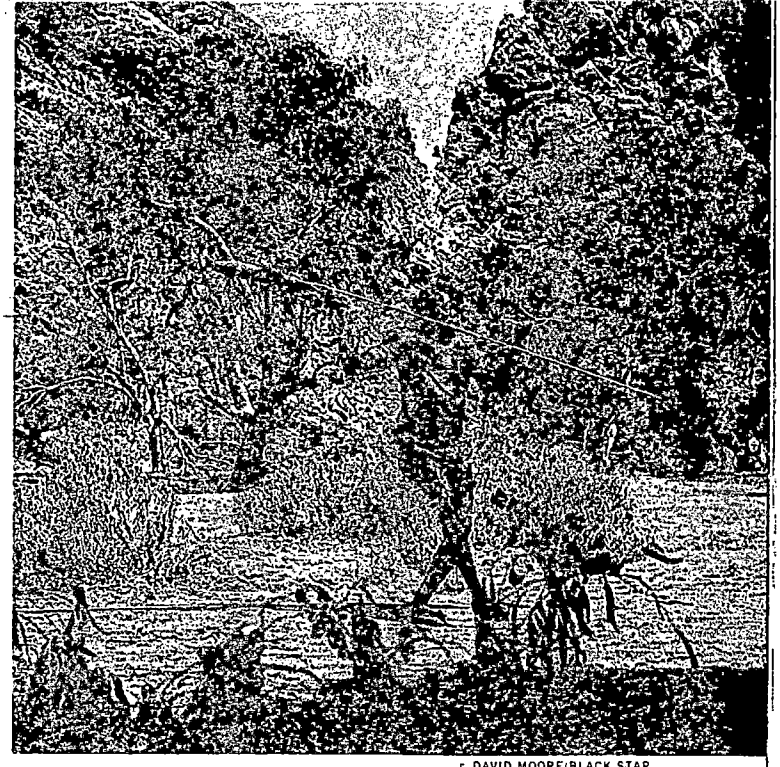
The Aboriginal at right hunts with a spear and woomera (spear thrower), as his ancestors did for thousands of years. Many Aboriginals, such as the tractor driver above, have abandoned traditional ways to live like other Australians.



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certain "assimilation." With the realization that their manifold backgrounds and qualities were assets, official policy moved away from the long-held assimilation aim and adopted in its place the development of a multicultural society to augment the old Anglo-Australian tradition.

People of Greek, Italian, Polish, and other European backgrounds were the most numerous of those outside the Anglo-Australian tradition; the Pacific region was represented by Vietnamese, Koreans, and Filipinos. The clustering of many of the newcomers in particular sections of major cities (especially Sydney and Melbourne) led to some shopping streets taking on an ethnic character, with restaurants and stores in the styles of their Greek, Italian or Vietnamese owners.

Meanwhile, Australians of Aboriginal descent were making increasing contributions to national life. See AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINALS.

Total annual population increase has settled at about 175,000, or 1.1%, with births at about 240,000 and deaths 110,000 and a net overseas migration gain of under 50,000. Government policies remain the key determinant in overall immigration levels as well as in the composition of the immigrant body, since all non-Australians except New Zealand citizens require official approval for admission for residence. Official policy continues to favor Europe as the prime source of new settlers. Following 1971, however, the government placed greater emphasis on recruiting skilled workers, on admitting refugees, and on reuniting families, regardless of the region of origin.

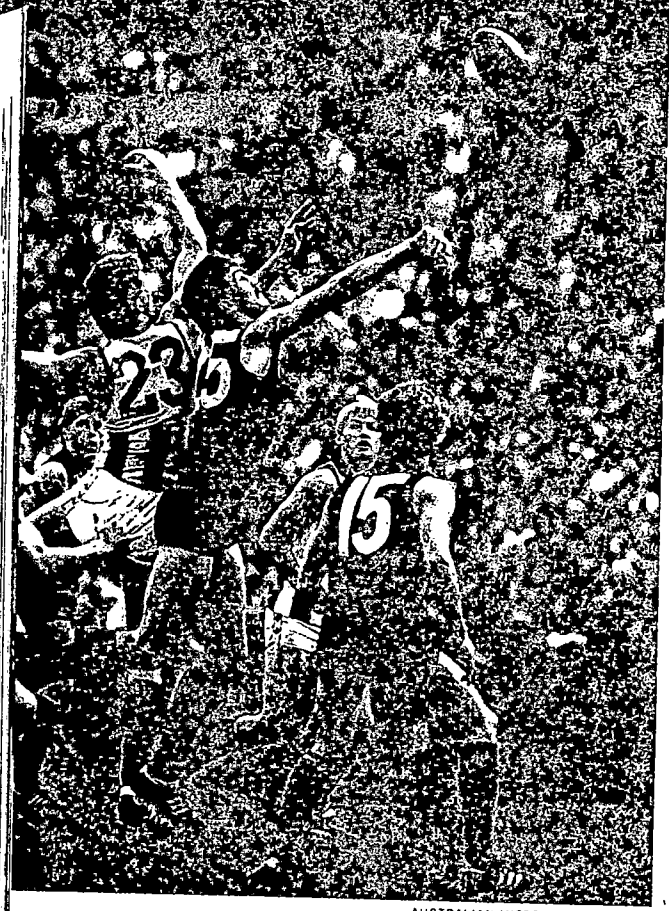
The Society. The widely held view that the Australian prototype is a tall, rangy, sun-browned countryman with wide-brimmed hat and faithful horse and dog has been robbed of much of its validity. Whatever was true in the past, the average Australian is a city dweller within a predominantly urban—or, more precisely, suburban—society. The hinterland is sparsely settled and continues to lose people to the cities. Perhaps the only thing the idealized prototype and the statistical reality have in common is that both manifest an egalitarian attitude.

Australia's relatively classless society persists even though economic differences have widened with a burgeoning of middle- to upper-income earners. At the same time social services have been expanded to reduce the pressures of poverty and personal hardship at the low end of the scale. The egalitarianism of the community is more obvious in the Australian's attitude than in an objective assessment of the individual's financial or social circumstances.

High ethical standards and levels of skills in professional and working life have come to be expected. At the same time, a dislike of social pretense and personal affectation is accompanied by a tendency to support the underdog, even if a person is thought to deserve that status. This attitude fosters self-confidence and a sense of comradeship that leads to unaffected, cordial, and equal collaboration among individuals. It makes for personally generous and hospitable people, and generates a social mobility akin to that in the United States and Canada.

Australians continue to hear of their perceived virtues from the media. Visitors—whether travelers or journalists—usually praise their qualities, and this is echoed in Australia's press. An editorial in the nationally circulated *Australian* newspaper lauded Australians' tolerant attitudes in a country "made up of ethnic communities which are a microcosm of the world." Australians were found to be placid, happy, and "comfortable with people of any color from any part of the world," and this made them "rich in more ways than just affluence: we are rich in mind and spirit and are some of the most pleasant people [in a world] which is increasingly becoming ugly and violent." Such satisfaction with the Australian condition reflects values widely present in the community.

A special factor in the Australian scene is that in spite of geographical spread its people are



AUSTRALIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

An Australian Rules football match pits two clubs in Victoria. Soccer and rugby are also popular in Australia.

conditioned more by their socioeconomic environment than by any regional traits. In comparison with other, similarly large nations, Australian internal differences are slight. The Australian colonies that later federated as Commonwealth states were settled at much the same time by quite similar types of people, and in general terms the political economies of all followed quite similar lines. Distinctions have remained minor: houses show more or less comparable variations (according to cost) in the various geographical regions, and the Australian accent—perhaps most clearly characterized by a distinctive broad *a*—varies considerably with education level but very little from state to state.

Australian living styles equate quite closely with those in California and continue to follow the same trends: Australia has become a society attuned to the automobile, with a propensity for outdoor living, an affinity for shopping centers and supermarkets, hi-fi and skiing, and a more relaxed life-style than that of most of the Western world's crowded older cities. Even in dress Australians take their cues from California.

Current life-styles have been shaped by a consumer-oriented economy in an industrially advanced nation. Many of the more rigid values that motivated earlier generations have been muted. For the great majority, church influence has waned or vanished; social problems arising from broken homes have increased; a "new poor" composed of the least aggressive and least protected groups has resulted from inflation and rises in costs. Yet success and confidence have remained boldly evident: rapid upward movement has marked the course of the economically powerful.

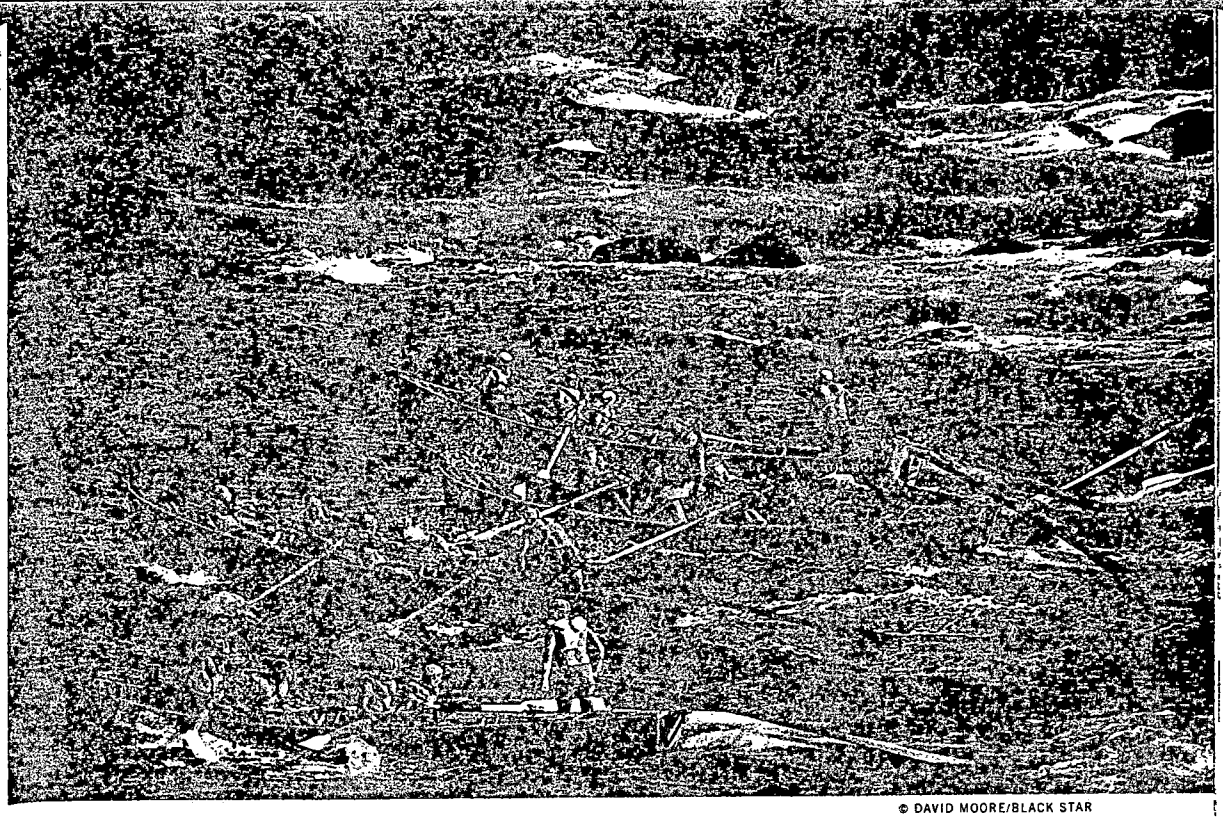
With the broad economic advance, disparate groups have pressed for improvement in their particular condition. Mixed in with economic matters have been concerns over a multitude of issues for which political leadership was expected to provide beneficent solutions. Clearly fewer people are attracted to the older, frugal, work-oriented standards; some commentators believe that, coupled with the uncertainties unleashed by technological change and loss of old dedication to the family, "a feeling of discontinuity [has] led to a society with exceptional emphasis on sectional rather than broader concerns." Responsive politicians have become involved in an unending endeavor to placate special-interest groups as part of a generally pliant attitude to change. As one instance, the importance of "gray power" has made itself felt as the community's median age moved steadily higher.

Sport plays an important part in the Australian way of life. The climate is generally favorable to outdoor activities, and the countrywide stress on proficiency has led to the provision of excellent sports facilities. These in turn have resulted in widespread participation in sports throughout the community and the development of outstanding performers in international competition in many fields.

The trade-union movement remains a major shaping force, being of great political as well as industrial significance. Since the late 1960's it has been increasingly cohesive and forceful in its aims and vocal in pressing its claims. It expresses itself politically through the Labor party, which is directly fostered by the union movement and is more subject to union influence than is its British counterpart. Although Australia was in the vanguard of sociopolitical experimentation with secret and compulsory voting, pensions for the elderly and the disabled, unemployment compensation, and compulsory school attendance, the general attitude of Australians to political and community affairs has been pragmatic rather than doctrinaire.

Australians favor public ownership of services of many kinds, from electric power and telephones to insurance. Sometimes (as in case of banking, airline operation, and insurance) the services operate in competition with private enterprises; in other cases (such as the railways, telephone system, and urban public transit) they are government monopolies. The Labor party has long pressed for an increasing range of publicly owned services, especially at the federal level, and has installed Medicare as a universal, tax-supported health fund. In the states, all parties have generally acquiesced in the extension of government involvement.

The social changes characterizing the 1960's placed greater strains on the Liberal party's ability to hold the middle ground of politics as Labor realigned its appeal from the artisan to the white-collar worker and the young graduate. In the early 1970's and again in the 1980's the tilt was enough to win power for Labor on a broader scale than in the past. At the same time support by the public for the unions began to falter. In the mid-1980's opinion polls suggested that public views had moved quite strongly against unionism as a result of the stronger exercise of "union power" through strikes and more subtle forms of industrial disruption.



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Surfboat crews battle the breakers in a race off Sydney.

As institutions of long standing were being challenged, leading commentators asked, "What's wrong with Australia?" Critics questioned the power exercised by interest groups over governments and the nation's "sclerotic" industrial tribunals headed by the Arbitration Commission. Employer groups and unions were seen as resisting change in ways that precluded improvement in productivity and hence a real growth of the economy. One leading economic commentator believed that unions had grown beyond their proper role; and that their aggrandizement had been matched by the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission, which allegedly had often ignored the public interest and instead had rewarded those groups that appeared before it if they served the "commission's own self-aggrandizement."

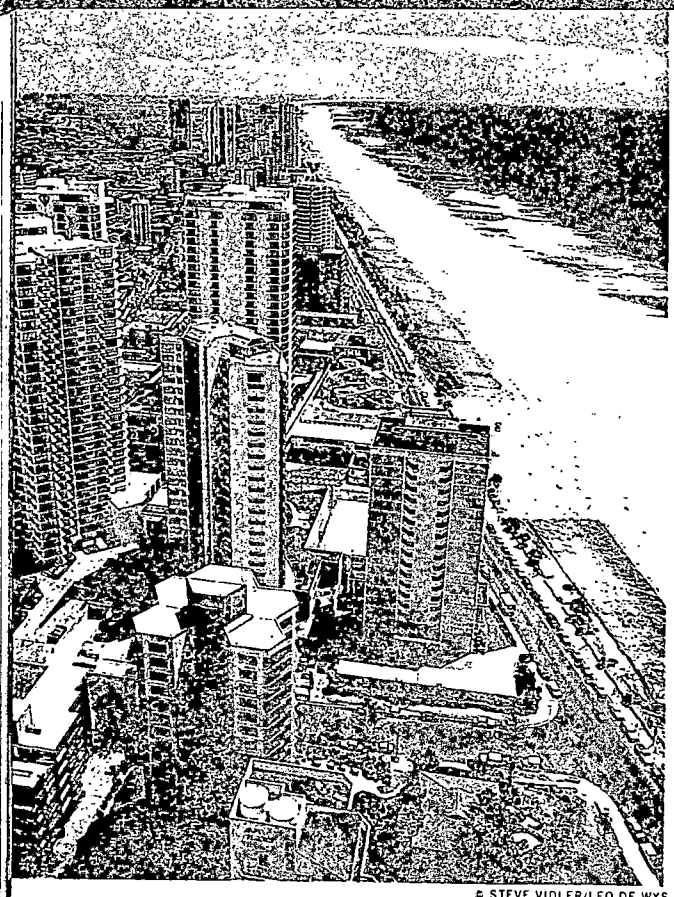
In attitudes toward international affairs the Australian has been moving steadily away from the parochial outlook that was dominant until the 1950's. Reluctantly the average citizen has been trying to come to terms with the implications of a resource-rich, underpopulated Australia being located in a region of crowded developing nations aspiring to higher status in the world. For years the sense of geographical isolation from kindred Western nations brought a closer identification with, and understanding of, American views and policies. By the mid-1980's, however, strong undercurrents of opinion had developed to lessen the rapport with the United States shown in defense cooperation and the installation of U.S. space-monitoring and communications facilities on Australian soil. A strong disarmament and antinuclear movement has been present among young people especially. Overall, however, Australians recognize their international responsibilities, and their tendency to avoid a doctrinaire approach to international affairs appears unimpaired.

The Australian constitution guarantees religious freedom. It provides that there shall be no established church and no law imposing any religious observances or prohibiting the free exercise of any religion. Australians of English or Scottish descent are generally Protestants, while those of Irish descent, as well as many of the more recent European settlers, are mainly Roman Catholics. Since World War II the only substantial change in the overall pattern has been the increase in number of Catholic, Lutheran, and Greek Orthodox adherents and the appearance of significant Islamic and Buddhist groups—all due to immigration.

In more remote areas the Uniting Church—mainly former Methodists and Presbyterians—has replaced individual Protestant denominations; in the cities the fusion has not been so complete. Roman Catholic schools are widespread, and in the larger cities each Protestant denomination supports schools giving religious instruction that supplement the secular state schools. Various universities have residential colleges of the principal religious groups.

A steadily increasing number of Australians acknowledge no religious affiliation whatsoever. At the 1981 census 11% of respondents stated that they had no religion, and an equal percentage chose to ignore the question of their faith. The ratios of those acknowledging affiliation with Christianity were: Episcopalian 26%, Roman Catholic 26%, Uniting Church 5%, Presbyterian 4.5%, Orthodox 3%, and Lutheran and Baptist 1.5% each. Among non-Christians, Muslims numbered 76,000, Jews 62,000, and Buddhists 35,000.

The position of women has received much attention. Although throughout Australia's development women have shown spirit and a willingness to share in the pioneering tradition, their role generally was long that of homemaker. Ow-



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Queensland's popular Gold Coast resort area takes its name from the soaring value of prime seaside real estate.

ing to many factors but perhaps, most important, that of female economic dependence, the social freedom and vigor of the traditional Australian way of life was more noticeable among men than women. The latter were slower than their American and Canadian counterparts to play a significant public role in society.

A greater sense of independence began to be shown by women from the early 1970's on, when "women's rights" became a major issue. Campaigners against the lingering effects of what was long a strongly male-oriented society succeeded in obtaining most feminist legislative aims, including abortion "on demand" and less complicated divorce procedures. Advancement of women's role and status was seen as requiring a strengthened economic base for them. Although their percentage of the labor force had risen (with two thirds of all married women gainfully employed), pressure was exerted toward achieving greater equality in pay and responsibility as well in employment opportunities. By the early 1980's women had statistical support for their claim to a greater role in national life: for the first time, women outnumbered men in the overall population count.

R. M. YOUNGER
Author of "Australia and the Australians"

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3. Education

Although Australia is not densely populated, it has a wide range of educational institutions that provide instruction resembling, both in variety and standards, that found in other English-speaking countries. Between 1872 and 1893 all six of the prefederation colonies introduced universal and compulsory education.

Schooling is universally compulsory from ages 6 to 15 (16 in Tasmania). Three out of four children attend public schools, where tuition is free; nongovernment primary and secondary schools charge fees. Throughout Australia, student-teacher ratios are about 20 to 1. Most schools outside the state-run systems are operated by the Roman Catholic Church. Most others are under the auspices of other religious groups.

The educational and cultural aspects of Australian life find their primary source in the British tradition and outlook, although American influence has been considerable. In some directions, however, Australia has departed markedly from both the British and the American pattern. In most cases these departures have been brought about by geographical, economic, and governmental conditions. Centralization of educational control, for instance, is due partly to a determination to provide a good primary education for all children, partly to the scattered nature of much of the population's settlement, and partly to reliance on state action for equalizing opportunities for all.

Public Education. Along with other social services, public education was left in the hands of the six states when the federal government was constituted in 1901. The federal government is responsible for education only within the federal territories. Each state system operates under a professional head, who is responsible to the state minister of education and a highly specialized staff. All administrators and the teachers in the public school systems enjoy permanent tenure of office.

Each state system is centralized to a high degree. New South Wales and Queensland have regional directorships, but this has resulted in improved services in the outlying areas rather than in any transfer of autonomy to the regions involved. Since all state public school expenditure is derived from the consolidated revenues of the state, even the large cities play no part in controlling schools or in deciding what schools will be established in their areas.

Although the federal government has no constitutional responsibility for conducting schools, it has steadily increased its participation in matters relating to education. The first formal body,

the Universities Commission, was set up in 1943 to organize postwar education and training for ex-servicemen and women. The Education Act of 1945 gave permanent form to the commission and also established the Commonwealth Office of Education as the central coordinating body for Australia's contact with UNESCO and other international groups in education.

The first significant extension of federal funding in the field of education came in the mid-1960's, after a rising school population, which reached 2 million in 1959, had begun to place pressure on the various school systems. A report to the government by Professor Peter Karmel in 1973 resulted in greatly augmented support for both public and nongovernment schools and universities. The generous supplementary funding for the state school systems (8% of federal budget outlays) was soon contrasted with the greater numbers of students failing to pass basic educational tests; as a result, quality of instruction became an issue.

In 1981 the Senate education committee, concerned over a rise in youth unemployment and reports of school dropouts being ill equipped to enter the work force, criticized schools for giving too little emphasis to preparing young people for the job market and for allowing standards in reading and mathematics to decline. The committee found evidence of a mismatch between community expectations and the system as revealed by the students it produced, with teachers unappreciative of practical needs. The committee expressed its hope for an increase in the "overall proficiency" of early schooling and suggested that parents and employers be allowed to become more active participants in the school process.

In 1983, Karmel headed a new committee. Its report offered some criticism of the effort of schools and teachers but excused the overall performance, blaming the difficulties on major social and economic pressures placed on schools. However, the report called for keener monitoring of the funds given: in particular, schools should be obliged to show every three years that the money had actually produced improvements in student performance and higher attainment by girls in major subject areas. Meanwhile, some commentators pointed to the schools' success in inducing more students to remain beyond the compulsory age limit and suggested that since the early 1970's a "notable rise" had occurred in the population's educational attainment.

Private Education. Church schools usually are controlled by their school councils, and even within a single denomination these may be appointed in a variety of ways. The schools sponsored by the Roman Catholic Church are organized more closely, however, and in each state the church authorities appoint a director of education.

All private schools began to receive federal grants with the early 1970's. The proportion of students attending nongovernment schools rose steadily, with parents impressed in particular by the greater discipline provided by them.

Higher Education. Australia has a three-tiered system of higher education. Students go from secondary schools to a university, a "college of advanced education," or a college of "technical and further education" (TAFE). Nothing corre-

Houses and pools jostle for space in Perth, where population growth and mining wealth touched off land speculation.

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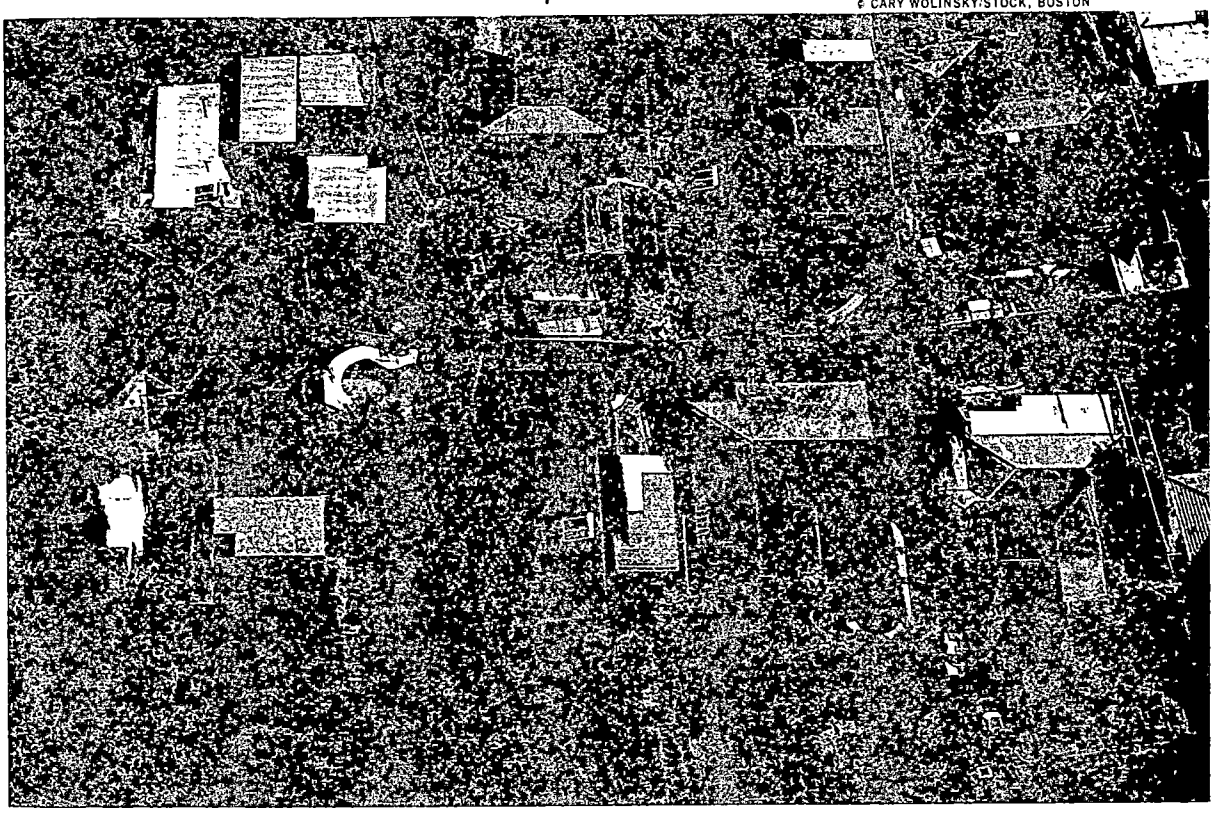

sponds exactly to the American college or junior college.

Admission to a university is gained through statewide examinations over which the university has direct or indirect control. No degree-granting institution can be set up without legislative authority, nor do any private universities operate without state aid. However, the universities exercise full authority over their own affairs. From 1973 on, all universities and colleges of advanced education were tuition free.

The oldest of Australia's score of universities are Sydney (1850) and Melbourne (1853). By 1911 each state had a public or private university in its capital city. The federally operated Australian National University in Canberra was established in 1946.

"Colleges of advanced education," which have greater vocational emphasis than universities, were set up in the late 1970's. Serving special community needs, some 40 institutions offer degrees, diplomas, or associate diplomas in a great variety of fields.

The TAFE system consists of about 1,000 institutions and annexes. Technical colleges offer training in the major industrial skills and in commercial, artistic, and domestic occupations. Generally these institutions provide apprenticeship and trade and technical studies in addition to commercial and general courses. Some farm areas have agricultural colleges with boarding facilities and programs geared to rural studies.

Special Education. Correspondence schools are run by state departments of education for children whose daily attendance at school is prevented by distance, illness, or physical disability. For children living in isolated locations, "schools of the air" supplement correspondence instruction, using two-way radio links between teachers and pupils.

An outback School of the Air student receives two-way radio lessons supplementing education by correspondence.

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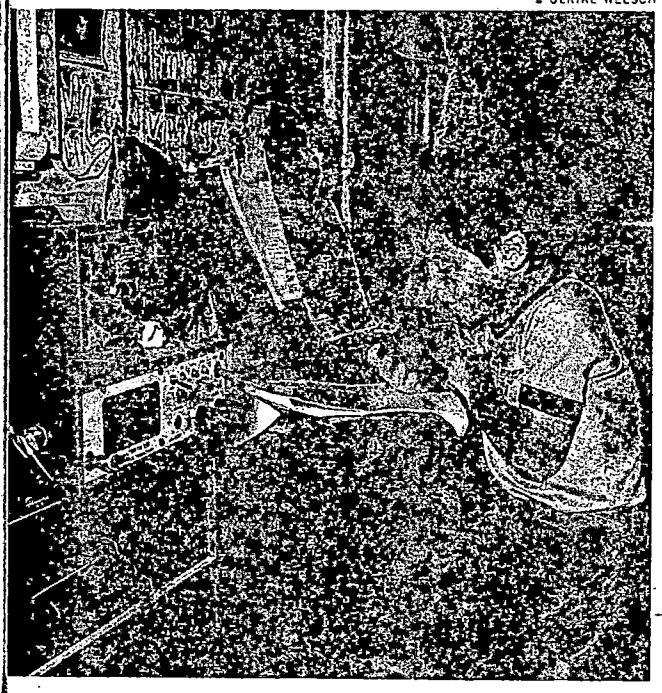

Each state offers nonformal classes for adults. The system of control and the proportion of funds received from government grants for adult education vary from state to state. Both vocational and nonvocational interests are served in wide-ranging programs. Some states have taken special steps to reach rural areas and populations by means of summer schools, traveling troupes, exhibitions, and the like.

Foreign students and specialists are assisted under various international plans and scholarship programs, especially those related to Commonwealth and South Pacific nations. The Australian-American Educational Foundation facilitates interchanges of lecturers, research scholars, postgraduate students, and teachers.

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4. Cultural Life

Basic to the development of the creative arts in Australia has been the interplay of local influences on a fundamentally British heritage. Much attention and support have been given to the expression of distinctively Australian qualities in all art forms. The Australia Council, founded in 1968 and funded by the federal government, has backed this concept as one aspect of its policy of promoting excellence in the arts. State governments, local authorities, and some large corporations also have lent generous support to creative endeavor.

The genesis of an indigenous culture dates from the final decades of the 19th century, when tentative attempts were made to develop an Australian approach to the arts in keeping with an emerging sense of national unity among the six British colonies that federated in 1901. This awareness in turn sprang from an outlook on life that in all essentials was the same throughout the continent and transcended colonial separatism. At first the effort of opening up a new continent had consumed the energies of the people. With little time for leisure and reflection, few Australians could develop or appreciate valid interpretations of the countryside and of the new living patterns that were so dissimilar from those of the British homeland. In the late 1880's, a century after the initial settlement began, a feeling of national identity emerged; Australia was no longer seen as something alien, to which adjustment had to be made. Rather, it had become a familiar setting with positive qualities to be treated with understanding. Initially the newfound sense of nationhood was rather aggressively asserted, with marked self-consciousness and exaggeration. Several decades passed before artists and writers were able to delineate the Australian scene without flaunting it.

Literature. The first descriptions of Australia were written with an eye to publication in

Coming to terms with the land is an abiding theme in Australian art and literature. An example of this may be found in Russell Drysdale's *Sunday Evening*, painted in about 1941.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF NEW SOUTH WALES

Britain. Some of the early explorers were gifted writers, and during the gold rush period of the latter half of the 19th century a host of visitors to the continent competently recorded their observations and impressions.

In Australian literary history, poetry preceded the short story and the short story preceded the novel. The first poet of significance was Charles Harpur, who in the mid-19th century applied himself with some success to the interpretation of the country and its scenes, but the later work of Henry Kendall had more authentic poetic quality. An interesting early work of fiction was *The Recollections of Geoffry Hamlyn* (1859), an idealistic pioneering story by Henry Kingsley. *For the Term of His Natural Life* (1874), a reconstruction of life in early convict settlements by Marcus Clarke, and *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab*, a detective story by Fergus Hume, were among the few early writings of lasting interest. Although there were recognizable Australian characters in the exciting *Robbery Under Arms* (1888) by Rolf Boldrewood (pseudonym of Thomas Alexander Browne), neither he nor contemporary authors established real contact with the country or the developing ideas of its people.

By the 1880's, however, a marked trend toward the creation of a distinctively Australian manner was apparent. Habits of life and thought brought from Britain had begun by that time to show cumulative change, the sense of a separate life had grown with the increasing proportion of Australian-born among the population, and the emergence of a national consciousness had set the stage for the development of a national literature. A definitive expression of this trend came with the growth of the *Bulletin*, a weekly founded in 1880 by John Haynes and John Feltham Archibald. Through this medium writers interpreted Australians for themselves, and a folk culture based on the pastoral hinterland began to emerge. The "bush idiom," in which Australian speech is particularly rich, was absorbed into writing and brought into print a multitude of expressions developed in the outback.

The first notable Australian literary form was the bush ballad, but the same characteristics later shaped the short story. The new writing was the product of a pioneering land, and the writers were themselves engaged in the practical work of its development. Their output was simple and sometimes crude, but it was individual and, above all, vital. Among the first balladists was Adam Lindsay Gordon, whose influence on those who followed was strong. Perhaps the greatest of the balladists—certainly the most popular—was Andrew Barton ("Banjo") Paterson, but Henry Lawson was the outstanding figure of the movement. Lawson was also the author of short stories, in which he was perhaps supreme. His compassion and realism touched many persons of succeeding generations, who have considered him the voice of much that is finest in the Australian tradition.

The printing of short stories in periodicals was sometimes followed by collections in book form, and *The Bulletin Story Book* (1901) contained the work of 60 writers. Encouragement for authorship in longer forms was scant, however, and few early novelists appeared. Only one is notable: Joseph Furphy, who as Tom Collins wrote *Such Is Life* (1903), a work of exceptional complexity and breadth. Furphy himself described it as "democratic" in temper with an "offensively Australian" bias. Meanwhile, in 1901, Miles Franklin published her first novel, *My Brilliant Career*, portraying a young woman determined to pursue an independent life in a male-oriented society.

Among the poets born in the second half of the 19th century, Victor Daley early established a reputation as a lyricist, but the work of John Shaw Neilson and Hugh McCrae proved more durable. McCrae stands as the most accomplished verbal artist of his generation, although his contemporaries William Baylebridge (pseudonym of William Blocksidge) and Bernard O'Dowd were poets of intellectual force. Another intellectual, and a poet almost entirely divorced from his environment, was Christopher Brennan. Furnley Maurice (pseudonym of

AUSTRALIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

Peter Weir's film *Picnic at Hanging Rock* (1975) was based on an Australian novel inspired by an Australian painting. The film was the first from "down under" to win rave reviews overseas.

Frank L. T. Willmot) can be said to have been the first to develop a style that was at once poetically acceptable and genuinely Australian. The poems of Dame Mary Gilmore showed a strong social content as well as a marked lyrical gift.

Among descriptive works, *We of the Never-Never* (1908) by Jeanne (Mrs. Aeneas) Gunn is a simple account of the author's experience in the Northern Territory in the early 1900's. *My Crowded Solitude* (1926) by Jack McLaren tells of the author's lonely life as a planter in northernmost Queensland. *The Confessions of a Beachcomber* (1908) by Edmund James Banfield won recognition, as did a later work, *The Pea Pickers* (1942) by Eve Langley. Also of interest is *On the Wool Track* (1910) by Charles E. W. Bean, which presents an engagingly veracious description of the dry pastoral country of New South Wales.

Based as it was on the secluded distinctiveness of the outback, the early national movement lost its momentum as modern transportation and communications developed. From 1905 to about 1925 little of note was produced in longer forms. An exception was *The Fortunes of Richard Mahony* (trilogy, 1917–1929), a classic treatment of the theme of immigration and assimilation, by Henry Handel Richardson (pseudonym of Henrietta Richardson).

Beginning in the late 1920's, however, a steady stream of novels of quality appeared. Among the earliest were Katharine Susannah Prichard's *Working Bullocks* (1926), set in Western Australia, and *A House Is Built* (1929) by M. Barnard Eldershaw (pseudonym of Marjorie Barnard and Flora Eldershaw in collaboration). Other notable works showing rare descriptive qualities were *The Passage* (1930) by Vance Palmer and *The Man Who Loved Children* (1941) by Christina Stead. One of several writers who employed authentic backgrounds was Frank Dalby Davison, whose stories are set mainly in the cattle country of southern Queensland. The central and northern interior regions formed the scene for works by William Hatfield and Arthur William Upfield, and the latter used that setting for detective stories that brought him a large following abroad. *Capricornia* (1939), the first major novel of Xavier Herbert, dealt with the mistreatment of Aboriginals.

Novels of Australia's developing urban life also made their appearance. Eleanor Dark, the first novelist to make use of latter-day urban scenes, published *Prelude to Christopher* (1934), *Return to Coolami* (1936), and other fiction with strong psychological overtones, while sociological implications were strong in novels of the Depression years by Kylie Tennant. *Flesh in Armour* (1932) by Leonard Mann, a story of Australian troops in World War I, is still the most notable Australian war novel. *We Were the Rats* (1944) by Lawson Glassop deals with the Tobruk campaign of 1941–1942 in North Africa. *The Winds Are Still* (1947) by John Hetherington concerns the escape of Australian soldiers from Greece following the German invasion, as is *The Sea Eagle* (1944) by James Aldridge. The English writer Nevil Shute introduced Australian settings for some of the popular novels he wrote after settling in the Commonwealth in 1950.

The range and volume of talented, perceptive work increased steadily as leading novelists enlarged their horizons. This trend was earliest and best exemplified in the work of Patrick White. With *The Tree of Man* (1955) and *Voss* (1957), both set in Australia but employing universal themes, he displayed a modern outlook in the use of psychological narrative and exploitation of language. His *Riders in the Chariot* (1961) was built around four misfits in suburban Sydney; his short-story collection *The Burnt Ones* (1964) dealt with rejection of the "illuminates" by the society in which they are placed. In *The Solid Mandala* (1966), White drew on a body of mythic and visionary material derived from Carl Jung's observations and writings; in subsequent fiction, including *The Eye of the Storm* and *The Cockatoos*, White extended his view of the struggle against the "dreary everyday life." In 1973, White was named Australia's first Nobel laureate for literature.

Meanwhile, three Australian writers established reputations abroad. The novelist Morris West wrote award-winning bestsellers such as *The Devil's Advocate* (1959) and *Shoes of the Fisherman* (1963). Shirley Hazzard reached a pinnacle with her novel *The Transit of Venus* (1980), an ambitious family narrative with multilayered meanings. Alan Moorehead, in *The White Nile* (1960) and *The Blue Nile* (1962) traced the exploration of Africa's longest river; his *Cooper's Creek* (1963) recounted a tragic epi-

sode of inland Australian exploration; and *The Fatal Impact* (1966) reassessed the European incursion into the South Pacific.

In poetry a new phase had opened in the 1930's with the appearance of Robert David FitzGerald and Kenneth Slessor, whose works revealed the rare gift each possessed for imparting color and creating images. They were joined in the 1950's by other mature poets—notably Judith Wright, a lyricist emphasizing imagery and commanding a rare mastery of technique; and Alec Derwent Hope, a sometimes wild romantic with a preference for severely classical forms. James McAuley won acclaim for his epic poem *Captain Quiros* (1964), and Vincent Buckley in *New Land for My Family* (1966) linked the quest for an earthly paradise with the dreams of Australian immigrants in general.

An assault on traditional unquestioning attitudes in Australia intensified in the early 1970's, extending beyond the mass media to books revealing a sense of unsatisfied quest: Ronald Conway's *The Great Australian Stupor* (1971) and Ian Moffit's *The U-Jack Society* (1972) portrayed a nation glorifying itself and obsessed with day-to-day affairs. With *The Female Eunuch* (1970), Germaine Greer came to rank as an international pacemaker in the advancement of women's status.

Several trends were evident in Australian literature by this time. Leading writers were showing greater awareness of the world scene, and the distinction between "Australian" and "international" writing blurred. The work of many of the newer authors—Thomas Keneally, Christopher Koch, David Malouf, Blanche d'Alpuget, Robert Drewe, and others—ranged between Australia and foreign countries in themes and settings. Increasingly novelists concerned themselves with the urban and suburban scene and the changes brought about by postwar immigration.

Generous grants and fellowships awarded by the Literary Board of the Australia Council spurred creativity. The interest in Australian films, many based on literary works or historical events, heightened international awareness of Australia's culture and helped authors find American and British publishers. Colleen McCullough's novel *The Thorn Birds* (1977) was on American bestseller lists for over a year. But the foreign market was not restricted to sagas of life on a sheep ranch early in the 20th century. David Ireland, for example, signed up his surrealistic *A Woman of the Future* (1979) in New York, as did Peter Carey his *Illywhacker* (1985), with a multitude of Australian colloquialisms working to its advantage. By then Australian literature was acknowledged to possess qualities that had made it a distinctive addition to the Western mainstream, and it was substantial and important enough to be studied at universities abroad.

Theater and Dance. The 1950's and 1960's brought a burgeoning of the nation's achievement in the performing arts. The Elizabethan Theatre Trust, created in 1954, provided sponsorship for drama, ballet, and opera. The National Institute of Dramatic Art, which followed, brought steady technical gains. The broad advance was extended in the years that followed.

