

Media-Space
1981-1984
Compendium

Book Three

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Media-Space Compendium

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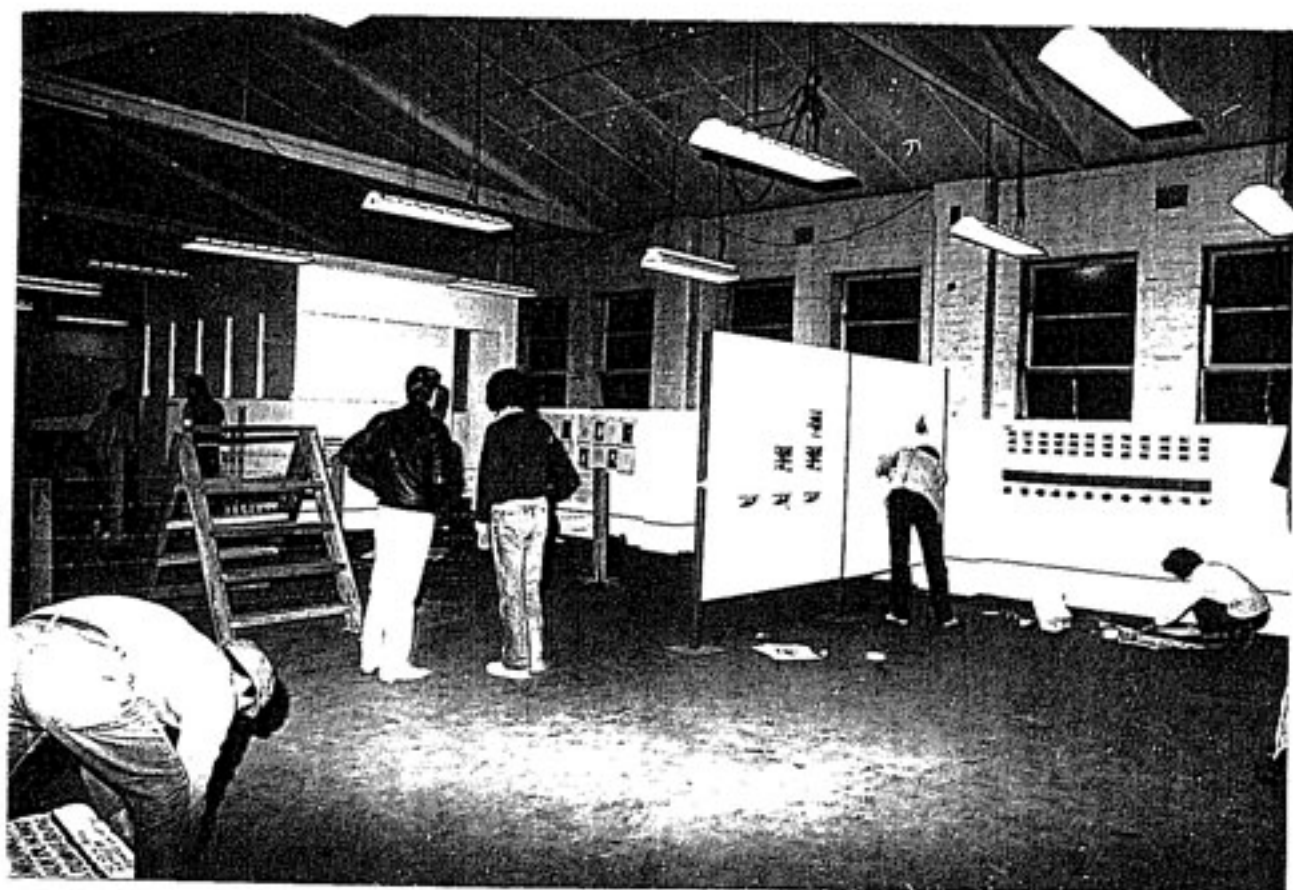
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This is a straight red line

REDLINE INQUIRY
RESEARCH
MEDIA SPACE
MAY, 1983
ANZART-IN-HOBART

MEDIA - SPACE

Karch, 1983

INQUIRY MODEL

Page 1

1. Orientation of the model:

In groups and societies a cyclical process exists: Individuals, interdependently seeking to meet their needs, must establish a social order (and in the process they develop groups and societies.) The social order determines in varying degrees what ideas, values and actions are possible, valid and 'appropriate.' Working within these 'rules' and stimulated by the need for rules, the culture develops. The individual studies his/her reactions to the rules and re-interprets them to discover their meaning for the way of life s/he seeks. Through this quest, s/he changes his/her own way of life and this in turn influences the way of life of others. But as the way of life changes, the rules must be revised, and new controls and agreements have to be hammered out and incorporated into the social order.

2. Structure of an investigating group:

Ideally the group should be large enough for a diversity of reactions and small enough for individual participation. There should be enough commonality of values that communication is easy and ways of working are similar but enough differences to generate alternative reactions. Group members should possess a common level of sophistication and orientation toward the process of investigation and analysis. If the range is too great, the levels of conceptualization will very likely be too far apart to enable the group to relate productively.

3. Social system within the group:

The social system is democratic with governance by decisions developed from, or at least validated by, the experience of the group.

4. Principles of reaction:

The group is to examine what they are doing in terms of

the requirements of inquiry; that is, formulation and solution of a problem, consciousness of method, group co-operation, personal meaning and reflection.

5. Support system:

The support system for an inquiry model must be extensive and responsive to the needs of the group. The group must have access to a first class library which provides information and opinion through a wide variety of media. The group must also have access to information processing equipment to maintain the level of inquiry and disseminate the results to a wider audience.

6. Function of the Inquiry Model:

The following model represents a prescriptive mode, an act of analysis based on an open process of perceptual cognition. The process of perceptual cognition establishes meaning through the inquiry of language. A concept can be translated into an object (sign) that in turn refers back to the concept. Stated more simply, recognition (perceptual cognition) is a process of inquiry. This clarification is a fundamental relationship, a verification of meaning between 'fiction' and 'fact'.

Fact: The state of things as they are in the perceptual complexity of structure and function. (Cognitive)

Fiction: Any language system designed to represent or describe fact and subject in principle to verification. (Connotative as distinguished from affective).

Function: A reflexive correspondence, a mapping of language, and in this model, meaning.

7. Conceptualization of the Inquiry Model:

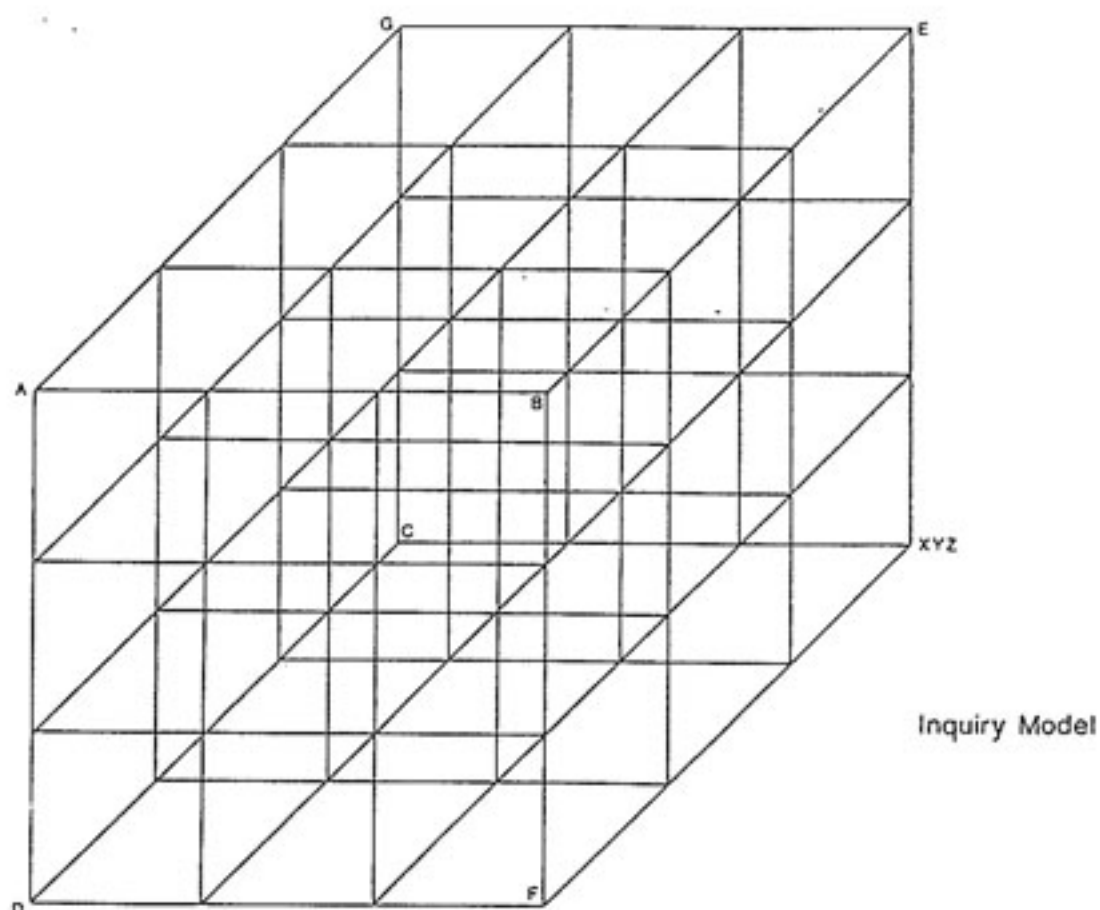
Meaningful inquiry demands a methodology that is not exclusive, that does not separate a recognition from the context in which it reveals. The result of inquiry is inclusive and and related to the social and environmental context in which fact and fiction. (Wholistic)

8. Structure of the Inquiry Model:

Any confrontation of people within this model is determined by their relationship with one-another. The space of the model is described by the group itself as interrogative, descriptive and representational content. Subject matter is content represented by the inquiry of members. The model is a three-dimensional overlay of continuous intersection prescribing the state of things as they are through language. ('Language' in this model refers to the general normative: any system of symbols, signs, gestures, etc. as in 'fiction' above.) Parameters are mapped out, indexed as a prescription of essential attributes (modes of recognition.) The recognition of perceptual complexity does not involve a prescription for judgments of value but rather a means of revealing meaning between fiction/fact.