From the earliest days of settlement, efforts were made to provide dramatic entertainment. The first play was an improvised performance (1789) of George Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer*. In 1833 a properly constituted theater was opened in Sydney. A series of "Dramatic Amusements" was announced in the same year in Hobart, and in 1837 the Royal Victoria Theatre (later renamed the Theatre Royal) was built there by public subscription. Adelaide had a theater in 1838, and plays were first presented in Perth at about that time. Melbourne's first theater was opened in 1841. By 1856, Sydney had three theaters in full production, and during Melbourne's boom in the late 19th century many of the world's leading artists played to packed houses.

Actors from Britain and the United States brought their talents for theatrical organization to Australia. George Selth Coppin, a British actor who arrived in 1843, appeared in Sydney, Hobart, and Adelaide before settling in Melbourne, where he won distinction as actor and entrepreneur. Another influential figure was Bland Holt, Australian-born but British-trained, who presented some spectacular productions. The most far-reaching influence was achieved by the American actor-manager James Cassius Williamson, who reached Melbourne in 1874. In 1884 he joined two English managers, Arthur Garner and George Musgrove, to form the Comic Opera Company, a dominant force for four decades. Fresh companies were brought in, theaters were built, and such international celebrities as Sarah Bernhardt and Irene Vanbrugh appeared. Shakespearean plays and Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, as well as comedy melodramas and such dramatic successes as the younger Dumas' *Camille* and Ibsen's *A Doll's House,* were presented. Nor did the local theater depend solely on imported talent, for a number of Australian stars developed, among them Nellie Stewart, who began her career in the 1870's, and Oscar Asche, who made several tours of his homeland between successful engagements in Britain and the United States.

Interest in the theater flagged under the impact of motion pictures, however, and many theaters were converted to film showings. After 1930 commercial stage presentations were confined mainly to such assured successes as musical comedies and light plays. Significant drama was found only in the smaller theaters. The little-theater movement, made up largely of amateur groups but including semiprofessionals and some professionals, helped to keep interest alive, and the Independent and Metropolitan theaters in Sydney and the Arrow and Union theaters and the National Theatre Movement in Melbourne gave excellent productions of classical and modern plays. It was in small theaters that native playwrights found some support, although their work generally had literary rather than theatrical value. Greater success was achieved in radio drama, which received encouragement from the Australian Broadcasting Commission.

Interest in serious theater revived after World War II. Great English actors—Dame Sybil Thorndyke, Sir Lewis Casson, Sir Ralph Richardson, and Sir Laurence Olivier—visited Australia. Hopes that Australia was about to produce distinctive drama were encouraged by the success of *Summer of the Seventeenth Doll* by Ray Lawler, which was presented in Melbourne and Sydney in 1956 and became the first local drama to achieve broad success in the theater and to be well received in London and New York. *The Shifting Heart* (1957) by Richard Beynon did

well in London, and *The One Day of the Year* (1960) by Alan Seymour scored a success in several European capitals.

In the main cities, drama was kept alive in professional repertory or little theaters, which provided a stage for Australian plays as well as for experimental or controversial work from abroad. Adelaide's biennial Festival of Arts encouraged Australian playwriting. The Adelaide University Theatre Guild staged Patrick White's *The Ham Funeral* (1960), *Season at Sarsaparilla* (1962), and *Night on Bald Mountain* (1964).

Dramatic creativity gained strength in the 1970's, when composers and choreographers as well as playwrights contributed to the national achievement. Television drama production units expanded, providing training and employment for writers and performers.

Federal funds helped support theater companies and dramatists. Early beneficiaries were professional theater companies—the Melbourne Theatre Company and Sydney's Old Tote, both of which had developed from semiprofessional repertory companies. These were followed by companies in other states: the Queensland Theatre Company, the South Australian Theatre Company, the National Theatre at the Playhouse (all in Perth), and the Tasmanian Theatre Company. Each toured with productions within its state. "Alternative" theater companies sprang up in Melbourne and Sydney.

The works of Australian playwrights were the mainstay of the new companies. Patrick White wrote *Big Toys* (1977), *Signal Drive*, and *Netherwood* (both in 1982). David Williamson, who first became known in 1970 with *The Coming of Stork*, had 10 plays performed (several of them commissioned) within 10 years; four were staged in London. Other playwrights were Jack Hibberd, Alexander Buzo, Dorothy Hewitt, and Steve J. Spears, whose *The Elocution of Benjamin Franklin* was taken to New York and London with its Australian star Gordon Chater. Thomas Keneally gained attention in 1972 with *The Chant of Jimmie Blacksmith*, which was made into a successful film. Keneally later established himself as an author and playwright with a solid following in the United States.

Beginning in the 1970's, some entertainers turned their talents to television caricature of Australian stereotypes. The exemplars of "Ockerism"—glorification of the uncouth Australian working man, a male chauvinist with boorish manners, but good-natured and resourceful—were Paul Hogan and Gary ("Norm Gunston") McDonald.

A significant aspect of the theatrical scene is the sustained popularity of ballet. The initial impetus was given by a tour that Col. Vasili de Basil's Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo made of Australia in 1936. Thereafter, Australian groups developed. Among them were the Borovansky Ballet, founded in Melbourne by Édouard Borovansky, a member of the Monte Carlo group who left the cast in 1939, and the Bodenweiser Ballet, a modern expressive dance group that reached Australia in 1939. After Borovansky's death (1959) direction of his company was taken over by English dancer Dame Peggy van Praagh, who in 1962 became the first artistic director of the Australian Ballet Company, an internationally acclaimed national company and advanced ballet school established with government support. She was joined in 1965 as codirector by dancer-choreographer Sir Robert Helpmann, who had returned after 30 years in London. By this time Marilyn Jones, the company's *première danseuse* and afterward its director (1979–1982), was being hailed as Australia's first truly classical ballerina.

The Australian Ballet developed a diverse repertoire of more than 100 works. One of its most widely acclaimed of its modern ballets was Helpmann's *The Display*, based on the courtship of the lyrebird. The score is by the Australian composer Malcolm Williamson, and the sets by the Australian artist Sidney Nolan.

Motion Pictures. Although motion pictures were made in Australia from the earliest days of the cinema, few Australian films gained serious attention from the rest of the world until the 1970's. Earlier reliance on exaggerated provincialism coupled with inexpensive production quickly gave way to substantial films made with sensitivity and possessing broad appeal.

Increased interest in filmmaking beyond the routine began with federal backing provided from 1969. The growth of the television industry built up both skills and incentive, and in 1975 a federally funded Film Commission provided organizational backing.

Peter Weir's haunting *Picnic at Hanging Rock* (1975), based on Joan Lindsay's novel (itself inspired by a painting by William Ford), was the first film to gain rave reviews overseas. Fred Schepisi's *The Chant of Jimmie Blacksmith*, a film about racial bigotry scripted by Thomas Keneally from his play, and Gillian Armstrong's *My Brilliant Career* (1979), adapted from Miles Franklin's classic feminist novel (1901), handled subjects based on factual material with which viewers in other countries could identify. War themes were powerfully handled in Bruce Beresford's *Breaker Morant* (1980) and Weir's *Gallipoli* (1981), the latter scripted by David Williamson. Uncompromisingly "commercial" themes were the basis of the success enjoyed by George Miller's *Mad Max* (1979) and *The Road Warrior* (or *Mad Max 2*, 1981). A notable television production was Hector Crawford's adaptation (1981) of Nevil Shute's *A Town Like Alice*, which had been made into a film in Britain in 1956. Highly successful film festivals were held annually in Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide.

Interest in documentary film production faded after some successes of the 1940's and early 1950's—notably the officially backed *Kokoda Trail* (1942), *School in the Mailbox* (1948), and *Down in the Forest* (1953), and the Shell Oil Company's *Back of Beyond* (1953). Distribution of educational films is handled in each state by a state-funded film center.

Music. Music is one of the most highly developed arts in Australia, and many of the country's singers and instrumentalists have become celebrated. Beginning in the 1870's, when rich talent first appeared, singers went abroad to be acclaimed; later, instrumentalists and composers also achieved world recognition. Teaching—instrumental, vocal, and theoretical—is of a high standard, and the effects of close cooperation with educational authorities are reflected in the fine work in music that is a feature of both primary and secondary schools.

Melbourne's Philharmonic Society, a choral group, was founded in 1853, and choral music of a high order has also been produced in Sydney and Adelaide. The development of orchestral

music dates from 1888, when a full orchestra under Sir Frederick Cowen was brought to Melbourne, where it gave 241 concerts in six months. In 1890, Adelaide became the first Australian city to have a chair of music at its university. The University of Melbourne created one in the following year, and by 1895 it also had a conservatory directed by its professor of music—the country's first great musical personality, George W. L. Marshall-Hall. Besides founding and conducting an orchestra, he later organized his own conservatory, which provided performers and teachers whose influence on Australian musical life has been great.

In 1906, Alberto Zelman founded the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra, which he conducted until his death. The University Symphony Orchestra, recruited from past and current students, and the University Conservatorium Orchestra were combined in 1932 under Sir Bernard Heinze to form a new Melbourne Symphony Orchestra. Meanwhile, in Sydney the State Conservatorium of Music of New South Wales had been established in 1916 under Henri Verbrugghen, who added distinction to the school by forming a string quartet.

Beginning in 1870 opera attracted sizable audiences. Companies from other countries presented French and Italian works and, later, those of Richard Wagner. One of the greatest of all operatic performers, soprano Dame Nellie Melba, heads (chronologically) a long list of Australian singers who have won international fame. Making her operatic debut in Brussels in 1887, she later returned to Australia for many visits. Melba (Helen Porter Mitchell, who took her stage name from "Melbourne") did much to stimulate Australian musical life. So too did soprano Dame Joan Sutherland, after returning in 1965 as the star of her own touring company. The Sydney Opera House, opened by Queen Elizabeth (in 1973), provides an opulent setting for a wide range of entertainments.

The greatest single impetus to professional music came with the establishment in 1932 of the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC), which fostered wider appreciation of music and helped to provide greater opportunities for performers. An enthusiastic and discerning following developed. The ABC presents eminent soloists from Europe and the United States, and it has created in each of the states symphony orchestras that together provide about 750 concerts and recitals annually, although not all are broadcast. In addition, financial support from its subscribers and sponsors has made possible tours by Australian artists. Resident and visiting conductors of world standing have helped to build up the orchestras, which provide assured employment for trained musicians. Wider audiences have been developed through the children's orchestral concerts founded in Melbourne in 1929 by Sir Bernard Heinze. In smaller cities, state and municipal authorities have also helped to support symphony orchestras.

In the mid-1950's the Musica Viva Society began bringing to Australia many leading chamber ensembles from Europe and the United States as well as sponsoring tours in Australia and abroad of Australian chamber groups. A considerable range of new works were introduced.

Several Australian composers gained recognition before 1945. The innovative Percy Grainger, although best known for his arrangements of English folk melodies, experimented in "free music" featuring unconventional rhythms and sonorities. Arthur Benjamin, also noted for his light music, abandoned his characteristic joviality in profounder late works, as in his only symphony. Alfred Hill's prolific output was not generally experimental, but in some compositions he was influenced by the music and legends of the New Zealand Maori and Australian Aboriginals.

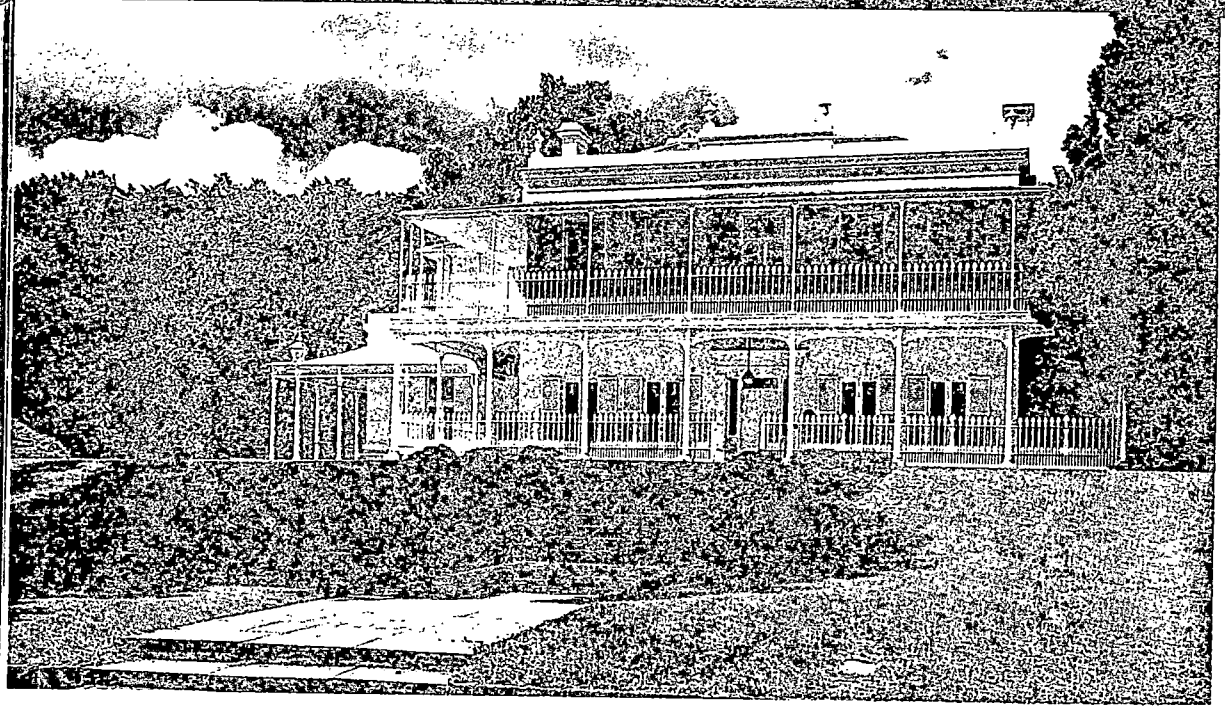
THE AUSTRALIAN OPERA

The Australian diva Joan Sutherland won universal acclaim, as her compatriot Nellie Melba had done before her.

Grainger and Benjamin made their reputations overseas and spent most of their productive years abroad, as did some notable composers of later generations, such as Don Banks, Peggy Glanville-Hicks, and Malcolm Williamson. On the other hand, Felix Werder, George Dreyfus, and Larry Sitsky were born in Europe and made their careers mainly in Australia. Of the Australian-born resident composers who made their names from the 1950's onward, the most frequently performed outside their own country were Peter Sculthorpe and Richard Meale. In their different ways, both adapted traditional East Asian music to advanced Western idioms—Sculthorpe in his *Sun Music* and Meale in his *Images (Naugata)*. In *Irkanda* and other works, Sculthorpe evoked the feeling of Aboriginal myth and folklore, as John Anthill had done with the spirit of native dance music in his popular ballet suite *Corroboree*. Aboriginal music, known to be of great antiquity, has attracted some public attention but is left to Aboriginal performers.

Jazz and popular music have a big following in Australia. The first jazz group to achieve international recognition was the Dixieland band of pianist Graeme Bell, which was acclaimed for decades. Among the later jazz combos, attention focused on the Don Burrows quartet.

Many of the world's top popular entertainers have included Australia on their itineraries since the 1960's. The visit of the Beatles opened the way for an avid rock following. By the 1970's



© ERIC CRICHTON BRUCE COLEMAN INC.

Como House (1864) is a colonial mansion in Melbourne. The warm climate made verandas popular in Australia.

numerous Australian recording artists and writers were active in rock, folk, and country music. Some gained a considerable recognition abroad—notably the Bee Gees. Other names that appeared on world recording charts included Peter Allen, Lana Cantrell, Slim Dusty, Johnny Farnham, Rolf Harris, Frank Ifield, Olivia Newton-John, Johnny O'Keefe, Helen Reddy, and the Seekers.

Architecture. The earliest buildings in Australia were mere shelters. It was some time before the use of local hardwoods was mastered and Sydney's fine sandstone was shaped for the first substantial structures. Francis Howard Greenway, an English architect who arrived in Sydney in 1814, achieved a strong and simple architectural expression. His style, now known as colonial, was a transition from the Georgian with modifications in the form of verandas to suit the Australian climate. Buildings of some charm were produced in Hobart. Meanwhile, in the hinterland, the country home was developing, as the first rough shelters were replaced by more permanent and spacious buildings with extensive verandas. At first roofs were made of split shingles, but the danger of fire in a dry summer brought about the use of corrugated galvanized iron sheets.

The Gothic Revival style, everywhere considered a proper form for churches, appeared on the Australian scene in the mid-19th century. Impressive public buildings were constructed in the various styles of the Victorian period in the capitals of all the prefederation colonies. The most remarkable were those of Melbourne, which were built in the grand period of the city's expansion, from the 1850's to 1890. The city's commercial buildings, some 11 or 12 stories high, included the world's tallest in their day.

Terrace houses were built in large numbers in the late 19th century. These rows of two-story attached dwellings, sometimes with balconies decorated in wrought-iron filigree, still lend charm to older residential areas of large cities. With suburban expansion, starting in the 1920's, the individual one-story bungalow (cottage) derived from California became the characteristic type of domestic architecture. House plans showed great uniformity until the 1950's, when more varied layouts were adopted.

An architect whose work had a continuing influence was Walter Burley Griffin of Chicago, whose design for the national capital, Canberra, won a worldwide competition in 1912. He also designed many buildings in Melbourne and Sydney. After World War I the first organized architectural schools were founded. The University of Sydney established a complete course of study, and the University of Melbourne a less extensive one; both relied on on-the-job training in practical building.

Young architects increasingly traveled in Europe and the United States. In commercial building, functional styles following international trends have come to the fore. In domestic architecture, the individual dwelling is still favored, and relatively few high-rise apartment blocks have been built except in Sydney, Melbourne, and the Gold Coast resort area in Queensland.

After 1945 three Melbourne architects—Roy Grounds, Frederick Romberg, and Robin Boyd—were major forces in inculcating contemporary trends in domestic architecture and in large-scale projects. Grounds was responsible for the highly individual design of Melbourne's Victorian Arts Centre, comprising the National Gallery of Victoria and the State Theatre. Australia's "signature" structure, the harborside Sydney Opera House (1958–1973), was the concept of Danish architect Joern Utzon. Its vaulting white-tiled roof structures simulate billowing sails.

In the late 1960's, John Andrews won international recognition and important commissions in North America. He was also the principal designer of some of Australia's most innovative buildings. His King George Tower in Sydney is a triangular-plan office development with an open forecourt integrated with the sidewalks and streets of the intersection at which it stands.

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Elaborate sunshields protect the tower's ceiling-to-floor glass walls and add a powerful note.

Painting and Drawing. Prehistoric art in Australia consists mainly of paintings and carvings on rock. Some engravings are estimated to date back over 20,000 years.

Among the earliest representations of the Australian scene by Europeans are sketches made by the topographical draftsmen who accompanied Capt. James Cook to the continent in 1770. The scientific recording of fauna and flora followed, and explorers who pushed inland usually made sketches that were reproduced in the books about their journeys. After 1835, when an art school was established in Sydney, the field widened slightly, and with the expansion of the pastoral (grazing) industry, landholders and merchants were able to lend limited patronage to the arts.

Conrad Martens, a 19th century landscape painter, produced some delicate watercolors in which he used space, light, and color well. Other painters attempted to capture the adventurous pioneering life of the pastoralists. Their works, reproduced or exhibited in England, helped to stimulate the interest of prospective migrants. With the discovery of gold in 1851, artists depicted life in the mining fields. Representative of this period was Samuel Thomas Gill, whose popular lithographs give a vivid picture of colonial life and manners. Among other artists of quality were John Skinner Prout, William Strutt, and Nicholas Chevalier. Still, little progress was made in interpreting the Australian environment until the arrival in 1865 of Louis Buvelot, the "father of Australian landscape painting."

Victoria, growing rapidly, set up a commission on the fine arts in 1863 and schools of art and design in 1867. In the 1870's national galleries were established in Melbourne and other colonial capitals. These moves, combined with an appreciable degree of local patronage, made possible the emergence of an Australian art form, a development that coincided with the growth of the national spirit in writing. What Henry Lawson did with his pen to stimulate a national sentiment based on the rural tradition, Frank Mahony furthered in painting and drawing.

During his stay in Europe, Tom Roberts had become interested in the work of the French Impressionists. After his return to Melbourne in 1885, he and a group of painters that included Frederick McCubbin, Sir Arthur Streeton, and Charles Conder created a new form of Australian painting by interpreting the landscape according to Impressionist principles.

In the 1890's an economic crisis made it difficult for artists to sell their work, and by 1900 many of those who had helped develop an Australian approach had gone abroad. Conder, George Washington Lambert, Rupert Bunny, and Emanuel Phillips Fox won recognition abroad. In Australia, lighter and more tonal watercolors by such artists as Blamire Young, Norman A. W. Lindsay, and Jesse J. Hilder became increasingly popular.

A munificent bequest made by Alfred Felton to the National Gallery of Victoria in 1904 was of some assistance to Australian painters, although the bulk of the money was spent on foreign works. In 1916 the periodical *Art in Australia* was established by Sydney Ure Smith, who was to play an important role in gaining a wider critical following for art.

COLLECTION: AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL GALLERY, CANBERRA

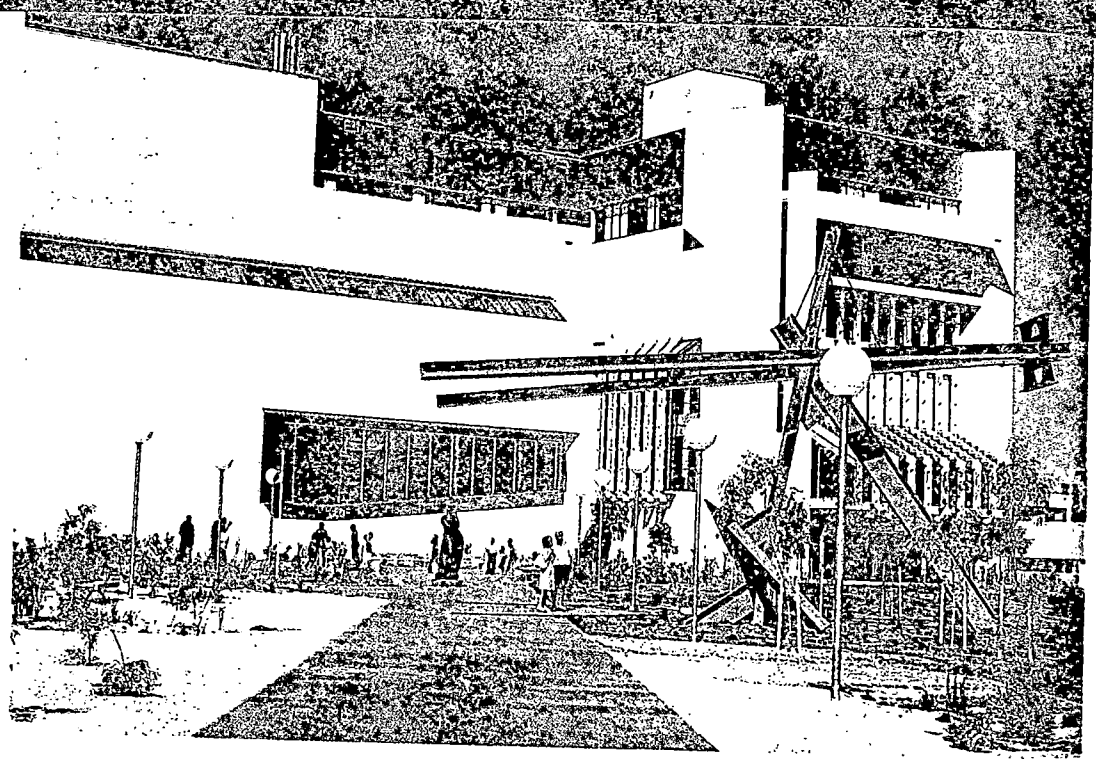
Burning at Glenrowan (1947) is one of Sidney Nolan's paintings on the exploits of outlaw folk-hero Ned Kelly.

By the 1920's, although some excellent work was being done by the leading landscapists, the Australian style was becoming stereotyped. One of the few innovators was Sir Hans Heysen, known for his gnarled eucalyptuses set against immense distances. Another was Kenneth Macqueen, one of the first painters to search for design and rhythm in the Australian landscape.

In 1926 the Contemporary Art Group was formed in Sydney; and in 1931, George Bell and Arnold Shore founded an art school in Melbourne. Following successful exhibitions of contemporary British and French works, Australia's Contemporary Art Society was founded in 1938.

In the 1940's artists returning from study abroad adopted more advanced styles, set new national standards, and produced work that was at once subjective, Australian, and of high quality. The main function of Australian painting was no longer to reveal the country's natural beauties to the ordinary citizen. Sir William Dobell led the advance with distinctive though controversial portraits, while George Russell Drysdale drew on the special character of the "great Australian loneliness," presenting attenuated figures dramatically isolated against the astringent ocher-red inland landscape. The surge of artistic energy was matched by public enthusiasm and support for work that was novel in Australia.

The greater freedom and boldness won acclaim overseas. In the 1960's leading reviewers in London were conceding that over a generation Australian artists had made a "major contribution to modern painting" while bringing about "the birth of a national school." Sidney Nolan ranked as an exemplar. He concentrated on extreme



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The Australian National Gallery, designed by a Sydney architectural firm, was opened in Canberra in 1982.

simplification of expression in his landscapes as well as in several series of paintings: on colonial legends based on exploits of the 19th century bushranger (rural outlaw) Ned Kelly; on Australia's involvement in World War I at Gallipoli, in Turkey; and on Australian activity in Antarctica. Others gaining acclaim for sharpness of vision and energy in execution included Arthur Boyd, a painter of mysterious allegories in dark and tangled bushscapes, and Albert Tucker, who offered his own symbolic versions of the national scene. By the late 20th century Frederick Williams and dozens of other Australian painters had won recognition for work reflecting an identifiably Australian vision or one expressed in varied international styles.

Cartooning and other black-and-white work have been features of Australian art since the 1890's, when the *Bulletin* began to support a group of first-rate men. Among the most notable exponents of this school, most of whom were connected with the *Bulletin*, were Phil May, Norman A. W. Lindsay, Sir Lionel Lindsay, William Henry Dyson, David Low, and Livingston Hopkins, an American who became known as Hop. Later artists, particularly some who came from Europe, were responsible for new progress in a form of expression that in Australia has traditionally shown great vitality.

Sculpture. Until the mid-19th century, Australian sculptors followed the British tradition. Charles Summers, a Briton, created a huge bronze memorial in Melbourne to the ill-fated Burke and Wills exploration of northern Australia that ended disastrously at Cooper Creek in 1861. The first Australian-born sculptor to be acclaimed at home and abroad was Sir Bertram Mackennal. He and other sculptors received commissions to decorate buildings and gardens, but major commissions were few and sculpture barely survived until the mid-20th century, when interest in it revived. The Victorian Sculptors' Society, which had been discontinued, was formed again in Melbourne in 1947. Lyndon Dadswell, who was the head teacher of sculpture at East Sydney Technical College from 1938 to 1949, had great influence. The college became an important training ground for sculptors.

Acceptance of modernism came slowly until the 1950's, when commissions increased with growing prosperity. Ola Cohn and Daphne Mayo were in the vanguard; more conservative contemporaries included George Allen, Andor Meszaros, and Thomas Dwyer Bass. Expensive sculpture, often showing considerable innovative talent as well as technical excellence, was produced for many shopping complexes as well as important new government and commercial buildings. Sculpture courses expanded, with many of the younger sculptors becoming teachers. A triennial sculpture exhibition at Mildura (Victoria), begun in 1961, helped expand interest in and support for the more radical developments.

Museums and Libraries. Museums in all state capitals have extensive collections; most are strong in materials relating to the natural history and anthropology of Australia and the South Pacific. In Canberra the Australian War Memorial houses a large collection from all wars in which Australian armed forces have fought. Folk museums in many centers emphasize the pioneering tradition. Pioneer settlements and gold-rush towns have been authentically reconstructed. The two major art museums in Melbourne and Sydney have internationally important collections thanks to the Felton and J. J. W. Power bequests. In 1982 the federally funded Australian National Gallery was opened in Canberra.

Reference and municipal lending libraries and services are strongly developed in all states. The State Library of New South Wales holds more than 2 million volumes, and both it and the State Library of Victoria have extensive 19th century materials. Specialist libraries for commercial, scientific, and broadly academic purposes

have undergone considerable expansion.

Publishing. A free and vigorous press has been a feature of Australian life since early in the settlement of the country. Although official policy and requirements were reflected in the first newspaper—the four-page *Sydney Gazette* issued by the government printer, George Howe, in 1803—an independent newspaper, the *Australian,* was published in Sydney by William Charles Wentworth in 1824. Wentworth clashed with Gov. Sir Ralph Darling, who in 1827 sought to enact a law under which newspapers could be issued only if they were licensed. This act was not certified, and an alternative act imposing a prohibitive stamp duty was not enforced. From that time on the press was free from government control. The *Australian* ceased publication in 1850, and the oldest surviving newspapers in the country are the *Sydney Morning Herald* (founded in 1831) and the Melbourne *Herald* (1840).

Ownership of most city newspapers has been transferred from families to public companies. While political comment tends to favor conservative groups, no newspaper is directly the mouthpiece of a political party. Each paper jealously guards its right to an independent point of view, and between elections there is frequently strong criticism of the government.

The leading newspapers maintain bureaus in New York and London and representatives in other centers to supplement the basic news service provided by Australian Associated Press–Reuter, which gives world cable coverage. For Australian news, country papers as well as some metropolitan dailies subscribe to Australian United Press.

Circulation increased after 1945 but suffered a setback in the 1970's with competition from improved radio and television news coverage. Nevertheless Australia continues to rank among the nations with the highest per capita circulation of daily newspapers. Rupert Murdoch's *The Australian,* established in 1964, is the only major national daily; it is published simultaneously in several state capitals. The *Financial Review,* also a daily, serves business.

Periodicals cover a great range. The Australian edition of the *Reader's Digest* has wide circulation, and an Australian edition of *Time* competes with the *Bulletin,* which incorporates a truncated version of *Newsweek. Cleo* and other magazines cater to socially mobile working women. Three widely read magazines written primarily for women are oriented to the family and home.

Among hundreds of publications directed to smaller groups, those dealing with business, investment, rural matters, and sports are most numerous. Many are devoted to technical, scientific, educational, professional, and religious interests, while community matters are aired in suburban weeklies and other local publications.

Reflecting a multiethnic society, over 300 publications appear in 25 or more foreign languages. These range (alphabetically) from Arabic to Vietnamese.

Book publishing has expanded strongly, especially on Australian subjects, which have been taken up by the Australian offshoots of British publishing houses as well as by locally owned enterprises. The government provides an annual "public lending right" payment for all books by Australian authors held in libraries.

Broadcasting. The Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) is wholly funded by the federal government. Ownership of commercial radio and television stations is restricted so that no network monopoly is possible.

The ABC maintains a national news service with its own journalists throughout Australia and in main world centers. It also operates Radio Australia shortwave services in English, French, and seven Asian or Pacific languages. A publicly funded Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) serves Australia's ethnic communities.

After the first telecasting stations were opened in Melbourne and Sydney in 1956, the television industry grew rapidly. For the commercial stations (radio as well as television), sharply expanded programming outlays accompanied the strong increase in advertising revenues generated by Australia's highly competitive consumer society.

Programming tends to follow the patterns prevailing on commercial stations in the United States. On radio, popular music and talk shows (with or without audience participation by telephone) have retained their appeal; broadcasts of art music have declined. Television leans heavily on live sports, major films, comedy and drama series, variety and talk shows, and quiz programs. Many films and series are American or British. Commercial stations devote fewer resources than government-owned stations to cultural programming and current affairs.

R. M. YOUNGER
Author of "Australia and the Australians"

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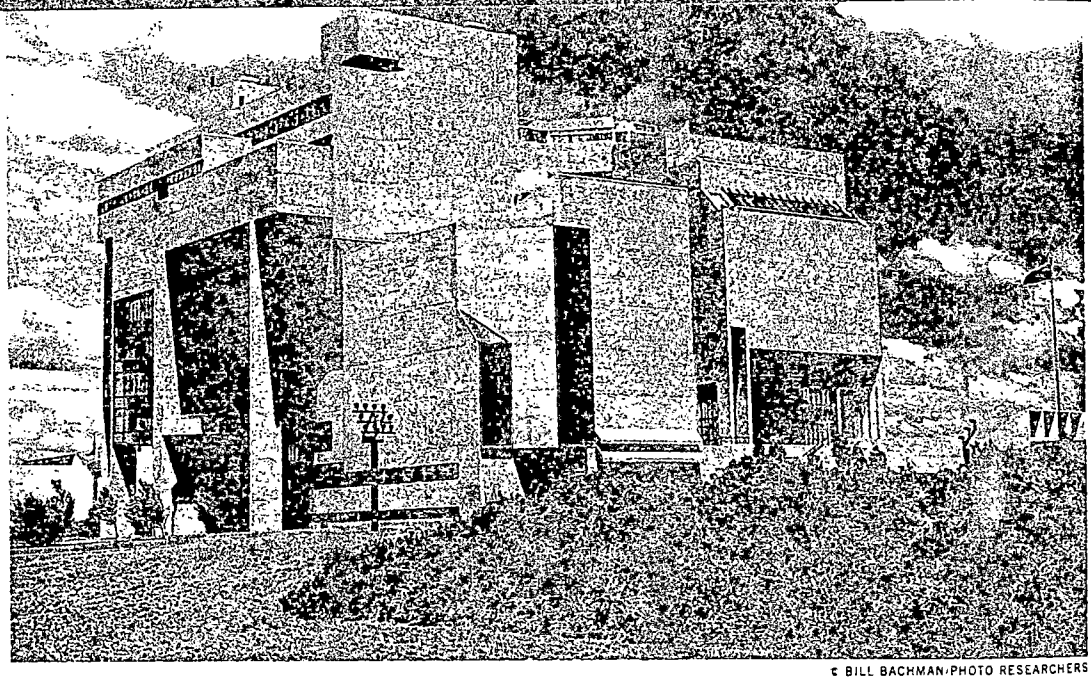

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A new building for the High Court of Australia was completed in 1981 in Canberra, the national capital.

5. Government

Australia was united in 1901 by the federation of six self-governing British colonies—New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, and Western Australia—which thereby became states of the indissoluble Commonwealth of Australia. Legislative independence from Britain was a practical reality from 1901 onward and was formally acknowledged in the 1931 Statute of Westminster, in which the British Parliament guaranteed that it would not legislate for Australia except at the Commonwealth government's request.

Australia's perception of its unique character and position in the world was heightened by its World War II experience, by great postwar immigration programs, and by the expansion of Asian and Pacific trade after the 1960's. Diplomatic missions overseas increased from three in 1939 to over 100 four decades later.

The Commonwealth combines British-style cabinet government, responsible to Parliament, with a U.S.-style written federal constitution that is judicially interpreted. This system has provided political stability as an underpinning for Australia's development and growth.

The power of the federal government has grown steadily since 1901, but the individual states and their governments remain distinct and vital elements of the nation. Increasing central power has stemmed mainly from federal tax dominance (which the states have accepted), from community expectations of greater government services, and from the willingness of most governments to provide those services.

The Commonwealth Parliament moved to Canberra from Melbourne in 1927, and the permanent Parliament House building was designed for Australia's bicentennial in 1988. In the preceding decades, the High Court and virtually all government departments also had moved to Canberra.

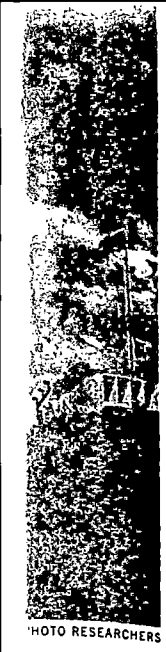
The Constitution. The formation and subsequent evolution of Australia's constitution reflects the conditions under which it came into being. Before agreeing to join a federation, the less populous and wealthy colonies demanded constitutional protection against possible domination of the future central government by New South Wales and Victoria. Consequently, each colony was represented in the constitutional convention by an equal number of popularly elected delegates, who worked out a delicate balance of Commonwealth and state powers.

The Federal Structure. The constitution is the supreme law of the land. As in the United States, it specifies the powers of the federal government, leaving the undefined residue of powers to the states. Valid federal law prevails over state law that conflicts with it.

The constitution identifies more than 40 areas of Commonwealth legislative power, including taxation, trade, tariffs, defense, foreign affairs, currency, banking, insurance, and social security. A power over corporations provides a basis for some price control. The federal government's authority in industrial relations is limited to conciliation and arbitration of labor disputes extending beyond one state. The Commonwealth has no specific power to regulate wages, except those of federal employees.

Some clauses of the constitution have proved to be of particularly great significance. Section 92, which makes trade and commerce among the states "absolutely free," has often thwarted both Commonwealth and state governments, and it prevents many monopolies. Section 96 states that the Commonwealth may give financial assistance to any state on such terms as Parliament "thinks fit." The High Court's literal interpretation of this provision permits the federal government to tie such grants to the fulfillment of certain conditions that it may set for a state. In this way the Commonwealth has been able to intervene in areas such as education, where it has no specific or inherent constitutional power.

Constitutional Amendment. Judicial interpretation is a major source of constitutional evolution. The initiative to propose formal amendments to the constitution rests with the government of the day. A proposed amendment must be passed by



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During the first 85 years of federation, 38 constitutional referendums were held and eight amendments were approved. Centralists—persons who favor expanded authority for the federal government—have disliked the constitution from its inception, but the people have usually rejected any amendments that were perceived to enlarge Commonwealth authority. Labor governments, which favor increased central power, succeeded in obtaining wide Commonwealth control over social services, but all other amendments that they placed before the people over the period were defeated in referendum.

Executive Authority. As in Britain, the prime minister is the head of government and all the government's ministers must be members of Parliament. Any government that lost the support of the lower house of Parliament would have to resign.

The British monarch is also the Australian monarch. The governor-general, who acts as an independent representative of the crown and is de facto head of state, is appointed by the monarch on the advice of the Australian prime minister. The functions of the governor-general are similar to those of the monarch in Britain, but with the powers of the office stated in Australia's written constitution.

Parliament. The Commonwealth Parliament consists of a Senate, a House of Representatives, and the monarch. Both chambers are elected by popular vote, and their constitutional powers are the same except that the Senate cannot initiate or amend money bills.

As long as a government remains in office, it invariably and of necessity controls the House of Representatives, though often not the Senate. This executive control and the strong party discipline of House members tend to diminish the direct impact of the House of Representatives on government policy. Nevertheless, reputations can be made and broken in the House, and skillful use of the daily question time and censure motions can put real pressure on the government.

Voting is compulsory in Australia. The Senate is half the size of the lower house, and voters in each state elect equal numbers of senators—12 after 1984—to represent them. A state constitutes a single senatorial district represented by all 12 senators.

Seats in the House of Representatives are distributed among the states in proportion to their population, but each state is allotted a minimum of five seats—a provision that now applies only to the smallest, Tasmania. For the election of members of the House, the states are divided into electoral districts called constituencies, with boundaries drawn to contain an approximately equal number of voters nationwide (except, necessarily, in Tasmania). The boundaries are redefined every seven years by independent commissioners. Each of the two territories elects two delegates to the Senate and two to the House of Representatives.

Three years is the maximum term of office in the House of Representatives, but the prime minister often can call an early election. Senators hold office for six years, with half of the Senate coming up for election every three years except when both houses of Parliament are dissolved, which has occurred on several occasions. The governor-general is empowered to dissolve both houses, on advice of the prime minister, when the Senate has twice rejected a bill passed twice by the House of Representatives.

The double dissolution that took place in 1975 has particular interest because it flowed from the dismissal of the Labor (Whitlam) government in that year. A constitutional crisis arose because the Whitlam government was unwilling to advise the governor-general to dissolve both houses and call for an election when the opposition used its power in the Senate to block the passage of appropriation bills. The resulting deadlock was finally resolved when the governor-general (Sir John Kerr) exercised the reserve powers of the crown to dismiss the government. He appointed a caretaker government and dissolved both houses on its advice, so that the whole matter could be dealt with by the people at an election. Great controversy surrounded all these events, but the ensuing election brought the Liberal (Fraser) government to power with a record majority.

Political Parties. In the decades following World War II the Liberal Party of Australia (in coalition with the National Party of Australia) governed the Commonwealth for a substantially greater number of years than its rival, the Australian Labor Party (ALP). A uniform national swing of less than 3% of the voters was usually enough to unseat governments.

The Liberal party is oriented to free enterprise and an individualist philosophy, while the National (formerly Country) party has remained concerned principally with rural matters. The ALP has trade-union affiliations and is more committed to equality and a centralist outlook. Although the argument is often made that the two parties are closer in practice than their ideologies might indicate, there is little doubt that the Labor government of 1972–1975 set a substantially different course from that of Liberal administrations.

The fortunes of minor parties have been checkered. The proportional system of voting used for Senate seats assists small parties and enabled the Democratic Labor Party (DLP) to gain a significant voice in the upper house for more than a decade after it split from the ALP in 1955. In the same way the Australian Democrats achieved important representation in the Senate beginning in the late 1970's.

In House of Representatives elections, minor parties gain some leverage over major parties from the system of preferential voting for members, which ensures that no candidate is elected without a popular majority. Voters cast ballots specifying the order of their preferences among contenders for a particular seat. If no candidate receives over 50% of first preferences, the candidate with the fewest votes is eliminated; then the second preferences specified on his ballots are distributed among the contenders so named as if first preferences. The process continues until one candidate receives more than 50% of the votes. Elections for a considerable number of seats normally are decided in this way, and minor parties achieve bargaining power because they can influence the second-preference votes of their supporters.

Party leaders have assumed an increasingly high profile in election campaigns. The elec-

tions have become more presidential in style and the campaigns have become more professional, especially in the use of communications techniques.

Both major parties have professionally staffed secretariats in Canberra and each state. The annual federal party conferences, most of whose delegates are not parliamentarians, determine party platforms. The Labor platform represents party policy, at least in theory. The Liberal platform states basic principles, and policy rests with the elected parliamentary leadership. The organizational wing of each party preselects parliamentary candidates with varying involvement of branch members.

Cabinet Government. Commonwealth governments contain an average of 26 ministries, and about half of the ministers are members of the inner cabinet. Despite frequent assertions about the increase in the prime minister's power, it is the prime minister and the cabinet members who constitute the executive government. Prime ministers flout the cabinet at their peril.

Liberal ministers are chosen by the prime minister (the party leader). Labor ministers are elected by the members of the parliamentary party, or "caucus" [the ALP's political wing, as distinguished from its industrial wing], but the prime minister allocates portfolios. A significant factor in choosing ministers is the practical requirement that parliamentarians from both houses and from most states be included in any government.

More than 1,000 cabinet decisions are made annually, and a committee system has been developed to rationalize the decision-making process. Collective responsibility, which means that all ministers must publicly support cabinet decisions, is an essential feature of cabinet government. Individual ministers are responsible for policy direction and development within their portfolios, subject to cabinet approval. They are also responsible to Parliament for the implementation of policy within their ministries and for its proper administration by the public (civil) service.

The Public Service. Australia has a large, permanent, professional, and substantially nonpolitical civil service. Although the departments of government are under ministerial control, they have civil servants as permanent heads.

The service ethos demands that the civil bureaucracy serve the government of the day regardless of its political coloration. This neutral professionalism in the public service is vital to the political system. The extent of the bureaucracy's policy influence depends on the incisiveness and policy capacity of ministers.

The Judicial System. Australia has federal, state, and territory courts plus several administrative review bodies. Overall, the courts have enjoyed a very high reputation. Governments often appoint royal commissions headed by judges to report on difficult matters of public concern.

The constitution vests the judicial power of the Commonwealth in the High Court of Australia, which has a chief justice and six other justices, chosen by the government. The mandatory retirement age is 70. Justices can be removed only by the governor-general in council on an address from both houses of Parliament seeking removal on grounds of proved misbehavior or incapacity.

High Court decisions have built up an extensive body of constitutional law. While the balance of interpretation has varied with the composition of the court, the tendency has been to enlarge the powers of the federal government. This trend was epitomized by the Tasmanian Dams decision in 1983. The High Court held that, by virtue of Australia's accession to the World Heritage Convention, the federal government's constitutional power over external affairs entitled the Commonwealth to prevent the state of Tasmania from constructing a hydroelectric scheme in an environmentally significant wilderness area.

New legal mechanisms have been set up in the face of increasing administrative power and other modern developments. Australia has an ombudsman, and the Administrative Appeals Tribunal (1976) can overturn certain decisions made by ministers and other officials. A Human Rights Commission (1981) is charged with promoting and protecting rights as defined in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and related declarations of the United Nations. The right to freedom of information (1982) gives individuals access to many government documents. A National Crimes Commission was established in 1984.

In the absence of a comprehensive system of federal courts, state and territory courts have jurisdiction over much federal law as well as all state or territory law. But the creation of the Federal Court of Australia in 1976, and also the Family Court of Australia, has foreshadowed a more embracing federal court system.

State and Local Government. Each state has a full apparatus of government comparable to that of the Commonwealth: an appointed governor representing the crown, a premier and cabinet, a parliament, a Supreme Court and other courts, and a permanent civil service. The Queensland legislature, unlike the others, is unicameral.

Voters distinguish state from federal issues. As a consequence, they often vote differently in state and federal elections. With only six states in an area of 3 million square miles (7.8 million sq km), state loyalties naturally are considerable.

Formally, the six states are sovereign entities, coequal with the Commonwealth. But the states derive half of their funds from Commonwealth grants and advances. Excluded from taxing income in 1942, they declined the opportunity to do so during the 1970's. State taxes account for a fourth of state revenue. In the order of their importance, these are payroll taxes, stamp duties, and taxes on motor vehicles, gambling, and property.

Typical state outlay is 12% for interest payments, 28% for new fixed assets, and 58% for final-consumption expenditure, of which half is on education and more than a fourth on health and welfare. State authorities operate Australia's major utilities.

Australia has some 900 local governments. Their responsibilities are broadly similar nationwide, although their powers are derived from the state governments. Officials are elected on varying franchises and with varying degrees of major-party involvement. Local governments obtain nearly three fifths of their receipts from local taxes. Their major functions relate to roads, building regulations, municipal libraries, and recreational facilities.

Federal Finance. The Commonwealth budget is, in effect, the most important annual instrument of economic policy. The extent of government spending, taxation, and regulation is high on the agenda of national concerns. Because income tax generates more than half of Commonwealth revenue and is thought to be too high, the introduction of broad-based indirect taxes (such as a wholesale sales tax) has long been considered and has caused much debate. Commonwealth outlays amount to three fourths of all government spending, but over 30% consists of grants to state and local governments.

A need for less regulation, especially in the financial system, was recognized from the late 1970's onward. It led to a reduction in government control of interest rates and greater freedom for financial institutions to respond to market pressures. The Loan Council, which is dominated by the Commonwealth, has given state governments and their authorities more responsibility for their borrowing requirements. The Australian dollar was floated in 1983.

Defense and Foreign Policy. Australia is an independent and aligned nation. Through the American alliance, formally expressed in the ANZUS security treaty with the United States and New Zealand, Australia is part of the Western alliance. In support of regional security, Australia favors minimal Great Power involvement in the Indian Ocean and the Southwest Pacific. Australia also engages in defense cooperation programs with friendly nations in Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific. Australia's participation in several peacekeeping forces around the world shows an international concern extending beyond its region.

The basis of Australian defense policy is a recognition that several possible contingencies could threaten Australia's security. The objective of policy is to increase self-reliance and maintain a mobile, technologically advanced defense force. Increasing emphasis has been placed on the development of defense facilities in Australia's north and west. Permanent military personnel number about 70,000, with reserves averaging about 30,000.

At the end of the 1960's, government policy embraced the concept of an integrated national defense force, but with individual services retaining their identity and functions. The Australian Defense Force Academy was established in Canberra during the 1980's.

Social Services. A comprehensive network of social services is organized and financed by the federal and state governments and by voluntary agencies. The Commonwealth provides the major social-welfare payments, including old age and invalid pensions, unemployment compensation, and also family allowances. Most benefits, but not family allowances, are indexed to inflation. Eligibility for many benefits, such as pensions for the elderly, is subject to both income and assets tests. Payments come from general revenues.

The federal Medicare system, introduced in 1984, is financed by a 1% levy on taxable incomes. Medicare pays 85% of doctor fees and offers limited free public hospitalization. Private insurance covers most other health care.

Generous provision for the needy receives strong public support in Australia, and the welfare lobbies are well organized and vocal. Nevertheless, the rising level of social-service outlays has been a matter of considerable concern. Between the mid-1970's and mid-1980's, for example, payments increased from 21% to 28% of the Commonwealth budget because of extended benefits, higher unemployment, and the aging population. Governments have therefore sought to restrict social-welfare payments to those persons in the greatest need.

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6. The Economy

The Australian economy is advanced, prosperous, and well diversified, with characteristics similar to the industrial economies of North America and Europe. Two features that distinguish it from the economies of most other industrial countries are the importance of the agricultural and mining sectors in earning export revenue and the need for long-term overseas investment funds to assist the financing of economic development. Australia has long been one of the world's leading suppliers of agricultural products, especially wool, wheat, and beef. It has also become one of the world's principal exporters of minerals—notably, iron ore, coal, aluminum, copper, uranium, and mineral sands. Australia's political stability makes it a particularly attractive supplier of commodities.

With the development of abundant natural resources combined with expansion in the industrial and service sectors, the Australian economy had faster average growth rates during the 1960's and 1970's than many of the major Western economies. Economic growth and political stability have given Australians a standard of living comparable with other advanced countries.

The deindustrialization process, common to advanced economies, has been a feature of the changing structure of the Australian economy. Manufacturing's growth rate has fallen significantly—resulting, for example, in the decline of that sector's share of national income from 28% to 18% between 1963 and 1983. Agriculture also experienced a decline, its share of activity dropping from 13% to 4%. In contrast, services and mining expanded strongly, the latter particularly following the mining boom of the mid-1960's to early 1970's. In the 1960's the minerals sector accounted for only 2% of national income, but by the early 1980's its share had reached 5%. During the same period the contribution of the services sector had grown from 57% to 73%.

Another major feature of the economy has been the increasing proportion of national expenditure attributable to the government sector. This virtually doubled in the two decades before 1983 as government assumed a greater role in

providing services and welfare support to the community.

Along with its democratic political system, Australia has developed a basically free-market, private-enterprise economy. The federal, state, and local authorities provide mainly services and infrastructure—often in areas where private industry cannot operate at a profit but where a community benefit can be gained, as in the provision of public transportation. Other major areas of government involvement include electricity, gas, water, telecommunications, postal service, airports, and ports.

AGRICULTURE

Australia is a large, relatively flat, dry country with highly variable weather. Soils, in general, are not notably fertile, and the limited availability of water is a major problem for agriculture. About 65% of Australia's land is used by rural industry: 4% for crops, 5% for sown pastures, and the balance mainly for grazing. Most of the remainder of the country is unoccupied and consists chiefly of desert. Unreliable rainfall and recurrent droughts have always been hazards in Australian farming. With a small population by world standards, any growth in agriculture depends on the export of a large proportion of rural products. Because of its physical and economic environment, Australian agriculture is renowned for "boom-and-bust" seasons.

From the time of European settlement in 1778 until the 1940's, agriculture played a dominant role in the economy. Australia rapidly became self-sufficient in foodstuffs after settlement, and later the rural sector generated the majority of export income. Since the 1940's, Australian agriculture has undergone considerable change as the economy has diversified and grown. Output of farm products has increased steadily with a smaller agricultural work force. Capital and other inputs, such as fuel, fertilizers, and pesticides, have reduced the need for labor.

Crops. A wide range of crops, including wheat, barley, oats, rice, and sugarcane, are grown in Australia. In cultivated area, value of output, and value of exports, wheat is the most important. It contributes as much as 20% or more of rural production and rural export income.

For most of the 19th century wheat was grown for domestic consumption. The extension of railways across the coastal ranges to the present wheat belt, combined with a climb in prices after a slump in the 1890's, boosted wheat production and exports rapidly.

Australian wheat yields vary greatly because of the wide differences in soil types and the erratic rainfall. Yields have improved with the use of phosphatic fertilizers as a phosphorus supplement for soil and the introduction of clover between crops to preserve soil nitrogen. All the wheat produced is marketed through the Australian Wheat Board. This authority pools the grain for sale and markets it by contract to domestic and overseas buyers.

Barley and sugarcane are Australia's next-largest sources of income from crops. Both industries export most of their output. Barley has experienced wide fluctuations in production. Sugarcane grows mainly in a tropical zone in the northeastern state of Queensland. Production is regulated by quotas assigned to the sugar mills, which are sensitive to market conditions.

Other important crops include cotton, coarse grains, rice, oilseeds, and a great variety of vegetables and fruits, including wine grapes.

Wool. The wool industry is internationally recognized for its significant influence on the growth and development of the Australian economy. Australia is the world's largest producer and exporter of wool. Over 90% of the clip is exported in raw form for processing. Wool exports (greasy and processed) represent almost 25% of the total value of Australia's rural exports.

The wool industry grew rapidly because of attractive markets and abundant land suitable for sheep grazing. A gradual spread from the coastal ranges to the semidesert interior occurred in the southern half of the continent. Pastoral management has improved as a result of Australia's technological progress in the industry, including use of better fertilizers and control of disease. These factors contributed to the growth of the sheep population, which reached a peak of 177.8 million in 1970–1971. Afterward the number of sheep was reduced to between 133 and 139 million because of lower wool prices and recurrent droughts.

Some 80% of shorn wool produced in Australia is sold by public auction overseen by the Australian Wool Corporation, a statutory body. The role of the corporation is to promote the orderly and efficient export of wool.

Meat. The meat industry in Australia ranks with the wool and wheat industries in income-earning capacity. Price movements cause shifts in emphasis between meat and wool production as changes in their relative profitability occur.

Beef cattle, the principal source of meat, are concentrated in the northern half of the continent, where conditions are unsuitable for sheep-herding and dairy enterprises. With the advent of modern refrigeration, Australia was able to compete for distant export markets by the 1930's. As a result about half of Australian beef and veal production has been exported. Production and prices have varied considerably.

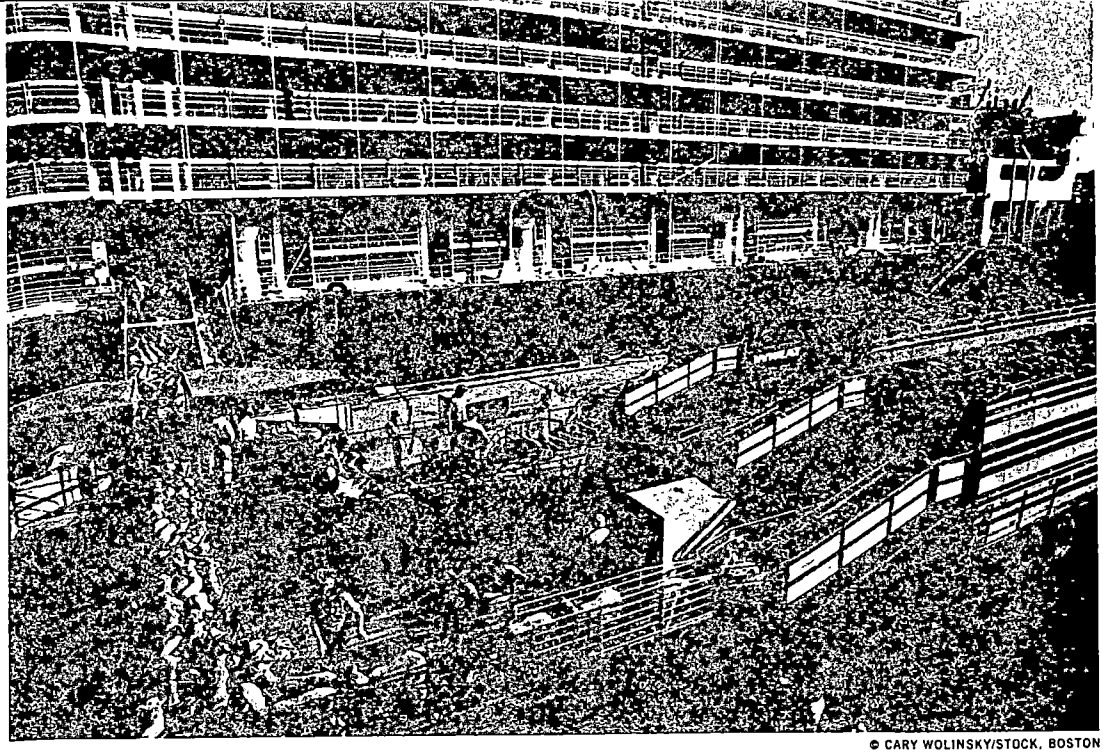
A large proportion of the lamb produced in Australia is consumed domestically, while almost half of the mutton is exported. A major export trade in live sheep has developed with the Middle East.

Output of pork products varies with the availability of feed and with the prices of other meats. Poultry production has expanded rapidly since the 1960's.

Dairying. This industry is concentrated in southeastern Australia, where the combination of soil type and rainfall is conducive to prolific pastoral growth over a large part of the year. Since the mid-1950's, irrigation has been expanded in the drier inland areas to supplement rainfall.

Dairy farms and cows have steadily declined in number since the late 1950's. Milk production, however, continued to increase until 1970 with markedly better average yields due to improved husbandry practices and the concentration of dairying in more favored regions. Since 1970, production has decreased because of oversupplied markets, particularly in Europe.

Forestry. This industry has grown and developed mainly to provide Australia with forestry products, indicating a low income-earning capacity compared to other Australian rural industries. Because of Australia's dry climate, forest cover was limited chiefly to the humid coastal strips



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Sheep are herded onto one of Australia's sheep ships. This one can hold as many as 115,000 head of sheep.

and adjacent highlands of the eastern and southern mainland and to Tasmania. Much of the forested area was cleared by European settlers to make way for agriculture. Today, potentially productive native forests occupy less than 6% of the national territory.

While Australian forest product industries traditionally have depended on native hardwoods (mainly eucalyptus), an increasing reliance is being placed on rapidly expanding softwood (conifer) plantations. The logs extracted from the forests and plantations are processed mainly into sawn timber, plywood, wood-based panels, and paper products. To supplement output, Australia imports large quantities of sawn softwoods and tropical hardwoods, softwood pulp, and paper. The value of imports is usually three times greater than that of exports of forest products. The government is predominantly responsible for forest growing, while private enterprise carries out most of the logging and processing.

Fisheries. Although Australia is a minor fishing nation, a profitable industry has developed that ranks with poultry and pig-meat production in income-earning capacity. Recreational fishing is popular and adds further to the value of fisheries.

Australians consume a low level of seafood per capita, in relation to nations such as Japan, because of the wide variety of meat readily available. Moreover, quality species such as rock lobsters, prawns, abalone, and scallops are mainly exported and command premium prices in local markets and restaurants. Only a few of the thousands of species of fish that live in coastal waters are both economic to catch and good to eat. Among the popular fishes sold fresh, frozen, or canned in Australia are tuna, flathead, gemfish, luderick, morwong, mullet, redfish, Australian salmon (a sea perch), shark, snapper, tailor (bluefish), and whiting. Trout are farmed to meet the increasing demand for them.

MINERAL INDUSTRIES

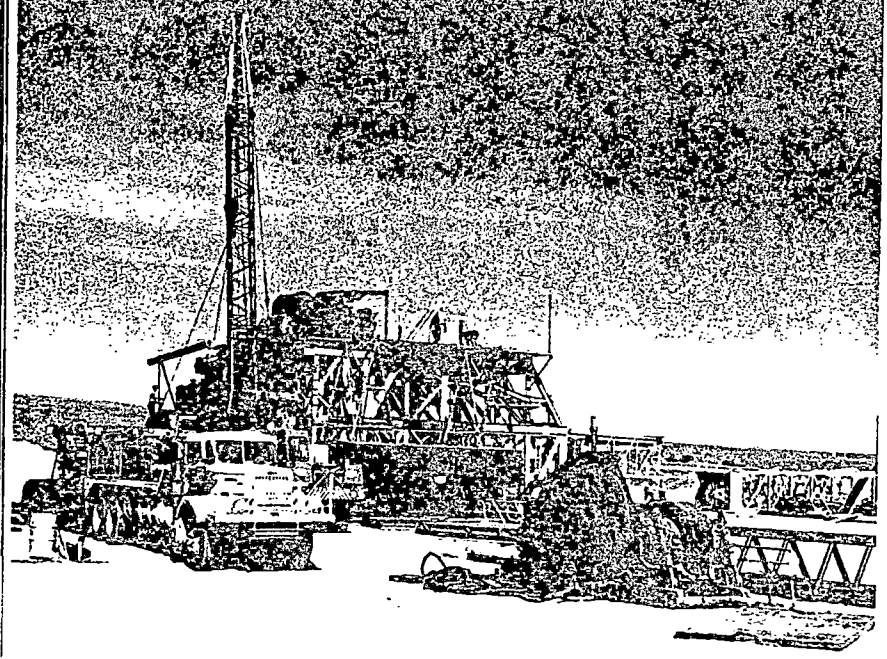
Australia is well endowed with mineral resources, including bauxite, coal, copper, iron ore, lead, natural gas, nickel, uranium, and zinc. In general, these resources are above average in quality, while mining costs are lower than the world average. Largely because of ongoing exploration and development programs, Australia enjoys self-sufficiency in most major minerals and produces surpluses for export.

Trends. Since the mid-1960's mineral resources have contributed substantially to Australia's economic growth, and output has expanded at nearly twice the rate of the national economy. Development of new discoveries has generally been aided by opportunities to utilize open-pit mining, a method that is suitable when deposits are at or near the surface. This method is applied to resources such as bauxite, iron ore, and coal, and often helps to curb mining costs while achieving high levels of output.

Among the many important mineral discoveries since the early 1950's have been uranium in the Mary Kathleen (Queensland) and Rum Jungle (Northern Territory) fields, bauxite at Weipa (Queensland) and Gove (Northern Territory), and large iron-ore deposits in Western Australia at Yampi Sound and in the Pilbara district. Roxby Downs in South Australia is notable for its copper, uranium, gold, and silver, while Jabiluka in the Northern Territory is said to be Australia's highest-grade uranium deposit, as well as one of the world's richest.

Construction of townships, port facilities, and railway lines has accompanied the growth of the resources (minerals) sector. A notable example is the infrastructure developed in the Pilbara district of Western Australia.

Mineral Fuels. One of the most significant resource discoveries in Australian history was made in the early 1970's off the coast of Western Australia. Known as the North West Shelf



An oil rig is erected in the desert. Although Australia is not a major oil producer, its output meets the greater part of domestic demand.

© KEN STEPNELL/TAURUS

natural-gas field, it is situated 80 miles (130 km) from Dampier, a port in the Pilbara, and is one of the largest gas fields in the world.

Commercial development commenced in 1980 with an initial view to supplying natural gas for industrial purposes to the Pilbara, and also to areas south of Perth by way of a 940-mile (1,500-km) pipeline. This first stage of the project was completed late in 1984, at a cost of A$2.2 billion, which included the pipeline construction. The second stage involves an additional investment of A$9 billion and is aimed toward the export of liquefied natural gas to Japan.

The earliest discoveries of oil suitable for commercial production were made in the early 1960's in the Surat Basin of Queensland. From these beginnings further major developments in the industry have occurred in the Gippsland Basin (Bass Strait, offshore Victoria), the Cooper Basin (South Australia), and the Carnarvon Basin (Western Australia). Although Australia's oil resources are widespread and satisfy the major portion of domestic requirements, the country is not considered a major world producer. The Gippsland Basin fields dominate output.

Coal is Australia's leading mineral in volume of output. Important black-coal mines are located near Newcastle and the Burragorang Valley in New South Wales, the Bowen Basin in Queensland, and the Collie Basin in Western Australia. Large brown-coal deposits are found in the Latrobe Valley in Victoria.

In 1984, Australia became the world's largest exporter of coal. Japan is the traditional buyer of Australian coal, but a growing share of new sales has been generated in other markets.

Metallic Minerals. After coal, iron ore is Australia's next most significant mineral resource. Production has increased extraordinarily since the mid-1960's, and reserves estimated at 40 billion tons give Australia the potential to remain a prominent force in world iron-ore markets.

Bauxite, the ore of aluminum, although not produced in the same volume as coal and iron ore, provides an important contribution to export revenues. About half of Australia's bauxite production comes from Western Australia.

Australia is one of the top ten gold producers in the Western world, accounting for roughly 3% of total Western production. Western Australia contributes about 75% of the national output.

Australia is the world's sixth-largest silver producer. It accounts for about 10% of world economic silver resources and produces approximately 8.5% of world output. The great majority of silver mining in Australia is a by-product of lead and zinc mining.

Nonmetallic Minerals and Construction Materials. Australia has widespread deposits of nonmetallic minerals and construction materials. Nonmetallic mineral output is dominated by limestone, clays, salt, silica, gypsum, and dolomite; major construction materials include crushed and broken stone, sand, and gravel. Deficiencies persist in phosphate rock and sulfur.

Since the mid-1960's production of these resources, especially salt, silica, limestone, and the construction materials, has increased substantially. However, their contribution to Australia's export income is not as important as those of the metallic minerals and mineral fuels.

Gems such as opals, sapphires, topazes, and diamonds are found in various locations throughout Australia. Their importance to the national economy is relatively insignificant.

MANUFACTURING

Manufacturing is a vital part of the Australian economy and produces an extensive range of goods. Industries that are well represented include steel, petroleum refining, automobiles and other transportation equipment, heavy engineering, electrical appliances and electronic goods, medical and scientific equipment, chemicals and plastics, food processing, and textiles, clothing, and footwear.

Historical Development. Before federation in 1901 the manufacturing market in Australia was strongly divided by tariff barriers, with Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania pursuing a protectionist approach and New South Wales committed to free trade. The inadequate transportation system, together with the small size and fragmentation of the domestic market and isola-

tion from Europe and America, held back manufacturing. They contributed to its tendency to be unsophisticated and labor-intensive in techniques and capital equipment.

After federation, internal customs barriers were eliminated. The effect of the new, larger market was to favor specialization and to foster growth in the more populous states of Victoria and New South Wales, which eventually came to dominate national demand.

From 1901 to 1949, Australia's manufacturing sector was greatly influenced by major events in the world economy, such as the two world wars and the Great Depression. The wars, for example, were instrumental in increasing the demand for goods and materials and in stimulating the growth of several new industries. Some of the more significant developments of this period were the opening of the Newcastle steelworks in 1915, the start of motor-vehicle assembly by Ford and General Motors in the mid-1920's, and the establishment of a high tariff wall by various Commonwealth governments (administrations) in the 1920's and 1930's to assist local producers.

Manufacturing productivity rose steadily during the 1950's and 1960's, easily outpacing the rate for the economy as a whole. Industries involved in the processing of primary products into metals, chemicals, and paper, for example, showed the most rapid rates of growth. However, the manufacturing sector continued to perform its traditional role of producing goods that would otherwise have to be imported; it failed to progress to production for export. Capital was redirected from manufacturing to export-oriented mining and agriculture during the 1960's. This trend has continued.

Geographical isolation and the small scattered domestic market have contributed to relatively high costs in Australian manufacturing. As a result, Australian industry has generally been at a disadvantage in world markets, except in the processing of rural and mining products. This inherent cost disadvantage, combined with the historically based import-replacing structure of the manufacturing sector, has tended to retard the growth of manufacturing exports. Australia's most important manufactured exports are textiles, fertilizers, pharmaceutical products, plastic materials, nonferrous metal products, and scientific instruments.

Some Key Industries—*Steel.* Australia is well represented at all stages of the steel production cycle by firms involved in smelting, converting, refining, iron and steel rolling, sheet-metal working, and pressing and stamping. The large range of steel products includes billets, rails, structural shapes, rods, coated and uncoated sheets, and tinplate.

The major steel producer is the Broken Hill Proprietary Company (BHP), which also has worldwide interests in coal and petroleum exploration. The company operates steelmaking facilities at Port Kembla and Newcastle in New South Wales and Whyalla in South Australia, and has smaller finishing mills at Geelong in Victoria and Kwinana in Western Australia. Each integrated plant is supplied with raw materials from the company's coal deposits in New South Wales and iron-ore deposits in South Australia and Western Australia. The industry normally supplies most of Australia's requirements and is an important source of export earnings.

Chemicals. The chemical industry was established in Australia before World War II. Its growth was encouraged by government policy, including investment incentives.

The industry has a diversified output that includes basic chemicals, plastics, paints, fertilizers, adhesives and sealants, cosmetics, toiletries, and aerosols. The bulk of the industry is concerned with organic chemicals derived mostly from oil and gas, although salt, phosphate rock, and sulfur are also important.

Oil Refining. Since the mid-1950's, oil refining has been important and has experienced rapid expansion. Domestic crude oil, most of which is refined in Australia, accounts for two thirds of total refinery production.

Motor Vehicles. Because of the small size of the domestic market, Australia's motor-vehicle industry is at a cost disadvantage compared with manufacturers in more populous countries where larger production runs are possible. But in the jobs it provides and the demand it creates for steel and other materials, the industry is vital.

The major assembly plants are located in Melbourne and Adelaide. Production is dominated by transnational corporations.

THE FINANCIAL SYSTEM

The Australian economy is serviced by a sophisticated and technologically advanced financial system. The major banks are active in international financial markets.

During the 1960's and 1970's the banks were generally constrained in their domestic operations by direct regulation of the volume and price of their lending. Consequently, their share of financial intermediation declined. Rapid deregulation began in the 1980's. Of particular importance—besides the removal of certain restrictions on the banking sector—were the decision to allow the entry of a selected number of major overseas banks and the floating of the Australian currency so that its value relative to other currencies would be determined by market forces.

Automobiles have been mass-produced in Australia since 1948. The country has one car for every two inhabitants.

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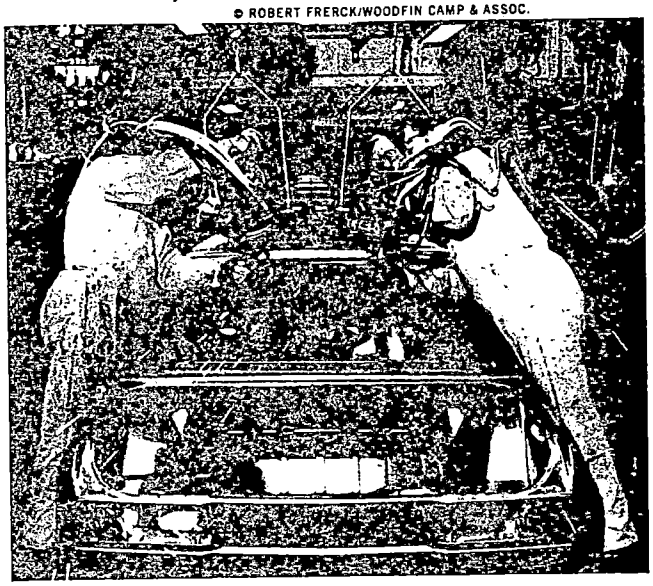

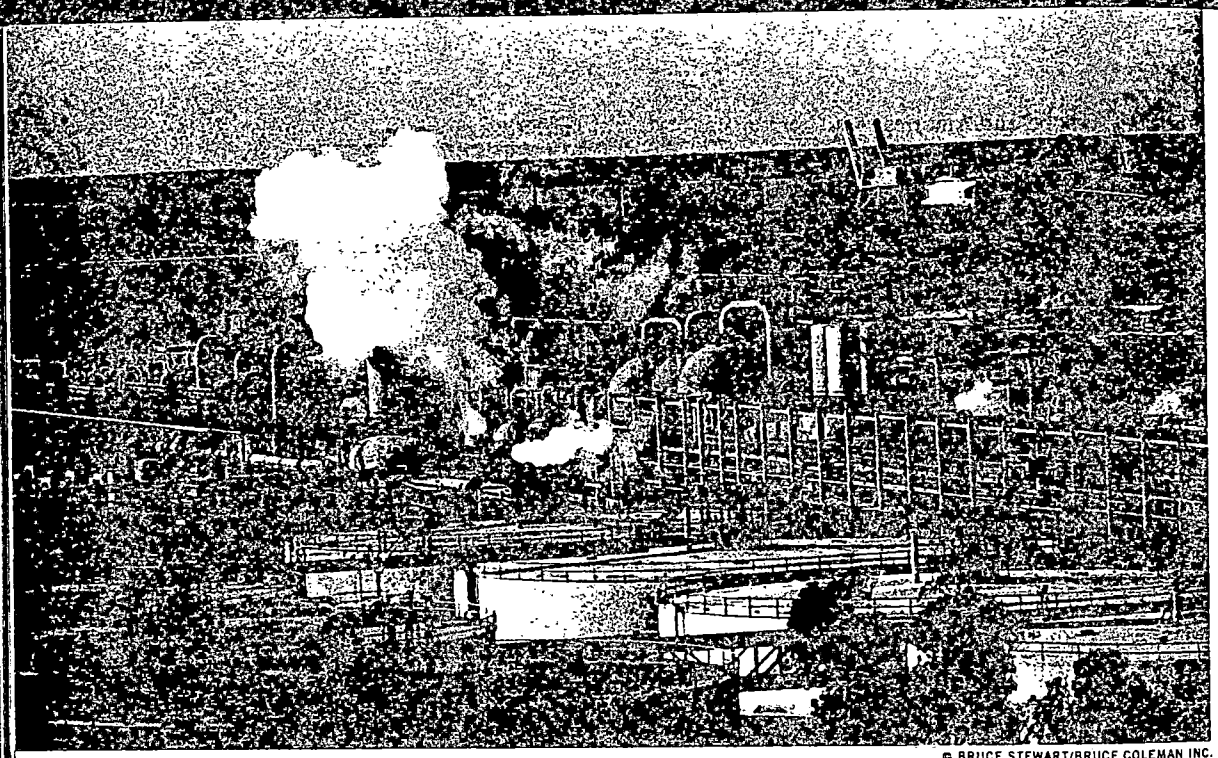

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A Queensland plant processes bauxite into alumina. Australia is the world's leading producer of bauxite.

Deregulation hastened the blurring of traditional roles among the various types of financial institutions. The principal beneficiaries of deregulation were the banks, as they became more competitive relative to the other types of intermediaries.

Financial Institutions. The structure of the banking system has developed along branch-banking lines. The four major institutions operate national networks of branches, with one branch in virtually every suburb and town. Australian banks are at the forefront in the introduction of technology in banking, and the branches of the major bank networks are linked electronically.

The main distinctions within the banking system lie between trading (commercial) and savings banks and between banks that are subject to federal legislation and those that are incorporated under state legislation. The four major banks operate both trading and savings facilities. Because their branches reach across state lines, they are subject to federal legislation. The primary role of savings banks is the provision of loans for housing on the security of land. Trading banks concentrate on the business sector and consumer lending.

The state banks, those that operate only within the borders of a particular state, are established by law as either trading or savings banks. However, these banks have been diversifying their operations due to increasing competition.

Three specialist banks are also subject to federal legislation. They were established to help provide finance to agricultural, small-business, and natural-resource industries, which in certain circumstances could find it difficult to obtain financing elsewhere.

Banks operating under federal legislation are supervised by the Reserve Bank of Australia, which possesses a wide range of powers to ensure that prudential standards are met. However, the prime responsibility for the prudent management of a bank's business lies with the individual bank itself. State banks are not subject to the powers of the Reserve Bank but voluntarily keep in close contact.

Other financial institutions include a diverse range of intermediaries, some operating nationally and others on a state or regional basis. This sector includes building societies, finance companies, merchant banks, life insurance companies, and pension funds.

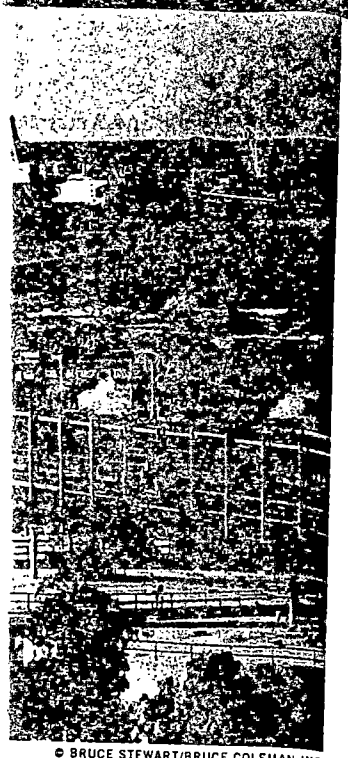
Monetary and Fiscal Policy. Monetary policy in Australia is managed through the Reserve Bank by open-market operations—transactions involving the buying and selling of government securities. Formerly, direct controls over the banking system were employed. Open-market operations affect all financial intermediaries rather than a particular sector.

The main focus of monetary policy since the mid-1970's has been on controlling growth in certain key monetary aggregates such as M_3, which includes currency and all deposits at both trading and savings banks. However, some of these aggregates have become distorted by the rapid changes in the Australian financial system, which has led the authorities to monitor a wider range of factors, including interest rates and the exchange rate.

The broad goal of fiscal policy is the pursuit and maintenance of full employment coupled with price stability. These objectives are carried out mainly through the federal government's annual budget, which is framed in conjunction with monetary policy objectives. The decision to float the Australian dollar enhanced the government's ability to coordinate monetary and fiscal policy measures.

TRADE AND SERVICES

A wide range of goods and services is available in Australia, with the pattern of expenditure typical of an advanced economy. Consumption expenditure by the private sector accounts for



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about 60% of national expenditure and, on average, is the largest single influence on growth in the economy. Nearly one quarter of household consumption is spent on the basic necessities of food and clothing. Home ownership, relatively high in Australia, has been stable at about 70% since the 1960's. Therefore, for the majority of households, spending on dwellings takes the form of mortgage payments rather than rent. On average, Australians have considerable discretionary spending power, and new consumer goods such as electronic products find a ready market. Overseas travel is also relatively popular. Of their net disposable income after taxes, Australians save an average of about 13%.

The tertiary sector of the economy has achieved a faster average growth rate than manufacturing and agriculture. Banking, finance, and business services are expanding as technology is harnessed to provide more comprehensive and efficient services to both the business and personal sectors. The substantial investment in private housing, along with provision of infrastructure for natural-resource projects, has stimulated the growth of utilities.

Communications and transportation have received a great impetus to growth from advances in technology and the general economic development of such a large country as Australia. For example, new microwave technology is being used to provide information on request at a lower cost than older systems using land lines.

Domestic Trade. The Australian constitution guarantees the right to introduce goods from one state to another, the right to sell such goods, and the right to travel between states—all free of restrictions, regulations, or obstructions. In general, this has permitted a free flow of interstate trade. However, in the case of agriculture, government-controlled marketing arrangements and the need to prevent the spread of disease can restrict the flow of some commodities.

Since federation in 1901, the Commonwealth government has had legislation dealing with restrictive trade practices, such as monopolies and cartels. In 1974 the Trade Practices Act established the Trade Practices Commission, with powers covering the maintenance of competition and consumer protection.

The National Companies and Securities Commission has the responsibility for the entire area of policy and administration with respect to company law and the regulation of the securities industry. It is active in ensuring that company takeovers occur in a manner fair to all parties concerned.

Foreign Trade and Economic Relations. Spurred by the growth of mineral industries, Australian exports have expanded rapidly. Between 1970–1971 and 1984–1985, for example, the value of exports rose from A$4.2 billion to A$29.5 billion, an average annual increase of 14.9%. During the same period the import bill rose at an average annual rate of 15.9%, from A$3.8 billion to A$30.1 billion. One of the main features of Australia's overseas transactions has been the rapid expansion in the nation's net invisible payments. This has resulted from transportation and insurance charges on the high volume of two-way trade, payments overseas by Australian tourists in excess of tourist receipts in Australia, and the servicing of the nation's overseas debt.

As a consequence of these payments and the disparate rates of growth in exports and imports, Australia's current-account deficit rose from A$0.8 billion in 1970–1971 to A$10.2 billion in 1984–1985. As a proportion of gross domestic product the deficit rose from 2.4% to 4.9%.

Capital Flows. In conjunction with the increased current-account shortfall, the rate of capital inflow into Australia has accelerated markedly. During the last half of the 1970's overseas private and public inflow of capital into Australia amounted to $9.1 billion. However, during the next five years capital inflow reached $36.2 billion. While a large portion of the inflow was in direct investment, a considerable amount was either of a short-term nature or was used to finance public sector deficits.

For most of the postwar period the United Kingdom and United States were the chief overseas sources of capital investment in Australia. While these two countries continue to be the major investors, Japan and the countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have increased in relative importance.

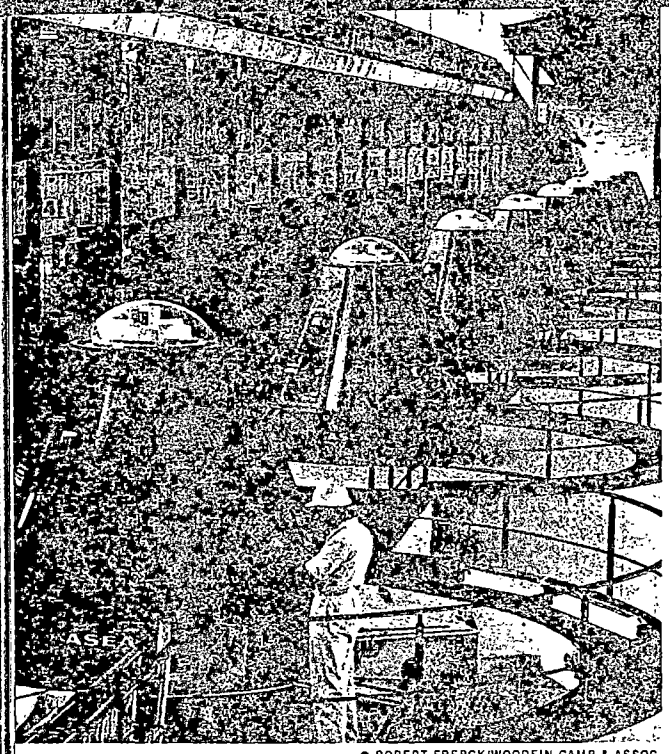
Composition of Trade. Because of the small size of the domestic market in Australia, the bulk of its primary production is destined to be exported. With manufacturing slow to bid for a greater share of exports, primary products continue to be chief commodities that Australia supplies to the world. What has changed dramatically since the mid-1960's is the composition of primary exports.