9. The following model is drawn as a schematic representation of recognition.

(see page 4)



A	Historical context	XYZ	Unknown content
B	Sociological context	C	Natural context
D	Perceptual context	E	Scientific context
F	Geographical context	G	Archeological context

- 9.1 Every line in the system establishes a relation between aspects of the whole
- 9.2 Any dimensional area represents the work of a member in the group.
- 9.3 The space of the diagram may be stretched in any direction to represent a concept as it has existed or is being considered. (Duration)

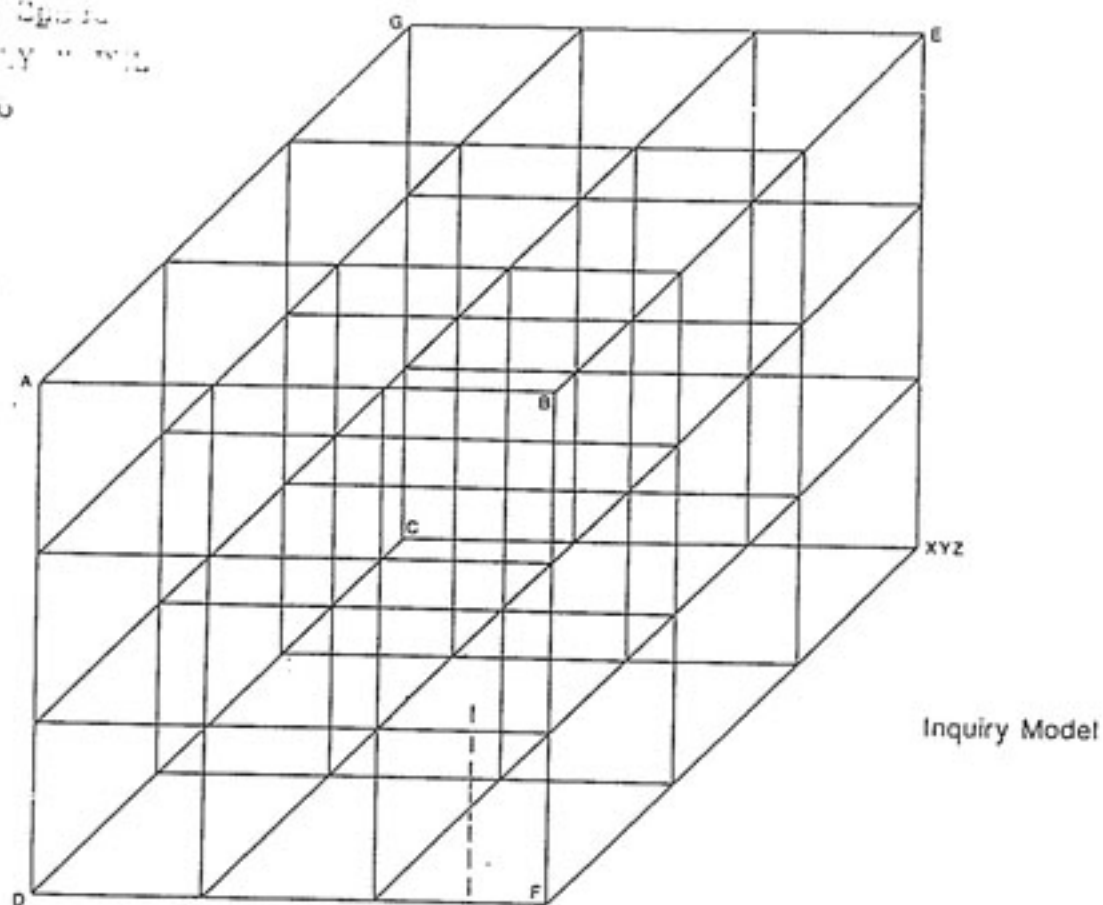
10. Context development:

- A: Historical context-recorded fact in maps, diagrams, testimony, contracts, diaries, pictures, symbols and devices to aid memory.
- XYZ: Not yet discovered, identified or brought to perception.
- B: Social context- the relationship in society reported, analysed or codified in the areas of magic, myth, religion, philosophy, politics, law, education, economics, medicine and psychiatry.
- C: Natural context-the global organic environment that society occupies.
- D: Perceptual context-all systems of representation temporal or static devised by men and women to represent and describe the factual world. Visual and textural codes, gestural, symbolic or sensory, recorded or performed.
- E: Scientific context-inquiry and analysis from the fields of psychology, biology, botany, astronomy, physics, mathematics, physiology, etc.
- F: Geographical context-the topological space that society occupies.
- G: Archeological context-the pre-historical evidence of society.

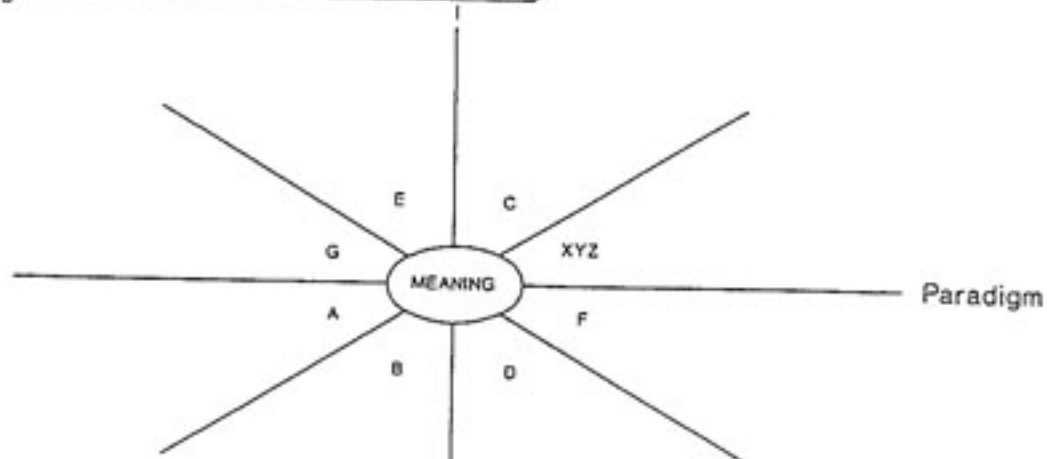
11. Paradigm of the Inquiry Model:

This paradigm is a tool for employing the parent Inquiry Model.

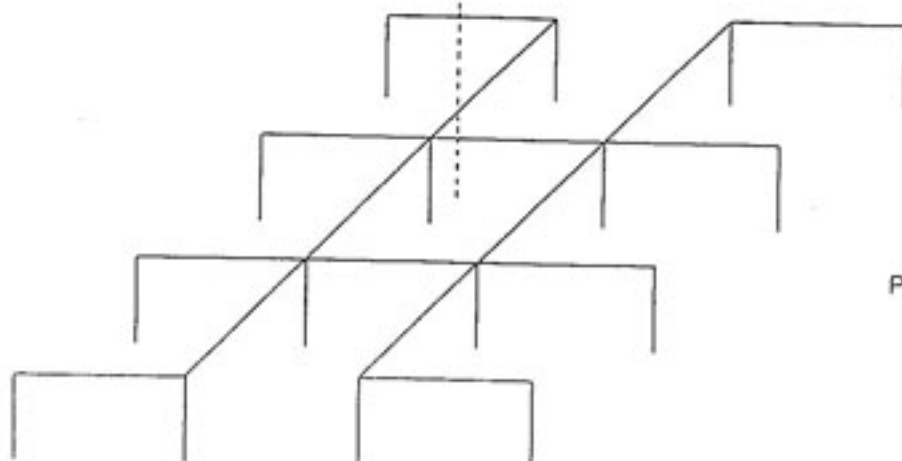
(see page 6)



Inquiry Model



Paradigm



Practice

- 10.1 Various forms of language as defined in the parent model, visual verbal, symbolic etc., will be anticipated through the paradigm.
- 10.2 Various mediums of practice, photography, lithography, performance, text, etc., will be anticipated through the paradigm.
- 10.3 Various mediums of practice not yet realized will be anticipated through the paradigm.
- 10.4 The degree of clarity or ambiguity employed in practice relational to a specific content and audience will be anticipated through the paradigm.
- 10.5 Ordinary activity within the Paradigm:
The group begins with a topic that has reached a level of significance. It may have occurred in a number of discussions over a period of time or reached significance through presentation by argument. It may be an insight, a discovery of undertermined origin that has reached discussion level.
The group then agrees that the topic should be paradigmatically explored. As the topic begins with a core of people, it is first examined in the social context. If indications are positive at this level, then the group has moved from the possible to the probable in relation to social meaning. The same procedure would follow from the remaining contexts in their deliberate juxtaposition (History-Unknown, Social-Natural, etc.)
Preliminary inquiry will set the parameters of the specific paradigm, it will determine the areas of discussion and research to be carried out in depth. Any number of the contexts may prove relevant or irrelevant, and this relationship may change with the demands of inquiry. The complexity of meaning revealed by the paradigm will anticipate the recognition of practice in language, medium and degree of clarity in exposition. The practice of the group will not be a inclination of inquiry but rather a language of meaning as perceptual evidence.