In 1970–1971, for example, rural commodities such as wheat, wool, meat, and sugar constituted 68.7% of the value of all exports. By 1983–1984 the contribution of the rural sector had declined to only 35.2%. Over the same period, during which Australia's mining boom occurred, mineral exports rose from 10.7% of the total to 35.6%.

By comparison, changes in the general composition of imports have been only minor. Manufactures and industrial raw materials remain by far the largest components, while agricultural imports make up only a small proportion. The one exception has been crude and refined petroleum. Because of a combination of rapid price increases and higher demand, the bill for crude and refined petroleum rose from 4.3% of total imports in 1970–1971 to 9.4% in 1983–1984. Despite this increase, Australia is now more nearly self-sufficient in crude oil, and the value of its crude and refined petroleum exports has risen rapidly.

Direction of Trade. An examination of Australia's pattern of trade since 1970 reveals a marked shift away from traditional markets for exports and sources of supply for imports. The entry of the United Kingdom into the European Economic Community and the general economic advancement in Asia have resulted in a sharp decline in the relative share of Europe in Australia's two-way trade and a rapid increase in trade with Asia. Japan is Australia's largest trading partner, accounting for 24% of the two-way trade. The United States is second, representing 16%.

Prices. In light of the composition of Australia's two-way trade, movement in the nation's overseas accounts are susceptible to the uncertainties of world commodity prices both for farm products and minerals. The general slowdown in the pace of world economic activity together with the more efficient use of raw material inputs and their abundant supply have restricted growth in the bulk of Australia's export prices.



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Hydroelectricity is generated in a plant of the Snowy Mountains project, which also provides irrigation water.

At the same time, accelerated world inflation has been reflected in the prices of manufactured imports. These factors in conjunction have caused a substantially adverse movement in Australia's terms of trade. In the 10 years to 1984, for example, Australia's export prices relative to import prices declined by 37.5%.

Telecommunications. Australia's telecommunications system began in 1854 with the erection of the first telegraph line for public use. The country now has about 8 million telephones, or roughly one for every two persons, a figure comparable to other developed nations. Overseas private telecommunications are provided by means of communications satellites, submarine cables, and, at a decreasing rate, short-wave radio. Satellites carry more than 60% of Australia's telecommunications.

Australian radio and television broadcasting falls within the jurisdiction of the federal government. Separate services in both media are provided by the Australian Broadcasting Commission and commercial stations. More than 130 commercial radio stations and over 50 commercial television stations transmit to 16.6 million radio receivers (about one per person) and 5.5 million television receivers (a 1:3 ratio).

Water, Gas, and Electricity. Gas, electricity, and water supplies are the responsibility of state governments and their respective public authorities. The construction of water-storage facilities has increased substantially, and consumption of electricity has one of the highest rates of growth among developed countries, with total usage doubling approximately every eight years. About 30% of all energy consumed goes into the production of electricity.

As a result of oil price increases, greater reliance has been placed on the large reserves of natural gas and coal. Other increasingly used energy sources include liquefied petroleum gas and solar power. Possible hydroelectric installations are limited generally to a narrow strip in the eastern highlands and to Tasmania. Moreover, the federal government can block hydroelectric development in environmentally significant areas.

TRANSPORTATION

Because of Australia's large size and small population, transportation has been costly and has used a relatively large proportion of the labor force. The system initially was developed in a fragmented manner, for the main roads and rail lines were laid out in the second half of the 19th century when the continent was a group of colonies trading mostly with Britain. Today, despite its geography, Australia has extensive and well-developed road and rail systems.

With a warm climate and a vast expanse of arid and relatively flat land, Australia is well suited to air travel. Conversely, it is almost devoid of inland waterways.

Roads. Motor vehicles are the major form of domestic passenger transport. Australia has about 500,000 miles (800,000 km) of roads and tracks and more than 8 million cars, or one for every two persons. Driving is on the left.

The main road networks radiate from the state capital cities and are the responsibility of individual state governments. Because of long distances and the relatively low volume of traffic in sparsely populated areas, most highways are two lanes wide. The upgrading of interstate highways is progressing in line with their increased usage. Coordination of a uniform approach to the improvement and development of the road system is carried out by the National Association of Australian State Roads Authorities.

Railroads. The railways are the responsibility of the six state governments, which own and operate their own systems, and the federal government, which operates the Australian National Railways. On a smaller scale, private rail companies serve particular mining, agricultural, and industrial complexes. The largest private system provides rail facilities to the iron-ore mines in the northwestern part of Western Australia.

Although Australian railways are at a cost disadvantage relative to road and air services, they are still important to the nation's economic development. New capital expenditure is being undertaken to standardize gauges across states and to build new lines into growth areas.

Electrified suburban railway systems are important. In Melbourne and Sydney they include sections of underground track, with trains making several stops in the central business area.

Ports and Shipping. Because Australia is far from its major trading partners, shipping is vital. About 70 ports are commercially significant. Most of these are on the east or southeast coast, with Melbourne, Sydney, and Brisbane together accounting for about 37% of overseas shipping movements. Other major harbors include Botany Bay and Newcastle on the east coast, Port Adelaide on the south coast, and Fremantle, Dampier, Port Hedland, and Gladstone on the west coast.

While Australian shipping companies dominate interstate trade, most international shipping is conducted by overseas-based companies.

Aviation. Australia has one international airline, Qantas Airways Ltd., which is owned by the federal government and is one of the world's leading air carriers. Major domestic carriers in-

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clude Trans-Australia Airlines, also owned by the federal government, and Ansett Airlines of Australia, which is privately owned. Other private domestic airlines provide regional and commuter services. Qantas carries about 50% of the 4 million air passengers to and from Australia each year.

LABOR

Since the 1960's, Australia has experienced a significant change in the composition and structure of its labor force. A shift in social attitudes toward female participation in the work force has been one major change, as in most Western industrialized countries.

Characteristics of the Labor Force. From the early 1900's to the 1960's the proportion of the Australian working-age population in the labor force was about 40%. By the 1980's this rate had risen to 45%. Female participation in the work force rose from about 20% at the turn of the century to 25% by the 1960's and to nearly 40% by 1983. Since the 1960's an increasingly large proportion of persons aged 55 and over have left the labor force. Despite this development and the fact that Australia meanwhile has enjoyed virtually continuous economic growth, a climb in the numbers of unemployed has taken place.

The structure of the labor force has undergone tremendous change. While nearly 30% of the work force was employed in the manufacturing sector during the early 1960's, the figure was below 20% by the mid-1980's. The agricultural component of the labor force fell from nearly 10% to under 7%, with simultaneous increase in output, reflecting greater capital intensity. Several sectors of the economy have remained closer to static in the proportion of the labor force used: mining (1.5%), transportation (19.5%), and wholesale and retail trade (6%).

The largest category change has been in employment by government, concomitant with its increased role in the economy. Direct government employment has risen from about 10% to nearly 25% of the labor force since the 1960's. The proportion employed in business services has increased from 6% to 9%. Overall, 74% of Australians work in the tertiary sector.

Labor Relations. Australia is highly unionized, with nearly 50% of the work force organized. A feature of the Australian labor market is the large number of unions and the wide difference in size of membership. Unions vary in membership from less than 100 to more than 80,000. However, one quarter of the more than 300 unions account for over 90% of membership in organized labor. The main national organization is the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU), which came into being in 1927. The ACTU has more than 150 affiliated trade unions with a combined membership of about 2.45 million, out of a total of 3.0 million unionized members.

Most disputes or negotiations concerning wages or work conditions that cannot be settled by union and employer representatives at a plant or company level are brought before state and federal arbitration tribunals. The Federal Conciliation and Arbitration Act (1904) and state industrial arbitration acts provide for the registration of employer and employee organizations. Normally, registration is necessary before an organization may appear before the relevant industrial arbitration tribunal. Australia has a centralized system of award-wage determination. Under this system the award wage applicable to each industry is adjusted semiannually, based on movements in the consumer price index.

TOURISM

Australia has many tourist attractions, including beaches, deserts, rain forest, the Australian Alps (including Mount Kosciusko), the Great Barrier Reef, places of historical interest, and bustling, cosmopolitan cities. The country attracts about a million overseas visitors each year. Of these, typically 24% are from New Zealand, 16% from the United Kingdom and Ireland, 15% from the United States, and 8% from Japan.

Tourism is a major part of the economy. Each year, domestic tourists spend about A$8 billion on trips of at least one night away from home and A$1.8 billion on day trips. A further A$1.1 million is spent by domestic travelers on holiday homes, motoring expenses, and travel-related incidentals. Foreign tourists add another A$1.6 billion to give a total expenditure of A$12.5 billion. This represents 4.8% of gross domestic product. Tourist expenditure generates employment for 340,000 persons, or 5% of the work force.

Despite Australia's broad international appeal, the great distances between it and most other high-income countries make tourism largely a domestic industry. Overseas visitors account for about 17% of both the employment and income attributable to tourism. The industry is further localized regionally, for less than one sixth of all overnight trips by Australians have their main destination outside the traveler's state of origin. A feature of domestic tourism is the high proportion of travel expenditure by residents of Queensland—almost 26%, compared with less than 19% for more populous Victoria.

About a million foreign visitors spend some A$1.6 billion in Australia each year, and outbound travel by about 1.25 million Australian residents results in foreign currency payments of about A$2.4 billion. However, receipts from inbound tourism have grown at a faster rate than expenditures by Australians traveling abroad. The ratio of foreign-exchange expenditures to receipts has declined by half since the 1970's.

The outlook for the tourist industry is promising. In many senses Australia is the last frontier, and as Americans, Europeans, and Japanese grow more affluent and develop a greater taste for new and unusual experiences, more of them are expected to travel to Australia.

BRIAN L. HAMLEY, *General Manager, Economics*
National Australia Bank Limited

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7. History

Beginning about 40,000 years ago Australia was slowly peopled by groups arriving at its northern reaches from the great archipelago looping from mainland Southeast Asia to New Guinea. Migration into Australia was sporadic and never on a large scale. Once tribal groups were established they dispersed slowly over the entire continent and the island of Tasmania.

After crop cultivation developed in the Southeast Asian mainland and islands, onward migration to Australia faded. In later times, as the archipelago's population built up, occasional brief visits to uninviting Australian shores by Malay fishermen and other seafarers were not followed up. The Aboriginal Australians remained undisturbed behind their shield of remoteness until the first European visits, beginning in the 16th century.

R. M. YOUNGER
Author of "Australia and the Australians"

FROM DISCOVERY TO THE END OF WORLD WAR II

The history of European occupation and development of the island continent that, with Tasmania, was to become an outpost of Western civilization in the South Pacific began with the British convict settlement at Port Jackson (Sydney), New South Wales, in 1788. After the Blue Mountains had been crossed in 1813, the progress of the pastoral industry successfully challenged the concept of a purely penal establishment near the coast. Then the subsequent rural squattocracy, as the group of wealthy pastoralists came to be called, was itself challenged by a combined immigrant and emancipist small settler opposition, which by 1840 had secured the end of regular convict transportation to the mainland. In 1851 the young colonial society of eastern Australia was rudely disturbed by the influx of diggers seeking fortunes on the goldfields of New South Wales and its southern daughter colony, Victoria, which had acquired separate colonial status in that year. The aftermath of these gold rushes not only sharpened controversies already present in the closing decade of the first half of the 19th century but also added new problems and opened new trends of political, social, and economic evolution. Many of the distinctive features of Australian life were thus determined before the establishment of the federated Commonwealth of Australia on Jan. 1, 1901.

Conditions had indeed varied considerably in the federating colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, and their four neighbors. South Australia had been founded in 1836 as an experimental free society on the principles of Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Tasmania, which had been a penal offshoot of New South Wales from 1804, became a separate colony in 1825 but continued to receive convicts until 1853. Another six years passed before the mother colony's northern neighbor, Queensland, also received separate status. The isolated and sparsely settled Western Australia, which covered one third of the continent, had barely held its own from its foundation in 1829 as a free settlement until convicts were admitted from 1850 to 1868 for service on public works and in private employment; in the late 1880's and the 1890's it, too, enjoyed its gold rush and belated prosperity. In none of the six colonies, however, was the pastoralist to regain the political and social primacy that he had enjoyed in the pre-gold rush era. The infant Australian Commonwealth continued to shape its own peculiar form of political and social democracy in a setting that became increasingly urban and industrialized as the new century lengthened—and this despite the persistent importance of the pastoralist's wool as a staple export, the growing significance of wheat exports, and all the economic changes that two world wars brought to the now more diversified Australian economy.

Discovery. The discovery by Europeans of the mainland of Australia, like that of the Americas, was largely accidental. The 17th and 18th century voyages that resulted in the charting of the greater part of the coastline were designed mostly for other purposes. The Portuguese and Spaniards, who in the 16th century had reached Java, the Moluccas (Spice Islands), the north coast of New Guinea, the Philippines, and the Solomons by venturing from Peru (1567), had been concerned chiefly with the location of speedier routes to the coveted Spice Islands.

When also moved, like the Spaniard Álvaro de Mendaña de Neyra, by the traditional conviction that a considerable land mass lay awaiting discovery in the southern seas, these Spanish and Portuguese navigators had sought not an island continent but the mythical great south land, Terra Australis Incognita, which was supposed to balance Europe and Asia by stretching southward unbroken to the pole. Thus, Pedro Fernandes de Queirós, a Portuguese who had served under Mendaña in the latter's second and unsuccessful voyage of 1595, later sailing from Peru for King Philip III of Spain, reached the New Hebrides Islands (now Vanuatu) in 1606 and was convinced that he had found the great southland. His more spirited lieutenant, Luis Vaez de Torres, who lost his leader in a storm, proved that the New Hebrides were not part of the continent and was on his way to the Philippines when circumstances diverted him from the normal course north of New Guinea and led him through the dangerous strait to the south of the island. If, as is possible but improbable, he then sighted Australia at Cape York, he was ready enough to include it among the "very large islands" that he had seen. No Spaniard or Portuguese got nearer to the mainland than had Torres in 1606. On the other hand, the north coast of New Guinea, which had been discovered accidentally by the Portuguese Jorge de Meneses as early as 1526, was further explored by several Spaniards, including Álvaro de Saavedra (1527) and Íñigo Ortiz de Retes (1545).

The Dutch navigators, who are credited with most of the discoveries on the Australian coast before the voyages of the Englishman Capt. James Cook, came upon the west and northwest shores of the continent by their seeming misfortune—an untimely delay in their passages to and from the rich Spice Islands, of which they had dispossessed the Portuguese. Blown off the course then thought most favorable, Dirk Hartog in 1616 nailed a pewter dish to a post on the island that bears his name outside the entrance to Shark Bay, halfway up the coast of what is now Western Australia. Three years later another Dutch captain, Frederik Houtman, sighted the coast farther south and followed it north to Dirk Hartog Island after narrowly escaping disaster on an Abrolhos reef. Upon these treacherous reefs, still known as Houtman Rocks, the *Batavia*,

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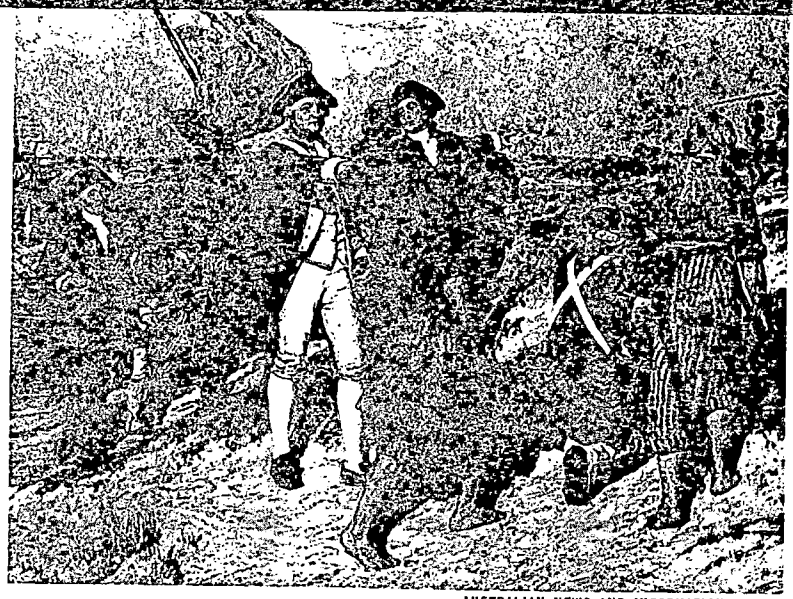


The landing of Captain Cook on the east coast of Australia in 1770 is depicted in a painting by Australian artist E.E. Phillips Fox.

AUSTRALIAN NEWS AND INFORMATION BUREAU

a Dutch man-of-war commanded by Frans Pelsaert, was wrecked in 1629. In similar fashion other pieces of the west coast were discovered by Dutch captains off their course—Cape Leeuwin at the southwest corner in 1622 and De Witt's Land near North West Cape in 1628.

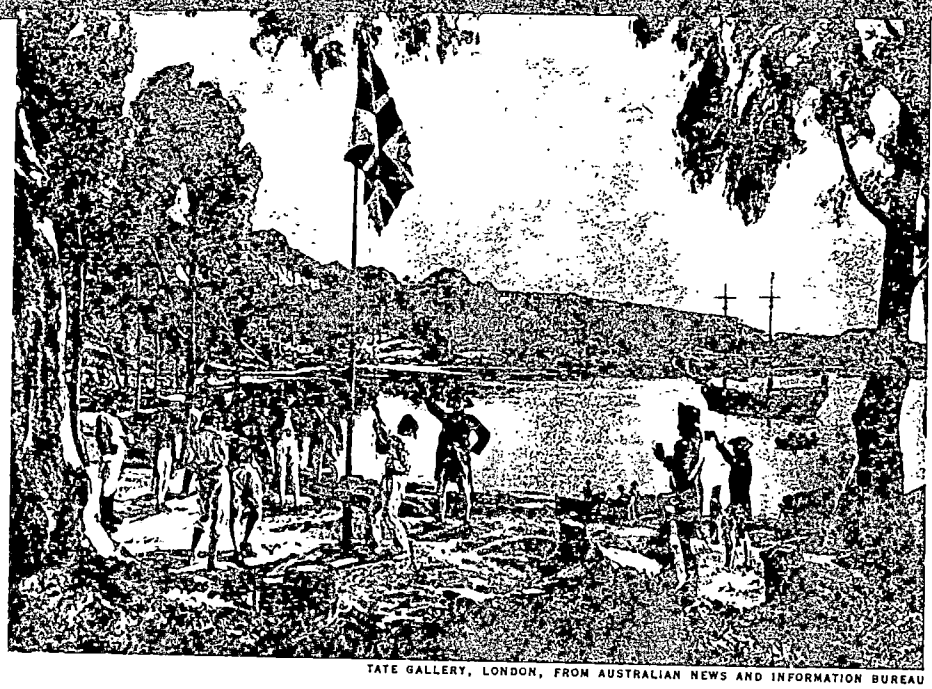
Dutch discoveries were not entirely fortuitous. Some of these errant captains found curiosity too much for them and deliberately extended their wanderings. In 1627 the *Gulden Zeepaard* pressed eastward along the south coast of what was called Nuyts Land as far as the head of the Great Australian Bight. In the northern waters more than one attempt was made to solve the mystery of what lay east and south of New Guinea. A few weeks before Torres had proved the existence of a strait between New Guinea and the mainland, the *Duyfken* coasted down the west side of Cape York Peninsula. In 1623 the Dutch sailors of the *Pera* and *Arnhem* under Jan Carstensz made another attempt, and failed again, but charted farther down into the Gulf of Carpentaria, the coast of which they treated as continuous with New Guinea—so little known was the discovery of Torres until it was confirmed by Cook after 164 years.

The best-known name in the story of Dutch discovery in Australian waters is that of Abel Janszoon Tasman, to whom fell the task of piecing together the knowledge of the north and northwest coasts of New Holland (the Dutch name for Australia) in his voyage of 1644 from the Gulf of Carpentaria to North West Cape, and, on a famous voyage two years earlier, of carrying further the search for the great south land. It was then that he discovered the southern portion of Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania) and sailed up part of the west coast of New Zealand, establishing its separation from New Holland but wrongly assuming it to be the northwestern extremity of the mythical Terra Australis Incognita. That further discoveries were not made by the Dutch in the century that followed Tasman's great voyage was due partly to the poor reports that Dutch navigators had given of the western mainland and its people. In this they were strongly supported by the first British navigator to touch Australia, the buccaneer William Dampier (1688–1689). As yet the pleasant coastal country of the southern and eastern sections of the continent had not been explored, and Dampier's account of "a dry and dusty soil" inhabited by "the miserablest people in the world" remained the general impression of what had actually been seen of Australia and Australians until the second half of the 18th century.

Speculation concerning the unknown nevertheless continued. By the 1760's, French as well as British writers had whipped up sufficient interest to induce their respective governments to assist further voyages in the southern seas. Capt. Samuel Wallis, who sailed in 1766, discovered Tahiti for the British in the following year, and Louis Antoine de Bougainville, who set out three months later and came within sight of the track of Torres, southwest of New Guinea, was the first of a line of distinguished French navigators in Australian waters. Bougainville's departure rather than his actual discoveries stimulated fresh British voyages to forestall French discovery of rich lands that might compensate France for the loss of Canada. Alexander Dalrymple and other geographers assured the British government that the great south land would yet be found south and east of Tasman's New Zealand. This mythical land was still more enticing than the unknown spaces between Van Diemen's Land and the Gulf of Carpentaria.

The efforts of Dalrymple and his friends to continue the search were aided by the desire of British scientists to dispatch a ship to the South Pacific to observe the transit of Venus in 1769. This done, exploration might be renewed. The British government agreed, and before Bougainville returned to Europe the voyage of the *Endeavour* had begun under the command of Lt. (later Capt.) James Cook of the Royal Navy. The transit was duly witnessed at Tahiti in June 1769. Early in October of the following year the *Endeavour's* commander reached Batavia (now Jakarta) after having effectively disproved the alleged connection of New Zealand with the continent and having confirmed the almost forgotten discovery of Torres that a dangerous strait separated New Guinea from the land around the Gulf of Carpentaria. In addition Cook had charted the east coast of the continent from Point Hicks to Cape York, opening the way for the first European settlement on the hitherto unattractive mainland and for the founding of the first British colony in the Pacific.

Foundation and Early Settlement, 1788–1820. Most Australians celebrate January 26 as Australia Day or Foundation Day in commemoration



TATE GALLERY, LONDON, FROM AUSTRALIAN NEWS AND INFORMATION BUREAU

The Founding of Australia recreates the unfurling of the British Flag at Sydney Cove on Jan. 26, 1788. January 26 is now celebrated as Australia Day.

of Jan. 26, 1788, when Capt. Arthur Phillip landed a company of over 1,000 (including 717 convicts, of whom 188 were women) and with his officers toasted success to the infant colony of New South Wales. In making this settlement the British government had no intention of claiming the whole continent, nor was New South Wales strictly speaking a colonial settlement. The very site of the convict prison was itself a second choice. Phillip had sailed direct for Botany Bay, which had been specified in his instructions as "the most eligible situation upon the coast for the first settlement." There he landed on January 18, but was not long in satisfying himself that there was little to substantiate what had been stated by Joseph Banks, the naturalist who had accompanied Cook on the *Endeavour*, concerning Botany Bay's suitability for a settlement. Phillip therefore ordered the 11 vessels of his fleet to move north along the coast to the more attractive site he had discovered inside Port Jackson, a harbor that Cook had seen only from a distance.

Fortunately, Phillip, who served as the first governor, was a man of vision as well as courage. He refused to regard the colony as merely a convict settlement, and he frequently urged upon the government the desirability of encouraging free settlers. Though the future character of the colony as a free settlement had not been determined, Phillip's successful efforts to make it self-supporting prepared the way. Ill supported by many of his officers, who regarded themselves for the most part as jailers, handicapped from the first by the poor quality of the human material upon whose labor he could draw, and often faced with the threat of starvation, which was increased by the arrival of fresh batches of convicts, Phillip nevertheless persevered. He spared no effort in the attempt to demonstrate the soundness of his view that New South Wales would one day rank among the most valuable parts of the British Empire. When Phillip retired in 1792, his goal of a self-supporting colony had not been reached, but the first governor of a penal colony had succeeded in laying the foundations of free British settlement in Australia.

Some measure of Phillip's contribution is indicated by the chaos that developed after his withdrawal, when direction of the young settlement passed into the hands of lesser men. The officers of the New South Wales corps, which had been sent out to aid the governor in maintaining order, obtained a corner in trade and endangered the future of the colony by traffic in rum. This became the recognized currency of the community with disastrous effects on its morals and its economic welfare. The officers openly challenged Phillip's naval successors, Capt. John Hunter (1795–1800) and Capt. Philip Gidley King (1800–1806), and played a prominent part in the so-called Rum Rebellion against another naval governor, Capt. William Bligh (1806–1808).

Lt. Col. Lachlan Macquarie, the soldier who replaced Bligh in 1809 and held the governorship until 1821, left a mark on the colony no less significant than that of Phillip. His claim to recognition as the greatest of the early governors lies in his determination to make New South Wales more than a convict prison but less than a colony of free settlers—a colony of reformed convicts reshaping their lives in a new environment. He succeeded in the former aim but failed in the latter. Whatever may be the ultimate judgment of history on Governor Macquarie, the surprising thing is that he should have achieved so much in the teeth of opposition from a home government that could see no further than a convict prison and from the more prosperous free settlers, brave but grasping, whose imagination reached beyond the limits of a closely controlled community of peasant proprietors. Under Macquarie the population of the colony rose from 11,590 in 1810 to 38,778 in 1821, and farmland under cultivation from 7,615 to 32,267 acres (3,082 to 13,058 hectares). But Macquarie could not withstand the main stream of colonial development, for the economic potentialities of the colony had been revealed by the crossing of the Blue Mountains in 1813. The pathway was thus provided to the pasture lands on which would graze the flocks descended from the Merino sheep bred by the governor's greatest rival, John Macarthur. By the time of Macquarie's departure there were nearly 300,000 sheep in the colony, as compared with only about 26,000 at the time of his arrival.

The Founding of Australia recreates the unfurling of the British Flag at Sydney Cove on Jan. 26, 1788. January 26 is now celebrated as Australia Day.

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Regular convict arrivals in New South Wales did not cease until 1840, and Macquarie's successors as governor ruled with legal authority but little restrained by the nominated legislative councils of 5 to 7 and 15 members established in 1823 and 1828, respectively, and by the two-thirds elected legislative council of 36 constituted in 1842. Nevertheless, the so-called age of the tyrants was giving way to the era of squatters.

The term "squatter," transplanted first from North America to Van Diemen's Land and thence to the parent colony of New South Wales, originally expressed contempt for those occupying land outside settled areas. A certain undesirable element among the first Australian squatters was, however, soon dwarfed in numbers and importance by the more enterprising free settlers who sought greater opportunities beyond the 19 counties near the coast, an area within a radius of about 150 miles (241 km) from Sydney within which government policy in New South Wales sought to restrict settlement. Authorities in Sydney were eventually forced to admit the economic value of the fleeces shipped to expanding English woolen factories by squatters from runs to which they had no legal title and for which at first they paid no rent. From mere "poaching beyond the pale" squatting by the 1840's had become a pursuit both respectable and—drought periods excepted—profitable. It was still far from providing the pseudoaristocratic life it came to offer in the 1860's and 1870's, after the first squatters had made the runs, and their descendants the fortunes. Many battles had yet to be fought before the squatters' constantly changing, unfenced runs gave place to fenced stations with comfortable homesteads and boundary riders who replaced nomadic shepherds. Squatters' claims for security of tenure and compensation for improvements were resisted, on the whole without success, by colonial governors like Sir George Gipps (1838–1846) and small-farmer interests who sought to deny titles in perpetuity that might restrict intensive agricultural development. But the squatting age had come to stay in New South Wales and also to exercise its influence on the extension of settlement far beyond the confines of the mother colony.

Extension of Settlement, 1820–1850 and After. Political and economic considerations were closely interwoven in the extension of British settlement in Australia. Economic opportunity stimulated the expansion from Port Jackson into the interior, but political factors were largely responsible for the first coastal settlements in the more distant regions to the south, west, and north. By 1829 the whole continent was claimed for the British.

Convict transportation, which was abolished gradually between 1840 in New South Wales and 1868 in Western Australia, certainly had an effect on Australia's development, but three schools of thought appraise its influence differently. One school regards the convicts as more sinned against than sinning and stresses the valuable contribution made to Australian political and social democracy by those who were sent out for political offenses as well as the services of those who provided much needed labor in government gangs or as assigned servants, or who, as emancipists, founded some highly respectable pastoral families of a later era. A second school points to the known depravity of some of the convicts and insists on recognition of the widespread degradation caused by the severity of the system in the early days of New South Wales, in Queensland, and, in particular, in Tasmania, to which many of the worst felons were retransported. Others go further still and find in the regimentation of convict days one of the predisposing causes of the allegedly excessive government interference with the Australian economy of the 20th century.

The New South Wales Hinterland and Queensland. The reversal in the early 1820's of Macquarie's rigid emancipist policy encouraged a steady stream of free settlers who were ready to make a moderate outlay on the purchase of land on which to raise sheep for wool with the aid of convict labor. Such an increase in the occupation of extensive pasture lands necessarily implied expansion into the interior. This took the form of a series of movements westward beyond the excellent pasture lands around Bathurst (founded in 1815 after Gregory Blaxland's conquest of the Blue Mountains); northwestward to the Liverpool Plains, New England, and the Darling Downs; southward across the Murrumbidgee River; and southwestward into the more distant but equally rich pastoral districts of Australia Felix, the existence of which was confirmed by the explorations of Charles Sturt and Sir Thomas Livingstone Mitchell in 1828–1830 and 1836, respectively. The attempts of Governor Sir Ralph Darling (1825–1831) to restrict settlement to the 19 counties were therefore doomed to failure. Squatters were, however, debarred from effecting the natural economic expansion beyond the Darling Downs to the Moreton Bay district by the decision in 1824 to establish a convict settlement at the mouth of the Brisbane River. It was not until shortly after transportation had ceased, in 1840, that this district was thrown open to free settlement. Therefore, Brisbane gradually became the port, and later the capital of a predominantly pastoral community.

Settlement gradually pressed farther north and northwest and, in 1859, compelled the recognition of Queensland as a self-governing colony separate from New South Wales and in some ways peculiarly distinct from all the other Australian colonies. Its special tropical conditions were emphasized by the extension of settlement northward along the coast of sugar plantations as well as northward and northwestward into the interior for pastoral purposes. This latter expansion led to the inclusion in the colony, in 1861, of the Albert region south of the Gulf of Carpentaria.

Victoria. Meanwhile the pastoral development and inland exploration southwest of Sydney, together with the colorful exploits of independent settlers from Tasmania—the Hentys at Portland Bay in 1834, and John Batman and John Pascoe Fawkner at Port Phillip Bay in 1835—prepared the way for a new southern colony. Officials in Sydney were, however, slow to recognize or to encourage it. The failure of officially authorized establishments at Port Phillip in 1803 and at Westernport in 1826, inspired by fear of the French, had exhausted the enthusiasm of Sydney officials for extending the range of an administration already proving difficult, but economic forces once more proved too strong for officialdom. Accordingly, a police magistrate from Sydney formally represented the New South Wales governor in Melbourne from 1836 to 1839, when the British government sent out Charles Joseph Latrobe as superintendent of this Port Phillip dis-

trict of squatters. Port Phillip remained part of the colony of New South Wales until the Australian Colonies Government Act, 1850, gave separate representative institutions to a separate colony of Victoria (1851).

Tasmania. Economic pressure was thus mainly responsible for the extension of settlement to the northern and southern colonies of the eastern mainland. But the island of Tasmania—smallest of the six states of the 20th century Commonwealth, yet first of the daughter colonies to attain separate colonial status (1825)—owed its settlement, if not its development, to the endemic fear of the French that possessed successive governors in Sydney. The first British settlement in Van Diemen's Land, made by Lt. John Bowen at Risdon Cove on the Derwent River in 1803, was in the following year taken over and transferred to Hobart by Lt. Col. David Collins, who had been sent to forestall the French in Port Phillip, where he did little but compose pessimistic reports for Governor King. In 1804 another settlement under Lt. Col. William Paterson was made on the Tamar River, but was transferred to the present site of Launceston two years later.

The early development of Van Diemen's Land was aided by the transfer of free settlers and convicts from Norfolk Island. This island, which had been occupied in 1788 to forestall "any other European Power," was gradually abandoned between 1806 and 1813. It was reoccupied in 1825 and governed thenceforward by New South Wales, except for a period of Tasmanian control from 1844 to 1856, until the Commonwealth took over in 1914. Tasmanian development was also assisted by the growth of a profitable whaling industry centered at Hobart and, later, by the rapid progress of the wool industry after Macarthur's experiments in New South Wales. Further development of the colony was retarded by gross mishandling of the native question and by the steady influx of convicts. In 1821 the grim Macquarie Harbour was established in the western part of the island for the worst type of convict, and the first independent governor, Col. George Arthur (1824–1836), though he replaced Macquarie Harbour by a new prison at Port Arthur, regarded Van Diemen's Land as primarily a convict settlement. The number of convicts increased rapidly after transportation to the mainland stopped in 1840. Transportation to Van Diemen's Land did not cease until 1853, when the island's name was also changed to Tasmania.

Western Australia. The first British station in the largest of the states of the 20th century Australian Commonwealth was also due to fear of the French and not to economic factors favorable to settlement. Although Albany, in the southwest corner, can boast of a continuous history from the arrival of Maj. Edmund Lockyer in 1826, the extension of settlement in Western Australia came from the Swan River Settlement on the west coast. In 1827, Capt. James Stirling had explored the river with the approval of Governor Darling, who was much concerned that "so advantageous a position should not be taken possession of by the French." The problems of the colonists who came with Stirling to the Swan in 1829 and of those who followed him during the next few years were caused by poor land, marked shortage of labor, and difficulties with the Aboriginals. In 1832 the population was only 1,500, and the lack of further immigration accentuated the labor problem until it was met by the British government's decision to grant the colonists' request for convict labor. The first group arrived in 1850. Transport was also provided for a small number of free settlers.

This costly British subsidy to the colony had substantial economic results. When transportation ended in 1868, expansion into the enormous hinterland had begun. Settlement extended eastward across the Darling Range around York, Northam, and what was later known as Toodyay. Fresh settlers established themselves on the southwest coast—at Australind near Bunbury, where an abortive settlement had been attempted in 1841; and from Augusta north to the Vasse River, where the Bussell family pioneered with more success from 1831. Geraldton was founded in 1851. In the 1860's, adventurous settlers pressed north with sheep and cattle as far as the De Grey district, and by the 1880's the pearling industry was established in the northwest, and gold prospectors as well as pastoralists were at work in the Kimberleys.

South Australia. The extension of settlement to what is now the state of South Australia was due less to strategic considerations and owed more to the influence of ideas than was the case with any other Australian colony. Six men are inseparably associated with this settlement. Charles Sturt, by his epic voyage down the Murray in 1830, drew attention to the rich lands near the river's mouth. The difficulties that attended the ill-planned settlement at the Swan River emphasized the need for closer coordination of land, labor, and capital in any new colony, and Edward Gibbon Wakefield provided a reasoned theory of coordination and was instrumental in founding the South Australian Association, which engineered the passage of the Foundation Act of 1834. George Fife Angas was one of the ablest and least doctrinaire of the commissioners appointed under the act to share with the colonial office the organization of the new settlement. As the promoter and main supporter of the privately owned South Australian Company, Angas also made possible the land sales necessary to bring the act into operation. William Light, who arrived as surveyor general in August 1836, determined the site of and laid out the future capital city of Adelaide. George Gawler, the second governor (1838–1841) of the colony but the first with unified authority, had to face the consequences of the speculation in land that had prevented the Wakefield theory from operating smoothly and that threatened the colony with starvation while settlers were still pouring in. By a vigorous policy of public works financed by bills drawn on the authorities in London he prevented the colony from collapsing. Recalled in 1841 and virtually disgraced by a home government that at first refused to honor his promissory notes, Gawler had nevertheless given the colony the equipment in roads, buildings, and country services necessary to its future development, which followed the vital reconstruction and rigorous economy ruthlessly effected by his capable successor, George Grey (1841–1845). Thereafter the extension of settlement in South Australia proceeded more steadily than in Western Australia. The land itself was more uniformly good, and what convicts did for the western colony was more than equaled by the natural stimulus afforded to South Australian agriculture by the markets opened up after the silver, lead, and copper discoveries in the colony

A gold rush town in New South Wales in the 1870's is typical of those that sprang up all over Austalia to house the men who came to seek wealth.

MITCHELL LIBRARY, SYDNEY, FROM AUSTRALIAN NEWS AND INFORMATION BUREAU

itself in the early 1840's and by the gold of Victoria and New South Wales a decade later.

Northern Territory. Political and economic influences both played a part in the extension of settlement to what is now the Northern Territory of the Commonwealth. Anxiety to forestall French settlement in the north combined with the hope of developing East Indian trade led to abortive settlements at Melville Island in 1824 and at Raffles Bay in 1827, and to a settlement at Port Essington, which lasted from 1838 to 1849. Inland exploration in the 1860's, which resulted in the crossing of the continent from south to north, evoked new interest in the Northern Territory, and Queensland and South Australia cast ambitious eyes on the unsettled north. The temptation was too strong for the more venturesome politicians in Adelaide, and in 1863, with the consent of the British government, the boundaries of South Australia were extended to the north coast. Conditions less favorable than those obtaining in Queensland and the absence of a native population to serve as plantation laborers help to explain the slight progress made in settlement during the 48 years of South Australian administration, despite considerable expenditure by the government and the construction of an Adelaide-Darwin telegraph line and part of a south-north railway. Finally, in 1911, the Commonwealth assumed control over the territory.

The Gold Rushes and Their Aftermath, 1850–1890. Five of the six colonies had been independently established and Queensland was within sight of separate status before the gold rushes of the early 1850's. Self-government had also been foreshadowed by the Australian Colonies Government Act, 1850, at the same time that it separated Port Phillip from the mother colony. This act authorized all four colonies except Western Australia, whose convict period (1850–1868) delayed representative government until 1870 and responsible government until 1890, to draw up their own proposals for the modification of existing constitutions. To attribute Australian political institutions or ideas exclusively to the gold rushes would therefore be as misleading as it would be to ignore the economic and social potentialities of small settler resistance to squatter predominance in the second quarter of the century. Yet it must be recognized that the men of all classes and creeds who flocked to the eastern diggings in the 1850's and 1870's and to the western goldfields in the 1890's exercised a profound influence on the political, social, and economic evolution of all the Australian colonies. Australian history does not begin in 1851, but it was deeply affected by the aftermath of the discovery of gold at Bathurst by Edward H. Hargraves in February of that year.

Although gold had been found in New South Wales on at least four occasions between 1823 and 1842, further investigation had been officially discouraged. Transportation to the mother colony had, however, ceased by the time the riches of the California goldfields had whetted the appetites of colonial prospectors and colonial governments alike. The latter were now more attracted by the wealth than they were fearful of the social consequences of the discovery of gold in large quantities. Hargraves was therefore rewarded, and by the middle of 1851 the first Australian gold rush had begun. The most colorful features of life on the Australian diggings were to be seen after the much richer finds made in August and December 1851 at Ballarat and Bendigo, comparatively near the Victorian capital of Melbourne. But all colonies felt the direct effects of rushes to their own fields (as in Queensland and Western Australia during the 1870's and 1890's, respectively) or the indirect influence of the sudden migration of laborers to goldfields in neighboring colonies and the subsequent development of new markets there.

The political and economic effects of the gold rushes are more readily apparent than their social consequences. Although the immigrant diggers were not the only 19th century democrats in Australian colonial societies, the relatively high proportion of politically disaffected among the many thousands who came from Great Britain and Ireland, from continental Europe, and from North America to the goldfields in the 1850's was an important factor in the successful attack made upon the privileged classes in the responsible colonial legislatures of the 1860's. Vote by ballot became law in Victoria in March 1856 and in South Australia the following month. Modern historians tend to minimize the immediate political significance of the rebellion at the Eureka Stockade on the Ballarat fields toward the end of 1854, when four of the attacking military force, which had been rushed to the scene of the riot, and some 30 rebels lost their

lives. This direct conflict with authority gave place to a more constitutional opposition to vested interests after the advent of capitalist mining in the 1860's.

Most diggers were then absorbed into the ranks of an urban proletariat or became more or less disgruntled small farmers seeking to take advantage of Victorian and New South Wales legislation for "free selection before survey" in a largely vain attempt to force squatters to "unlock the land." The former diggers certainly provided a new and welcome labor force, which made possible the manufacturing industries created in Victoria under the dominant influence of David Syme and his protectionist program. They gave new significance to the development of the Australian trade union movement, which had begun in the 1830's. Population in Australia increased from 405,356 in 1850 to 1,145,585 in 1860. Similar results were to follow the opening of the Western Australian fields some 25 years later; the western colony's population rose from 39,584 to 179,708 between 1886 and 1900, when gold indeed put Western Australia on the map. The colony's exports multiplied ten times in value during the period, and responsible government, foreshadowed before the gold rushes and granted in 1890, became an effective instrument in agricultural expansion after the decline of gold mining early in the 20th century.

The social consequences of the gold rushes, like those of convict transportation, are not easily assessed. But it must be recognized that the mass migrations of the gold rushes had some leveling influence during the common search for fortunes on the fields and in the less spectacular search for a living when the alluvial gold had petered out. A certain ethnic infusion should also be recognized. Though the proportion of non-Britishers among the diggers was surprisingly small—the census of 1861 put it as low as 7.5%—the intermingling of English, Scottish, and irish immigrants with colonial diggers helped to produce a distinctively Australian stock from which Asian strains were excluded. This was partly the result of the vigorous policy of immigration restriction—a policy owing much to the hard feelings between Europeans and Chinese on the goldfields. The policy eventually was embodied in the Immigration Restriction Act, passed immediately upon the establishment of the Commonwealth (1901).

One clearly understandable consequence of both convict transportation and gold discoveries was the increase in bushranging, or frontier violence. The final outburst of lawlessness in sections of an almost empty land was brought under control in 1880 with the destruction of the notorious Kelly gang led by Ned Kelly.

Economic Depression and Prelude to Federation, 1890–1901. The most serious sequel to the gold rushes, the land boom of the 1880's, had long-term results that were political and social as well as economic. The boom of the late 1880's and the acute depression that followed its bursting in the early 1890's, when 23 banks failed within two years, had many contributory causes. In the traditional interpretation of the boom of 1890 paramount importance is attached to the colonial self-confidence that had followed the gold rushes long after the gold yield had begun to decline. The significance of this single causative influence has, however, been challenged in view of the steady and healthy growth of many urban manufacturing and building industries between 1860 and 1885. Gold production throughout Australia nevertheless decreased more than 50% in value between 1860 and 1886, though falling world prices in manufactured goods helped to offset the reduction in gold exports as long as world prices for wool remained high. Eastern Australia also experienced an unusually long run of good seasons in the 1870's and 1880's, which helped to disguise a relative decline in efficiency of some expanded pastoral properties.

This expansion and some unhealthy urban building ventures were assisted by money from English and Scottish sources, which was freely invested in Australian banks and other private enterprises. Colonial governments also had no difficulty in raising loans on the London market, which were spent on developmental works whose economic soundness was too seldom subjected to careful scrutiny. Overseas interest commitments trebled between 1861 and 1890, and the situation was aggravated by unwise banking policy. Banks that had once given overdrafts on wool and stock in process of sale extended their credit until eventually the land itself was considered sufficient security. Speculation in land values made this security more than doubtful, especially when the advances were made on city blocks, in which an orgy of speculation developed in the 1880's. The reappearance of drought in New South Wales and South Australia between 1884 and 1886 checked the overconfidence of Sydney and Adelaide speculators, but Victoria continued to enjoy good seasons. People poured into the southern colony from other parts of Australia, and huge sums from overseas were invested between 1886 and 1890. Stock exchange activities in mining shares and the scrip of land companies nearly doubled between 1887 and 1888. Melbourne became a veritable boom city. When the banks endeavored to call a halt to the speculation, which their overgenerous advances had encouraged, land companies took advantage of Victorian legislation of 1888 to convert themselves into banks. They had little difficulty in obtaining financial support in the United Kingdom, and speculation in land values extended from the capital to country towns until the whole colony was affected.

There was no sudden bursting of the bubble, but the price of wool was an indicator. Steady from 1875 to 1884, it dropped each year thereafter until it was down to half of the 1884 price in 1894. British investors were also alarmed by failures in Argentina in the late 1880's and the sources of private and public loans began to dry up. The pinch was felt in Melbourne by the close of 1889, when a building association suspended payment. Building construction stopped suddenly in the early part of the following year, and most of the land companies collapsed in 1891 and 1892. The associated banks held on until January 1893, when the first of their number, the Federal Bank of Australia, went down.

Resolute action by the government of New South Wales checked panic in Sydney and made possible the use of the gold resources of the mother colony to assist reconstruction elsewhere, but rehabilitation was a slow and painful process. Millions of pounds of British deposits were locked up in the form of preference shares in reconstructed banks, and colonial investors had to settle down to a period of lean

years from which many of them never recovered. Between 1898 and 1900, however, recovery was rapid despite the recurrence of drought conditions.

When financial, commercial, and rural interests had adjusted themselves to postboom conditions, they were faced with labor forces that themselves had undergone a difficult period of readjustment following a trial of strength with employers, while the boom was still at its height, from which the trade unions had come off second best. The Australian labor movement, which in its pre-goldfields phase had been influenced largely by British trade unionism, was strengthened and refashioned in the 1860's as a "unionism native to the country" by former diggers absorbed into older urban and rural industries, the new capitalized mining ventures, and the young manufacturing industries. The growing strength of the trade unions was displayed in a series of strikes in the 1870's and 1880's. Other landmarks in their rapid development were the formation of a coal miners' mutual protective association in the Hunter River district in 1874, the holding of the first intercolonial conference of trade unions in 1879, and the launching of the Amalgamated Shearers' Union (1886), which by 1894 was to become the powerful Australian Workers' Union (AWU), embracing shearers and shed hands in Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia, and New Zealand and joined a decade later by the Queensland Shearers' Union. The AWU thus organized by William Guthrie Spence, with a membership of 50,000, was to remain one of the most influential Australian trade unions, whose nationwide organization swept across political boundaries and absorbed minor rural unions. Elsewhere, craft unionism continued to retain a considerable hold on the labor movement, while geographical and political factors reinforced craft union arguments in favor of federation rather than amalgamation.

Meanwhile, the whole trade union movement, with its emphasis on industrial rather than on political activity, received a shattering blow from the failure of the great shipping strike of 1890, which both sides treated as a trial of strength. Although shearers and miners struck, the approach of the depression, already reflected in falling prices and increasing unemployment, and the strength of the political and press support for employers spelled disaster for the unions. After both leaders and rank-and-file members had retired to lick their wounds and to share in the general suffering caused by the bursting of the boom, Australian labor reemerged in a new political phase in which it rapidly rose to leadership in what became the federal and state parliaments of the new Commonwealth of Australia.

Although labor's advent as an organized political party dates from the 1890's, political pressure had been exercised by unions long before, as is shown by the general adoption of an eight-hour day by colonial legislatures between 1873 and 1896 and the passage of various factory and mines acts. A labor member had been elected to the legislative assembly of Victoria as early as 1859, and to that of New South Wales in 1880 and 1883. Such political intervention was merely accidental, however, and industrial activities were considered the real concern of trade unionists. The growing difficulties of the 1880's had suggested to some the need for a change of tactics, and the disastrous defeat in the shipping strike of 1890 brought many more round to this point of view, which was strengthened by the payment of members of the New South Wales Legislative Assembly in 1891, following the lead of Victoria in 1871 and South Australia in 1887.

New South Wales and Queensland were most active in this new political phase of the labor movement. Some 36 Labor party members were elected in New South Wales in 1891, and 27 in 1894, only to be split on the fiscal issue by the superior tactics of Premier Sir George Dibbs. From 1895 on, the reunited party, though still in the minority, held the balance in the Legislative Assembly. Increasingly skillful tactics—the party now included two future Labor prime ministers of the Commonwealth, John Christian Watson and William Morris Hughes—made possible the making and unmaking of ministries. Labor thus secured the passage of important social legislation before it obtained a majority of the assembly in 1910 and formed the first Labor ministry in New South Wales, under James S.T. McGowen, though not the first in Australia. That distinction belongs to Queensland, where Anderson Dawson became premier in 1899. The Dawson ministry lasted only a week, but it included the second Labor prime minister of the Commonwealth, Andrew Fisher.

The fortunes of the Labor party in the various states in the early years of the 20th century were affected by local issues, reflecting to some degree the level of economic development reached in each. However, by this time the Australian labor movement was concentrating more and more of its political attention on the Commonwealth Parliament, to the creation of which organized labor had made an indirect contribution—though the influences leading to federation were concerned with external as well as internal affairs and in both respects considerably antedated the political phase of the labor movement.

It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of these external and internal influences. The need for coordination in defense policy, and for joint action in external affairs undoubtedly played an important part in transforming vague aspirations for political federation into positive action. This was especially evident after the early 1880's, as the activities of foreign nations in the Pacific continued to alarm the several colonial communities in eastern Australia. But both the main stimulus and the most persistent opposition to federation came from the growing divergence of the domestic policies of the several colonial governments and from increasingly acute local rivalries and jealousies. There was a pressing need to find some way of coordinating the customs policies of neighboring colonies. Particularly glaring was the contrast between free trade New South Wales and protectionist Victoria after the late 1860's. Other common needs might be met from time to time by intercolonial conferences, which did indeed produce agreement concerning ocean mails, lighthouses, and the like. Some such ad hoc method might also have resolved the difficulties involved in the navigation and use of the waters of the Murray River, in which three colonies were closely interested, but without some more general and permanent machinery the search for a customs agreement was bound to be fruitless. On the other hand the very sharpness of the contrast between Victoria and New South Wales made a common tariff policy almost as elusive.

The first project for central government to achieve prominence dates from 1837, when Earl Grey suggested the establishment of a general assembly for the several colonies. The Australian Colonies Government Act of 1850 did contain such a provision in its first draft, but the centrifugal tendencies in Australian development made such attempts fruitless, although there were men in the colonies—Edward Deas-Thomson, William Charles Wentworth, and John Dunmore Lang—who early recognized the need of a machinery for common action. In the 1870's and 1880's the stiffening of Victoria's protectionist policy and the urgency of Murray River problems gave suport to the convictions of three political leaders in Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland, respectively—James Service, Henry Parkes, and Samuel Walker Griffith—to whom the cause of federation owed much. Events in the Pacific then played their part. In 1883 the British government refused to confirm Queensland Premier Sir Thomas McIlwraith's annexation of New Guinea, although it was supported by colonial opinion elsewhere. Service and Griffith then endorsed the earlier suggestion of Parkes for a federal council of Australasia, which was duly established in 1885 by an act of the British Parliament.

The first practical step in the movement toward federation was endangered by its founders' attempt to create a comprehensive unit including New Zealand and Fiji. The council's powers were also too limited, for they excluded defense and the question of tariffs. To make matters worse Parkes, who had been in England in 1883–1884 while his colleagues were somewhat hastily drafting the constitution of the new body, failed to persuade New South Wales to become a member. The federal council, indeed, fell far short of the federation of which Parkes dreamed, and for which he began an active campaign in the late 1880's.

The national convention that met in Sydney in March 1891 did not have sufficient popular drive behind it to overcome the partly factious opposition in all colonies. Nevertheless, it brought together a number of able men (including representatives of New Zealand) who, under the leadership of Parkes and Griffith, produced a draft embodying the details of a federal constitution to be submitted to the British Parliament after the endorsement of the colonial legislatures had been obtained. The colonial parliaments of 1891 failed, however, to give the necessary confirmation. Opposition, led by George Houstoun Reid, was strongest in Sydney, where there were real fears for the prosperity that had been built up by free trade. The opposition in the other colonies, though not so serious except in Western Australia, was sufficient to prevent the governments concerned from moving without the assurance of New South Wales cooperation, and there was no organized nonparty federal movement strong enough to force the issue.

The second national convention, held in 1897–1898, was the direct result of the rapid rise of such an organized popular movement. A conference of federal leagues and the older Australian Natives' Association, which assembled at Corowa in 1893, reflected the sentimental enthusiasm for union and the practical search for more efficient government inspired by the collapse of the land boom and the widespread depression of the early 1890's. Political changes and retirements also provided parliamentary leaders for the federal movement. Edmund Barton in New South Wales and Alfred Deakin in Victoria gave steady support, while Reid, though still hesitant, was shrewd enough to recognize the political significance of the popular movement and give it the equivocal support that later earned him the nickname of "Yes-No" Reid. The popular side to the federal movement in the 1890's was reflected in the composition of the second national convention. Its members, following the procedure recommended by John Quick at Corowa, were elected by the people of the several colonies (except in Western Australia, where they were again appointed by the British Parliament, and in Queensland, which was not represented). Additional popular support was invited by the decision to submit the convention's revised version of the draft constitution of 1891 to the electors of the several Australian colonies.

The course was now set for federation, but opposition again sprang up in New South Wales and Western Australia. At Reid's instigation the legislature of New South Wales had made an 80,000 affirmative poll a condition for its further action, and the referendum of June 1898 produced an affirmative majorty vote totaling only 71,595. Despite clear majority votes in Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania, followed by a similar result in Queensland, a position of stalemate was thus reached. Further negotiations led in January 1899 to a premiers' conference at Melbourne, where it was agreed to resubmit the bill with certain amendments concerning, among other subjects, financial clauses and the alteration of the constitution, and providing for the establishment of the federal capital within the boundaries of New South Wales, but more than 100 miles (161 km) from Sydney. A revival of opposition in Sydney threatened still further delay, but affirmative votes, with increased majorities, were obtained in all the colonies except Western Australia. There the government of John Forrest was at length persuaded, and a referendum held on July 31, 1900, produced the necessary affirmative vote. Meanwhile, the other five colonies had proceeded to London with their bill, and the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act came into operation on Jan. 1, 1901. Barton became the first prime minister of the new Commonwealth, with Deakin as his attorney general and leading colleague.

From Federation Through World War II, 1901–1945. The first Australian Commonwealth of 1901 would be scarcely recognizable to those who have known only the nation that emerged from the second of the two world wars that so deeply affected the first half century of its development. Its behavior in its first 14 years reflected its colonial parentage as well as its overseas ancestry. In many respects the young Commonwealth was but old colonial societies writ large. Leading figures at the seat of federal government—in Melbourne until 1927, thereafter at the new federal capital city of Canberra—were men of local political experience. The first prime minister had been both attorney general of New South Wales and a speaker of its Legislative Assembly; his attorney general had been premier of Victoria; five other members of his first ministry—John Forrest, Sir George Turner, Sir William John Lyne, Charles Cameron Kingston, and Sir Philip Oakley Fysh—had held the premiership in Western Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, South

Australia, and Tasmania, respectively. The official leader of the opposition, George Reid, had given up his colorful political career in Sydney for what was to be a somewhat indifferent success in federal politics, though he was to hold the office of prime minister in 1904–1905. John Christian Watson, Andrew Fisher, and William Morris Hughes, the first three Labor prime ministers of the Commonwealth, were also members of its first Parliament.

Apart from the problems peculiar to the new federal governmental system, it had to take on the many issues that had already been hammered out in the several colonies. In the formative period of the young Commonwealth preceding World War I most of these isues were clarified in general with very substantial common consent—a fact that helps to explain their high degree of subsequent acceptance.

In many cases the colonial antecedents are readily detectable in legislation passed in the early years. Protection, which became the accepted fiscal policy in 1908 after an initial compromise, was a victory for Victorian as against New South Wales practice—a victory made inevitable by the support of the Labor minority in the House of Representatives. The peculiarly Australian system of industrial arbitration developed in the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration set up by the Commonwealth Parliament in 1904 was modeled on New Zealand experience embodied in Kingston's Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1894 in South Australia, Bernhard Ringrose Wise's New South Wales Arbitration and Conciliation Act of 1901, and the Western Australia Court of Arbitration created in 1900, although the system was also influenced by the minimum wage boards introduced in Victoria in 1896, in Queensland in 1908, and in Tasmania. The Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 was the sequel to an agitation that dated back to goldfields rivalries and had already found expression on the prefederation statute books of more than one colony. The decision to repatriate and exclude South Sea Islanders was made by general consent through the Pacific Islands Labourers Act of 1901, and the concurrence of Queensland cane sugar interests was secured by a tariff designed to compensate for the additional cost of white workers in the cane fields.

Some of the measures passed in the first 14 years reflected the growing influence of the Labour party. Though lacking a clear majority until 1910, Labor, under Watson until 1907 and then under Fisher, had a strong ally in Alfred Deakin. This made possible many of the reforms that gave the prewar Australian Commonwealth a reputation for pioneering social legislation. The year 1908 witnessed the introduction of old-age and invalid pensions. A maternity allowance (1912) followed Labor's advent to power in 1910, and 1911 saw King O'Malley's act for the establishment of the Commonwealth Bank of Australia. However, the electors of the Commonwealth refused Labor the necessary votes at referendums held in 1911 and 1913 to extend federal powers under the constitution to speed up its gradualist policy of "socialism in our time."

Public as well as parliamentary interest centered mainly on domestic affairs in the prewar years, but substantial progress was made in the related fields of defense, imperial relations, and external affairs that had greatly influenced the establishment of the Commonwealth. The decision to create the Royal Australian Navy (1909) had the support of all political parties, and the new Australian military system established by Deakin's legislation of 1909, as amended by Labor's minister for defense, Senator George Foster Pearce, in the following year, provided for a citizen army based on the principle of compulsory training for home defense.

The early leaders of the Commonwealth had no difficulty in reconciling a sturdy Australian nationalism with retention of the imperial tie, but Deakin in particular was not afraid of frank speech in rejection of imperial federation, in denunciation of the "disdain and indifference" with which British enterprise in the Pacific was treated by the Colonial Office, and in advocacy of an imperial secretariat of officials appointed by the several Dominions to maintain direct contact between their governments and United Kingdom departments of state. Deakin's demand for a greater share by the Dominions in the shaping of imperial policy was reinforced by Fisher, but the United Kingdom's control over foreign relations affecting Australia remained virtually unfettered down to the outbreak of war in August 1914. The Australian government had also shown its readiness to qualify its economic nationalism by a mild form of imperial preference (1908). The existence of a portfolio of external affairs in prewar ministries was, indeed, justified chiefly by such legislation as the Navigation Act of 1913, designed to implement the domestic social policy of the Australian Commonwealth by denying interstate coastal trade to ships whose crews did not enjoy the conditions and wages prescribed for Australian seamen.

To the nation at large World War I thus came as a shock, and the reaction was instinctive and emotional rather than reflective of a considered responsibility in foreign affairs. Both as leader of the opposition and as prime minister from September 1914, Fisher pledged "our last man and our last shilling to see this war brought to a successful issue." The wartime record of the young Australian navy in its Indian Ocean sinking of the *Emden* (1914) and in service with the Royal Navy, the capture of German New Guinea (1914), and the contribution of some 329,000 volunteer servicemen (from a total population of less than 5 million) were rightly regarded as a national baptism of fire.

Service on the battlefields also won a place for Australian politicians in the councils of peace at the end of the war, as well as in imperial war cabinets. The nation was behind William Morris Hughes (who had succeeded Fisher as prime minister in 1914) when he insisted before and during the Paris Peace Conference that Australia should secure all of Germany's Pacific possessions south of the equator, with or without the nominal restrictions of a League of Nations mandate. Hughes had nevertheless failed to carry a majority of the Australian people with him when he sought by successive referendums (1916 and 1917) to replace voluntary enlistment by conscription for overseas service.

These conscription referendums had a profound and lasting effect on Australian politics, for they split the Labor party as well as the nation. Hughes and most of his lieutenants left the federal party, which went embittered to the wilderness and remained there until 1929. Hughes led his wartime non-Labor allies until

1923, when he was succeeded as prime minister by Stanley Melbourne (later 1st Viscount) Bruce.

During the postwar and predepression decade of the 1920's most Australians again were preoccupied with domestic affairs. Prime Minister Bruce, aided by substantial overseas loans and extensive projects of assisted immigration (both mainly from the United Kingdom), grappled with the three related problems of men, money, and markets that confronted an Australia now intensifying its wartime industrialization with more speed than efficiency or discrimination. Bruce was a conservative and restraining influence on Canadian, South African, and Irish Free State representatives at the imperial conferences of 1923 and 1926. Australia was more concerned with economic arrangements that would increase its preferences in United Kingdom markets and with improved machinery for imperial consultation and cooperation than with discussions of the legal rights of the dominions or with elaboration of constitutional formulas for the British Commonwealth of Nations, which was replacing the British Empire. However, despite preoccupation with domestic matters, little social legislation was passed during the interwar years.

The Labor party, returned to office under James Henry Scullin in 1929, found its hands tied by a hostile majority in the federal Senate, though Labor governments controlled several state parliaments, including that of New South Wales. When the worldwide depression hit Australia, under circumstances strikingly similar to those of the early 1890's, the Labor party once more split. The majority followed Scullin into opposition to a national government headed by his lieutenant, former Tasmanian Labor Premier Joseph Aloysius Lyons. The latter remained in office as prime minister, with the future High Court chief justice, J. G. (later Sir John) Latham, as his right-hand man, until the death of Lyons in 1939 brought Robert (later Sir Robert) Gordon Menzies to the prime ministership.

In September 1939, Menzies led into World War II a divided coalition government and a nation almost as ill prepared as it had been in 1914, both psychologically and militarily, despite the Lyons government's efforts in rearmament from 1933 onward. The replacement of the Menzies government in 1941 by the Labor administration of John Curtin made possible increasing manpower controls that might otherwise have been met with resistance by the trade unions.

During World War II, Australian troops repeated their previous role in voluntarily recruited service in the Middle East. In 1941–1942 they fought the Japanese in Malaya, and an Australian division was trapped at the fall of Singapore. Troops then recalled from the Middle East were joined by conscripted militia, whose home service was extended to the Pacific islands. Together they held the Japanese in the jungles of New Guinea, while the Australian Navy and Air Force fought alongside other British Commonwealth and U.S. forces in various parts of the world.

Nearly a million Australians served in the armed forces out of a population of barely more than 7 million. The nation suffered 95,561 wartime casualties.

FREDERICK ALEXANDER
Author of "Australia Since Federation"

POSTWAR AUSTRALIA

Australia's wartime leader, Prime Minister Curtin, died in 1945 only weeks before his dream of victory was certified by the Japanese surrender and the formal end of the global conflict. However, his Labor party continued to lead the nation until the end of the decade, launching Australia into a new era of momentous social and economic change.

The Chifley Government. Curtin was succeeded by Joseph Benedict Chifley, a socially conservative former locomotive engineer who had risen to leadership of the Labor party through its trade-union wing. Chifley was initially popular and swept to an easy victory in the 1946 elections against a coalition led by Menzies and the Liberal party, which he had formed in 1944 as the major political voice of business and the conservative middle classes.

Chifley recognized a widespread popular desire for economic change in Australia. The nation had tasted industrialization during the war and now wanted to devour it. With his minister of immigration, Arthur Augustus Calwell, Chifley inaugurated a program of massive immigration to attract foreign workers. As a result of this policy, Australia more than doubled its population in less than 30 years, drawing millions of people not only from the British Isles but from continental Europe and the Middle East, the government paying for their passages.

To speed industrialization the Chifley administration turned to foreign corporations. General Motors agreed to produce a wholly Australian-made car, and the first model, the Holden, came off the assembly line late in 1948. The G.M. venture was so successful in a market hungry for automobiles that other foreign companies were encouraged to follow suit. Led by the auto industry, Australia entered an unprecedented period of manufacturing development. Within a generation the Commonwealth had changed from a primarily agricultural nation into a medium-sized industrial power.

Although the Chifley government's policies of organized immigration and economic diversification had broad public support and were espoused by subsequent non-Labor governments, Labor soon lost ground. During the war years, when the Soviet Union was an ally, the Communist party thrived in Australia. It established great influence not only in the trade-union movement but in the ruling Labor party itself. With the start of the Cold War, Menzies made anti-Communism and the Labor party's alleged links with Communism a political issue. At the same time Chifley, whose party then had as the primary plank in its platform the socialization of industry, commerce, and the means of exchange, introduced bills to nationalize the privately owned banks and to establish a single, government-owned domestic airline. Both attempts were blocked as unconstitutional by the High Court. Chifley demonstrated his lifelong anti-Communism in 1949 when he used troops to break a coal-mining strike initiated by Communist-led unions. But the country's burgeoning middle classes had become suspicious of Labor's ultimate intentions, just as they were growing weary of wartime restrictions, especially the rationing of gasoline needed for the new cars they were buying in great numbers. In the December 1949 elections they brought Menzies and his Liberal party to power.

The Menzies Years. The new prime minister ended rationing and then proceeded to govern Australia in coalition with the disciplined, ultra-conservative Country (afterward National) party. Menzies was to dominate Australian political life for the next 23 years.

An imposing figure—he was 6 feet 3 inches (190 cm) tall—Menzies maintained his political power by manipulating divisions in the opposition Labor party and by skillfully using his physical presence and commanding oratory to enhance his popular appeal. During his long prime ministership he presided over an unprecedented prosperity, which he guided with a gentle, almost laissez-faire hand. The chief criticism of Menzies was that he allowed the economy to coast instead of leading it in a more aggressive expansion, as through the development of export-oriented manufacturing industries. But his achievements were real and lasting. Menzies expanded the educational system at an unparalleled rate and on all levels. In foreign policy, he brought Australia into the ANZUS mutual-defense treaty (1952) with the United States and New Zealand—a turning point in national diplomacy, for it ensured U.S. participation in regional defense. An important and controversial ramification of the ANZUS treaty was that it enabled the United States to establish vital intelligence bases on Australian soil.

That question aside, Menzies' reputation as a political leader of world stature was contested on several grounds. In 1956, for example, he was involved in a ludicrously ineffective personal attempt to persuade Egypt's President Nasser to return the just nationalized Suez Canal to French-British ownership. He justified his later involvement of Australia in the Vietnam War as a means "to prevent the downward thrust of China." Moreover, he authorized the sending of conscripts to Vietnam, although previously all Australians who had fought overseas had been volunteers. Critics also pointed to his opposition to the admission of newly independent black and Asian former British colonies to the Commonwealth. But in the early 1960's, Menzies sanctioned the end of the "white Australia" policy, which since 1901 had restricted permanent immigration to people of European stock.

The Labor Split. Through most of Menzies' term of office, the opposition Labor party was in turmoil. After Chifley's death in 1951, it was led for nine years by Herbert Vere Evatt, a former High Court judge who had been Chifley's foreign minister and president of the United Nations General Assembly. In 1954, following his narrow defeat by Menzies in a general election, Evatt confronted right-wing members of the Labor party who allegedly were led from outside the organization by Bartholomew Santamaria, organizer of a large Catholic social-action movement. The prime minister accused the rightist Labor faction of running "dead" during the campaign and of conspiring to take over the party. The issue split the labor movement, with most of its right wing forming the Democratic Labor Party (DLP).

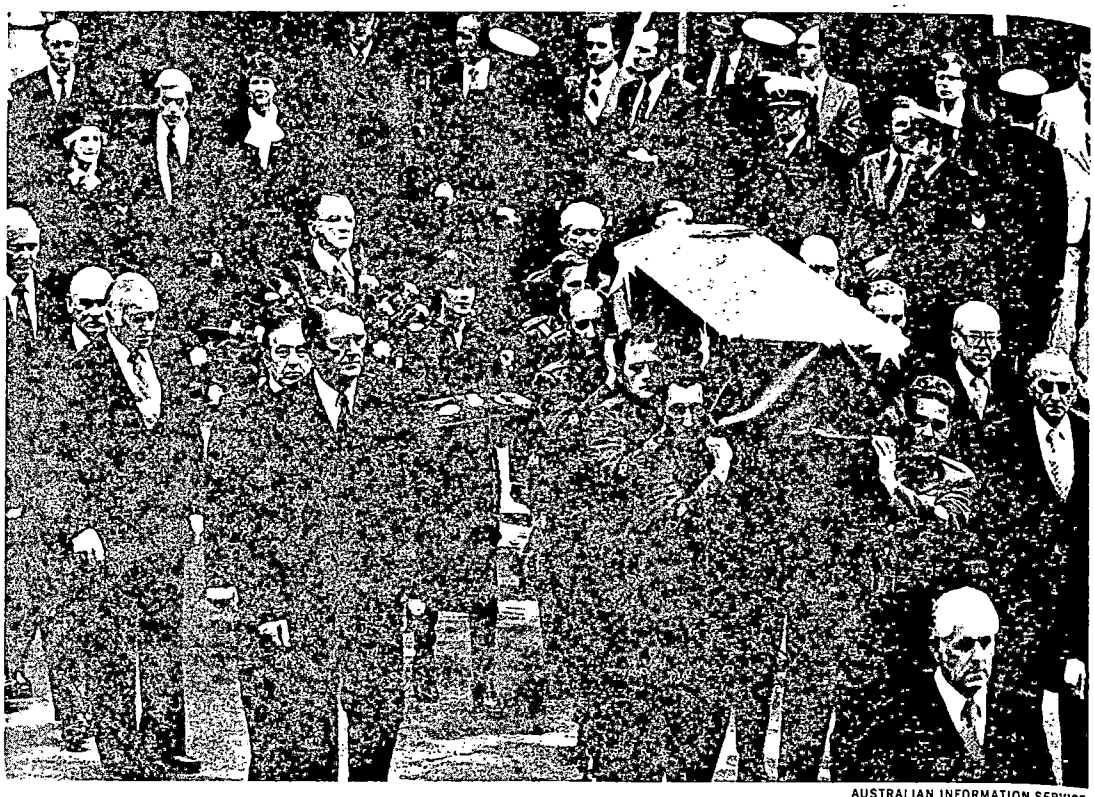
Santamaria, who since the late 1930's was one of the most influential figures behind the scenes in Australian politics, became the driving force of the DLP. For much of the next 20 years the DLP won enough seats in the Australian Senate to hold the balance of power there; and by directing its supporters to allocate against the Labor party their second-preference votes in elections for the House of Representatives (see under *Government*), it kept the Liberal-Country coalition in office. Not until Howard Gough Whitlam emerged as a new Labor leader in the mid-1960's—replacing Evatt's successor, Calwell—did the Labor party begin to regain conservative, middle-class votes and edge toward power.

The Liberal Succession. In 1966, Menzies stepped down voluntarily to pass the prime ministership to his long-favored deputy, Harold Holt. But Holt disappeared in the surf off a private beach near Melbourne in December 1967, his body never to be found. After his death the Liberal party elected as prime minister the little-known John (later Sir John) Grey Gorton, a senator, former minister for education and science, and a wartime fighter pilot. Once in power, Gorton proved to be a centralist who angered powerful elements in his own party who believed that the six Australian states should retain, even expand, their considerable power. More popular with the public than with the Liberal party, he barely retained power in the 1969 election, having lost popular support because of party wrangles, growing voter hostility to the Vietnam War, which Gorton supported, and strong campaigning by Whitlam. In 1971, Gorton yielded the prime ministership to William (later Sir William) McMahon. But McMahon's fumbling attempts to control his disintegrating party and to restrain the rolling Whitlam bandwagon paved the way for Whitlam's victory over him in 1972.

McMahon became the only Australian conservative prime minister who never won an election. His tactics—such as ardent opposition to Communism, which had been successful (and more relevant) in Australia 20 years earlier—were symbolized by an incident that occurred shortly after he began his brief reign. Whitlam had traveled to China, the first major politician from either side of Australian politics to do so since Mao Zedong's victory in 1949, and in Peking he had conferred for several hours with Premier Zhou Enlai. McMahon branded Whitlam a "traitor" who was undermining the American alliance. Two days later, while Whitlam was resting in Japan on his way home, the Nixon administration announced that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was in China, his secret mission having coincided with Whitlam's public one. At the same time it was disclosed that President Nixon would visit China the next year.

The Whitlam Government. Although he held power for only a sixth as long as Menzies, Whitlam in many ways challenges the earlier leader as the most significant Australian political figure after World War II. Until his emergence, Labor had seemed destined for permanent opposition despite the turmoil in the three conservative coalition governments that governed for their parties in the six years following Menzies' resignation.

Whitlam was Australia's most intellectually brilliant prime minister, and he displayed his knowledge with unabashed arrogance to those he saw as fools and to his political enemies. His Menzian appearance and oratory made him an awesome figure in the 1972 political campaign, especially when pitted against the diminutive McMahon. Whitlam's election slogan was "It's time!" Australians, tired of the internally divided conservative parties and (especially the young) fed up with the Vietnam War, agreed.



AUSTRALIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

A state funeral in Melbourne was held in 1978 for former Prime Minister Sir Robert Gordon Menzies. Among the dignitaries in attendance was incumbent Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, who leads the cortege on the left.

Since 1945 the nation had changed dramatically—in its economy, its politics, and its culture. A rich and confident country, Australia had become a multicultural society because of its immigration program. Less than 50% of the population were now of British stock, compared with 75% a generation earlier. Thanks to a decision of the government in 1960 to lift the traditional ban on Australian mineral exports, the nation's economy was thriving. Huge quantities of iron ore, coal, bauxite, and other minerals were being shipped to foreign markets, and the usual exports of wool, meat, wheat, and grain continued unabated. Reflecting the changing social mores, Whitlam abolished fees for all tertiary education, granted equal pay to women, lowered the voting age to 18, and obtained a new family law that effectively introduced no-fault divorce and gave the state the power and ultimate responsibility for supporting children of broken marriages.

The alliance with the United States was the cornerstone of Australia's foreign policy, and Whitlam supported it. But he was the first prime minister to declare that the relationship was interdependent, and that as a close ally of medium strength Australia had the right and duty to tell the United States when it thought Washington was wrong. This attitude immediately brought Whitlam into direct conflict with President Nixon's administration. Whitlam's first act as prime minister was to withdraw the remaining Australian troops from Vietnam, end conscription, and order the release of draft dodgers from jail. He strongly criticized Nixon for the bombing of Hanoi and the invasion of Cambodia, and in 1973, on a visit to the White House, he even lectured the president on what he saw as the errors of U.S. foreign policy.

In 1974, Whitlam was reelected, though by a reduced majority, defeating and triggering the political demise of Billy (later Sir Billy) Snedden, who had replaced McMahon as Liberal leader. For the first time an Australian Labor leader had led his party to two election victories. Confident Australia had the wealth and vigor to match wits in trading with the rest of the world, and Whitlam had slashed tariffs by 25% across the board in 1973. The timing proved to be terrible. The first OPEC-induced recession was just getting under way, a wage explosion was occurring in Australia, and both unemployment and inflation were soaring. Thanks to Labor's 23 years in the political wilderness, Whitlam's ministers had had no experience of government; worse, most were aging and had passed their peak of energy and judgment.

The Crisis of 1975. Early in 1975, Malcolm Fraser gained the Liberal party leadership from Snedden. A wealthy rancher, Fraser had nerves of steel and a commanding presence, equaling Menzies and Whitlam in physical stature. His conservatives controlled the Senate, where they proceeded late in 1975 to delay passage of the Labor government's money supply, demanding that Whitlam call an election of both houses of Parliament to find a political answer to Australia's deepening recession. Whitlam refused.

In a long battle of nerves, Fraser kept his forces in line. Governor-General Sir John Kerr—a Whitlam appointee, who when appointed was an old friend of the prime minister—then stepped in and invoked reserve powers of the

crown provided in the constitution but never before used. Kerr sacked the Whitlam government and dissolved Parliament. He appointed Fraser as interim prime minister on the condition that his party vote appropriations immediately and that an election be held. The day of the dismissal, Nov. 11, 1975, was the most dramatic in Australian peacetime history, with Labor supporters taking to the streets in protest throughout the nation. The most popular political figure, trade-union leader Robert Hawke (later to become prime minister), checked the surge to violence, but millions of Labor supporters never forgave Kerr and Fraser. The subsequent years of the Fraser government were marked by community bitterness and the prime minister's failure to win the confidence of large sections of the population.

The Fraser Government. In the election of December 1975, Fraser led the conservatives to a landslide win, the biggest in Australian history. Whitlam remained Labor's leader for another two years, when Fraser was reelected by a large majority and Whitlam retired, paving the way for William Hayden's leadership of the Labor party. Fraser, however, defeated Hayden in 1980. In that year Hawke, who had consistently and publicly expressed his ambition to be prime minister, entered the political arena as a member of the House of Representatives.

In the early 1980's inflation hovered above 10%, unemployment persisted at the highest levels since the depression of the 1930's, and Australia's exports were suffering from stagnant world prices for minerals and the worst drought of the century. As Fraser put it in his most famous declaration, "Life was not meant to be easy."

Another dramatic day in Australian politics dawned on Feb. 9, 1983. As Fraser was calling an early election, Hayden stood down as Labor leader to make way for Hawke. The latter was under pressure from party lieutenants to take over, despite Hayden's own opinion that "even a drover's dog" could have led Labor to victory over a dispirited and politically battered Fraser. Hawke won impressively. His populist style and his declaration that he would govern by consensus had struck chords in an Australian middle class that admired his political image and believed, as he did, that he was a natural leader of the nation. The Fraser years had been stark and often sterile, politically as well as economically.

The Hawke Consensus. Weeks after Hawke took office, the drought broke and the rural economy bounded to new records. At an economic summit called by the new prime minister, the three pillars of power in Australia—the government, business, and the unions—agreed on restraining wages and prices. A wage-price accord between the administration and the labor movement held wage increases to the rate of inflation. Hawke called an early election—an Australian political habit—and in December 1984 he was returned with a reduced but comfortable majority over the new Liberal leader, former foreign affairs minister Andrew Peacock. Less than a year later, the Liberals replaced Peacock with former treasurer John Howard, who promised less government control of the economy. Hawke called for an early election again in 1987 and won his third successive victory in July, in spite of the fact that the economy still suffered from falling world prices for Australia's raw material exports.

The New Australia. The Commonwealth of Australia had entered the postwar era facing social changes and a population explosion greater than at any time since the gold rushes of the 19th century. The nation undertook a program of massive immigration and with few social interruptions absorbed a flow of newcomers that included increasing numbers of non-British European ancestry, later reinforced by many thousands of Asians.

Meanwhile, Australia rapidly developed into one of the world's most affluent nations. Its prosperity was fed by the wave of immigration and backed by continuous strong exports of an efficient agriculture and by government policies that encouraged foreign investment in manufacturing and mining. Under a principle of wage justice long established by the government-appointed Conciliation and Arbitration Commission, the central wage-fixing authority, a national basic wage with margins added for different skills meant that much of the newly created wealth was more evenly distributed than in most industrializing countries. From 1945 until the mid-1970's, unemployment rarely existed, and when it did it was relatively low and short-lived. Afterward, although unemployment rose to a high level (by Australian standards) and the nation's traditional deficit in world trade increased sharply, the great majority of Australians remained prosperous.

Australia necessarily came to play a more prominent part in world affairs. When Japanese bombers raided northern coastal towns in 1942, Australians were shocked into recognition of their proximity to Asia. At the end of World War II, community leaders of all political persuasions were determined that their country would assume greater peacetime responsibilities. While retaining traditional ties with Britain and the older members of the Commonwealth of Nations, Australia welcomed increasing association with the United States in matters of regional defense and strengthened its links with friendly Asian and Pacific nations.

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CHAPTER VIII

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SCHEDULE

Oath and affirmation of allegiance

Australia

THE CONSTITUTION

(63 & 64 VICTORIA, CHAPTER 12)

An Act to constitute the Commonwealth of Australia.

[9th July 1900]

WHEREAS the people of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland; and Tasmania, humbly relying on the blessing of Almighty God, have agreed to unite in one indissoluble Federal Commonwealth under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and under the Constitution hereby established:

And whereas it is expedient to provide for the admission into the Commonwealth of other Australasian Colonies and possessions of the Queen:

Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

Short title.

1. This Act may be cited as the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act.[1]

Act to extend to the Queen's successors.

2. The provisions of this Act referring to the Queen shall extend to Her Majesty's heirs and successors in the sovereignty of the United Kingdom.

Proclamation of Commonwealth.

3. It shall be lawful for the Queen, with the advice of the Privy Council, to declare by proclamation[2] that, on and after a day therein appointed, not being later than one year after the passing of this Act, the people of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, and Tasmania, and also, if Her Majesty is satisfied that the people of Western Australia have agreed thereto, of Western Australia, shall be united in a Federal Commonwealth under the name of the Commonwealth of Australia. But the Queen may, at any time after the proclamation, appoint a Governor-General for the Commonwealth.

Commencement of Act.

4. The Commonwealth shall be established, and the Constitution of the Commonwealth shall take effect, on and after the day so appointed. But the Parliaments of the several colonies may at any time after the passing of this Act make any such laws, to come into

operation on the day so appointed, as they might have made if the Constitution had taken effect at the passing of this Act.

Operation of the constitution and laws.

5. This Act, and all laws made by the Parliament of the Commonwealth under the Constitution, shall be binding on the courts, judges, and people of every State and of every part of the Commonwealth, notwithstanding anything in the laws of any State; and the laws of the Commonwealth shall be in force on all British ships, the Queen's ships of war excepted, whose first port of clearance and whose port of destination are in the Commonwealth.[3]

Definitions.

6. "The Commonwealth" shall mean the Commonwealth of Australia as established under this Act.

"The States" shall mean such of the colonies of New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland, Tasmania, Victoria, Western Australia, and South Australia, including the northern territory of South Australia, as for the time being are parts of the Commonwealth, and such colonies or territories as may be admitted into or established by the Commonwealth as States; and each of such parts of the Commonwealth shall be called "a State."

"Original States" shall mean such States as are parts of the Commonwealth at its establishment.

Repeal of Federal Council Act. 48 & 49 Vict. c. 60.

7. The Federal Council of Australasia Act, 1885, is hereby repealed, but so as not to affect any laws passed by the Federal Council of Australasia and in force at the establishment of the Commonwealth.

Any such law may be repealed[4] as to any State by the Parliament of the Commonwealth, or as to any colony not being a State by the Parliament thereof.

Application of Colonial Boundaries Act. 58 & 59 Vict. c. 34.

8. After the passing of this Act the Colonial Boundaries Act, 1895, shall not apply to any colony which becomes a State of the Commonwealth; but the Commonwealth shall be taken to be a self-governing colony for the purposes of that Act.