MEDIA - SPACE

March 19, 1983
Inquiry: REDLINE
Context: Paradigm
Research: Jeff Jones

Premise of REDLINE: An inquiry into artistic and cultural growth in Western Australia during 150 years of settlement.

Proposition: Artistic and cultural growth has not been able to sustain the conditions (social and environmental) to survive in Western Australia.

Specific Intention: Examine and question this condition exhibiting supporting evidence in metaphor and research as installation in ANZART.

Areas of Inquiry: Concepts/components, Content/context.

Concept: NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Sub-concepts:

Surface: Sand; Sea; Soil; Rock; Water

Components: the different forms and conditions they exist in.

Vegetation: Trees; Grass; Weeds; Shrubs; Lichens, etc.

Components: as above.

Insects

Animals

Climatic conditions and forms.

Concept: HUMAN FORMS

Components: Racial; Country of origin; Cultural group.

Concept: SOCIAL CONTEXT

Components: Culture and Art.

MEDIA SPACE

15-3-83

INQUIRY PRELIM

We need a structure to proceed with the concept of low profile, insulated, disfunctional culture in Western Australia.

1. Is the concept well defined? Stated clearly, etc.? It seems appropriate to first map out areas of research, to divide or allocate, take up specific contexts as the model suggests. This might mean a person to a context or any division for that matter. It might mean that we choose to do a preliminary research and use only a selection of contexts. It might imply that we do a preliminary inquiry from all contexts determined by the time we have prior to ANZART. From today we have nine weeks exactly. The weeks could be allocated to research, metaphor development and fabrication in that order or all three activities could be carried out at or during the same nine weeks.

2. Do we use all contexts as a preliminary inquiry or a selection in some depth of analysis?

3. Procedure: is it to be a division of weeks into research, metaphor development and fabrication or all three simultaneous?

A paradigm of this project might be: the project can only be preliminary given the time factor. All contributors must determine areas of research that they can develop in the time frame. The research/metaphor time frame is six weeks and the fabrication, three weeks. The procedure would be as follows: Each week members factually research, accumulate evidence in any manner that seems relevant. During the Monday meeting following, this research is presented in turn by each member and a recognition process is initiated to determine metaphors. People working within contexts develop metaphors based on their own research plus the contribution of the group toward metaphor development. People within contexts accumulate context file, photocopied, photographed, written, drawn etc., of factual information referenced as to source if necessary. One format should be used at this level (A3).

Rational: We are not living in an inquiry based culture. Connotations are arrived at through a subjective process rather than a cognitive (conceptual approach). The level of ambiguity to clarity indicated by the Inquiry Model may need to be overstated. That is, for every metaphor there must also be presented the research that unravels the metaphor. A file, or index on A3 format might serve this purpose. Presentation of metaphor should include access to research.

The final three weeks would then be spent in collecting the research together and in fabrication of metaphors or decisions that metaphors could be constructed on site in Hobart. This should be a group process or could be if need be, done by people with the time and skill required whether or not the metaphor is from their context.

The above is a suggestion, but it does imply answers to a few important questions.

What we have at the moment:

This is a straight red line:

PERTH
(Ocean)

S.A. BORDER

The above is a topographic line that includes fauna and flora, soil type and topographic features. It presents the introduction of a foreign context from the left to an indigenous context on the right. The imposers, imposters, substitutes, carpet-baggers or predators enter from the left or are drawn back to the left as a magnetic pole. If they venture too far to the right they soon return to the left leaving refuse or transitory achievements behind.

The left represents an origin-the imposters came from a green-grey wet-dull environment. The right is a brown, dry, hot-bright environment.

CONTAINMENT SPACE: The left is internal, covered or house-bound. The right is open, existing for the most part without shelter.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE: The left is based on the individual in competition with other individuals within a ring of battle (the city). The right is based on the extended family or tribe, participatory.

RELIGION: The left is idealistic, based on their own image, God the Father, an individual, etc. The right is spiritually based, a concept of the environment and its relationship with the people.

PERCEPTUAL: The visual codes of the left are achieved through the external perception of the world, class based, elitist and supports idealistic or romantic points of view. It is not participatory, but alienating. The perceptual codes of the right are participatory, socially relevant, educational and bond the society as one.

The above is a positive-negative relationship, an import of non-indigenous concepts into an alien native environment. Its single recurring feature is the constant failure of the imported reality to survive in the 'hostile' environment. Survival is dependent on constant

imporation of fertilizer and immigration of ideas. Erosion is constant, topographically and culturaly: the fantasy must be maintained from the outside. The parochial conservatism is not based on the security of the land but on the fear and insecurity of constant erosion. All energy of the left is consumed in battle against the erosion and there is none remaining to provide new models of perceptual awareness.

The first hypothesis of the concept is fundamentally negative, a disfunctional cultural fantasy has been imposed on Western Australia. The cultural 'teachers' must be policemen to maintain the fantasy.

It is proposed that the inquiry map out the depth of the fantasy. (Stage one). With a complete understanding of the fantasy one could proceed with a positive inquiry, a cognitive/conceptual awareness, stage two if you like. It should be clear that ANZART can not attempt both.

RESEARCH:
JUDY CHAMBERS

The atmosphere completely surrounds the lithosphere and penetrates its uppermost layers, so that much interaction takes place between the two spheres in and near the region where they are in contact, that is, on and near the surface of the Earth.

Rocks exposed to the action of the atmosphere may either be changed chemically by the addition or by the loss of chemical elements, or they may be mechanically destroyed and their fragments carried away to a new place of deposition.

The general wearing away of the lithosphere is known as *erosion*. The lowering of a land surface by erosion is called *denudation*. Erosion processes may be either physical, which *disintegrate* rocks, or chemical, which *decompose* rocks. Very often both types act together, as, for example, in the process of *decementation* which removes the most soluble or the most easily washed-out ingredients of a rock, leaving the residue in a crumbly condition.

The same terminology should be used in discussing the destructive and constructive work of other external agents, such as running water and the sea.

To be covered.

Much of the rain that falls in somewhat arid regions during the rainy season runs off the higher ground to be carried away in watercourses. Some of the small proportion that soaks in and becomes ground-water may escape from springs and "soaks"; the rest is held in the pores and cracks of the rocks. During the

succeeding long dry period, some of this ground-water would, according to the theory of the late Dr. E. S. Simpson (b), be drawn upwards by capillary action and evaporated, leaving near the surface the various substances that were dissolved in it, such as hydrous alumina (bauxite), carbonates of lime and magnesia, and hydrous iron oxide. In some places, these precipitates would form a con-

To be typed.

tinuous compact layer, or "craze" of duricrust; in others, the material would be incoherent and of the "ironstone gravel" type. Dr. Simpson believed that the formation of laterite is proceeding today because present climatic conditions are favourable.

Large areas, particularly near the western edge of the Great Plateau, are covered with a "cuirass" of material which was mistaken by some pioneer geologists for conglomerate. This rock is popularly known as "cement" or "ironstone" when compacted; in the gravelly form, it is called "gravel" or "ironstone gravel." It has long been known as "laterite" from the name of a somewhat similar rock that occurs widely in India, but in 1927 Dr. W. G. Woolnough (a) proposed the general name *duricrust* for the "case-hardened" surface of various rocks, such as granite, sandstone, and shale, that occurs generally in the more arid regions of this and other States.

In the Jarrah Region, much of the surface between about 700 and 1,500 feet above sea level is covered with a gravelly soil up to several feet thick. This soil, which is composed largely of ferruginous pisolitic concretions, is underlain by a layer of consolidated material—the duricrust or laterite—which is up to 10 or 15 feet thick. This duricrust is made up of ferruginous and aluminous concretions of variable size up to several inches diameter. Some of the individual "pebbles" of this duricrust, which caused the earlier observers to mistake it for a conglomerate, show a concentric structure, but some are clearly decomposed

fragments of granite or basic igneous rocks coated with iron oxide. This laterite is everywhere underlain by a zone, of variable thickness up to 100 feet, of completely kaolinised country rock in which the original structure and texture of the parent rock is often retained (f).

The duricrust, although it covers large areas, is purely superficial. Anywhere in the State, a hole sunk in it will pass down into decomposed (weathered) rock—granite, greenstone, gneiss, schist or whatever the bedrock of the district happens to be (fig. 19).

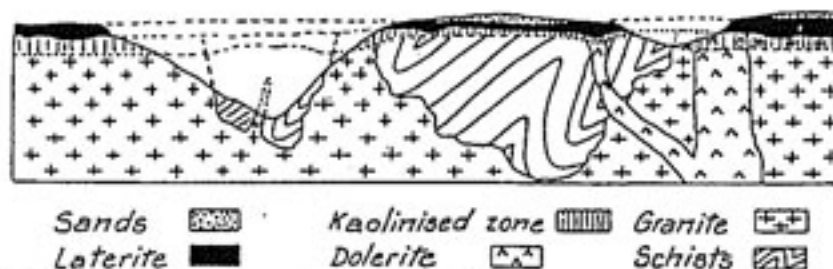


FIG. 19.—Diagrammatic section showing that duricrust occurs over rocks of various kinds, and also the supposed relation of "high level sand plain" to duricrust in south-western Australia.

Subsequently, however, it has been demonstrated (c) that the force of capillarity is inadequate to account for the rise of large quantities of water to the surface from the water-table, which may be 100 feet or more below the surface in those parts of Western Australia where duricrust occurs. It has been suggested that the duricrust is the result of a weathering process which went on when the Western Australian climate resembled that of the "wet tropics" (d and j), where weathering proceeds rapidly and, owing to the abundance of vegetation supplying organic acids to the rain water, is quite distinct in character from that which occurs in drier regions. Under these wet tropical surroundings, there would be

very active decomposition of the rock-forming minerals. The dissolved portions, together with some of the finely-divided clayey material, would be carried down into the subsoil, where they would be deposited to form a more or less impervious *hardpan* (fig. 20). After these conditions had prevailed for a long time, there

came a change in climate to great aridity, far greater than now prevails in much of inland Australia. The leached soil, consisting largely of sandy material, with but little clayey substance to act as a binder, was stripped off by wind-deflation,

WORK OF WIND

53

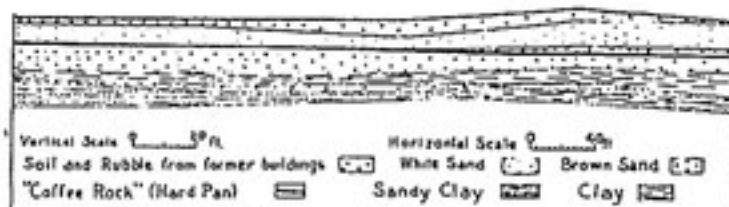
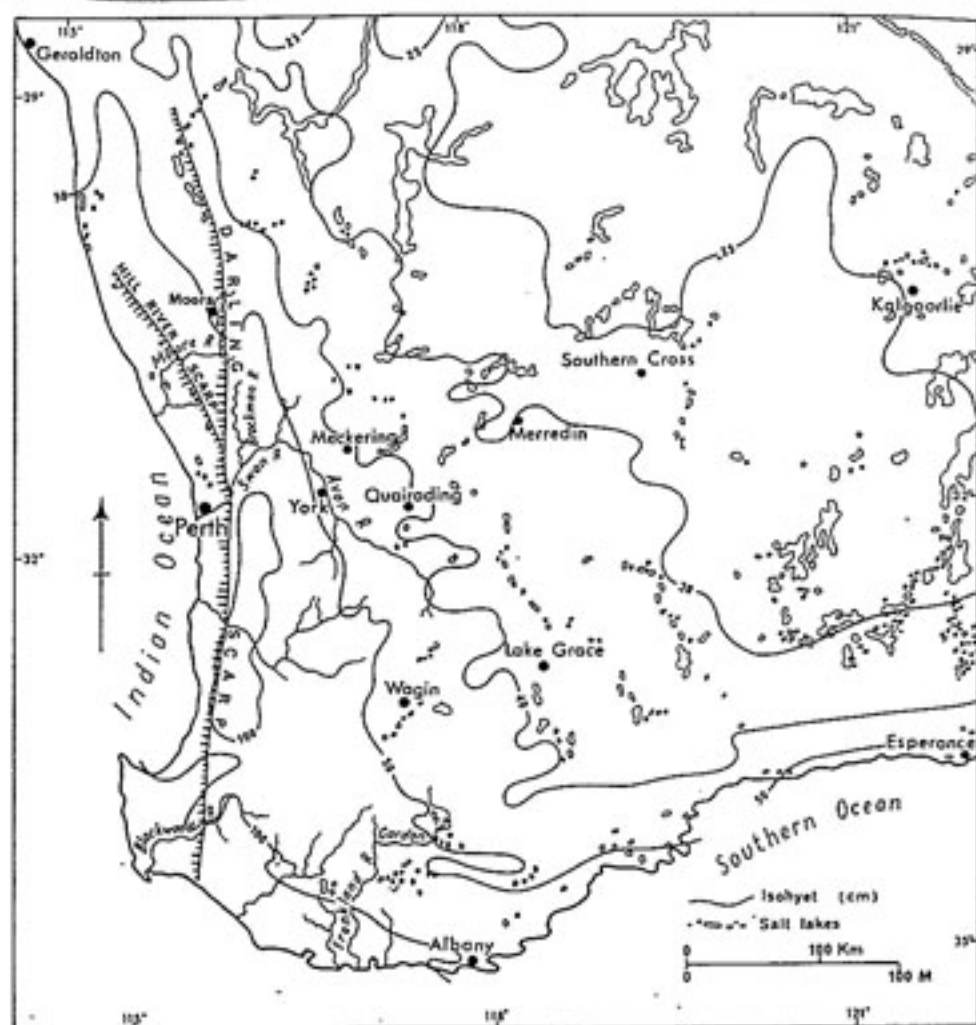


FIG. 20.—Section through site of General Post Office, Forrest Place, Perth, W.A. The water-table is at the "coffee rock" (hardpan level).
(From unpublished data collected by S. E. Terrill)

leaving the hardpan exposed. It is this hardpan that forms the present cuirass of duricrust. In some places remnants of the leached soil have escaped deflation and form sandplain, overlying the duricrust (fig. 19).

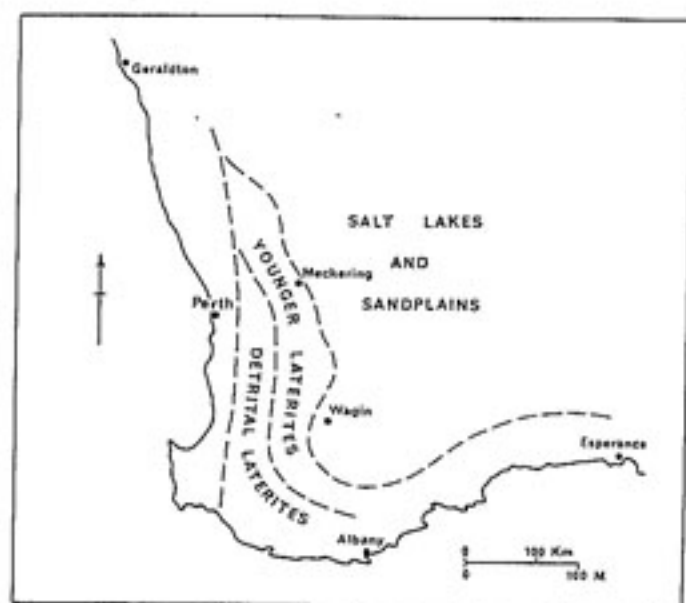
able age, marked by zones of deep weathering and extremes of soil development. That this is indeed the case was recognised long ago by Woolnough (1927) in his paper on the chemical criteria of peneplanation. He argued that with high temperatures, alternation of wet and dry conditions leading to the solution and



10.1 Study area of southwest Australia in relation to the 25 cm isohyet

irreversible precipitation of iron and aluminium oxides favours the formation of lateritic duricrust or 'ironstone' on stable peneplains, while the underlying permanently saturated levels, with loss of iron, aluminium, combined silica and bases, become the white, kaolinitic horizon here termed the pallid zone. It is clear from the literature reviewed by Prescott and Pendleton (1952) that such

It rises in places to over 330 m, possibly reflecting warping up of the shield during the Kosciusko Uplift (Clarke *et al.* 1948; King 1962). Drainage from the salt lake systems passes through this zone by only a few rivers; in fact all the country to the east of the Meckering Line drains to the coast through the Moore, Swan-Avon, Blackwood and perhaps the Frankland-Gordon Rivers. More numerous though shorter rivers such as the Murray and the Collic reach back to the zone of younger laterites, but all, where they pass through the Darling Range, are deeply incised. For example, the Avon flows 150 m or more below the plateau level for much of its course, though its valley is often only about 1 km wide (Plate XXIIc). The



10.4 *Approximate extent of landscape zones of characteristic landforms, superficial deposits, and soils. The small laterite-free zone has been omitted because of scale*

streams with catchments entirely within the Darling Range, on the other hand, though sharply and deeply incised in their lower courses as they approach the Darling Scarp, commonly head in broad, shallow valleys, often with sandy floors. Locally the zone of detrital laterites has broad divides carrying what can be recognised as remnants or outliers of the zone of salt lakes and sandplains, a notable example being that on which lies Lake Muir and other smaller lakes. But overall there is a close pattern of streams, and residuals of the old plateau are limited in extent. Steep V-shaped valleys are common, and in such situations the ubiquitous lateritic materials, in the form of ironstone gravels and boulders, are often recognisably detrital, recemented with iron oxides where there has been seasonal seepage or waterlogging.

The colonists ultimate victory and the creation of the Independent United States of America had no conceivable meaning for the natives of Australia and the warm islands of the South Seas, but it was to disturb their isolation and reshape their lives.

In 1820 Australia's main merit in European eyes was not its vast interior, but a line of coast which was so long, that one part faced the Indonesian archipelago ,another part the Indian Ocean and its trade routes and another part the normal trade route from Europe to Sydney. Its main merit was that it lay on the route to somewhere else.