Constitution.

9. The Constitution of the Commonwealth shall be as follows:—

THE CONSTITUTION.[1]

This Constitution is divided as follows:—

Chapter I.—The Parliament:
Part I.—General:
Part II.—The Senate:
Part III.—The House of Representatives:
Part IV.—Both Houses of the Parliament:
Part V.—Powers of the Parliament:

Chapter II.—The Executive Government:
Chapter III.—The Judicature:
Chapter IV.—Finance and Trade:
Chapter V.—The States:
Chapter VI.—New States:
Chapter VII.—Miscellaneous:
Chapter VIII.—Alteration of the Constitution.
The Schedule.

CHAPTER I.

Chap. I.

THE PARLIAMENT.

The Parliament.

PART I.—GENERAL.

Part I. General.

Legislative power.

1. The legislative power of the Commonwealth shall be vested in a Federal Parliament, which shall consist of the Queen, a Senate, and a House of Representatives, and which is herein-after called "The Parliament," or "The Parliament of the Commonwealth."

Governor-General.

2. A Governor-General appointed by the Queen shall be Her Majesty's representative in the Commonwealth, and shall have and may exercise in the Commonwealth during the Queen's pleasure, but subject to this Constitution, such powers and functions of the Queen as Her Majesty may be pleased to assign to him.

Salary of Governor-General.

3. There shall be payable to the Queen out of the Consolidated Revenue fund of the Commonwealth, for the salary of the Governor-General, an annual sum which, until the Parliament otherwise provides, shall be ten thousand pounds.

The salary of a Governor-General shall not be altered during his continuance in office.

Provisions relating to Governor-General.

4. The provisions of this Constitution relating to the Governor-General extend and apply to the Governor-General for the time being, or such person as the Queen may appoint to administer the Government of the Commonwealth; but no such person shall be entitled to receive any salary from the Commonwealth in respect of any other office during his administration of the Government of the Commonwealth.

Sessions of Parliament. Prorogation and dissolution.

5. The Governor-General may appoint such times for holding the sessions of the Parliament as he thinks fit, and may also from time to time, by Proclamation or otherwise, prorogue the Parliament, and may in like manner dissolve the House of Representatives.

Summoning Parliament.

After any general election the Parliament shall be summoned to meet not later than thirty days after the day appointed for the return of the writs.

First session.

The Parliament shall be summoned to meet not later than six months after the establishment of the Commonwealth.

Yearly session of Parliament.

6. There shall be a session of the Parliament once at least in every year, so that twelve months shall not intervene between the last sitting of the Parliament in one session and its first sitting in the next session.

Part II. The Senate.

PART II.—THE SENATE.

The Senate.

7. The Senate shall be composed of senators for each State, directly chosen by the people of the State, voting, until the Parliament otherwise provides, as one electorate.

But until the Parliament of the Commonwealth otherwise provides, the Parliament of the State of Queensland, if that State be an Original State, may make laws dividing the State into divisions and determining the number of senators to be chosen for each division, and in the absence of such provision the State shall be one electorate.

Until the Parliament otherwise provides there shall be six senators for each Original State. The Parliament may make laws increasing or diminishing the number of senators for each State,[5] but so that equal representation of the several Original States shall be maintained and that no Original State shall have less than six senators.

The senators shall be chosen for a term of six years, and the names of the senators chosen for each State shall be certified by the Governor to the Governor-General.

Qualification of electors.

8. The qualification of electors of senators shall be in each State that which is prescribed by this Constitution, or by the Parliament, as the qualification for electors of members of the House of Representatives; but in the choosing of senators each elector shall vote only once.

Method of election of senators.

9. The Parliament of the Commonwealth may make laws prescribing the method of choosing senators, but so that the method shall be uniform for all the States. Subject to any such law, the Parliament of each State may make laws[6] prescribing the method of choosing the senators for that State.

Times and places.

The Parliament of a State may make laws[6] for determining the times and places of elections of senators for the State.

Application of State laws.

10. Until the Parliament otherwise provides, but subject to this Constitution, the laws in force in each State, for the time being, relating to elections for the more numerous House of the Parliament of the State shall, as nearly as practicable, apply to elections of senators for the State.

Failure to choose senators.

11. The Senate may proceed to the despatch of business, notwithstanding the failure of any State to provide for its representation in the Senate.

Issue of writs.

12. The Governor of any State may cause writs to be issued for elections of senators for the State. In case of the dissolution of the Senate the writs shall be issued within ten days from the proclamation of such dissolution.

Rotation of senators.
Altered by No. 1, 1907, s. 2.

13. As soon as may be after the Senate first meets, and after each first meeting of the Senate following a dissolution thereof, the Senate shall divide the senators chosen for each State into two classes, as nearly equal in number as practicable; and the places of the senators of the first class shall become vacant at the expiration of ~~the third year~~ **three years,** and the places of those of the second class at the expiration of ~~the sixth year~~ **six years,** from the beginning of their term of service; and afterwards the places of senators shall become vacant at the expiration of six years from the beginning of their term of service.

The election to fill vacant places shall be made ~~in the year at the expiration of which~~ **within one year before** the places are to become vacant.

For the purposes of this section the term of service of a senator shall be taken to begin on the first day of ~~January~~ **July** following the day of his election, except in the cases of the first election and of the election next after any dissolution of the Senate, when it shall be taken to begin on the first day of ~~January~~ **July** preceding the day of his election.

Further provision for rotation.

14. Whenever the number of senators for a State is increased or diminished, the Parliament of the Commonwealth may make such provision for the vacating of the places of senators for the State as it deems necessary to maintain regularity in the rotation.[7]

Casual vacancies.
Substituted by No. 82, 1977, s. 2.

15.[8] If the place of a senator becomes vacant before the expiration of his term of service, the Houses of Parliament of the State for which he was chosen, sitting and voting together, or, if there is only one House of that Parliament, that House, shall choose a person to hold the place until the expiration of the term. But if the Parliament of the State is not in session when the vacancy is notified, the Governor of the State, with the advice of the Executive Council thereof, may appoint a person to hold the place until the expiration of fourteen days from the beginning of the next session of the Parliament of the State or the expiration of the term, whichever first happens.

Where a vacancy has at any time occurred in the place of a senator chosen by the people of a State and, at the time when he was so chosen, he was publicly recognized by a particular political party as being an endorsed candidate of that party and publicly represented himself to be such a candidate, a person chosen or appointed under this section in consequence of that vacancy, or in consequence of that vacancy and a subsequent vacancy or vacancies, shall, unless there is no member of that party available to be chosen or appointed, be a member of that party.

Where—

(a) in accordance with the last preceding paragraph, a member of a particular political party is chosen or appointed to hold the place of a senator whose place had become vacant; and

(b) before taking his seat he ceases to be a member of that party (otherwise than by reason of the party having ceased to exist),

he shall be deemed not to have been so chosen or appointed and the vacancy shall be again notified in accordance with section twenty-one of this Constitution.

The name of any senator chosen or appointed under this section shall be certified by the Governor of the State to the Governor-General.

If the place of a senator chosen by the people of a State at the election of senators last held before the commencement of the *Constitution Alteration (Senate Casual Vacancies)* 1977 became vacant before that commencement and, at that commencement, no person chosen by the House or Houses of Parliament of the State, or appointed by the Governor of the State, in consequence of that vacancy, or in consequence of that vacancy and a subsequent vacancy or vacancies, held office, this section applies as if the place of the senator chosen by the people of the State had become vacant after that commencement.

A senator holding office at the commencement of the *Constitution Alteration (Senate Casual Vacancies)* 1977, being a senator appointed by the Governor of a State in consequence of a vacancy that had at any time occurred in the place of a senator chosen by the people of the State, shall be deemed to have been appointed to hold the place until the expiration of fourteen days after the beginning of the next session of the Parliament of the State that commenced or commences after he was appointed and further action under this section shall be taken as if the vacancy in the place of the senator chosen by the people of the State had occurred after that commencement.

Subject to the next succeeding paragraph, a senator holding office at the commencement of the *Constitution Alteration (Senate Casual Vacancies)* 1977 who was chosen by the House or Houses of Parliament of a State in consequence of a vacancy that had at any time occurred in the place of a senator chosen by the people of the State shall be deemed to have been chosen to hold office until the expiration of the term of service of the senator elected by the people of the State.

If, at or before the commencement of the *Constitution Alteration (Senate Casual Vacancies)* 1977, a law to alter the Constitution entitled "*Constitution Alteration (Simultaneous Elections)* 1977" came into operation,[9] a senator holding office at the commencement of that law who was chosen by the House or Houses of Parliament of a State in consequence of a vacancy that had at any time occurred in the place of a Senator chosen by the people of the State shall be deemed to have been chosen to hold office—

(a) if the senator elected by the people of the State had a term of service expiring on the thirtieth day of June, One thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight—until the expiration or dissolution of the first House of Representatives to expire or be dissolved after that law came into operation; or

(b) if the senator elected by the people of the State had a term of service expiring on the thirtieth day of June, One thousand nine hundred and eighty-one—until the expiration or dissolution of the second House of Representatives to expire or be dissolved after that law came into operation or, if there is an earlier dissolution of the Senate, until that dissolution.

Qualifications of senator.

16. The qualifications of a senator shall be the same as those of a member of the House of Representatives.

Election of President.

17. The Senate shall, before proceeding to the despatch of any other business, choose a senator to be the President of the Senate; and as often as the office of President becomes vacant the Senate shall again choose a senator to be the President.

The President shall cease to hold his office if he ceases to be a senator. He may be removed from office by a vote of the Senate, or he may resign his office or his seat by writing addressed to the Governor-General.

Absence of President.

18. Before or during any absence of the President, the Senate may choose a senator to perform his duties in his absence.

Resignation of senator.

19. A senator may, by writing addressed to the President, or to the Governor-General if there is no President or if the President is absent from the Commonwealth, resign his place, which thereupon shall become vacant.

Vacancy by absence.

20. The place of a senator shall become vacant if for two consecutive months of any session of the Parliament he, without the permission of the Senate, fails to attend the Senate.

Vacancy to be notified.

21. Whenever a vacancy happens in the Senate, the President, or if there is no President or if the President is absent from the Commonwealth the Governor-General, shall notify the same to the Governor of the State in the representation of which the vacancy has happened.

Quorum.

22. Until the Parliament otherwise provides, the presence of at least one-third of the whole number of the senators shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of the Senate for the exercise of its powers.

Voting in the Senate.

23. Questions arising in the Senate shall be determined by a majority of votes, and each senator shall have one vote. The President shall in all cases be entitled to a vote; and when the votes are equal the question shall pass in the negative.

Part III. House of Representatives.

PART III.—THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Constitution of House of Representatives.

24. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members directly chosen by the people of the Commonwealth, and the number of such members shall be, as nearly as practicable, twice the number of the senators.

The number of members chosen in the several States shall be in proportion to the respective numbers of their people, and shall, until the Parliament otherwise provides, be determined, whenever necessary, in the following manner:—

(i.) A quota shall be ascertained by dividing the number of the people of the Commonwealth, as shown by the latest statistics of the Commonwealth, by twice the number of the senators:

(ii.) The number of members to be chosen in each State shall be determined by dividing the number of the people of the State, as shown by the latest statistics of the Commonwealth, by the quota; and if on such division there is a remainder greater than one-half of the quota, one more member shall be chosen in the State.

But notwithstanding anything in this section, five members at least shall be chosen in each Original State.

Provision as to races disqualified from voting.

25. For the purposes of the last section, if by the law of any State all persons of any race are disqualified from voting at elections for the more numerous House of the Parliament of the State, then, in reckoning the number of the people of the State or of the Commonwealth, persons of that race resident in that State shall not be counted.

Representatives in first Parliament.

26. Notwithstanding anything in section twenty-four, the number of members to be chosen in each State at the first election shall be as follows:—

New South Wales	twenty-three;
Victoria	twenty;

Queensland	eight;
South Australia	six;
Tasmania	five;

Provided that if Western Australia is an Original State, the numbers shall be as follows:—

New South Wales	twenty-six;
Victoria	twenty-three;
Queensland	nine;
South Australia	seven;
Western Australia	five;
Tasmania	five.

Alteration of number of members.

27. Subject to this Constitution, the Parliament may make laws for increasing or diminishing the number of the members of the House of Representatives.

Duration of House of Representatives.

28. Every House of Representatives shall continue for three years from the first meeting of the House, and no longer, but may be sooner dissolved by the Governor-General.

Electoral divisions.

29. Until the Parliament of the Commonwealth otherwise provides, the Parliament of any State may make laws[10] for determining the divisions in each State for which members of the House of Representatives may be chosen, and the number of members to be chosen for each division. A division shall not be formed out of parts of different States.

In the absence of other provision, each State shall be one electorate.

Qualification of electors.

30. Until the Parliament otherwise provides, the qualification of electors of members of the House of Representatives shall be in each State that which is prescribed by the law of the State as the qualification of electors of the more numerous House of Parliament of the State; but in the choosing of members each elector shall vote only once.

Application of State laws.

31. Until the Parliament otherwise provides, but subject to this Constitution, the laws in force in each State for the time being relating to elections for the more numerous House of the Parliament of the State shall, as nearly as practicable, apply to elections in the State of members of the House of Representatives.

Writs for general election.

32. The Governor-General in Council may cause writs to be issued for general elections of members of the House of Representatives.

After the first general election, the writs shall be issued within ten days from the expiry of a House of Representatives or from the proclamation of a dissolution thereof.

Writs for vacancies.

33. Whenever a vacancy happens in the House of Representatives, the Speaker shall issue his writ for the election of a new member, or if there is no Speaker or if he is absent from the Commonwealth the Governor-General in Council may issue the writ.

Qualifications of members.

34. Until the Parliament otherwise provides, the qualifications of a member of the House of Representatives shall be as follows:—

(i.) He must be of the full age of twenty-one years, and must be an elector entitled to vote at the election of members of the House of Representatives, or a person qualified to become such elector, and must have been for three years at the least a resident within the limits of the Commonwealth as existing at the time when he is chosen:

(ii.) He must be a subject of the Queen, either natural-born or for at least five years naturalized under a law of the United Kingdom, or of a Colony which has become or becomes a State, or of the Commonwealth, or of a State.

Election of Speaker.

35. The House of Representatives shall, before proceeding to the despatch of any other business, choose a member to be the Speaker of the House, and as often as the office of Speaker becomes vacant the House shall again choose a member to be the Speaker.

The Speaker shall cease to hold his office if he ceases to be a member. He may be removed from office by a vote of the House, or he may resign his office or his seat by writing addressed to the Governor-General.

Absence of Speaker.

36. Before or during any absence of the Speaker, the House of Representatives may choose a member to perform his duties in his absence.

Resignation of member.

37. A member may by writing addressed to the Speaker, or to the Governor-General if there is no Speaker or if the Speaker is absent from the Commonwealth, resign his place, which thereupon shall become vacant.

Vacancy by absence.

38. The place of a member shall become vacant if for two consecutive months of any session of the Parliament he, without the permission of the House, fails to attend the House.

Quorum.

39. Until the Parliament otherwise provides, the presence of at least one-third of the whole number of the members of the House of Representatives shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of the House for the exercise of its powers.

Voting in House of Representatives.

40. Questions arising in the House of Representatives shall be determined by a majority of votes other than that of the Speaker. The Speaker shall not vote unless the numbers are equal, and then he shall have a casting vote.

PART IV.—BOTH HOUSES OF THE PARLIAMENT.

Part IV. Both Houses of the Parliament.

Right of electors of States.

41. No adult person who has or acquires a right to vote at elections for the more numerous House of the Parliament of a State shall, while the right continues, be prevented by any law of the Commonwealth from voting at elections for either House of the Parliament of the Commonwealth.

Oath or affirmation of allegiance.

42. Every senator and every member of the House of Representatives shall before taking his seat make and subscribe before the Governor-General, or some person authorised by him, an oath or affirmation of allegiance in the form set forth in the schedule to this Constitution.

Member of one House ineligible for other.

43. A member of either House of the Parliament shall be incapable of being chosen or of sitting as a member of the other House.

Disqualification.

44. Any person who—

(i.) Is under any acknowledgment of allegiance, obedience, or adherence to a foreign power, or is a subject or a citizen or entitled to the rights or privileges of a subject or a citizen of a foreign power: or

(ii.) Is attainted of treason, or has been convicted and is under sentence, or subject to be sentenced, for any offence punishable under the law of the Commonwealth or of a State by imprisonment for one year or longer: or

(iii.) Is an undischarged bankrupt or insolvent: or

(iv.) Holds any office of profit under the Crown, or any pension payable during the pleasure of the Crown out of any of the revenues of the Commonwealth: or

(v.) Has any direct or indirect pecuniary interest in any agreement with the Public Service of the Commonwealth otherwise than as a member and in common with the other members of an incorporated company consisting of more than twenty-five persons:

shall be incapable of being chosen or of sitting as a senator or a member of the House of Representatives.

But sub-section iv. does not apply to the office of any of the Queen's Ministers of State for the Commonwealth, or of any of the Queen's Ministers for a State, or to the receipt of pay, half pay, or a pension, by any person as an officer or member of the Queen's navy or army, or to the receipt of pay as an officer or member of the naval or military forces of the Commonwealth by any person whose services are not wholly employed by the Commonwealth.

Vacancy on happening of disqualification.

45. If a senator or member of the House of Representatives—

(i.) Becomes subject to any of the disabilities mentioned in the last preceding section: or

(ii.) Takes the benefit, whether by assignment, composition, or otherwise, of any law relating to bankrupt or insolvent debtors: or

(iii.) Directly or indirectly takes or agrees to take any fee or honorarium for services rendered to the Commonwealth, or for services rendered in the Parliament to any person or State:

his place shall thereupon become vacant.

Penalty for sitting when disqualified.

46. Until the Parliament otherwise provides, any person declared by this Constitution to be incapable of sitting as a senator or as a member of the House of Representatives shall, for every day on which he so sits, be liable to pay the sum of one hundred pounds to any person who sues for it in any court of competent jurisdiction.

Disputed elections.

47. Until the Parliament otherwise provides, any question respecting the qualification of a senator or of a member of the House of Representatives, or respecting a vacancy in either House of the Parliament, and any question of a disputed election to either House, shall be determined by the House in which the question arises.

Allowance to members.

48. Until the Parliament otherwise provides, each senator and each member of the House of Representatives shall receive an allowance of four hundred pounds a year, to be reckoned from the day on which he takes his seat.

Privileges, &c. of Houses.

49. The powers, privileges, and immunities of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, and of the members and the committees of each House, shall be such as are declared by the Parliament, and until declared shall be those of the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom, and of its members and committees, at the establishment of the Commonwealth.

Rules and orders.

50. Each House of the Parliament may make rules and orders with respect to—

(i.) The mode in which its powers, privileges, and immunities may be exercised and upheld:

(ii.) The order and conduct of its business and proceedings either separately or jointly with the other House.

PART V.—POWERS OF THE PARLIAMENT.

Part V. Powers of the Parliament.

Legislative powers of the Parliament.

51. The Parliament shall, subject to this Constitution, have power[11] to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to:—

(i.) Trade and commerce with other countries, and among the States:

(ii.) Taxation; but so as not to discriminate between States or parts of States:

(iii.) Bounties on the production or export of goods, but so that such bounties shall be uniform throughout the Commonwealth:

(iv.) Borrowing money on the public credit of the Commonwealth:

(v.) Postal, telegraphic, telephonic, and other like services:

(vi.) The naval and military defence of the Commonwealth and of the several States, and the control of the forces to execute and maintain the laws of the Commonwealth:

(vii.) Lighthouses, lightships, beacons and buoys:

(viii.) Astronomical and meteorological observations:

(ix.) Quarantine:

(x.) Fisheries in Australian waters beyond territorial limits:

(xi.) Census and statistics:

(xii.) Currency, coinage, and legal tender:

(xiii.) Banking, other than State banking; also State banking extending beyond the limits of the State concerned, the incorporation of banks, and the issue of paper money:

(xiv.) Insurance, other than State insurance; also State insurance extending beyond the limits of the State concerned:

(xv.) Weights and measures:

(xvi.) Bills of exchange and promissory notes:

(xvii.) Bankruptcy and insolvency:

(xviii.) Copyrights, patents of inventions and designs, and trade marks:

(xix.) Naturalization and aliens:

(xx.) Foreign corporations, and trading or financial corporations formed within the limits of the Commonwealth:

(xxi.) Marriage:

(xxii.) Divorce and matrimonial causes; and in relation thereto, parental rights, and the custody and guardianship of infants:

(xxiii.) Invalid and old-age pensions:

Inserted by No. 81. 1946. s. 2.

(xxiiiA.) The provision of maternity allowances, widows' pensions, child endowment, unemployment, pharmaceutical, sickness and hospital benefits, medical and dental services (but not so as to authorize any form of civil conscription), benefits to students and family allowances:

(xxiv.) The service and execution throughout the Commonwealth of the civil and criminal process and the judgments of the courts of the States:

(xxv.) The recognition throughout the Commonwealth of the laws, the public Acts and records, and the judicial proceedings of the States:

Altered by No. 55. 1967. s. 2.

(xxvi.) The people of any race~~, other than the aboriginal race in any State~~, for whom it is deemed necessary to make special laws:

(xxvii.) Immigration and emigration:

(xxviii.) The influx of criminals:

(xxix.) External affairs:

(xxx.) The relations of the Commonwealth with the islands of the Pacific:

(xxxi.) The acquisition of property on just terms from any State or person for any purpose in respect of which the Parliament has power to make laws:

(xxxii.) The control of railways with respect to transport for the naval and military purposes of the Commonwealth:

(xxxiii.) The acquisition, with the consent of a State, of any railways of the State on terms arranged between the Commonwealth and the State:

(xxxiv.) Railway construction and extension in any State with the consent of that State:

(xxxv.) Conciliation and arbitration for the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes extending beyond the limits of any one State:

(xxxvi.) Matters in respect of which this Constitution makes provision until the Parliament otherwise provides:

(xxxvii.) Matters referred to the Parliament of the Commonwealth by the Parliament or Parliaments of any State or States,[12] but so that the law shall extend only to States by whose Parliaments the matter is referred, or which afterwards adopt the law:

(xxxviii.) The exercise within the Commonwealth, at the request or with the concurrence of the Parliaments of all the States directly concerned, of any power which can at the establishment of this Constitution be exercised only by the Parliament of the United Kingdom or by the Federal Council of Australasia:

(xxxix.) Matters incidental to the execution of any power vested by this Constitution in the Parliament or in either House thereof, or in the Government of the Commonwealth, or in the Federal Judicature, or in any department or officer of the Commonwealth.

Exclusive powers of the Parliament.

52. The Parliament shall, subject to this Constitution, have exclusive power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to—

(i.) The seat of government of the Commonwealth, and all places acquired by the Commonwealth for public purposes:

(ii.) Matters relating to any department of the public service the control of which is by this Constitution transferred to the Executive Government of the Commonwealth:

(iii.) Other matters declared by this Constitution to be within the exclusive power of the Parliament.

Powers of the Houses in respect of legislation.

53. Proposed laws appropriating revenue or moneys, or imposing taxation, shall not originate in the Senate. But a proposed law shall not be taken to appropriate revenue or moneys, or to impose taxation, by reason only of its containing provisions for the imposition or appropriation of fines or other pecuniary penalties, or for the demand or payment or appropriation of fees for licences, or fees for services under the proposed law.

The Senate may not amend proposed laws imposing taxation, or proposed laws appropriating revenue or moneys for the ordinary annual services of the Government.

The Senate may not amend any proposed law so as to increase any proposed charge or burden on the people.

The Senate may at any stage return to the House of Representatives any proposed law which the Senate may not amend, requesting, by message, the omission or amendment of any items or provisions therein. And the House of Representatives may, if it thinks fit, make any of such omissions or amendments, with or without modifications.

Except as provided in this section, the Senate shall have equal power with the House of Representatives in respect of all proposed laws.

Appropriation Bills.

54. The proposed law which appropriates revenue or moneys for the ordinary annual services of the Government shall deal only with such appropriation.

Tax Bill.

55. Laws imposing taxation shall deal only with the imposition of taxation, and any provision therein dealing with any other matter shall be of no effect.

Laws imposing taxation, except laws imposing duties of customs or of excise, shall deal with one subject of taxation only; but laws imposing duties of customs shall deal with duties of customs only, and laws imposing duties of excise shall deal with duties of excise only.

Recommendation of money votes.

56. A vote, resolution, or proposed law for the appropriation of revenue or moneys shall not be passed unless the purpose of the appropriation has in the same session been recommended by message of the Governor-General to the House in which the proposal originated.

Disagreement between the Houses.

57. If the House of Representatives passes any proposed law, and the Senate rejects or fails to pass it, or passes it with amendments to which the House of Representatives will not agree, and if after an interval of three months the House of Representatives, in the same or the next session, again passes the proposed law with or without any amendments which have been made, suggested, or agreed to by the Senate, and the Senate rejects or fails to pass it, or passes it with amendments to which the House of Representatives will not agree, the Governor-General may dissolve the Senate and the House of Representatives simultaneously. But such dissolution shall not take place within six months before the date of the expiry of the House of Representatives by effluxion of time.

If after such dissolution the House of Representatives again passes the proposed law, with or without any amendments which have been made, suggested, or agreed to by the Senate, and the Senate rejects or fails to pass it. or passes it with amendments to which the House of Representatives will not agree, the Governor-General may convene a joint sitting of the members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives.

The members present at the joint sitting may deliberate and shall vote together upon the proposed law as last proposed by the House of Representatives, and upon amendments, if any, which have been made therein by one House and not agreed to by the other, and any such amendments which are affirmed by an absolute majority of the total number of the members of the Senate and House of Representatives shall be taken to have been carried, and if the proposed law, with the amendments, if any, so carried is affirmed by an absolute majority of the total number of the members of the Senate and House of Representatives, it shall be taken to have been duly passed by both Houses of the Parliament, and shall be presented to the Governor-General for the Queen's assent.

Royal assent to Bills.

58. When a proposed law passed by both Houses of the Parliament is presented to the Governor-General for the Queen's assent, he shall declare, according to his discretion, but subject to this Constitution, that he assents in the Queen's name, or that he withholds assent, or that he reserves the law for the Queen's pleasure.

Recommendations by Governor-General.

The Governor-General may return to the house in which it originated any proposed law so presented to him, and may transmit therewith any amendments which he may recommend, and the Houses may deal with the recommendation.

Disallowance by the Queen.

59. The Queen may disallow any law within one year from the Governor-General's assent, and such disallowance on being made known by the Governor-General by speech or message to each of the Houses of the Parliament, or by Proclamation, shall annul the law from the day when the disallowance is so made known.

Signification of Queen's pleasure on Bills reserved.

60. A proposed law reserved for the Queen's pleasure shall not have any force unless and until within two years from the day on which it was presented to the Governor-General for the Queen's assent the Governor-General makes known, by speech or message to each of the Houses of the Parliament, or by Proclamation, that it has received the Queen's assent.

CHAPTER II.

Chap. II. The Government.

THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT.

Executive power.

61. The executive power of the Commonwealth is vested in the Queen and is exercisable by the Governor-General as the Queen's representative, and extends to the execution and maintenance of this Constitution, and of the laws of the Commonwealth.

Federal Executive Council.

62. There shall be a Federal Executive Council to advise the Governor-General in the government of the Commonwealth, and the members of the Council shall be chosen and summoned by the Governor-General and sworn as Executive Councillors, and shall hold office during his pleasure.

Provisions referring to Governor-General.

63. The provisions of this Constitution referring to the Governor-General in Council shall be construed as referring to the Governor-General acting with the advice of the Federal Executive Council.

Ministers of State.

64. The Governor-General may appoint officers to administer such departments of State of the Commonwealth as the Governor-General in Council may establish.

Such officers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor-General. They shall be members of the Federal Executive Council, and shall be the Queen's Ministers of State for the Commonwealth.

Ministers to sit in Parliament.

After the first general election no Minister of State shall hold office for a longer period than three months unless he is or becomes a senator or a member of the House of Representatives.

Number of Ministers.

65. Until the Parliament otherwise provides, the Ministers of State shall not exceed seven in number, and shall hold such offices as the Parliament prescribes, or, in the absence of provision, as the Governor-General directs.

Salaries of Ministers.

66. There shall be payable to the Queen, out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of the Commonwealth, for the salaries of the Ministers of State, an annual sum which, until the Parliament otherwise provides, shall not exceed twelve thousand pounds a year.

Appointment of civil servants.

67. Until the Parliament otherwise provides, the appointment and removal of all other officers of the Executive Government of the Commonwealth shall be vested in the Governor-General in Council, unless the appointment is delegated by the Governor-General in Council or by a law of the Commonwealth to some other authority.

Command of naval and military forces.

68. The command in chief of the naval and military forces of the Commonwealth is vested in the Governor-General as the Queen's representative.

Transfer of certain departments.

69. On a date or dates to be proclaimed by the Governor-General after the establishment of the Commonwealth the following departments of the public service in each State shall become transferred to the Commonwealth:—

Posts, telegraphs, and telephones:
Naval and military defence:
Lighthouses, lightships, beacons, and buoys:
Quarantine.

But the departments of customs and of excise in each State shall become transferred to the Commonwealth on its establishment.

Certain powers of Governors to vest in Governor-General.

70. In respect of matters which, under this Constitution, pass to the Executive Government of the Commonwealth, all powers and functions which at the establishment of the Commonwealth are vested in the Governor of a Colony, or in the Governor of a Colony with the advice of his Executive Council, or in any authority of a Colony, shall vest in the Governor-General, or in the Governor-General in Council, or in the authority exercising similar powers under the Commonwealth, as the case requires.

Chap. III. The Judicature.

CHAPTER III.

THE JUDICATURE.

Judicial power and Courts.

71. The judicial power of the Commonwealth shall be vested in a Federal Supreme Court, to be called the High Court of Australia, and in such other federal courts as the Parliament creates, and in such other courts as it invests with federal jurisdiction. The High Court shall consist of a Chief Justice, and so many other Justices, not less than two, as the Parliament prescribes.

Judges' appointment, tenure and remuneration.

72. The Justices of the High Court and of the other courts created by the Parliament—

(i.) Shall be appointed by the Governor-General in Council:

(ii.) Shall not be removed except by the Governor-General in Council, on an address from both Houses of the Parliament in the same session, praying for such removal on the ground of proved misbehaviour or incapacity:

(iii.) Shall receive such remuneration as the Parliament may fix; but the remuneration shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Paragraph added by No. 83, 1977, s. 2.

The appointment of a Justice of the High Court shall be for a term expiring upon his attaining the age of seventy years, and a person shall not be appointed as a Justice of the High Court if he has attained that age.

Paragraph added by No. 83, 1977, s. 2.

The appointment of a Justice of a court created by the Parliament shall be for a term expiring upon his attaining the age that is, at the time of his appointment, the maximum age for Justices of that court and a person shall not be appointed as a Justice of such a court if he has attained the age that is for the time being the maximum age for Justices of that court.

Paragraph added by No. 83, 1977, s. 2.

Subject to this section, the maximum age for Justices of any court created by the Parliament is seventy years.

Paragraph added by No. 83, 1977, s. 2.

The Parliament may make a law fixing an age that is less than seventy years as the maximum age for Justices of a court created by the Parliament and may at any time repeal or amend such a law, but any such repeal or amendment does not affect the term of office of a Justice under an appointment made before the repeal or amendment.

Paragraph added by No. 83, 1977, s. 2.

A Justice of the High Court or of a court created by the Parliament may resign his office by writing under his hand delivered to the Governor-General.

Paragraph added by No. 83, 1977, s. 2.

Nothing in the provisions added to this section by the *Constitution Alteration (Retirement of Judges)* 1977 affects the continuance of a person in office as a Justice of a court under an appointment made before the commencement of those provisions.

Paragraph added by No. 83, 1977, s. 2.

A reference in this section to the appointment of a Justice of the High Court or of a court created by the Parliament shall be read as including a reference to the appointment of a person who holds office as a Justice of the High Court or of a court created by the Parliament to another office of Justice of the same court having a different status or designation.

Appellate jurisdiction of High Court.

73. The High Court shall have jurisdiction, with such exceptions and subject to such regulations as the Parliament prescribes, to hear and determine appeals from all judgments, decrees, orders, and sentences—

(i.) Of any Justice or Justices exercising the original jurisdiction of the High Court:

(ii.) Of any other federal court, or court exercising federal jurisdiction; or of the Supreme Court of any State, or of any other court of any State from which at the establishment of the Commonwealth an appeal lies to the Queen in Council:

(iii.) Of the Inter-State Commission, but as to questions of law only:

and the judgment of the High Court in all such cases shall be final and conclusive.

But no exception or regulation prescribed by the Parliament shall prevent the High Court from hearing and determining any appeal from the Supreme Court of a State in any matter in which at the establishment of the Commonwealth an appeal lies from such Supreme Court to the Queen in Council.

Until the Parliament otherwise provides, the conditions of and restrictions on appeals to the Queen in Council from the Supreme Courts of the several States shall be applicable to appeals from them to the High Court.

Appeal to Queen in Council.

74. No appeal shall be permitted to the Queen in Council from a decision of the High Court upon any question, howsoever arising, as to the limits inter se of the Constitutional powers of the Commonwealth and those of any State or States, or as to the limits inter se of the Constitutional powers of any two or more States, unless the High Court shall certify that the question is one which ought to be determined by Her Majesty in Council.

The High Court may so certify if satisfied that for any special reason the certificate should be granted, and thereupon an appeal shall lie to Her Majesty in Council on the question without further leave.

Except as provided in this section, this Constitution shall not impair any right which the Queen may be pleased to exercise by virtue of Her Royal prerogative to grant special leave of appeal from the High Court to Her Majesty in Council. The Parliament may make laws limiting the

matters in which such leave may be asked,[13] but proposed laws containing any such limitation shall be reserved by the Governor-General for Her Majesty's pleasure.

Original jurisdiction of High Court.

75. In all matters—

(i.) Arising under any treaty:

(ii.) Affecting consuls or other representatives of other countries:

(iii.) In which the Commonwealth, or a person suing or being sued on behalf of the Commonwealth, is a party:

(iv.) Between States, or between residents of different States, or between a State and a resident of another State:

(v.) In which a writ of Mandamus or prohibition or an injunction is sought against an officer of the Commonwealth:

the High Court shall have original jurisdiction.

Additional original jurisdiction.

76. The Parliament may make laws conferring original jurisdiction on the High Court in any matter—

(i.) Arising under this Constitution, or involving its interpretation:

(ii.) Arising under any laws made by the Parliament:

(iii.) Of Admiralty and maritime jurisdiction:

(iv.) Relating to the same subject-matter claimed under the laws of different States.

Power to define jurisdiction.

77. With respect to any of the matters mentioned in the last two sections the Parliament may make laws—

(i.) Defining the jurisdiction of any federal court other than the High Court:

(ii.) Defining the extent to which the jurisdiction of any federal court shall be exclusive of that which belongs to or is invested in the courts of the States:

(iii.) Investing any court of a State with federal jurisdiction.

Proceedings against Commonwealth or State.

78. The Parliament may make laws conferring rights to proceed against the Commonwealth or a State in respect of matters within the limits of the judicial power.

Number of judges.

79. The federal jurisdiction of any court may be exercised by such number of judges as the Parliament prescribes.

Trial by jury.

80. The trial on indictment of any offence against any law of the Commonwealth shall be by jury, and every such trial shall be held in the State where the offence was committed, and if the offence was not committed within any State the trial shall be held at such place or places as the Parliament prescribes.

Chap. IV. Finance and Trade.

CHAPTER IV.

FINANCE AND TRADE.

Consolidated Revenue Fund.

81. All revenues or moneys raised or received by the Executive Government of the Commonwealth shall form one Consolidated Revenue Fund, to be appropriated for the purposes of the Commonwealth in the manner and subject to the charges and liabilities imposed by this Constitution.

Expenditure charged thereon.

82. The costs, charges, and expenses incident to the collection, management, and receipt of the Consolidated Revenue Fund shall form the first charge thereon; and the revenue of the Commonwealth shall in the first instance be applied to the payment of the expenditure of the Commonwealth.

Money to be appropriated by law.

83. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury of the Commonwealth except under appropriation made by law.

But until the expiration of one month after the first meeting of the Parliament the Governor-General in Council may draw from the Treasury and expend such moneys as may be necessary for the maintenance of any department transferred to the Commonwealth and for the holding of the first elections for the Parliament.

Transfer of officers.

84. When any department of the public service of a State becomes transferred to the Commonwealth, all officers of the department shall become subject to the control of the Executive Government of the Commonwealth.

Any such officer who is not retained in the service of the Commonwealth shall, unless he is appointed to some other office of equal emolument in the public service of the State, be entitled to receive from the State any pension, gratuity, or other compensation, payable under the law of the State on the abolition of his office.

Any such officer who is retained in the service of the Commonwealth shall preserve all his existing and accruing rights, and shall be entitled to retire from office at the time, and on the pension or retiring allowance, which would be permitted by the law of the State if his service with the Commonwealth were a continuation of his service with the State. Such pension or retiring allowance shall be paid to him by the Commonwealth; but the State shall pay to the Commonwealth a part thereof, to be calculated on the proportion which his term of service with the State bears to his whole term of service, and for the purpose of the calculation his salary shall be taken to be that paid to him by the State at the time of the transfer.

Any officer who is, at the establishment of the Commonwealth, in the public service of a State, and who is, by consent of the Governor of the State with the advice of the Executive Council thereof, transferred to the public service of the Commonwealth, shall have the same rights as if he had been an officer of a department transferred to the Commonwealth and were retained in the service of the Commonwealth.

Transfer of property of State.

85. When any department of the public service of a State is transferred to the Commonwealth—

(i.) All property of the State of any kind, used exclusively in connexion with the department, shall become vested in the Commonwealth; but, in the case of the departments controlling customs and excise and bounties, for such time only as the Governor-General in Council may declare to be necessary:

(ii.) The Commonwealth may acquire any property of the State, of any kind used, but not exclusively used in connexion with the department; the value thereof shall, if no agreement can be made, be ascertained in, as nearly as may be, the manner in which the value of land, or of an interest in land, taken by the State for public purposes is ascertained under the law of the State in force at the establishment of the Commonwealth:

(iii.) The Commonwealth shall compensate the State for the value of any property passing to the Commonwealth under this section; if no agreement can be made as to the mode of compensation, it shall be determined under laws to be made by the Parliament:

(iv.) The Commonwealth shall, at the date of the transfer, assume the current obligations of the State in respect of the department transferred.

86. On the establishment of the Commonwealth, the collection and control of duties of customs and of excise, and the control of the payment of bounties, shall pass to the Executive Government of the Commonwealth.

87. During a period of ten years after the establishment of the Commonwealth and thereafter until the Parliament otherwise provides, of the net revenue of the Commonwealth from duties of customs and of excise not more than one-fourth shall be applied annually by the Commonwealth towards its expenditure.

The balance shall, in accordance with this Constitution, be paid to the several States, or applied towards the payment of interest on debts of the several States taken over by the Commonwealth.

Uniform duties of customs.

88. Uniform duties of customs shall be imposed within two years after the establishment of the Commonwealth.

Payment to States before uniform duties.

89. Until the imposition of uniform duties of customs—

(i.) The Commonwealth shall credit to each State the revenues collected therein by the Commonwealth.

(ii.) The Commonwealth shall debit to each State—

(*a*) The expenditure therein of the Commonwealth incurred solely for the maintenance or continuance, as at the time of transfer, of any department transferred from the State to the Commonwealth;

(*b*) The proportion of the State, according to the number of its people, in the other expenditure of the Commonwealth.

(iii.) The Commonwealth shall pay to each State month by month the balance (if any) in favour of the State.

Exclusive power over customs, excise, and bounties.

90. On the imposition of uniform duties of customs the power of the Parliament to impose duties of customs and of excise, and to grant bounties on the production or export of goods, shall become exclusive.

On the imposition of uniform duties of customs all laws of the several States imposing duties of customs or of excise, or offering bounties on the production or export of goods, shall cease to have effect, but any grant of or agreement for any such bounty lawfully made by or under the authority of the Government of any State shall be taken to be good if made before the thirtieth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight, and not otherwise.

Exceptions as to bounties.

91. Nothing in this Constitution prohibits a State from granting any aid to or bounty on mining for gold, silver, or other metals, nor from granting, with the consent of both Houses of the Parliament of the Commonwealth expressed by resolution, any aid to or bounty on the production or export of goods.

Trade within the Commonwealth to be free.

92. On the imposition of uniform duties of customs, trade, commerce, and intercourse among the States, whether by means of internal carriage or ocean navigation, shall be absolutely free.

But notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, goods imported before the imposition of uniform duties of customs into any State, or into any Colony which, whilst the goods remain therein, becomes a State, shall, on thence passing into another State within two years after the imposition of such duties, be liable to any duty chargeable on the importation of such goods into the Commonwealth, less any duty paid in respect of the goods on their importation.

Payment to States for five years after uniform tariffs.

93. During the first five years after the imposition of uniform duties of customs, and thereafter until the Parliament otherwise provides—

(i.) The duties of customs chargeable on goods imported into a State and afterwards passing into another State for consumption, and the duties of excise paid on goods produced or manufactured in a State and afterwards passing into another State for consumption, shall be taken to have been collected not in the former but in the latter State:

(ii.) Subject to the last subsection, the Commonwealth shall credit revenue, debit expenditure, and pay balances to the several States as prescribed for the period preceding the imposition of uniform duties of customs.

Distribution of surplus.

94. After five years from the imposition of uniform duties of customs, the Parliament may provide, on such basis as it deems fair, for the monthly payment to the several States of all surplus revenue of the Commonwealth.

Customs duties of Western Australia.

95. Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, the Parliament of the State of Western Australia, if that State be an Original State, may, during the first five years after the imposition of uniform duties of customs, impose duties of customs on goods passing into that State and not originally imported from beyond the limits of the Commonwealth; and such duties shall be collected by the Commonwealth.

But any duty so imposed on any goods shall not exceed during the first of such years the duty chargeable on the goods under the law of Western Australia in force at the imposition of uniform duties, and shall not exceed during the second, third, fourth, and fifth of such years respectively, four-fifths, three-fifths, two-fifths, and one-fifth of such latter duty, and all duties imposed under this section shall cease at the expiration of the fifth year after the imposition of uniform duties.

If at any time during the five years the duty on any goods under this section is higher than the duty imposed by the Commonwealth on the importation of the like goods, then such higher duty shall be collected on the goods when imported into Western Australia from beyond the limits of the Commonwealth.

Financial assistance to States.

96. During a period of ten years after the establishment of the Commonwealth and thereafter until the Parliament otherwise provides, the Parliament may grant financial assistance to any State on such terms and conditions as the Parliament thinks fit.

Audit.

97. Until the Parliament otherwise provides, the laws in force in any Colony which has become or becomes a State with respect to the receipt of revenue and the expenditure of money on account of the Government of the Colony, and the review and audit of such receipt and expenditure, shall apply to the receipt of revenue and the expenditure of money on

account of the Commonwealth in the State in the same manner as if the Commonwealth, or the Government or an officer of the Commonwealth, were mentioned whenever the Colony, or the Government or an officer of the Colony, is mentioned.

Trade and commerce includes navigation and State railways.

98. The power of the Parliament to make laws with respect to trade and commerce extends to navigation and shipping, and to railways the property of any State.

Commonwealth not to give preference.

99. The Commonwealth shall not, by any law or regulation of trade, commerce, or revenue, give preference to one State or any part thereof over another State or any part thereof.

Nor abridge right to use water.

100. The Commonwealth shall not, by any law or regulation of trade or commerce, abridge the right of a State or of the residents therein to the reasonable use of the waters of rivers for conservation or irrigation.

Inter-State Commission.

101. There shall be an Inter-State Commission, with such powers of adjudication and administration as the Parliament deems necessary for the execution and maintenance, within the Commonwealth, of the provisions of this Constitution relating to trade and commerce, and of all laws made thereunder.

Parliament may forbid preferences by State.

102. The Parliament may by any law with respect to trade or commerce forbid, as to railways, any preference or discrimination by any State, or by any authority constituted under a State, if such preference or discrimination is undue and unreasonable, or unjust to any State; due regard being had to the financial responsibilities incurred by any State in connexion with the construction and maintenance of its railways. But no preference or discrimination shall, within the meaning of this section, be taken to be undue and unreasonable, or unjust to any State, unless so adjudged by the Inter-State Commission.

Commissioners' appointment, tenure, and remuneration.

103. The members of the Inter-State Commission—

(i.) Shall be appointed by the Governor-General in Council:

(ii.) Shall hold office for seven years, but may be removed within that time by the Governor-General in Council, on an address from both Houses of the Parliament in the same session praying for such removal on the ground of proved misbehaviour or incapacity:

(iii.) Shall receive such remuneration as the Parliament may fix; but such remuneration shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Saving of certain rates.

104. Nothing in this Constitution shall render unlawful any rate for the carriage of goods upon a railway, the property of a State, if the rate is

deemed by the Inter-State Commission to be necessary for the development of the territory of the State, and if the rate applies equally to goods within the State and to goods passing into the State from other States.

Taking over public debts of States.
Altered by No.3, 1910, s. 2.

105. The Parliament may take over from the States their public debts ~~as existing at the establishment of the Commonwealth~~, or a proportion thereof according to the respective numbers of their people as shown by the latest statistics of the Commonwealth, and may convert, renew, or consolidate such debts, or any part thereof; and the States shall indemnify the Commonwealth in respect of the debts taken over, and thereafter the interest payable in respect of the debts shall be deducted and retained from the portions of the surplus revenue of the Commonwealth payable to the several States, or if such surplus is insufficient, or if there is no surplus, then the deficiency or the whole amount shall be paid by the several States.

Agreements with respect to State debts.
Inserted by No. 1, 1929, s. 2.

105A.—(1.) The Commonwealth may make agreements with the States with respect to the public debts of the States, including—

(*a*) the taking over of such debts by the Commonwealth;

(*b*) the management of such debts;

(*c*) the payment of interest and the provision and management of sinking funds in respect of such debts;

(*d*) the consolidation, renewal, conversion, and redemption of such debts;

(*e*) the indemnification of the Commonwealth by the States in respect of debts taken over by the Commonwealth; and

(*f*) the borrowing of money by the States or by the Commonwealth, or by the Commonwealth for the States.

(2.) The Parliament may make laws for validating any such agreement made before the commencement of this section.

(3.) The Parliament may make laws for the carrying out by the parties thereto of any such agreement.

(4.) Any such agreement may be varied or rescinded by the parties thereto.

(5.) Every such agreement and any such variation thereof shall be binding upon the Commonwealth and the States parties thereto notwithstanding anything contained in this Constitution or the Constitution of the several States or in any law of the Parliament of the Commonwealth or of any State.

(6.) The powers conferred by this section shall not be construed as being limited in any way by the provisions of section one hundred and five of this Constitution.

Chap. V. The States.

CHAPTER V.

THE STATES.

Saving of Constitutions.

106. The Constitution of each State of the Commonwealth shall, subject to this Constitution, continue as at the establishment of the Commonwealth, or as at the admission or establishment of the State, as the case may be, until altered in accordance with the Constitution of the State.

Saving of Power of State Parliaments.

107. Every power of the Parliament of a Colony which has become or becomes a State, shall, unless it is by this Constitution exclusively vested in the Parliament of the Commonwealth or withdrawn from the Parliament of the State, continue as at the establishment of the Commonwealth, or as at the admission or establishment of the State, as the case may be.

Saving of State laws.

108. Every law in force in a Colony which has become or becomes a State, and relating to any matter within the powers of the Parliament of the Commonwealth, shall, subject to this Constitution, continue in force in the State; and, until provision is made in that behalf by the Parliament of the Commonwealth, the Parliament of the State shall have such powers of alteration and of repeal in respect of any such law as the Parliament of the Colony had until the Colony became a State.

Inconsistency of laws.

109. When a law of a State is inconsistent with a law of the Commonwealth, the latter shall prevail, and the former shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be invalid.

Provisions referring to Governor.

110. The provisions of this Constitution relating to the Governor of a State extend and apply to the Governor for the time being of the State, or other chief executive officer or administrator of the government of the State.

States may surrender territory.

111. The Parliament of a State may surrender any part of the State to the Commonwealth; and upon such surrender, and the acceptance thereof by the Commonwealth, such part of the State shall become subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the Commonwealth.

States may levy charges for inspection laws.

112. After uniform duties of customs have been imposed, a State may levy on imports or exports, or on goods passing into or out of the State, such charges as may be necessary for executing the inspection laws of the State; but the net produce of all charges so levied shall be for the use of the Commonwealth; and any such inspection laws may be annulled by the Parliament of the Commonwealth.

Intoxicating liquids.

113. All fermented, distilled, or other intoxicating liquids passing into any State or remaining therein for use, consumption, sale, or

storage, shall be subject to the laws of the State as if such liquids had been produced in the State.

States may not raise forces.

114. A State shall not, without the consent of the Parliament of the Commonwealth, raise or maintain any naval or military force, or impose any tax on property of any kind belonging to the Commonwealth, nor shall the Commonwealth impose any tax on property of any kind belonging to a State.

Taxation of property of Commonwealth or State.

States not to coin money.

115. A State shall not coin money, nor make anything but gold and silver coin a legal tender in payment of debts.

Commonwealth not to legislate in respect of religion.

116. The Commonwealth shall not make any law for establishing any religion, or for imposing any religious observance, or for prohibiting the free exercise of any religion, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the Commonwealth.

Rights of residents in States.

117. A subject of the Queen, resident in any State, shall not be subject in any other State to any disability or discrimination which would not be equally applicable to him if he were a subject of the Queen resident in such other State.

Recognition of laws, &c. of States.

118. Full faith and credit shall be given, throughout the Commonwealth to the laws, the public Acts and records, and the judicial proceedings of every State.

Protection of States from invasion and violence.

119. The Commonwealth shall protect every State against invasion and, on the application of the Executive Government of the State, against domestic violence.

Custody of offenders against laws of the Commonwealth.

120. Every State shall make provision for the detention in its prisons of persons accused or convicted of offences against the laws of the Commonwealth, and for the punishment of persons convicted of such offences, and the Parliament of the Commonwealth may make laws to give effect to this provision.

CHAPTER VI.

Chap. VI. New States.

NEW STATES.

New States may be admitted or established.

121. The Parliament may admit to the Commonwealth or establish new States, and may upon such admission or establishment make or impose such terms and conditions, including the extent of representation in either House of the Parliament, as it thinks fit.

Government of territories.

122. The Parliament may make laws for the government of any territory surrendered by any State to and accepted by the Commonwealth, or of any territory placed by the Queen under the authority of and accepted by the Commonwealth, or otherwise acquired by the Commonwealth, and may allow the representation of such territory in either House of the Parliament to the extent and on the terms which it thinks fit.

Alteration of limits of States.

123. The Parliament of the Commonwealth may, with the consent of the Parliament of a State, and the approval of the majority of the electors of the State voting upon the question, increase, diminish, or otherwise alter the limits of the State, upon such terms and conditions as may be agreed on, and may, with the like consent, make provision respecting the effect and operation of any increase or diminution or alteration of territory in relation to any State affected.

Formation of new States.

124. A new State may be formed by separation of territory from a State, but only with the consent of the Parliament thereof, and a new State may be formed by the union of two or more States or parts of States, but only with the consent of the Parliaments of the States affected.

Chap. VII. Miscellaneous.

CHAPTER VII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Seat of Government.

125. The seat of Government of the Commonwealth shall be determined by the Parliament, and shall be within territory which shall have been granted to or acquired by the Commonwealth, and shall be vested in and belong to the Commonwealth, and shall be in the State of New South Wales, and be distant not less than one hundred miles from Sydney.

Such territory shall contain an area of not less than one hundred square miles, and such portion thereof as shall consist of Crown lands shall be granted to the Commonwealth without any payment therefor.

The Parliament shall sit at Melbourne until it meet at the seat of Government.

Power to Her Majesty to authorise Governor-General to appoint deputies.

126. The Queen may authorise the Governor-General to appoint any person, or any persons jointly or severally, to be his deputy or deputies[14] within any part of the Commonwealth, and in that capacity to exercise during the pleasure of the Governor-General such powers and functions of the Governor-General as he thinks fit to assign to such deputy or deputies, subject to any limitations expressed or directions given by the Queen; but the appointment of such deputy or deputies shall not affect the exercise by the Governor-General himself of any power or function.

15* * * * * * * * * Section 127 repealed by No. 55, 1967, s. 3.

Chap. VIII. Alteration of Constitution.

CHAPTER VIII.

ALTERATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Mode of altering the Constitution.

128.[1] This Constitution shall not be altered except in the following manner:—

Paragraph altered by No. 84, 1977, s. 2.

The proposed law for the alteration thereof must be passed by an absolute majority of each House of the Parliament, and not less than two nor more than six months after its passage through both Houses the proposed law shall be submitted in each State **and Territory** to the electors qualified to vote for the election of members of the House of Representatives.

Paragraph altered by No. 84, 1977, s. 2.

But if either House passes any such proposed law by an absolute majority, and the other House rejects or fails to pass it, or passes it with any amendment to which the first-mentioned House will not agree, and if after an interval of three months the first-mentioned House in the same or the next session again passes the proposed law by an absolute majority with or without any amendment which has been made or agreed to by the other House, and such other House rejects or fails to pass it or passes it with any amendment to which the first-mentioned House will not agree, the Governor-General may submit the proposed law as last proposed by the first-mentioned House, and either with or without any amendments subsequently agreed to by both Houses, to the electors in each State **and Territory** qualified to vote for the election of the House of Representatives.

When a proposed law is submitted to the electors the vote shall be taken in such manner as the Parliament prescribes. But until the qualification of electors of members of the House of Representatives becomes uniform throughout the Commonwealth, only one-half the electors voting for and against the proposed law shall be counted in any State in which adult suffrage prevails.

And if in a majority of the States a majority of the electors voting approve the proposed law, and if a majority of all the electors voting also approve the proposed law, it shall be presented to the Governor-General for the Queen's assent.

No alteration diminishing the proportionate representation of any State in either House of the Parliament, or the minimum number of representatives of a State in the House of Representatives, or increasing,

diminishing, or otherwise altering the limits of the State, or in any manner affecting the provisions of the Constitution in relation thereto, shall become law unless the majority of the electors voting in that State approve the proposed law.

Paragraph added by No. 84, 1977, s. 2.

In this section, "Territory" means any territory referred to in section one hundred and twenty-two of this Constitution in respect of which there is in force a law allowing its representation in the House of Representatives.

SCHEDULE.

OATH.

I, *A.B.*, do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Her heirs and successors according to law. SO HELP ME GOD!

AFFIRMATION.

I, *A.B.*, do solemnly and sincerely affirm and declare that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Her heirs and successors according to law.

(NOTE.—*The name of the King or Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland for the time being is to be substituted from time to time.*)

NOTES

1. The Constitution as printed above contains all the alterations of the Constitution made up to 31 October 1986. Particulars of the Acts by which the Constitution was altered are as follows:

Act	Number and year	Date of Assent
Constitution Alteration (Senate Elections) 1906 . . .	1, 1907	3 Apr 1907
Constitution Alteration (State Debts) 1909	3, 1910	6 Aug 1910
Constitution Alteration (State Debts) 1928	1, 1929	13 Feb 1929
Constitution Alteration (Social Services) 1946 . . .	81, 1946	19 Dec 1946
Constitution Alteration (Aboriginals) 1967.	55, 1967	10 Aug 1967
Constitution Alteration (Senate Casual Vacancies) 1977	82, 1977	29 July 1977
Constitution Alteration (Retirement of Judges) 1977 .	83, 1977	29 July 1977
Constitution Alteration (Referendums) 1977	84, 1977	29 July 1977

2. Covering Clause 3—The Proclamation under covering clause 3 was made on 17 September 1900 and is published in *Gazette* 1901, p. 1 and *infra* p. 41.

3. Covering Clause 5—*Cf.* the *Statute of Westminster Adoption Act 1942*, *infra* p. 47.

NOTES—*continued*

4. Covering Clause 7—The following Acts have repealed Acts passed by the Federal Council of Australasia:
Defence Act 1903 (No. 20, 1903), s. 6.
Pearl Fisheries Act 1952 (No. 8, 1952), s. 3. (*Pearl Fisheries Act 1952* repealed by *Continental Shelf (Living Natural Resources) Act 1968*, s. 3.)
Service and Execution of Process Act 1901 (No. 11, 1901), s. 2. (S. 2 subsequently repealed by *Service and Execution of Process Act 1963*, s. 3.)

5. S. 7—The number of senators for each State was increased to 12 by the *Representation Act 1983*, s. 3.

6. S. 9—The following State Acts have been passed in pursuance of the powers conferred by s. 9:

State	Number	Short title	How affected
New South Wales	No. 73, 1900	Federal Elections Act, 1900	Ss. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 and the Schedule repealed by No. 9, 1903; wholly repealed by No. 41, 1912
	No. 9, 1903	Senators' Elections Act, 1903	Amended by No. 75, 1912 and No. 112, 1984
	No. 75, 1912	Senators' Elections (Amendment) Act, 1912	*(Still in force)*
	No. 112, 1984	Senators' Elections (Amendment) Act, 1984	*(Still in force)*
Victoria	No. 1715	*Federal Elections Act* 1900	Repealed by No. 1860
	No. 1860	*Senate Elections (Times and Places) Act* 1903	Repealed by No. 2723
	No. 2399	*Senate Elections (Times and Places) Act* 1912	Repealed by No. 2723
	No. 2723	*Senate Elections (Times and Places) Act* 1915	Repealed by No. 3769
	No. 3769	*Senate Elections (Times and Places) Act* 1928	Repealed by No. 6365
	No. 6365	*Senate Elections Act* 1958	Amended by No. 10108
	No. 10108	*Senate Elections (Amendment) Act*, 1984	*(Still in force)*
Queensland . . .	64 Vic. No. 25	*The Parliament of the Commonwealth Elections Act and The Elections Acts* 1885 *to* 1898 *Amendment Act of* 1900	Operation exhausted
	3 Edw. VII. No. 6	*The Election of Senators Act of* 1903	Repealed by 9 Eliz. II. No. 20
	9 Eliz. II. No. 20	*The Senate Elections Act of* 1960	Amended by No. 79, 1984
	No. 79, 1984	*Senate Elections Act Amendment Act 1984*	*(Still in force)*
South Australia . .	No. 834	The Election of Senators Act, 1903	Amended by No. 4, 1978, No. 37, 1981 and No. 80, 1984
	No. 4, 1978	The Election of Senators Act Amendment Act, 1978	*(Still in force)*

TO A LOVING SISTER OR DAUGHTER.

Dear sister, may the light of Heaven
Illume thy path both morn and even;
The world is false on every side,
Yet virtue can thy footsteps guide.
Remember, that bliss ne'er is given
To them that break the laws of Heaven;
One hour enchained in virtue's ties
Is worth a life of sin's false guise;
Shun fashion's fetters, ever strong,
Simplicity will ne'er thee wrong.—
In dress and diet, hope and joy,
Let luxury vile ne'er thee annoy;
And may no miscreant's false love snares
E'er riot on thee unawares.
Abstain from impious, vile romancing;
Exciting drink, and guilty dancing;
May no false kiss e'er stain thy cheek
Where bloom love's blushes pure and meek;
That when once gone, are gone for ever,
As virtue is alone their giver.
My loved one, listen to this song,
From one who never would thee wrong;
Read this, and learn to shun each snare,
And Heaven will bless thee everywhere.

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AND

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æum, *Literary Gazette*, and various other European journals, and said by the *London Guardian* to be "a phenomenon of Australian, if not, of universal interest," to the above reviewers he feels much indebted, his object being to arrest attention in order to do good, an unfavourable notice being perhaps as often of use in such a case as otherwise. It may not be out of place to state, that the author of the PROVERBS, &c., is not an Australian, but a native of the Highlands of Scotland, born among the grey heather, rugged rocks, and pine-clad precipices of Strathspey, having served a long apprenticeship in the shades of solitude, in Nature's open-air school in many lands, and that his history, which may one day see the light, is rather an eventful one, it having been his lot to be thrown early in life on the world's rude tide, he has consequently been a stranger in strange lands nearly all his life, yet while sojourning in the land of the Celt, Saxon, Gaul, Greek, Turk, Tartar, Sclavonian, Russian, and Australian, was never left friendless, and to his friends in every land, and of every creed and caste, he now respectfully dedicates the first instalment of his AUSTRALIAN PROVERBS, AND TRUE LOVE SONGS.

15, Brunswick St.

AUSTRALIAN PROVERBS.

Proverbs—Proverbs are short sermons that speak loud.

Constancy—Constancy is not torn by distance or time.

Fathoming—Who can fathom man's intellect or tell its force?

Baselessness—The fabrics of pride, luxury, or lust, are baseless.

Scarcity—There is no scarcity in nature's realm like man's realm.

Delusion—Delusion is propped up by pride, pleasure, and wrong.

Trickery—The tricks of apes are eclipsed by man's luxurious ones.

Blossoms—Flowers bloom in season and men often not.

Sublimity—Who can chain sublimity to pulpit or professor's chair?

Outline—Who hath given the inimitable outline to nature's works?

Learning—Learning without good behaviour is of little worth.

Deities—It is infamy to add to Deity.

Statues—Did statues speak, sad tales would be disclosed.

Poverty—By nursing pride, poverty of spirit is glorified.

Sabres—Could tyrants weep, sabres were then sheathed.

Temperance—The word "Temperance," is misused and abused.

Shaving—Shaving is wrong, as it detracts from health & beauty.

Politics—Honesty in politics is as necessary, as virtue in religion.

Renown—Blood does not give renown, but virtue does.

Animosity—Animosity extinguishes love, honor, and generosity.

False love—False love generally ends in lust and distrust.

Wild beasts—No raving passions curse the wild beasts' home.

Hatred—The woman, or man-hater, is a monster of iniquity.

Piety—Piety takes its degree at true love's joyous feast.

Degrees—How many college degrees can teach good behaviour?

Brevity—Brevity is the soul of true poetry, as of true wit.

Drunkenness—Very few men leave the world drunkards.

Trifling—The trifler with nature's laws pays dear for his trifling.

Flattery—Flattery never exalts but debases.

Gifts—One of the best of gifts is a good wife.

Songs—Sacred songs will sooth while winds, waves, and seasons roll.

Inconstancy—What wind so cutting as inconstancy's blast?

Laurels—True honors's laurels adorn not false honor's brow.

Fortune—Fortune can neither mar nor make true greatness.

Thought—From whence cometh thought's inexhaustible supplies?

Echoes—The echoes of truth's trumpet are the loudest and longest.

Truth—Truth smites where steel, lead, and lies, fail.

Love—Cold as Greenland, or hot as Ætna, is love's frown or smile.

Flogging—We wail o'er the flogging of others, yet we flog ourselves.

Care—Care enters every home, and defies all its bad adversaries.

Innocence—Innocence hath made kings quail, and lawyers tremble.

Lies—At the birth of a lie, hell's angels are in arms to defend it.

Wickedness—Bad subjects never had, nor will have, true liberty.

Duty—No knock so loud at the door of life's tabernacle as duty's.

Shrieks—No shriek so loud as when Heaven's laws are violated.

Virtue—Virtue is always victorious, and vice always vanquished.

Robbery—To steal our own life and health is the worst of robbery

Time—Time's tooth gnaws earth's proudest temples of art.

Vice—No warrior's lance kills like vice, slaying by day and night.

Cant—Cant, rant, and cunning, befriend neither rich nor poor.

Nature's laws—To break nature's laws is to violate life's fountain.

Teaching—The teaching of nature, puts that of art to shame.

Chastity—Chaste is light, air, earth, fire, water, and true love.

Wails—The widow's sigh, and the orphan's wail, are not unheard.

Cheerfulness—Cheerfulness is found with peasants as with kings.

Luxury—Luxury hath sapped the vitals of empires and subjects

Compassion—Compassion heals where diet and doctors fail.

Goodness—An hour with a good author is worth a life with a bad one.

Social evil—The so called evil is base, unsocial, and unchristian.

Armour—No armour like that of a clear conscience.

Hope—Hope lives first and last in the human breast.

Lust—Lust shuns matrimony to court sorrow and misery.

Rank—False rank often wears true rank's tunic.

Torturers—No torturer like the self made one, ever torturing.

Wisdom—Wisdom's fountains are full and ever flowing.

Ties—True love's ties are never torn or weakened.

Lovers—The true lover of God can only be the true lover of man.

Sycophants—Smiles, frowns, or kicks, are alike to sycophants.

The Tongue—Man's tongue bites deeper than lion's teeth.

Solitude—Solitude makes more sages than literary revels do.

Fields—Wisdom's fields yield more than gold fields do.

Sleep—The sleep of innocence can only be bought by innocence.

Colts—Colts are like boys gambolling until harnessed fairly in life.

Reputation—A bad reputation is more sensitive than a good one.

The Press—The Press is prostituted by evil and exalted by good.

Repose—Evil seeks repose by sea and land, and finds it not.

Reservation—Strive to reserve some of youth's pleasures for age.

Strong-mindedness—The strong minded are shunned.

War—In war, vulture-like, rise pride, plunder, and woe.

Error—Scorpion error would inter virtue's vigils, if possible.

Throttling—Virtue often gets throttled, yet never killed.

Fetters—Unfettered minds will soar o'er human mists to sunshine.

Idleness—Idleness clothes in rags and misery.

Justness—The just man's voice, who can drown its echoes?

Rod-seeking—Sin is eternally rod-seeking and not for nought.

Maternal love—Who can trace the source of a mother's love?

Simplicity—What is sublime must be simple.

Love's wounds—True love heals false love's wounds.

Vulgarity—There is no vulgarity in nature, but much in art.

Unhallowed love—False love is like sand, true love like hills.

Warmth—Waste not animal heat by false stimulants.

Poets—Great poets are universal singers, and little poets local ones.

Water—Water is the gift of Heaven, and the sustainer of life.

Life's Flame—Where life's flame burns fiercely, it's soon over.

Enamelling—What enamel like the coating of a good conscience?

Bashfulness—Bashfulness and worth cannot be counterfeited.

Humility—The bread of humility fattens where ostentation fails.

Blushes—The depth of a blush is often the soul's index.

Husbands—Good wives will not wink at husbands' faults.

Wonder—Wonder is young and old, green in age as youth.

Life—Heaven kindles life's flame, beware of extinguishing it.

Mental food—Good genius will find mental food where bad fails.

Respect—Nature makes her cares to be more respected than art's.

Pleasure—To do good in need is a true and lasting pleasure.

Hunger—Hunger is the mightiest tamer, and peace maker.

War makers—Brutes are harmless compared with war makers.

Thirst—Water cures thirst when all other drinks fail.

Language—Language gives thought, and thought language.

Inspiration—Good and evil inspirations do not dwell together.

Hands—Hands wreck empires, by blood, false honor, and misery.

Helms—A man of sin is a man of sorrow, and like a helmless ship.

Life's Sea—The sea of life is deep, calm to some, stormy to others.

Rivers—Rivers are life's emblems going like life to eternity.

Animalism—Guilty animalism and lust conquer their supporters.

Pests—The kinds of pests and their workings are undescribed.

Fiends—Passions fiends smile and sting at the same time.

Luxury—Luxury's sea contains more wrecks than earth's oceans.

Blessings—Cold ingratitude is receiving perpetual blessings.

Rulers—Wicked men choose wicked rulers.

Soldiers—The tear of soldier or sigh of virgin is not issued in vain.

Sages—Earth's mightiest sages know but little of wisdom.

Mirth—False mirth's flame can light not true mirth's temple.

Liberty—Liberty, and Equality; big words for little people.

Moon-Beams—The Moon beam sleeps not and is never tired.

Paths—Nature's paths are hidden from the sons of earthly science.

Infamy—Infamy smiles through rouged lips and black eyebrows.

Stimulants—Hunger, thirst, love, and fear, are powerful stimulants.

Shields—No shield like virtue's that will only fit virtue's votary.

Sin—Sin is so strong as to be able to smite its nurser and victim.

Passion—Passions kill more than war, famine, and pestilence.

Dupes—The pleaser of a wicked multitude is the dupe of dupes.

Healing—Who hath healed nature's children without drugs?

Snakes—No snake can sting like the harlot's insatiated smile.

Fury—Fury's dart wounds giver and receiver.

Wisdom—Time's blasts destroy not wisdom's workings.

Reform—Self-reform is more wanted than any other kind of reform.

Heaven's Love—One ray of Heaven's love can light empires.

Heaven's Wrath—One ray of Heaven's wrath none can comprehend

Sorrow—Sorrow works wonders unseen and unknown to us.

Nature's Harps—The harps of nature are always in tune.

Slander—Guilt trembles while virtue smiles at slander's workings.

Adultery—Not all the light of earth could light adultery's den.

Lamps—Love's lamp can only burn with the oil of innocence.

Adornments—No robe so bright as virtue's stainless one.

Murder—Murder cannot be committed legally or illegally.

Surfeiting—The worst kind of surfeiting is crime's.

Wrinkles—Wrinkles ask not leave to sit on king or peasant's cheek.

Health—Life depends on health, injure one you shorten the other.

Charity—True charity and pride are sworn foes in every land.

Prayer—Prayer will make a dungeon brighter than a sinful palace.

Early Rising—Thieves and philosophers are often early risers.

Whispering—No whispering so loud and lasting as conscience's.

Heaven's Light—The light of Heaven never leads astray.

Virtue—One blast of virtue's trump could shake empires.

Malice—Nurse malice and kill love, nurse love and kill malice.

Nature—Among the sands or snows Nature's power sleeps not.

Magnanimity—Magnanimity tries philosopher or pastor.

Philanthropy—True philanthropy requires no trumpeter.

Mistakes—Nature makes no mistakes like erring man.

Cloaks—What cloak or coloring can hide guilt, or balm sooth it?

Nakedness—Sin is always naked, and virtue always clothed.

Glory—Glory gilds rich and poor when properly won and kept.

Pride—Pride's secret workings are hidden from us like their author.

Garlands—A well-spent life will bring an everlasting garland.

Brothels—No miscreant so base as the brothel-keeper's aider.

Modesty—No earthly mineral or vegetable can adorn like modesty.

Gratitude—Gratitude blots out ills, and blesses giver and receiver.

Self—If we truly love ourselves we are sure to love our neighbors.

Love's Fire—What fire will burn like love?

Inhumanity—Cruel inhumanity hath torn hearts asunder.

Seasons—What is done in a good cause is never done out of season.

Discretion—Discretion's chains are light to wear.

Greatness—What is by many called greatness, is really littleness.

Charity—True charity glorifies, where false charity fails.

Ceremony—Good deeds require no ceremony's salt to season them.

Distrust—Distrust thyself when a favorite among the bad.

Charlatanism—Charlatans are prompted and upheld by charlatans.

Plaisters—Would a tree be strengthened by putting a plaister on it?

Kindness—Kindness tames where gold and stripes fail.

Conviviality—Conviviality's courts are thronged with pilgrims.

Gifts—Life's gifts are too often undervalued until too late.

Stimulants—Wholesome air, food and exercise, are true stimulants.

Neglect—Cold neglect can neither weaken nor kill true worth.

Mercy—The lamp of mercy need not want oil if sought.

Freedom—It is of nouse to seek for freedom where it cannot live.

Anger—No anger like sin's, as it hears and knows no reasonings.

Assistance—Assistance where most wanted is most often rejected.

Wild Men—Wild men are less guilt-stained than tame ones.

Veils—Virtue's eyes can pierce the thickest of sin's veils.

The Soul—Where Heaven lights the soul no evil art can stifle it.

Evil Thoughts—Evil thoughts are the seeds of crime and misery.

Courtship—Courtship is to court with one true heart to win another.

Ambition—Ambition makes spoils where evil passions burn.

Rebels—The greatest rebel is the man who cannot govern himself.

Fidelity—Conjugal fidelity's chain, binds stronger than parchment.

Oblivion—Oblivion lurks near false glory's crown.

Democracy—Sham democrats fatten on the wrecks of poor men.

Treasure—The purest treasure is a true lover's heart.

Prudence—Wisdom is unveiled by courting prudence.

Vanity—Vanity, in what is called civilized life is well supported.

Friendship—True friendship cannot live among bad men.

Scourging—We get well scourged between custom and fashion.

Spoils—War's emblems are withered leaves, its spoils broken hearts.

Old Maids—More pure are virtue's silver locks, than virgin's curls.

Rancour—Sow rancour and reap spleen; sow peace and reap joy.

Silence—Silence hath made more sages than ever did garrulity.

Portraits—Heart portraits are always the truest.

Storming—Love storms the stoutest ramparts of the heart.

Reputation—Lust blasts the reputation, and ruins the health.

Duellists—Duellists are cold-blooded murderers.

Serfs—Tyrants make serfs, and serfs make tyrants.

Sectarianism—Has one sect more happiness than another?

Rifles—Virtues are more defensive than rifles.

Drums—Beat well the drum of true instruction only.

Bumps—The cranium's bumps who can decipher truly?

Toasts—Toasts and tastes play mighty pranks.

Hens—Hens hatch chickens in strange circumstances.

Rats—Rats, cats, and rabbits, are multiplied by man's art.

Hedges—What hedge can surround injustice?

Scholars—Scholastic art should curb smoking.

Syllables—Syllables play mighty parts altho' small.

Infinitude—The infinitude of eternity is beyond comprehension.

Contamination—Contamination lurks near sin's supporters brow.

Painters—He is the greatest painter, who can paint sin best.

Roarers—Roarer's voices are not always the loudest.

Puzzles—To curb self is the grandest puzzle of life.

Artificers—Artificers construct for others and undo for themselves.

Warriors—He is the greatest hero who can rout the Devil's troops.

Ladies—Ah! where can a lady be found in crimes' ranks?

Gentlemen—Gentlemen are such, when their conduct is good.

Snails—Snails are less defenceless than passion's dupes.

Age—We do in old age what is left undone in youth.

Liars—Liars often offend, not like good truth-tellers.

Soup—Soup is ale's substitute, fattening where ale fails.

Slumberers—Man slumbers at noonday in life's heyday.

Character—No article so brittle as man's character.

Leaders—Good leaders lead to peace instead of war.

Liberators—When we liberate ourselves, liberty begins.

Storms—Fierce storms bring fruitful fields and healthful air.

Friendship—True friendship heals false friendship's wounds.

Offspring—Love of offspring will make us brave life's storms.

Earth—Earth is a paradise to the wise, a pandemonium to the sinful.

Peace—Sacred peace heals wounds and makes joy spring from woe.

Habits—Bad habits are sooner learned than good ones.

Hearing—The gift of hearing like that of seeing is often misused.

Loving—If we love not what is good our love is unworthy.

Living—If we live not faithful to ourselves we are very unfaithful.

Separation—Separation's wounds no doctor can heal.

Seduction—The seducer is the seduced and the most punished.

Integrity—No well so pure as integrity's; ever full and open to all.

Bathing—Bathe in innocence for cleanliness, and in luxury for filth.

Time—Time's tide carries the ready and unready on to eternity.

Impatience—Impatience is a barrier to peace and health.

Teachers—True teachers bridle their passions and prejudices.

Doctors—True doctors uphold nature's beverages, ever pure.

Orators—Truth, honor, and honesty, will only make great orators.

Kings—True kings use for sceptre truth, and for crown innocence.

Bitterness—Extravagance makes life's cup bitter and scanty.

Foes—Men are often the makers of their own foes and fortunes.

Good for Pons Gulf motorist in Parliament speech

Contention—Contention's bone costs much to pick everywhere.

Ideas—Can a fine idea be conceived by a very wicked man ?

Darkness—Shun life's darkness and its light is at hand.

Artifice—No artifice can hide sin, crime, or misery.

Giants—Giants in literature are often dwarfs in virtue.

Anger—Anger's burnings are fanned by hell's angels.

Self-Support—Self finds support from self, yet ever against itself.

Prayer—Prayer lights dungeon or palace where other lights fail.

Hand-shakers—Most hand-shakers have designs on each other.

Dreams—Dreams are the soul's workings, unfathomable to man.

Guilt—Guilt's greatness lies in its shame, its littleness in itself.

Unmanliness—Man stings his soul and builds his shame.

Loyalty—False loyalty can be bought or sold by gold.

Wives—One hour with a virtuous woman is worth a life of evil.

Pandering—Panderers barter peace and health for sorrow.

Philanthropy—Sham philanthropy flogs and heals, and flogs itself.

False love—False love burns, lives, and dies in sorrow.

Faith—Faith braves danger and sin triumphantly.

Fear—Fear will kill sleep, and virtue will kill fear.

Hatred—Hatred's shafts return on their owner.

Disdain—Reason disarms disdain when called into use.

Mirth—True mirth's march is slow and sure, false mirth's quick.

Joy—All is not joy where wedding bells are heard.

Life boats—Earth's sea hath many life boats, and life's sea, few.

Pleasure—The unhallowed brand of false pleasure is unfading.

Resignation—Resignation enriches more than gold.

Ice—The ice king's breath fertilizes the earth.

Rain—Rain enriches more than gold ever could.

Summer—King Summer breathes forth life, health, and beauty.

Autumn—Autumn blesses all of earth's tenants, asleep or awake.

Day—Day's inexhaustible phials are never empty.

Genius—Genius gets but too often bespattered with its own brains.

Faith—Faith can live well, die well, and be remembered well.

Heaven—Earth may be made a Heaven by sobriety and piety.

Dress—Wisdom's undying dress decks vaulted sky and glassy deep.

Eternity—Earth's ocean echoes are as nought to dread eternity's.

Sympathy—Sympathy's fountains are never dry among the good.

Printing—The art of printing may be made a curse, or blessing.

Originality—Originality may turn up where least expected.

Slaves—White slaves to passion outnumber black ones.

Battles—Life's battles are many, the truly virtuous are the victors.

Virtuous Age—Virtuous age is merrier than guilty youth.

Wounds—The blasts of vice wound deeply crime's supporters.

Dignity—Nature never confers true dignity for nought.

Example—Bad example slays liberty and upholds crime.

Forgiveness—Forgiveness lightens, and revenge darkens.

Nothingness—Making a bad use of our faculties is nothingness.

Temptation—Temptation smiles as it slays, saddens, and darkens.

Revenge—Revenge and pleasure cannot dwell together.

Cries—No power can stifle righteous cries to Heaven.

Despair—Nought so black as despair's dread night.

Robes—True virtue's robes are unstainable.

Planting—The barren rock when planted will bring the rain.

Deformity—No kind of deformity like guilt's.

Poems—Poems uncrammed with garbage please not the wicked.

Happiness—The soul filled at wisdom's fount is always happy.

Merit—Modest merit gives way to gold, and false honor, often.

Inexperience—Inexperience is often louder than experience.

Laughter—Innocent laughter stimulates, and guilty debases.

Scorn—Scorn and pride live, pine, and die together, unwept for.

Drunkards—Drunkards often sing abroad and weep at home.

Ingratitude—No frost is so cold as ingratitude's unfriendly grip.

Conscience—None can stifle conscience by day or night.

Spleen—Spleen wounds the soul and darkens life.

A Trust—Life is a sacred trust, beware of destroying it.

Miscreants—Needless war-makers are our worst miscreants.

Fate—Virtuous resignation lessens fate's direst darts.

Twaddle—Printing of twaddle is a waste of time and money.

Infatuation—Darker than the darkest night is dim infatuation.

Despicableness—Nothing so despicable as sin garbed in pride.

Icebergs—Icebergs awe when we seek nature's secrets out.

Incredulity—The chain of incredulity binds tight.

Happiness—Court abstinence to win honor and happiness.

Advice—Love what is good, and hate what is bad.

Coquetry—Coquetry tears the heart by false smiles.

Light—Luxury scorns light by turning day into night.

The Sun—Emblem of Heaven's King art thou, Oh, Sun of life.

The Ocean—Who can scan the ocean or define its limit?

Falsehood—Falsehood wounds its maker more than his victim.

Licensing—The licensing of adultery is a blot on Europe's chart.

Loveliness—The loveliest being on earth is a good woman or man.

Great Cities—Adultery's sin makes a great city a little one.

Imagination—What sage can scan the fountain of imagination?

Voice—The voice of God is heard in the tempest as in the calm.

Blank Verse—Blank verse is blanker than poetic prose.

A Puzzle—To lower honesty will puzzle daring man or devil.

Tyranny—When earth's urns fade, tyranny can smite no more.

Gravity—Gravity sits trembling on crime-built tyranny's brow.

Woe—Woe breaks into palace and cot, laughing at gold and pomp

Baseness—No cloak can hide baseness or rampart shield it.

Blood—Can you shew me the liquid that will erase blood?

Tears—Tears are holy in virtue's cause, their fountain is the heart.

Humble Pie—Sin makes sorrow, and sorrow cooks humble pie.

Preachers—Good example is the mightiest preacher.

Beauty—Beauty is not chained to any land or cheek.

Ugliness—To call aught made by God ugly is exceedingly sinful.

Armour—Life's strongest armour is the mail of innocence.

Home—A good husband or wife can cheer the dreariest home.

Fattening—Hatred fattens on the hater more than on his victim.

Crime—Crime upholders fondle o'er gold that will not bless them.

Heroes—Sin's heroes are Earth's monsters.

Mind—No chain or dungeon strong enough to chain the mind.

Rings—If the finger requires a ring, the toe ought to have one.

Tonics—Tonics touch closer than their upholders imagine.

Fame—The world's fame for what will not leave it better, is no fame.

AUSTRALIAN LOVE SONGS.

TO ERIN MY NATIVE LAND.

O Erin dear, where I was born,
My first home o'er the sea,
My ties for thee will ne'er be torn,
My soul still clings to thee.
Green be thy hills for evermore,
Thy streams like virtue's pure,
Tho' far off on a foreign shore,
My love doth still endure.
Thou land of statesmen good and bold,
And poets true through time,
'Till death my heart will ne'er grow cold
For thee in any clime.
Thy sons have gone o'er earth afar
May virtue guide their souls,
May wild war's clang their peace ne'er mar,
While time still onward rolls.
O Erin dear, now with a tear,
To thee I sing this song,
May it be hallowed far and near,
And echoed loud and long.
Tho' land and sea doth us divide,
My soul still to thee clings,
May Heaven e'er thee guard and guide
'Till time's last requiem rings.

NEVER-FAILING STREAM

ıade of the stars, in my mind,
d clear water running over them,
st strangely feelings of im-
e remoteness with intimacy,

ne and the same time I
w a far white mist of stars
p there, but had my fingers
nong those solid stones.