Australia was about to become a land of some importance in its own right, a terminus instead of a wayside station, and the transition was visible in another settlement which was made on the west coast at what is now the city of PERTH

Early in 1827 Stirling found safe anchorages, their safety proved deceptive , near the mouth of the Swan river. He explored the river vowing that it would give cheap water carriage to products from an immense and attractive terrain. As a naval and military station it could command much of the Indian Ocean. All that Stirling's design for a colony lacked was a name , and he even thought of that; he suggested Hesperia, because it faced the setting sun.

Norfolk Island was the plant nursery, Botany Bay was to be the market garden and flax farm. It was also to be the sea base.

....an Australian port , a port of call and refuge , would ultimately strengthen Englands strategic and commercial interests in those wide oceans

Limpet Ports

Sail north to found a second settlement on one of the Australian bays which the Indonesian fleet annually visited. (The presence of a British warship on the coast , it was hoped , would scare pirates and reassure the Buginese fleet that Britain meant to protect its commerce) ...Stirling thought the bay was so close to the Torres Straight route from Sydney to India that it could become a port of refreshment for passing ships a trading fort named fort wellington was built.

Britain thought so little of the prospects of any harbour on the west coast that it had not bothered to claim formal possession of the coast.

The two pinpoints on the north coast were close to that end of the Indonesian archipelago which was remote from Singapore and other British trading ports, and they were close to the routes of the Trepong traders.

Ironically Britain claimed the whole continent simply in order to claim a few isolated harbours astride trade routes. It seems fair to suggest that BRITAIN did not particularly want the continent, sea strategy dictated the sites of early outposts, and sea was more important than land.

.....ordered Governor Darling to send soldiers and convicts from Sydney on a passage of 2000 sea miles to Shark Bay on the opposite side of Australia. As the west coast always appeared dry and barren to passing Dutch, French and English navigators, one can only suggest that its strategic position, not any potential wealth in its soil, was the asset that interested Earl Bathurst in March 1826.

The same strip of Australian coast was close to the Dutch East Indies just a month's sailing from India, and so placed that in time of war it could send out ships to prey on the prized merchant fleets crossing the Indian Ocean.

.....the simplest way for Britain to retain its mastery of that ocean and retard any FRENCH ambitions was to occupy the only known harbour of any promise on Australia's west coast.

One may suggest that Britain was more interested in controlling Australian seas than Australian land. It was more interested in maritime strategy than in the unknown, inaccessible wealth of the Australian interior. All the new outposts made away from the east coast in the first forty years were at strategic points of important sea routes. These military outposts were designed as spring boards for guarding or promoting a trade route, not beachheads for guarding or settling the interior. Australia was like a huge barren rock in an ocean. Its most valuable territory were those projecting headlands where passing whales could rub off the barnacles.

Preservation Island did not belie its name. There, for probably the first time was observed a strange small animal that shuffled from its burrow like a bear, a marsupial wombat, which was promptly preserved in spirits and sent to the literary and philosophical society of Newcastle - upon Tyne for scientists to marvel at.

Australia then was not designed simply as a remote gaol, cut off from the world's commerce. It was to supply strategic materials.

It is perhaps not a coincidence that at a time when England was reviewing its sources of naval stores, it should decide to send its unwanted convicts to a land that seemed rich in these strategic materials

The British Government was willing to create a colony on the Swan River if capitalists rather than tax payers shouldered the main financial risks, a few private investors were tempted. Thomas Peel for one was willing to pay the cost of shipping 400 immigrants to Swan River in return for a quarter of a million acres of land and others were eager to invest capital and carry out labourers in return for grants of free land. So in 1829 a ship of war from Cape Town sailed into Swan River to take possession of the land and was followed by a small fleet carrying free settlers from England.

The new colony was more a symbol than a success. Like the earlier settlements strung around the Australian coast it was chosen because of its strategic position, but it also reflected a new form of colonisation. Its founders were more interested in the promise of Australian soil than any previous colonisers. They heralded a swing of interest from Australian seas to Australian land.

Originally Britain had claimed less than one half of the land surface of Australia. Its Western boundary was the 135 meridian of longitude, a line which passed just east of the present town of Alice Springs, and that boundary seems to have been chosen arbitrarily. During the years in which it was the western boundary of British Australia not a single Briton ever walked across that boundary.

When the trading fort was built on Melville Island in 1824 Britain annexed the North coast of Australia as far west as the 129 meridian. With a stroke of the pen and more in the interest of uniformity than acquisitiveness, Britain claimed the corresponding coast on the south a year later. The remaining third of Australian soil was annexed in 1829 when the colony was placed on the Swan River.

.....made him suggest, on 11 March 1826 that the landing party should first try King George Sound , a fine harbour with a mild climate and more fertile coast.

" The importance of King George Sound as a place necessary to occupy must strike every person acquainted with this country - an enemy holding it would with its cruisers completely intercept and greatly annoy the trade to van Diemens Land and Port Jackson from Europe, the Cape of Good Hope Isle of France and India.

Britains reaction to reported French designs on Australia in 1826 came more from a sense of sea strategy rather than from a belief that Australian soil was valuable. This interpretation gains support by noticing the position of the other Australian harbour settled in 1826. The harbour was Western Port on the shores of Bass Strait in the S. E. corner of Australia

By 1830 Australia was becoming more a terminus and goal for shipping and less a port of call.

Australia was becoming useful- a source of Britains raw materials wool from the land and whale oil from the sea.

A sheep owner had to be a small capitalist, even if only to borrow the money he needed.

Wool's ability to overcome the problem of distance would open huge stretches of the interior, it would also make the far away interior more dynamic and vital than the cramped coastal river flats and plains.

..the problem of distance - the explanation why it was primarily for men of capital. An industry for wealthy men, "an industry which funnelled much wealth into few hands.

Australia's inland plains were married to Europe's expanding textile mills, and the marriage had many offspring.

Without the incentive of wool Australia in 1850 would have consisted of a few ports surrounded by a narrow belt of farmland.

Wool not only opened much of the inland, but also tied Australia to Europe.

The first Australian metal fields to be opened were in regions already occupied by sheep. Shepherds and sheep owners walking over the ground in the course of their daily work were the great mineral discoverers in Australia.

When news of the richness of the gold fields finally reached Britain the common vision of Australia as a land of punishment was replaced by a vision of a land of reward.

While wool was an industry for a man with capital, gold was for a long time an industry for poor men.

From the back of Perth to the back of Geraldton- the line ran from nowhere to nowhere with virtually nothing in between.

EXTRACTS FROM THE " TYRANNY OF DISTANCE "

RESEARCH:
BRIAN MCKAY



The practise of leaving Australia to study art in Europe did not become a feature of Australian cultural life until the 1880's. The first Australian-born artist to study abroad was Adelaide Ironside; and she was followed by two British-born artists whose families had settled in the country in their youth: Robert Dowli and Edward a'Beckett.

Miss Ironside was a Sydney girl with good connections, delicate health and a highly nervous sensibility. A citizens fund enabled her to leave for study in Europe with her mother in 1855. Settli in Rome she became well known for a time as a painter and spiritualistic medium, painting visions she saw in crystal balls

Bernard Smith

Australian Painting

It would, of course, have been impossible for him at this time to have had the kind of appreciation of the Australian landscape that is possible nowadays. It is important for us to realise this.

for it is the key to understanding all early Australian writing. Australian writers began under a hardship that no other new-world literature had had to face in the same measure. The visual, the tactile and physical qualities of Australia are unique, and the European background of her new inhabitants singularly unfitted them to appreciate this country

Judith Wright

Leonie Kramer Landscapes

In reality a genuine expression of Australian nationhood, launched by men who in youth were curious and open minded to all forms of contemporary artistic expression which came within their ken, the Heidelberg school and its associated derivatives came to serve the pathological nationalism of the 1920's and 1930's - a nationalism which sought, not without success, to insulate Australian art from contact with artistic expression abroad. Created by city-born artists in a thoroughly urban milieu, the Heidelberg school came to be accepted by its friends and foes alike by the late 1930's as a school which specialised in the creation of an up-country picturesque based upon the apotheosis of the pastoral industry and the gum tree.

Australian Painting

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In the art industry, a boom occurred, reaching its peak in the 1920's and in which the production of pastoral landscapes was paramount. The more traditional modes of painting dominated the art market and were most highly valued; yet the landscapes produced by emerging modernist painters generally continued to be conceived within a pastoral viewpoint, despite different priorities of picture making.

Ian Burn

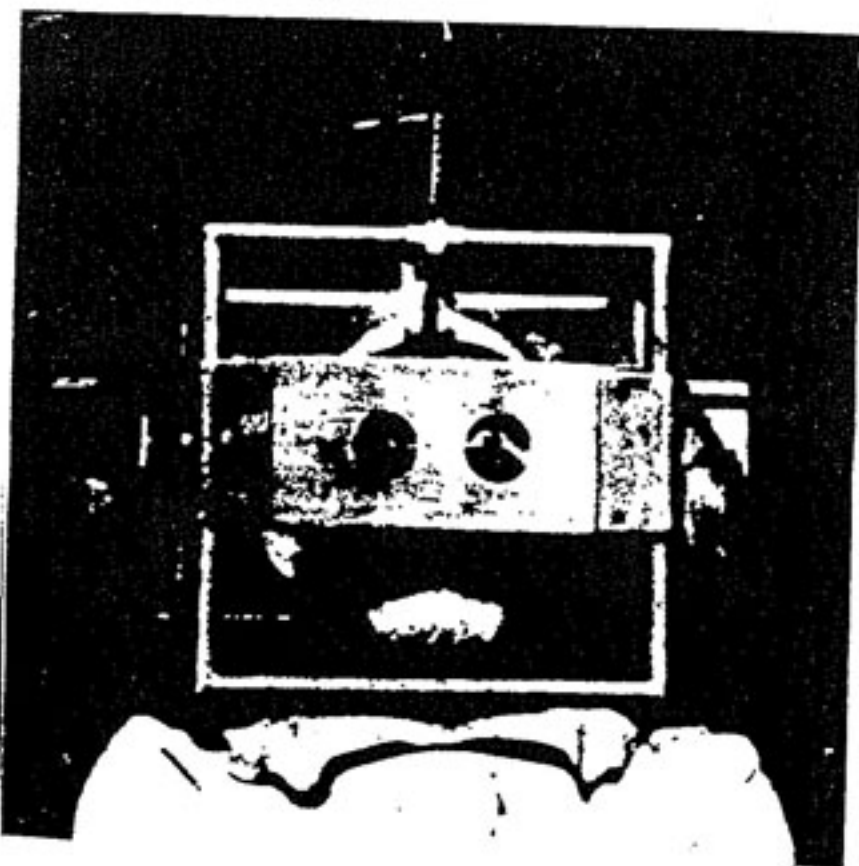
Popular Melbourne Landscape Painting Between the Wars



The taste of Australia's educated minority is provincial and reactionary.

Sir Charles Eastlake 1870

Early Swan River Colony
Mary E. Calder (Rigby)
Page 27 23 TO 572E



"It is true, I think, that I have known throughly every phase of life of our people and country with love and an intense and intimate sympathy; I strive to express myself from these sources... My defect as an artist is probably that I am too much of the soil. But I'd rather be that and fall from universal standards than be less the medium for expression of this place and people. I care most for the interpretations of this place and will, with my eyes open, barter international reputation, to give Australia as she is, or as I see it, to the world." Katherine Susannah Pritchard
4 Nov. 1929

RESEARCH:
ANNE GRAHAM

the fact that 'the high-tide mark for a woman-depreciating puritan type of British patriism [held sway] between 1800 and 1840'.²² A fine example of woman-depreciating puritanism can be found in the treatment of 221 Irish orphan girls who left Plymouth for Port Adelaide on board the *Roman Emperor*, 17 July 1848: I don't know that there is a deeper way of expressing contempt for woman than by denying her bodilyness. On the voyage more than half of the girls started to menstruate for the first time, perhaps because of the relatively good food. 'Not a single extra piece of cloth or linen had been provided for the shipload of adolescent girls. The surgeon had difficulty with all [sic] washing and hanging out of clothes and linen, "these important duties interfering somewhat with seamen's notions of clean decks, and trim rigging" . . .'²³

A PERSON (for a man I cannot call him) of the name of RALPH MALKIN, led his lawful wife into our streets on the 28th. ultimo, with a rope round her neck, and publicly exposed her for sale, and shameful to be told, another fellow, equally contemptible, called THOMAS QUINN, actually purchased and paid for her on the spot, sixteen pounds in money, and some yards of cloth. I am sorry to add that the woman herself was so devoid of feelings which are so justly deemed the most valuable in her sex, agreed to the base traffic, and went off with the purchaser.²⁴

Peter Cunningham, Royal Navy Surgeon, writing in 1827, relates an incident concerning 'a rich and amorous Sydney youth, with the bloom of fifty-six summers on his cheeks, [who] was linked in love's dear hands with one of our pretty penitents, from whose eyes he first drank in the sweet infection while his "fairest of the fair" was performing public penance on a market

day (with her gown-tail drawn over head) for dabbling too deeply in strong waters on the preceding evening.'²⁵ This woman seems to be a convict, but because the same method of punishment was also used for free casual poor women, we can look at it in this, just as well as the next, chapter ('Our Founding Mothers the Convicts'). That such women were 'beyond the pale' is suggested by the fact that at this time the bodies of middle class and other elite women were generally smothered in constricting clothing. Casual poor women did not wear derclothing. So this woman was forced to publicly expose her genitals. That exposure in a society dominated by puritan hegemonic values symbolizes the fact that, in a way, this woman was outside society; cast-out.

Describing the often cruel treatment of women on board free migrant ships to the Australian colonies up to the 1840s, Michael Cannon underscores our point that the lower men were in the social scale, the more brutalized they were, and the more brutally they tended to treat women:

There may have been some chance of controlling these events, even on the long and monotonous voyage, if the officers and seamen had been disciplined and trained in the same traditions as the Royal Navy. But merchant seamen of the time were notorious for their everyday brutality and depravity. They included the riff-raff of every nation, who were treated like animals on board and on shore, made to work endlessly for low wages, flogged if necessary, tipped ashore to become the prey of waterfront crimps and boarding-house keepers, and shanghaied in their drunken and diseased state to begin the cycle all over again . . . To allow such men to spread disease among female emigrants was a crime of a particularly callous nature, even when the women were willing accomplices. Yet it happened often enough, largely because of the refusal of the British government to institute proper precautions against intercourse on board.²⁶

I believe some of them, or at least one of them, has been confined there three times within four years? 'Yes; and that one told me on the last occasion that we might do what we liked, - she would come in when she pleased, would go out when she pleased'... and that she meant to have another, and would be in again shortly.

Attitudes towards mothering, as towards the body and sexuality, may be seen as linked with a lowly position in the dominance hierarchy and acceptance of a low self-concept. The tragedy of the Benevolent Asylum woman who 'threw her child down upon the grass and went away, saying she would soon get another', lies in the fact that her situation discouraged her from consciously experiencing feelings of motherly love. For most women in pre-contraceptive history, and perhaps especially for casual poor women, Evelyne Sullerot's words bear thinking about:

one cannot even talk of mothers' loving or not loving their infants; these words cannot even have today's meanings... what we mean by maternal love is a modern invention inseparable from mastery over survival.⁴²

Many, if not most, mothers like these must have unconsciously

handled grief at losing babies by denial and defiance, because inner collapse was a likely possible alternative. To have a baby, as a single casual poor woman, was to confront unbearable options. Here, for example, is what Rosamond and Florence Hill saw in the lying-in ward of the South Australian Destitute Asylum in 1875:

The greater number [of destitute mothers] enter service, chiefly as wet-nurses, their infants being boarded out, and the mother paying the cost. But in the Australian climate it is especially difficult to preserve the life of an infant when removed from its mother...⁴³

In the early twentieth century casual poor women still remind one of an outcast-group. In 1901, for example:

in our city lock-up, women are run in and detained during the night and no matron nor woman officer is in charge... the half-drunken, violent woman, sometimes almost nude, the disreputable, dirty female, drunken and shameless... It is the sorrow of decent women that sister women have sunk so low...⁴⁴

From 1903 to 1905, Dr Charles Willis, later principal medical officer in the N.S.W. Department of Public Instruction, described male treatment of casual poor women in a Western Australian mining district, mateship territory *par excellence*. He spent a 'large portion' of his time treating venereal diseases contracted through 'so-called Japanese laundries', which extended round the north-west and operated 'more or less in conjunction with each other'.

Women were passed around the circuit from one laundry to another, so as to provide a greater attraction for the male residents.⁴⁵

The rewards (or 'substitute gratifications') men gain from prostitution probably find their source in debasement of another human being as much as, if not more than, sexuality - if there exists such a thing as sexuality as a-thing-in-itself. Sexuality may fuse with gentleness and affection; equally, it may be compounded with humiliating another and so for the moment, trying to bury one's own feelings of nothingness.

In the first instance females tend to take their identity from the males on whom they are *directly* dependent for physical and psychosexual sustenance. (It is only now that, on any appreciable scale, women are beginning to decide they will take their *own* need-priorities as the starting point and then begin the process of relating to men. That way women may relate to men as existents in a mutuality which - amongst other things - can sustain a surprisingly rich and enduring sexuality!) The males on whom a given group of females are directly dependent tend to take their self-definition from males next highest in rank on the status ladder.

Back to Australian free casual poor 'founding mothers'. This 'tendency' involves the 'complicity' of women. Satchmo was right: it takes two to tango. Women 'fit' the tendency by internalizing the required male definition (institutional transmission

belts include family, church, economic structure). Casual poor women consequently tended to act out the definition casual poor males held of them, in accordance with our rough formula: the male in a given group needs 'his' female to feel more demeaned, inadequate, or uncertain in identity, than he himself feels. **

The boys' attitude to sexuality is dehumanized in the extreme. Their own sexuality, and consequently the sexuality of the girls they feel is split off from the total person. Thus they live out the days impoverished and starved, but, to be fair, they do need a stunted vision of themselves if they are to fit into the slot society prepared for them from wayback. Sexuality experienced

as split off from the total person, is experienced in conjunction with a demeaned and debased 'vision' of woman. In such cases we are dealing with status (or status-caste?) and debasement, rather than with sexuality as honest lust in the context of a total liking. The former is central to my definition of 'pornographic' sex as distinct from 'erotic' sex.* This all fits the pack rape boys' attitude to sexuality. The girls' behaviour

is such that it accustoms the boys to accept sexual intercourse almost as a right, and certainly as something common, casual and freely available; almost as, in the words of Wayland Young, 'a sneeze in the loins'.²³

Our founding mothers, the convict women, had a deeply crippled self vision. If Max Harris is right, that vision must be of no little importance in accounting for the diminished self vision, as well as the low social profile of Australian women to this very day. Harris writes:

The effect of our convict origins has been consistently underwritten by our historians because it was rapidly bred out of the nation during the goldfields era. But if implanted attitudes are not changed by an influx of population but rather absorbed by the newcomers, then convictism is the prime source of Australian character. [My emphasis]²⁴