William Hart-Smith

WHY KOOKABURRA LAUGHS AT DAWN

SOME time when the world was young, birds and animals had grown to an enormous size. They were as big as mountains and they lived in darkness that was lit only by the dim light of the stars. The animals were quarrelsome, for it was difficult to find food enough to support their enormous bodies. Baiame had begun his acts of creation, but had not yet determined what form his people would take. These animals he had made were his first experiments.

The world was not a comfortable place in which gods could live. Baiame preferred to remain in his home in the Milky Way which he shared with another powerful spirit, whose name was Punjel. In the frosty realms of the sky it was cold, and every day the gods collected firewood, which they piled in a heap in front of their celestial wurley.

"Why do we gather all this wood but never set it alight?" Punjel asked plaintively.

"We have no fire. Fire is found only in the world below."

"Then why don't we go down and get some for ourselves? I am cold."

"You must remain cold for a while longer," Baiame told him. "The time will come. You cannot hasten the processes of creation."

Punjel was prepared to argue, but his attention was attracted by an unusual sight. Both he and Baiame were able to see clearly in the half-light that enveloped the world. They saw that Eagle and Emu were fighting over the carcase of some animal. Emu managed to snatch it away from Eagle. He rushed towards his nest with the other bird hot in pursuit. Eagle's beak was stretched out and he was pulling the tail feathers from the fleeing bird. Emu did not dare to stay by the nest. He ran straight on into the dense undergrowth and was lost to sight. Eagle stopped, and began to walk back towards the Emu nest. He looked in and saw two white eggs glimmering in the darkness. He picked one of them out with his beak, transferred it to his claw, and with a wicked smile on his face, threw it up in the air with all his might.

Punjel had been watching closely. The egg soared upwards, higher and higher, and as it came closer to him it seemed to grow so large that it blotted out his view of the world. Instinctively Punjel put out his hand to catch it, but it slipped through his fingers and smashed against the wood pile outside the wurley. It broke into a thousand pieces, and the timber was splashed with white and gold. As the two great spirits watched, the shattered egg burst into flames, the wood was kindled, and as it had been stored for so long and was tinder-dry, it burned furiously. The gods drew near to warm their bodies.

Presently they looked down. The stars had paled before the intense glow of the fire, and the whole world was lit up by the flames. They drew their breath quickly at the sight. Never before had they seen such beauty. Mountain tops were touched with pure gold; trees were like a feathery green garment on the hillsides; silver streams and waterfalls adorned a land that shone in splendour. Even the arid plains were glowing with a thousand bright colours; while the clouds that drifted over the earth's face were gossamer veils that enhanced her loveliness.

"This is your doing, Baiame," said Punjel. "Under cover of darkness you have been making the world beautiful so that we may enjoy it forever."

Baiame smiled: "Not for us alone, Punjel. The huge animals of the darkness have had their day. Now it is time to people this world of mine with little animals, small birds and reptiles, even tiny insects that we can scarcely see, and to put silvery fish into the rivers and lakes."

As he was speaking the fire began to die down, and some of the beauty was concealed again.

"What is the use of making such a world if no one is able to see it?" Punjel asked.

"Now that we have the gift of fire in the heavens," Baiame replied, "we will never let it go out. At night it will die down till no one can see it, but in the morning I shall light it again. Men will call it the sun, but we know that it is a new woodpile burning brightly to waken all living things from sleep."

"What is sleep?" asked Punjel.

"Sleep is a gentle spirit that closes men's eyes and soothes the thoughts out of their heads. It is a time of resting. Living things need sleep."

"Do you mean that they are dead?"

"No, no. It is hard to tell you, because y
sleep is a not-living that keeps men alive."

Punjel shook his head in a puzzled fa
stand, Baiame," he said. "If you say it is
But if men are living yet not living, and
they will not know when the fire is lit, and
in this thing that you call sleep, which is

"They will open their eyes to the fir
assured him. "I shall hang a bright star in
they will know that the fire is to be lit a
coming back to the world."

"How can they know when the star is
shut?"

"There will be a noise that will wake
shines."

"What kind of noise? Who will make it

"That is for you to find out, Punjel. Sinc
lest my little ones should not wake up each
find a way of letting them know."

Punjel went back into his wurley, and tr
carry stones up to the Milky Way and drop
he thought, "but then they might hurt B
they fell. Anyway, that would not be a h
everyone. They might be afraid."

After thinking for a long time, he went
wandered through the bush. He listened to
creaking together in the wind, to water tri
the thudding of the paws of animals on the
these things satisfied him.

Then he heard a sound of laughter, and w
He found Kookaburra perched on the branc
happily to himself.

"Kookaburra!" he cried, "that is just the
you laugh louder than that?"

Kookaburra opened his beak wide and l
laughter that Punjel had to block his ears to

"Wonderful!" he cried again. "Everyone
that noise in the farthest corners of the
before the sky fire is lit each morning Baiam
the eastern sky. Will you watch for it, and
laugh when you see it?"

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they are dead?"

"No, no. It is hard to tell you, because you do not know it, but sleep is a not-living that keeps men alive."

Punjel shook his head in a puzzled fashion. "I don't understand, Baiame," he said. "If you say it is good, it must be good. But if men are living yet not living, and their eyes are closed, they will not know when the fire is lit, and they will go on and on in this thing that you call sleep, which is like death."

"They will open their eyes to the fire each day," Baiame assured him. "I shall hang a bright star in the east, and by that they will know that the fire is to be lit again, and that light is coming back to the world."

"How can they know when the star is there, if their eyes are shut?"

"There will be a noise that will wake them when the star shines."

"What kind of noise? Who will make it?"

"That is for you to find out, Punjel. Since you are so concerned lest my little ones should not wake up each day, you must try to find a way of letting them know."

Punjel went back into his wurley, and tried to think. "I could carry stones up to the Milky Way and drop them on the earth," he thought, "but then they might hurt Baiame's people when they fell. Anyway, that would not be a happy sound to wake everyone. They might be afraid."

After thinking for a long time, he went down to earth and wandered through the bush. He listened to the branches of trees creaking together in the wind, to water trickling over stones, to the thudding of the paws of animals on the ground; but none of these things satisfied him.

Then he heard a sound of laughter, and went to see what it was. He found Kookaburra perched on the branch of a tree, laughing happily to himself.

"Kookaburra!" he cried, "that is just the sound I want. Can you laugh louder than that?"

Kookaburra opened his beak wide and let out such a peal of laughter that Punjel had to block his ears to stop being deafened.

"Wonderful!" he cried again. "Everyone will be able to hear that noise in the farthest corners of the world. Kookaburra, before the sky fire is lit each morning Baiame will hang a star in the eastern sky. Will you watch for it, and laugh your happy laugh when you see it?"

"Of course I will," said Kookaburra. "I am happiest when I am laughing."

Punjel flew up to the sky, and told Baiame what he had done.

"Good!" said the Great Spirit. "When I put the morning star in the east, listen and tell me whether you can hear Kookaburra giving the dawn call."

But there was no need for him to ask Punjel to listen. He could hear it himself, like everyone else except those who are stone deaf.

THE BLUE FISH AN

WHO can tell how the moon was ma
on his long journey across the sky?
live in the Dreamtime with Baiame a
the heavens? Who can tell?

But there is a tale that is told of
and Loolo, the Miserable Man, who
shone, when the nights were dark an

"My heart is like the dark," Loolo
in the shelter of the fence and huddle
heat in their bodies. "The night is u
spirits will walk through an unend
winds will blow through the empty s
will shrivel up and die, and we shall

His only answer was the sobbing
head in her arms.

From Nullandi's fire came sounds

"See the darkness!" he said. "It r
light of the sun by day."

"You are foolish, husband," his
see the darkness? There is nothing to
to place our hands over our closed e

"That is because you do not look,
the fire, wife. Look into the fire, chil
there. Keep on looking. Now look i
see now?"

"We see flames in the darkness," t
that, Father? Are there many fires a

"No, they are in your heads. It i
should be there than in the world.

"They are growing dim, Father."

"Then look up into the sky. What

"We see many many sparks up th
from?"

"They must be sparks from the f
cannot see it yet, but when dawn
glow."

W. KERR (?)

Fisher's Ghost
A Legend of Campbelltown

Of Australia's traditional tales none has attained a wider celebrity than that of the murder of a ticket-of-leave man, Frederick George Fisher, near Campbelltown (NSW) in the year 1826. The crime itself was not very remarkable; and no account of the murder or of the bringing of the perpetrator, George Worral, to justice would, in the ordinary course of events, have sustained the interest of readers over the past century and a quarter. But an extraordinary thing happened. Fisher's vengeful ghost appeared one night to a home-going settler, John Farley. Local suspicion was aroused as to the fate of Fisher who, until then, was generally believed to be paying a visit to England. Fisher's remains were discovered; and the murderer was caught, tried and hanged – thanks to an apparition.

The story has been told and retold countless times. It has been the subject of poems, ballads, sketches, essays and an opera. The first literary expression of the tale follows. It appeared in the March 1836 issue of Tegg's Monthly Magazine. *It was reprinted in Geoffrey C. Ingleton's* True Patriots All *(1952) with a footnote suggesting that the author may well have been W. Kerr, a journalist and editor who founded the Melbourne* Argus. *This version of the tale gives the name of the settler who first saw the ghost as Hurley, not Farley. The reader may be interested to compare the 'Kerr' narrative with that by John Lang, also included in this anthology.*

Suggested further reading: Douglas Stewart, Fisher's Ghost *(1960); Frank Cusack,* True Australian Ghost Stories *(1967).*

Reader, have you ever paid a visit to the town, or rather to the village of Campbelltown? If you have, then you must have observed as you strolled through the village, a large unfinished brick building, fast mouldering to decay, which seems to have been intended at the time of erection for a store. It is now rapidly falling into decay, and the freshness of the grass which covers

the sward around it, shows that whatever the cause may be the ruins are not much frequented by the inhabitants of the surrounding cottages. The unfinished building and the land which surrounds it were the property some years ago of a man named Frederick Fisher, who occupied an adjoining cottage, of which scarcely a trace now remains.

Fisher had been originally a prisoner, he had served his time in the employ of a gentleman in the neighbourhood, and had removed to the town, when he obtained his ticket-of-leave. Some years previous to the commencement of our tale, he had received his certificate of freedom, having undergone the sentence which had been awarded him by the laws of his country. He had also soon after he became free obtained a grant of a town allotment and had commenced the building referred to, intending on its completion to occupy one portion of it as a dwelling-house, and to convert the remaining part into a store.

Fisher was but a boy at the time of the commission of the offence which had led to his transportation. His relatives, enraged at the disgrace he had subjected them to by his misconduct, had taken little notice of him after that period; and as he could put no trust in those whom he saw around him, placed in circumstances similar to his own, he had consequently formed no friendship, which might have enabled him to pass his vacant time; his education also, had been much neglected in his youth by those very relatives who were so liberal of their censure after he had gone astray; it is not therefore, a matter of surprise, that his time should have, occasionally, hung heavy on his hands.

His own fireside presented few attractions to him; his conduct, since his arrival in the colony, not having been such as to afford him much gratification in the retrospect; the resolution of amendment he had made whilst in jail and on the passage out, had melted like snow when exposed to the demoralizing influence of the example set by those around him. Fisher, like most of his class, flew for refuge from unpleasant recollections, to the society which the neighbouring tap-room afforded, and sought for that which he found not at home, in quaffing the flowing bowl.

The necessary consequences of conduct such as this soon became apparent, his business, to which, on gaining his freedom, he had paid strict attention, was now neglected, but instead of

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endeavouring, by exertion, to extricate himself from the difficulties which began to surround him, he plunged yet deeper into a life of dissipation, frequenting the purlieus of the tap both day and night. His inevitable ruin became soon so apparent that his creditors resolved no longer to brook delay; he was accordingly arrested and lodged in jail, at the instance of one of their number, for a debt of £150.

Although Fisher had been weak enough to allow the bad example of others to lead him astray, he was yet far from having reached the pitch of depravity which many of his associates had attained: although he had neglected his business, and spent in dissipation those means which ought to have been applied to the liquidation of his debts, he had yet sufficient moral principle remaining, to shudder when one of his drunken associates, named Worral, suggested the expediency of entering into a scheme to defraud his creditors by making over to him the whole of his property which yet remained; making at the same time a private engagement that it should be restored to him as soon as he was permitted to leave jail.

The persuasions of Worral, who represented to him the ease and safety with which he might thus revenge himself on his creditors and regain possession of his property, without any incumbrance, soon overcame the feelings of repugnance which he had first felt, and he consented to make the transfer of all he possessed to Worral, under these conditions. Mr. P. at whose instance Fisher had been incarcerated, finding that he was not the owner of the property he had supposed, consented, after some time, to his liberation, as the only means by which he was likely ever to recover the amount of his claim. Fisher, immediately on his release, returned to Campbelltown, exulting in the success of his scheme.

About a week after Fisher's return, he left his house one evening with the intention, it was supposed, of resorting, according to his usual custom, to some of the neighbouring ginshops. Morning came, but his continued absence excited no surprise, as it was supposed that he had got so drunk the previous night, as to be unable to return home. As the day wore on, and no signs of his appearance, a neighbour went to inquire at the various public-houses whether he had been there. He had not been at any of his usual haunts, nor had any person seen him since the

previous evening. Many conjectures were made as to the cause of his protracted absence, but no feasible reason could be adduced until the afternoon, when Worral returned from Sydney, whither he said he had on the previous evening, accompanied Fisher, who had sailed early that morning for England in order to avoid the importunities of his creditors, who had lately been rather troublesome to him, some of them having even threatened to lodge him again in jail. This was corroborated by the fact that a vessel did sail for England on that day.

Worral's statement set completely at rest all the conjectures which had previously been afloat as to the cause of Fisher's disappearance, and he was allowed to take undisputed possession of the property on producing Fisher's conveyance. Time wore on, and Fisher's name was almost forgotten or never alluded to, except by the deluded creditors.

About six weeks after Fisher's disappearance, Mr Hurley, a respectable settler in the vicinity of Campbelltown, was returning thence to his residence; he had long been acquainted with Fisher, and it is by no means improbable that his mind reverted to his sudden disappearance when passing the place where he had so long resided; be that as it may, however, no doubt as to Worral's statement ever entered his mind. It was about ten o'clock at night when he left Campbelltown; the moon had risen, but her brilliance was obscured by clouds.

After he had passed the late residence of Fisher, about from five to eight hundred yards, he observed the figure of a man sitting on top of the fence on the same side of the road as the house. On approaching nearer, what was his surprise to recognize distinctly the features of Fisher, whom he had supposed then far on his way to England. He approached the figure with the intention of assuring himself that he had not been deceived by a fancied resemblance. The ghastly appearance which the features presented to his view on his nearer approach struck such a chill of terror in his heart as chained him motionless to the spot. The figure, as he gazed, rose from the fence, and waving its arms pointed in the direction of a small dry creek, which crossed the paddock at that place, and disappeared gradually from his view, apparently following the windings of the creek. The terror which overpowered the faculties of Hurley at this sight defies all powers of description; in a state of stupefaction he left the

spot, and endeavoured to obtain
house.

How he managed to find his wa
lection, but just as he approache
him. The noise caused by his he
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of the name Fisher in his ravings,
who attended him, and conjectu
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a state of stupefaction he left the

spot, and endeavoured to obtain an entrance into the nearest house.

How he managed to find his way to the house he has no recollection, but just as he approached it his senses totally forsook him. The noise caused by his head striking the door as he fell alarmed the inmates, who on opening it found him lying in a death-like swoon; he was carried into the house, where he lay for a week in the delirium of a brain fever. The frequent mention of the name Fisher in his ravings, attracted the attention of those who attended him, and conjecture was soon busy at work to ascertain what had driven him into such a state; his known character for sobriety, as well as the testimony of those who had parted from him only a few minutes before, forbade the supposition that it had been caused by drunkenness; and rumour, with her thousand tongues, turned the villagers' heads with vain conjectures as to its probable cause. On the morning of the ninth day of Hurley's illness, he awoke after a long and refreshing sleep in the full possession of his senses, and expressed a wish to those around him that the Police Magistrate should be sent for.

William Howe, Esq., of Glenlee, who then filled the situation of Superintendent of Police for Campbelltown and the surrounding districts, was sent for, and came immediately on being made aware of the circumstances. To him Hurley disclosed what he had seen, and the suspicion of Fisher's having met with foul play, which that sight had impressed on his mind. As soon as Hurley was able to leave his bed, Mr Howe, accompanied by a few constables, among whom was a native black named Gilbert, went, conducted by Hurley, to a place where the apparition had been seen. On closely examining the panel of fencing pointed out, Mr Howe discovered spots of blood. An active search was commenced to discover further traces of the supposed murder, but nothing more was observed.

It was thought advisable to trace the course of the creek in the direction to which the apparition had pointed, and in which it had disappeared. Some small ponds of water still remained in the creek, and these Black Gilbert was directed to explore with his spear; he carefully examined each as he approached it, but the shake of his head denoted his want of success. On approaching a larger pond than any of those he had before searched, the

standers-by observed his eyes sparkle, as he exclaimed in a tone of triumph, while yet at some distance from the pool, 'white man's fat sit down here'; as soon as he reached the bank of the pond he thrust his spear into the water, and after some search, he pointed to a particular spot in the water, saying 'white man there'.

The constables were immediately set to work to clear away the water, which was soon effected—and on digging among the sand the remains of a human being in an advanced stage of decomposition were discovered. It became now obvious to all that Fisher (if the remains which had been found were really his) had met with an untimely end. Suspicion alighted on Worral, who was the only person who had reaped any benefit from Fisher's death; and it was remembered also that it was he who had first propagated the story of Fisher's return to England.

Mr Howe caused Worral to be arrested, and the suspicion being confirmed by a body of circumstantial evidence, he was committed to take his trial before the Supreme Court for the murder. The conviction that retributive justice was now about to overtake him had such an effect on his mind that he confessed his guilt. His reason for so barbarous a proceeding arose from the transaction mentioned in the former part of the narrative. Fisher, overjoyed at the success of the scheme by which he had defrauded his creditors, forgot to regain possession of the deed of conveyance by which he had made over his property to Worral. The thought occurred to Worral that, if he could only get Fisher quietly out of the way, he would be able to claim possession of the property in right of that conveyance.

Under the mask of friendship, he was Fisher's companion during the day—and night after night he watched Fisher's motion from the time of his return from jail until the one on which the murder was committed. On that night he was as usual prowling about Fisher's cottage, looking out for an opportunity to attain his ends, when Fisher, tempted by the beauty of the evening, left his house to take a walk, followed at some distance by Worral. At the place where the blood was afterwards discovered, Fisher stopped and leant against the fence, apparently wrapped in deep thought. The assassin had now before him the opportunity he had so long waited for, and taking up a broken panel of fence, he stole quietly behind him, and with one blow of his

weapon stretched him lifeless on th
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weapon stretched him lifeless on the ground; he carried the dead body from the scene of the murder to the place where it was afterwards discovered, and buried it deep in the sand. A few weeks after he had made the confession he expiated his crime on the scaffold, imploring with his last breath the forgiveness of his Maker.

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TO Michelle Nix

FROM Pat Bunker, Trinity College Library

PAGE 1 OF 10 PAGES (including this cover page)

DATE: Dec. 16, 1991

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I am sending pages from several different sources, but probably your best source will be Irwin's book Following the Equator. In our edition the material on Australia starts with chapter 9 and continues through chapter 35. A title that we don't own is At Home Abroad: Mark Twain in Australasia by Miriam Jones Shillingsburg (Jackson, Univ. Pr. of Mississippi, 1988).

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lecture in Honolulu, and had looked forward to revisiting the islands which had done so much for his nascent fame, nearly thirty years before. But there was a cholera epidemic; no one was allowed to land. Mark could only gaze at Oahu, "just as silky and velvety and lovely as ever," and declare that if he could he would go ashore and never leave. They crossed the equator on September 5—Mark averred that Clara knocked it—and were in Sydney on the sixteenth.

Smythe had made his preparations well and all Australia, seemingly, turned out. Within the first fortnight after his programs began Mark was able to remit £457 to Rogers, and despite a second carbuncle, which kept him abed in Melbourne for a week, he enjoyed himself thoroughly. When the larrikins in Sydney and Melbourne recognized him on his way back from his lectures and shouted, "Good night, Mark!" he swelled with pride. A few years before, he had had an argument with Howells, who had declared that Mark was famous; Mark had insisted that he was merely well known. Now he began to think Howells was right, though final conviction did not come until two or three years later, when a Viennese police officer recognized him and let him through the lines that were guarding the streets for a royal procession.

Mark passed his sixtieth birthday, and Livy her fiftieth, in New Zealand. For a man of his age and for a woman whose health had always been frail the New Zealand journey had many of the features of a nightmare. They were tossed about in inadequate and overcrowded steamers; they became used to giant cockroaches scuttling across their faces at night; they landed at open roadsteads in baskets and surfboats. Yet they suffered no ill effects, though Mark welcomed the sunny peace of the voyage from Australia to India during the first fortnight in January. On that voyage he made one of his periodical efforts to control his profanity. He swore off and told Livy he had done so: "I was on deck in the peaceful dawn, the calm and holy dawn. Went down dressed, bathed, put on white linen, shaved—a long, hot, troublesome job, and no profanity. Then

I suffered defeat—There were a couple of hundred little boys behind me on the stage, on a lofty tier of benches which made them the most conspicuous objects in the house. And there was nobody to watch them or keep them quiet. Why, with their scufflings and horse-play and noise, it was just a menagerie. Besides, a concert of amateurs had been smuggled into the program (to *precede* me,) and their families and friends (say ten per cent of the audience) kept encoring them and they always responded. So it was 20 minutes to 9 before I got the platform in front of those 2,600 people who had paid a dollar apiece for a chance to go to hell in this fashion.

I got started magnificently, but inside of half an hour the scuffling boys had the audience's maddened attention and I saw it was a gone case; so I skipped a third of my program and quit. The newspapers are kind, but between you and me it was a defeat. There ain't going to be any more concerts at my lectures. I care nothing for this defeat, because it was not my fault. My first half hour showed that I had the house, and I could have *kept* it if I hadn't been so handicapped.

Yours sincerely,
S. L. CLEMENS.

P. S. Had a satisfactory time at Petoskey. Crammed the house and turned away a crowd. We had $548 in the house, which was $400 more than it had ever had in it before. I believe I don't care to have a talk go off better than that one did.

Mark Twain, on this long tour, was accompanied by his wife and his daughter Clara—Susy and Jean Clemens remaining with their aunt at Quarry Farm. The tour was a financial success from the start. By the time they were ready to sail from Vancouver five thousand dollars had been remitted to Mr. Rogers against that day of settlement when the debts of Webster & Co. were to be paid. Perhaps it should be stated here that a legal settlement had been arranged on a basis of fifty cents on the dollar, but neither Clemens nor his wife consented to this as final. They would pay in full.

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MARK TWAIN'S LETTERS

They sailed from Vancouver August 23, 1895. About the only letter of this time is an amusing note to Rudyard Kipling, written at the moment of departure.

To Rudyard Kipling, in England:

August, 1895.

DEAR KIPLING,—It is reported that you are about to visit India. This has moved me to journey to that far country in order that I may unload from my conscience a debt long due to you. Years ago you came from India to Elmira to visit me, as you said at the time. It has always been my purpose to return that visit and that great compliment some day. I shall arrive next January and you must be ready. I shall come riding my ayah with his tusks adorned with silver bells and ribbons and escorted by a troop of native howdahs richly clad and mounted upon a herd of wild bungalows; and you must be on hand with a few bottles of ghee, for I shall be thirsty.

Affectionately,
S. L. CLEMENS.

Clemens, platforming in Australia, was too busy to write letters. Everywhere he was welcomed by great audiences, and everywhere lavishly entertained. He was beset by other embarrassments, but would seem not to have been seriously delayed by them. A letter to his old friend Twichell carries the story.

To Rev. Jos. H. Twichell, in Hartford:

FRANK MOELLER'S MASONIC HOTEL,
NAPIER, NEW ZEALAND,
November 29, '95.

DEAR JOE,—Your welcome letter of two months and five days ago has just arrived, and finds me in bed with another carbuncle. It is No. 3. Not a serious one this time. I lectured last night without inconvenience, but the doctors thought best to forbid to-night's lecture. My second one kept me in bed a week in Melbourne.

... We are all glad it is you who is to write the article, it delights us all through.

629

SOURCE: Twain, Mark. Mark Twain's Letters, arranged with comment by Albert Bigelow Paine. N.Y. Harper, 1917.

CXCII

"FOLLOWING THE EQUATOR"

MARK TWAIN himself has written with great fulness the story of that traveling setting down what happened, and mainly as it happened, with all the wonderful description, charm, and color of which he was so great a master. We need do little more than summarize that—adding a touch here and there, perhaps, from another point of view.

They had expected to stop at the Sandwich Islands, but when they arrived in the roadstead of Honolulu, word came that cholera had broken out and many were dying daily. They could not land. It was a double disappointment; not only were the lectures lost, but Clemens had long looked forward to revisiting the islands he had so loved in the days of his youth. There was nothing for them to do but to sit on the decks in the shade of the awnings and look at the distant shore. In his book he says:

> We lay in luminous blue water; shoreward the water was green—green and brilliant; at the shore itself it broke in a long, white ruffle, and with no crash, no sound that we could hear. The town was buried under a mat of foliage that looked like a cushion of moss. The silky mountains were clothed in soft, rich splendors of melting color, and some of the cliffs were veiled in slanting mists. I recognized it all. It was just as I had seen it long before, with nothing of its beauty lost, nothing of its charm wanting.

In his note-book he wrote: "If I might, I would go ashore and never leave."

1008

SOURCE: Paine, Albert Bigelow. Mark Twain, a Biography. N.Y., Harper & Bros., 1912.

"FOLLOWING THE EQUATOR"

This was the 31st of August. Two days later they were off again, sailing over the serene Pacific, bearing to the southwest for Australia. They crossed the equator, which he says was wisely put where it is, because if it had been run through Europe all the kings would have tried to grab it. They crossed it September 6th, and he notes that Clara kodaked it. A day or two later the north star disappeared behind them and the constellation of the Cross came into view above the southern horizon. Then presently they were among the islands of the southern Pacific, and landed for a little time on one of the Fiji group. They had twenty-four days of halcyon voyaging between Vancouver and Sydney with only one rough day. A ship's passengers get closely acquainted on a trip of that length and character. They mingle in all sorts of diversions to while away the time; and at the end have become like friends of many years.

On the night of September 13th—a night so dark that from the ship's deck one could not see the water—schools of porpoises surrounded the ship, setting the water alive with phosphorescent splendors: "Like glorified serpents thirty to fifty feet long. Every curve of the tapering long body perfect. The whole snake dazzlingly illumined. It was a weird sight to see this sparkling ghost come suddenly flashing along out of the solid gloom and stream past like a meteor."

They were in Sydney next morning, September 16, 1895, and landed in a pouring rain, the breaking up of a fierce drought. Clemens announced that he had brought Australia good-fortune, and should expect something in return.

Mr. Smythe was ready for them and there was no time lost in getting to work. All Australia was ready for them, in fact, and nowhere in their own country were they more lavishly and royally received than in that far-away Pacific continent. Crowded houses, ovations, and gorgeous

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entertainment public and private—were the fashion, and a little more than two weeks after arrival Clemens was able to send back another two thousand dollars to apply on his debts. But he had hard luck, too, for another carbuncle developed at Melbourne and kept him laid up for nearly a week. When he was able to go before an audience again he said:

"The doctor says I am on the verge of being a sick man. Well, that may be true enough while I am lying abed all day trying to persuade his cantankerous, rebellious medicines to agree with each other; but when I come out at night and get a welcome like this I feel as young and healthy as anybody, and as to being on the verge of being a sick man I don't take any stock in that. I have been on the verge of being an angel all my life, but it's never happened yet."

In his book Clemens has told us his joy in Australia, his interest in the perishing native tribes, in the wonderfully governed cities, in the gold-mines, and in the advanced industries. The climate he thought superb; "a darling climate," he says in a note-book entry.

Perhaps one ought to give a little idea of the character of his entertainment. His readings were mainly from his earlier books, *Roughing It* and *Innocents Abroad*. The story of the dead man which, as a boy, he had discovered in his father's office was one that he often told, and the "Mexican Plug" and his "Meeting with Artemus Ward" and the story of Jim Blaine's old ram; now and again he gave chapters from *Huck Finn* and *Tom Sawyer*. He was likely to finish with that old fireside tale of his early childhood, the "Golden Arm." But he sometimes told the watermelon story, written for Mrs. Rogers, or gave extracts from *Adam's Diary*, varying his program a good deal as he went along, and changing it entirely when he appeared twice in one city.

Mrs. Clemens and Clara, as often as they had heard

1910

SOURCE: Paine, Albert Bigelow. Mark Twain, a Biography. N.Y., Harper & Bros., 1912.

him, generally went when the hour of entertainment came. They enjoyed seeing his triumph with the different audiences, watching the effect of his subtle art.

One story, the "Golden Arm," had in it a pause, an effective, delicate pause which must be timed to the fraction of a second in order to realize its full value. Somewhere before we have stated that no one better than Mark Twain knew the value of a pause. Mrs. Clemens and Clara were willing to go night after night and hear that tale time and again, for its effect on each new audience.

From Australia to New Zealand—where Clemens had his third persistent carbuncle,[1] and again last time in consequence. It was while he was in bed with this distressing ailment that he wrote Twichell:

I think it was a good stroke of luck that knocked me on my back here at Napier instead of in some hotel in the center of a noisy city. Here we have the smooth & placidly complaining sea at our door, with nothing between us & it but 20 yards of shingle—& hardly a suggestion of life in that space to mar it or to make a noise. Away down here fifty-five degrees south of the equator this sea seems to murmur in an unfamiliar tongue—a foreign tongue—a tongue bred among the ice-fields of the antarctic—a murmur with a note of melancholy in it proper to the vast unvisited solitudes it has come from. It was very delicious and solacing to wake in the night & find it still pulsing there. I wish you were here—land, but it would be fine!

Mrs. Clemens and himself both had birthdays in New Zealand; Clemens turned sixty, and his wife passed the half-century mark.

"I do not like it one single bit," she wrote to her sister. "Fifty years old—think of it; that seems very far on."

[1] In *Following the Equator* the author says: "The dictionary says a carbuncle is a kind of jewel. Humor is out of place in a dictionary."

1911

My Father · Mark Twain

It always seemed to me the greatest possible achievement to make a house rock with mirth. And I believe that Mark Twain was often elated by it himself. His cheeks and eyes glowed with color that resembled tinted sparks,

SOURCE: Clemens, Clara. My Father, Mark Twain. N.Y., Harper & Bros., 1931.

CHAPTER X

The Sea, Australia, and New Zealand

Then came the sea—the great Pacific. Our date of sailing was delayed because our ship had been in a collision and must be repaired. Fortunately we did not know until later that the steamer even after repairs was not seaworthy and would have gone down in a storm. But there was no storm. The sun shone constantly for three weeks and the little floating village had nothing to complain of.

> The sea, the sea, the open sea,
> The blue, the fresh, the ever free;
> Without a mark, without a bound,
> It runneth the earth's wide regions round.

And so it was. At first a little fear crept into the impression—such an expanse of glittering transparency. But soon we made friends with the vast vision of sea and sky, mysterious depths of somber black at night, and radiant splendor by day. Father always adored a ship and fully gave himself to the freedom and pleasure of this long voyage. The varying moods of many individuals were all satisfied—from studious solitude in one's cabin to tournaments in shuffleboards and other games on deck. Evenings one might study the stars by telescope, dance on the sloping decks of a rolling boat, or play cards. And the latter occupation was always Father's choice. He was fond of playing Hearts and our company was usually

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the same, consisting of the captain, with one or two of the officers, Mother, Father, and me. We never played for money, but the blue and red chips created just as much excitement as if they had been genuine currency. Father was like a little child in his capacity for getting angry over cards. Continuous bad luck would start those little twitching muscles under his eyes that signified a growing storm, and then suddenly followed an avalanche of cards on the table and Father would sing out: "By the humping jumping —— who can play with a hand like that? Look at those cards! Just look *at* them! Products of the devil and his ancestors." Mother would then begin cooing out suggestions in an undertone which had a salutary effect, and Father, with a funny little laugh, would gather up his cards again with accompanying remarks: "I don't care a rap about beating, but I can't stand the sight of such cards. They make me boil—only a saint on ice could keep cool."

After a week's passage we reached the Hawaiian Islands, but were not able to land because of a cholera epidemic. This was a bitter disappointment to Father, who had not seen Honolulu since his early youth. We had to content ourselves with the sight of a blazingly beautiful sunset, whose colors were startling in their intensity. Another eight days and the Fiji Islands rose on the horizon. The boat stopped for a few hours and we wished for more. Was it possible that these savage-looking people were not imaginary characters in a musical comedy? Such heads of hair- like bushy halos around their heads! and such unconscious grace! A policeman with his monstrous club delighted Father. He wanted to

buy the richly carved weapon. This greatly amused the strapping native.

Once more we lifted anchor and sailed on between the blues of sky and sea. The time passed quickly now. Mother wrote in a letter to Jean:

"The Captain brought a dead flying fish into the salon the other night. It was a beautiful little creature with translucent wings. And the next day your Father and I standing at the bow saw several flying fish. They looked exactly like little birds skimming the surface of the water. It all seems such a strange life to us. Today is Sunday and tomorrow will be TUESDAY. We drop out a day going in this direction and if we were going the other way we should have two Tuesdays or two Wednesdays. Dropping a day will make this week seem very short. Next Monday we expect to be in Sydney."

And we were. Sydney Harbor! How beautiful it was! Could it be that in our absence all these years this radiant harbor had existed? And was America still in the world now that we had left her behind?

Again land life started with a vengeance. Newspaper reporters, photographers, callers from all circles; and beggars of every description, slovenly and distinguished. Mother and I were kept busy answering the mail, for we could not afford a secretary and at times we were completely snowed under and confused. Flowers were sent in such abundance that they appeared to be symbols of condolence, rather than signs of welcome. Father's heart warmed to all the messages of good will and he anticipated his lectures with pleasure. One enemy, a tor-

midable one, was a painful carbuncle. In spite of it, he started his readings in excellent artistic form, and his spirits brightened at the satisfying enthusiasm that poured out from the audiences.

There were plenty of entertainments. Horse-races, polo games, balls at Government House, and teas on the Admiral's ship. Everywhere was evident the cordial hospitality of the Australians. No one could fail to feel at home among such charming people. We visited a few days on a large sheep-ranch in a home that lacked no comforts or luxuries. The numberless acres of land dotted everywhere with white specks of wool made an unusual picture for the traveler to view. Our host rarely left his estate for even the briefest visits in town. His secretary made the necessary business trips and Mr. S- — spent nearly all his days in the tranquil atmosphere of grazing sheep. His daughter was restless in these surroundings, however, and planned to leave her father and go to England as soon as she had added a few more years to her extreme youth. The money was there to satisfy the girl in any project she might have in mind. But what would her poor lonely father do when she was gone? One of the prices to pay for financial success. So many of the rich colonists had to face the loss of their children, whose worldly ambitions rose according to the size of the father's purse.

It was interesting to realize that in one or two cases our host at a large dinner-party, served in most regal style, was the grandson of a criminal convict who had years before been transported to Australia under traveling conditions too horrible to describe.

A faithfully correct description of these shiploads of

convicts and their hardships can be found in the remarkable book called *For the Term of His Natural Life*, by Marcus Clarke. He also tells in this same work the story, oft repeated, of escaped criminals who became cannibals after living some time in the "Bush." The Australians call their uncultivated country "the Bush." Having frequently escaped in groups of six or eight men, and finding insufficient nourishment for their starving bodies, they turned upon one another and satisfied their hunger by slicing up a faithful friend. No heavy guard was kept on the prison doors, because the wardens knew that the prisoners almost never succeeded in finding any freedom except in death. It was too difficult to reach a ship through the great tracts of wild country.

When we were in Melbourne a dramatization of Marcus Clarke's book was being played at one of the best theaters, and my father was offered a box. We did not decline the invitation nor regret having seen the gruesome play. At one point the company of convicts has been reduced to two, neither of whom dares to snatch a bit of repose in sleep. Each one hides behind a tree, nervously seeking the moment when he can surprise the other with a blow of his knife. The tension in the house was great. No word was spoken on the stage while this horrible pantomime continued and no sound was breathed from the audience. In the end the effect of the play on the public was so overwhelming that new laws were created in the prisons in Australia.

There was evidently a maniac loose in Melbourne during our visit there, for I encountered him.

Seated alone in a small reception-room of the hotel with a book in my hand, my attention was attracted by a

well; one of them is. I'll show him to you, and if he belongs to you, it might be nice for you to give him the other yourself."

With quite a serious face the youth asked me if I would mind waiting a moment while he left his horse in a stable near by. Rest was very grateful to me, so I sat down in the grass and waited. Soon the man returned and, tipping his hat, said:

"It was kind of you to take so much trouble for my sheep."

"I like animals very much," I explained.

Then we climbed straight to the lifeless mass of white fuzz stretched on the grass. He bent over him, and after one glance burst into a roar of laughter.

"Why are you laughing?"

"Why, there is nothing in the world the matter with this sheep except that at this time of year, when their wool is very thick, they cannot get up alone if once they fall down. And you were planning to send him off to heaven, young lady. It was a lucky stroke that I came along at just the right moment." Then he gracefully raised the animal to its feet and it toddled off, contented with the world.

As I was extremely late for an early supper, I had to give the reason why. Otherwise I should have let Father wait a little while for this chance to tease me, for I knew he would make the best of it.

One of the distressing features of travel in those southern climes were the insects of great size, more particularly the cockroaches. They were as large as tarantulas

southern seas was one safe from these horrors. In the bath, in the bed, on the couch, and at the table one's eyes were constantly meeting the gaze of this repulsive creation. It was not safe to put on a dress without shaking it, and it was wiser not to extinguish the light at night. Father did not mind the creatures as much as I did, but he could sympathize with me because he had the same feeling of distaste for a spider. And he admitted that when one of these large cockroaches had passed across his face one night he woke thinking it was an alligator.

But the trip continued and we spent a few days in New Zealand, where we became acquainted with a family of Maoris, one of the few groups of that race still in existence. They looked and lived like savages and their woodcarving offered specimens of primeval art. Brutal faces carved in blue and green tints. After visiting the city of Christchurch, we went to Napier, but had great difficulty in landing. The sea was so high that the ship could not dock, and primitive methods were used to transport the passengers to a tug. One was seated in a tall-backed basket entirely closed in and then swung out by a rope into the unresisting air. Sometimes the basket landed on its head in the tossing tug and screams penetrated beyond the roar of waves from each individual thus roughly treated.

We fell in love with the peaceful town of Napier, but Father said any place would seem lovely after the trip in the basket. The wide blue sea stretched in front of our

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dead on the top of that hill. But those sheep all belong to me and I don't know of any one of them being ill."

"Well, one of them is. I'll show him to you, and if he belongs to you, it might be nice for you to give him the ether yourself."

With quite a serious face the youth asked me if I would mind waiting a moment while he left his horse in a stable near by. Rest was very grateful to me, so I sat down in the grass and waited. Soon the man returned and, tipping his hat, said:

"It was kind of you to take so much trouble for my sheep."

"I like animals very much," I explained.

Then we climbed straight to the lifeless mass of white fuzz stretched on the grass. He bent over him, and after one glance burst into a roar of laughter.

"Why are you laughing?"

"Why, there is nothing in the world the matter with this sheep except that at this time of year, when their wool is very thick, they cannot get up alone if once they fall down. And you were planning to send him off to heaven, young lady. It was a lucky stroke that I came along at just the right moment." Then he gracefully raised the animal to its feet and it toddled off, contented with the world.

As I was extremely late for an early supper, I had to give the reason why. Otherwise I should have let Father wait a little while for this chance to tease me, for I knew he would make the best of it.

One of the distressing features of travel in those southern climes were the insects of great size, more particularly the cockroaches. They were as large as tarantulas, though far more flexible in the joints. To see a cockroach run is blood-curdling no matter in what direction. Nowhere in Australia or on the ships of the southern seas was one safe from these horrors. In the bath, in the bed, on the couch, and at the table one's eyes were constantly meeting the gaze of this repulsive creation. It was not safe to put on a dress without shaking it, and it was wiser not to extinguish the light at night. Father did not mind the creatures as much as I did, but he could sympathize with me because he had the same feeling of distaste for a spider. And he admitted that when one of these large cockroaches had passed across his face one night he woke thinking it was an alligator.

But the trip continued and we spent a few days in New Zealand, where we became acquainted with a family of Maoris, one of the few groups of that race still in existence. They looked and lived like savages and their woodcarving offered specimens of primeval art. Brutal faces carved in blue and green tints. After visiting the city of Christchurch, we went to Napier, but had great difficulty in landing. The sea was so high that the ship could not dock, and primitive methods were used to transport the passengers to a tug. One was seated in a tall-backed basket entirely closed in and then swung out by a rope into the unresisting air. Sometimes the basket landed on its head in the tossing tug and screams penetrated beyond the roar of waves from each individual thus roughly treated.

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In case you are still interested in Australian proverbs—

From: Martha Schiele