In explaining why convict women had so lowly a view of themselves, we could simply point to manifest aspects of society's view of them and leave it at that. In the first place, for example, their social status in their places of origin, as we have noted, was abysmally low, and second, their economic usefulness in early eastern Australia was deemed to be negligible. Despite nascent colonial capitalism, which included commercial capitalism and minor industries, the key industries were single-male staffed: whaling, sealing, pastoralism. R. Connell and T. H. Irving, the authors of 'Class Structure in Australian History', rightly see the pastoralists, who drew extensively on convict labour, as 'an arm of the state, a vast outdoor department of menal supervision' and conclude: 'The half - ...'

and cunning. Crucial to understanding the low self-image of convict women, their victimhood and the mechanisms by which they handled it, was their treatment by convict men, the male group most relevant to them. Now some key male convict attitudes about women arose from casual poor free males, and the view casual poor males held of themselves ultimately derived from their position in a dominance hierarchy. From this flowed a casual poor male's need for his woman to be lower in standing and poorer in self-estimate than he was. But listing sources of convict pain and ugliness, Alexander Harris concludes: "infinitely worse than all is the sense of the iron dominion exercised over them by the masters."⁹ So it follows that when, with convictism, the issue of 'dominion', that is, of dominance, came to bulk larger and eat more deeply into personality than it did among the free casual poor, a convict would tend to need his woman to be just that much more wretched than did the male of the free casual poor.

Did widespread prostitution lower the overall self-esteem, self-belief, dignity and social standing of early women in general? Did that pattern 'set'? Did a low esteem for women, and the woman, as Theodore Roszak puts it, 'locked up in the dungeons'¹⁰ of man's psyche, become a kind of cultural 'gene', handed down in families to children in their pre-verbal stages? Does the past still haunt us in the present, enshrined (as Ibsen said) in 'all sorts of old dead ideas . . . ghosts all over the country'?

Writing of *Women in Stuart England and America*, Roger Thompson posits that widespread prostitution has a profound overall impact on the standing of women in a community, and I agree with him:

The existence of widespread prostitution . . . is most likely to occur in societies with an unbalanced sex ratio. It arises from a sense of the inequality of the sexes, and is often a logical accompaniment of a patriarchal society. The male who patronises prostitutes tends to develop a deprecating attitude towards women and an exaggerated sense of self-importance. (My emphasis)¹¹

Widespread prostitution, perhaps especially in formative times for a small community, diminishes all women, because, as Thompson implies, men tend to generalize their contempt for prostitutes so that it falls on all women. Phyllis Chesler, as we noted earlier, points out that money is paid for the humiliation of prostitutes as much as for their bodies.¹²

In 1818 the Reverend Vale wrote to Earl Bathurst:

I understand there is no place of separate confinement for females sentenced to Sydney Jail: but this I certainly know, that so contracted is the provision for the accommodation of female convicts in general, that the greater part are compelled to prostitute themselves in order to find a place for their nightly shelter . . .¹³

... He estimated that, through physical mistreatment, liquor and disease, the average professional life of a prostitute was four years, but concluded that a good half entered prostitution because they were attracted by the way of life.¹¹⁹ The American historian Lois Banner comments: 'It did not occur to [Sanger] that they might have come from a world in which sexuality was open and prostitution just another kind of work.'¹²⁰ There is much to Banner's thought, but more needs to be said. Jane Addams, writing in 1912, stressed some of the psychic needs which prompted 'unemployed, friendless immigrant' girls towards prostitution; and our convict and free poor women were, after all, only too often 'unemployed, friendless' immigrants. 'Loneliness and detachment . . . is easily intensified in such a girl into isolation and a desolating feeling of belonging nowhere . . . At such a moment of black oppression, the instinctive fear of solitude will send a lonely girl restlessly to walk the streets even when she is "too tired to stand" and where her desire for companionship in itself constitutes a grave danger'¹²¹ (Caroline Chisholm's Highland girl Flora). Robert Riegel also points to an influence relevant to our own founding mothers. A high proportion of Sanger's interviewees came from broken homes, while many blamed 'ill treatment by family'; and, Riegel comments, 'Certain other explanations, such as the desire for an easier, more pleasant, more exciting life, while possibly classifiable as economic, might just as plausibly be interpreted as suggesting psychological troubles . . . 'Certainly', he concludes, 'emotional maladjustments were important, even though they cannot be measured precisely.'¹²²

And I think Lois Banner's 'just another kind of work' verdict, while not without its point, side-steps a question central to women's self-esteem and, through the generalized contempt men adopt to women via widespread prostitution, women's overall role-definition and standing. To demean in any way,

especially to commercialize, one's sexuality places at great risk one's total self-esteem. No defence mechanisms can succeed in hiding from ourselves what we do to and with our bodies.* And neither can one fail to internalize male contempt and society's contempt. It suits many males - in fact it underlies Playboy-type trendiness - to pretend women can operate schizoid mechanisms with long-term success and psychic impunity. Many women adopt the stance of the ruling group, identify with their ideology, as is common with 'victims', and believe they can operate such mechanisms with impunity. But I submit there are no hiding places from the self.

While pregnant, Alice Blackstone had been beaten by her husband 'about the face and head with a Stick 2½ Inches Circumference, on which the Scar now remained, and from her head downwards as far as the legs; from the violence of the blows on her head, she fell, and Blackstone [her husband], not content with the Brutal manner in which he had treated her, Kicked and jumped on her . . .'¹²⁴ When Alice Blackstone had her baby, she was soon sent on a long trip with Surgeon Owen's approval. 'Fatigued', suckling her child, she walked thirty-five

miles from 'George Town to Launceston with an Iron Collar weighing 5½ pounds' around her neck.¹²⁵

In other 'crime yards', women convicts washed, sewed, spun and made clothes.¹²⁰ In 1836 the Tolpuddle Martyr George Loveless wrote this about women convicts:

if they offend their masters by being insolent, neglectful of their duty, etc. etc., they are taken and charged before the magistrates, who sentence them, not to be flogged, but to have their heads shorn, and to be sent to the factory from one month to three years, to work at the wash tub, according to the nature of the offence. I have been told that a practice once prevailed, if the woman committed a misdemea-

nour after they were in the factory, to put iron collars round their necks, with spikes in them, to increase their punishment. This horrid practice, I believe, is not in existence now, but they have lately built a treadmill for them.¹²¹

Michael Cannon describes this treadmill:

The treadmill, one of the cruellest yet most overlooked methods of convict punishment inflicted in recent centuries, consisted of a large revolving cylinder to which was fastened a circular iron frame. This was fitted with steps around the circumference, rather like the paddle wheel of an early steamship. The drum could either be filled with stones or connected to a flour mill or pump. When the convict put his foot on to a step, the drum revolved, and to avoid falling off he had to keep on mounting continuously to the next step above. This process continued for whatever number of hours each day were thought appropriate by the authorities.¹²²

The treadmill was devised with the physique of males in mind. But it was also in fact used for female convicts. Their suffering was consequently more acute, and, in cases like the following, more humiliating:

Dr. Good found that the chief effect of the treadmill on female convicts was 'a very horrible pain in the loins', the forerunner of greatly intensified menstruation . . . The bleeding took place 'even in the presence of the male keepers', until a sympathetic local magistrate substituted female keepers and had a linen screen erected a few feet above the platform. Dr. Good told of one woman, pregnant for two months, who was put on the wheel and 'thrown into a miscarriage' . . . In reply to Dr. Good's allegations, the chairman of Surrey Sessions, Thomas Harrison, informed the public that the treadmill was a marvellous specific against rheumatism and particularly good for women because it prevented them from getting varicose veins.¹²³

In 1836, James Backhouse found the 'forty females . . . employed in field labour' at Eagle Farm near Brisbane were 'kept in close confinement during the night, and strictly watched in the day time . . . Some of them wear chains, to prevent their absconding'.¹²⁴

At some level of their being, people in all social strata in the penal colonies must have been aware that theirs was an outcast society. Manning Clark's portraits of many of our early leaders are often portraits of deeply dissatisfied and driven men, soured, sometimes a little poisoned, by a sense of lack, of unfulfilment.* Underlying my thinking about our founding mothers, then, was this question: since there weren't enough Aboriginal women, did convict women fulfil an essential function as a visible, stigmatized outcast group, and thus lessen the pain of an entire outcast society? With that question in mind, I looked at the 'victim'-like self-image of convict women, their treatment, the language which that self-image and treatment elicited in the master (not forgetting that the master's language, as Fanon shows in *The Wretched of the Earth*, was also influenced by the need to diminish guilt by vilifying those he had crippled). Prostitution, too, commanded our attention partly in the context of thinking about outcasts. As we try to assess the 'imprinting' effect on Australian folkways of our founding mothers in formative decades, these then are some of the issues which demand attention.

There were checks on assignment, but evidence is overwhelming that women were too often sent to families which exploited instead of protecting their servants. Nor was there any organised system of introducing women into families of good moral standing (which was constantly asserted to be the only means of effecting reformation); indeed the fact emerges that better class families, not willing to take the risk of employing them at all, played little part in any campaign to help these women. [My emphasis]¹¹⁴

Could the relative lack of commitment of elite women to their less fortunate sisters be linked with the fact that elite women grew up with, and became hardened to, the plight of convict and free casual poor women? This is suggested in the words R. C. Hutchinson intended as rebuttal of contemporary charges that Mrs Mary Hutchinson, matron of several early female convict establishments, was indifferent and harsh towards women convicts:

It was in . . . this atmosphere of female degradation and licentiousness that Mary Oakes [later Hutchinson] grew up. There is little doubt that, from early childhood, she would have been familiar with the sight of hungry, ill-clad convict women, and their children, wandering the streets of Parramatta . . . It seems reasonable to assume that Mary Oakes learnt to accept the wretchedness and debased behaviour of female convicts as part of their way of life, and an evil that the free people of the community was obliged to tolerate. [My emphasis]¹¹⁵

In general a woman's self-concept cannot be too different from her concept of other women in her culture. It seems likely that Australian women had a tendency to form low expectations of women from 'formative' times: this implies they held low expectations of and for themselves.

Convictism thus helped lower the standing of Australian women by encouraging women to despise women: hence, also, themselves.

Convictism, a form of slavery which performed a unique and still imperfectly-explored function for emergent capitalism, meant that women served as outcasts (when Aboriginal women were absent). Our founding mothers, the convict women, imprinted on our moral economy the vision of woman as outcast. Essential to the function of the outcast group is that it enables projection of negative feelings, of hatred and contempt, away from the dominant group. And if prostitution were widespread among convict and early casual poor women, this helped generalize the contempt men felt about our outcast founding mothers, towards women in general. Equally tragic is the possibility that the existence of convict women helped free women form a low estimate of the worth of women in general: hence, inevitably if unconsciously, of themselves.

Washing the family clothes usually took a full day: the tub, often a hogshead cut in half, was heavy and awkward to handle; and the water had to be drawn from a well by windlass and then heated over the open fire, an exhausting task at the best of times but awesomely so during the summer months. A second day was spent ironing. Some clothes, such as crinoline dresses, with their several yards of material, had to be starched and ironed, for the wives of these families kept to the fashions set by the gentry, and especially by one of Perth's great beauties, Mrs Hora, wife of Dr Hora. Perhaps a third day would be spent making and repairing clothes, for the wives in these families tended to buy clothes for very special occasions only, and even then to buy the material to be made up by a dressmaker and milliner.

Sunday school picnics and the like sometimes brought together the children of the town gentry, the artisan/contractor class, and the poor. Later, some of the poor children came from the Anglican orphanage down near the Causeway or Perth Bridge as it was usually called. By the early 1870s the Perth Orphanage housed over fifty children, drawn largely from the Poorhouse or Workhouse in Goderich Street. It was when such parties broke up therefore that the differing social experiences of the young most clearly manifested themselves—some to the Terraces and the higher parts of Hay/Howick Street and William Street; some to Hay and Murray Streets, and some to the more ragged quarters of Wellington Street and 'new town' over near the gaol, or back to the orphanage. There were other children in Perth who did not attend the party. They were the Roman Catholic children, many of whom were poor and some of whom were cared for in the Catholic Orphanage.

The lives of these children were far from being idyllic. Indeed they had been crippled from birth. Nearly one in four children had been born less than eight months after the mother had married; others were born to single women; some had come into the world only because a self-abortive practice (taking Holloways Pills was one of the less crude methods) had failed, or even because a 'professional' abortionist had been inefficient or had demanded too high a fee.⁷⁷ The mothers of these children had mostly lived out their entire lives in desperate circumstances. Often they themselves had been orphans, survivors of the holocaust of the Irish Famine or the slums of inner London parishes like St George's and St Giles.⁷⁸ When institutionalised some of these girls had been taught a useful skill like needle-work, but nearly all were illiterate and remained so for the rest of their lives. In the 1850s and 1860s, under the aegis of various governments and emigration societies, they were rounded up and transported to the eastern colonies of Australia and to Swan River, mere bargaining counters in the hard game of convictism—for and against; and necessary acquisitions for self-respecting middle class households. On board an emigrant ship they fended for themselves as best they could, welcoming or fighting off the attentions of the sailors and passengers. On arrival in Perth the women were placed in the 'temporary' quarters of a house down in Bazaar Terrace, formerly used as a female lunatic asylum,⁷⁹ or in a building in Goderich Street which served as an Immigrant Depot, a Servants' Home, and a Poor House. In a community which had always grumbled about the dearth of domestic servants, the arrival of the immigrant women was a bonanza. Alerted by the press, masters and mistresses would apply, usually in person, to the Depot and seek out the most promising looking woman and engage her services. Some of the tougher girls held out for a reasonable wage, but most went to the first bidder and were glad to do so in order to escape from the Depot, which was constructed and administered for this purpose.⁸⁰ Even after Governor Hampton's 'humane' extensions the Depot itself was basically a long room divided off into separate spaces, likened by one visitor to a stable loosebox. It was often badly overcrowded⁸¹ and on occasion the inmates were forced to change their clothes in the open yard, visible to passersby and loungers in the street.⁸² Sometimes the girls and women broke down and wept. Others were sullen and unco-operative. And there were those who hit out against all those who helped and frustrated them, often choosing the most accessible target, namely the Poor House and its matron. In December 1868, for instance, one woman ran amuck and smashed the windows of the Home. Another threatened to take the matron's life; indeed she threw a brick-bat at the matron's head and swore that if she ever got the matron back in Tipperary she'd knock 'the daylight out of her'.⁸³

A girl thought herself lucky to be engaged quickly, but her pleasure could as quickly turn to pitch, for the ex-convict servant sent to collect



From whence the serving girls came: an Irish soup kitchen, 1840s.

As the easiest way of coping with their condition some of the women became predators. Many a countryman visiting Perth was propositioned and then robbed by women keeping what the police described as 'bad houses'—women described as 'companions of thieves'.⁹⁹ Other women, some of whom had escaped the battering of home and family, found their way to Mrs Godfrey's, Mrs Timewell's or Mrs Dyson's, or any of the several brothels along Murray, Wellington, James and Stirling Streets. Mary Ann Timewell was a widow who cared for her young daughter in their 'disorderly house'. Other young girls worked from the premises:

I am a single woman. I am on the streets. Mrs Timewell [?] my dresses and washes for me. I do not live with her. I have a slight recollection of inciting a gentleman outside Mrs Timewell's last Thursday afternoon. He came inside. I said to him come on Ducky and pay Mrs Timewell what I owe her. He asked me how much it was and I cannot say what took place.¹⁰⁰

Many of these women with young families suffered in proud silence the bitterest pangs of poverty before succumbing to the relative security of a brothel or the lesser security of a State institution. Stanton's store in William Street was one of the landmarks by which the people of Perth oriented themselves. Stanton had prospered from merchandising. He boosted his income further by renting out cottages nearby. Frances Huckle lived in one of Stanton's houses. She worked to maintain herself and her four-year-old boy. After a time she fell behind with her rent. Stanton had her furniture removed. She was fined 6s or was to serve a four-day gaol sentence; in fact she was sent to gaol for seven days when she used violent language in court. It seems that Frances Huckle tried on several occasions to get the magistrate to put her four-year-old son in the Poor House, but on each occasion her application was rejected. Six weeks after her first stint in gaol she was back in court for beating her boy and threatening to kill him.¹⁰¹ In another case Johanna McLarty was charged with 'wandering abroad having no means of subsistence and seeking charitable relief'. She pleaded that her husband had gone to Champion Bay to seek work, leaving her with three children and no means of support. On several occasions she had sought admission to the Poor House, but Dr Ferguson had turned her away each time. This time, however, the presiding magistrate, E. W. Landor, solved the problem by sending Johanna to gaol for a month, after which she could go into the Poor House.¹⁰² To protect themselves and their children some of these women cohabited with another man, risking a divorce petition if the husband found out. Domestic happiness under such circumstances was well nigh impossible.

⁹⁹ In Perth in 1881 more than one in five children between the ages of four and sixteen years received no education at all; 27% could neither read nor write.¹⁰⁰ And what did they think when they looked through the windows of Mr Arthur Shenton's

store at the India rubber air balls, the building bricks, the drums, puzzles, music boxes, alphabets in boxes, calico dolls and the range of toys displayed there? It told a story of life chances as meaningful to them as was the portico of George Shenton's house to their parents.¹⁰¹

her might succumb to the dual temptation of her presence and the loneliness of the road and assault her. Such incidents rarely came to the notice of the Courts. One of these 'unlucky exports' (as Mrs Millett described them) was Joanna Fennell. Joanna had arrived on the *Travancore* late in January 1853, along with 114 other Irish girls. She was engaged by Mr Davis, a farmer on the Canning; but on the open road outside Perth she was raped by young George Thomas, the servant who had been sent to bring her to her new home. Justice Mackie could not bring himself to pass sentence of death on Thomas, even though he had ordered that this penalty for rape should be kept on the colonial statute books. Thomas won his ticket-of-leave in 1861 and received a pardon in 1868. Perhaps Joanna's story had not been fully believed—perhaps, after all, because she was only a serving girl and not the daughter of a gentry family. Certainly her chances of becoming a 'powerful humanizing agent' and 'the principal guardian of the future generation' were diminished by the experience. She returned to the Servants' Home, where a year later she suffered the further pain of being robbed of a silver coin. The thief, another girl in the Home, was sent to Perth Gaol for three months with hard labour. Joanna Fennell also served time in the Servants' Home.⁴⁴ (The irony lay in the title of Servants' 'Home', the word 'Home' having been specially chosen by Lady Fitzgerald.⁴⁵) A year later Joanna married a whaling hand from Bunbury, where as late as the 1870s she was working as a laundress.

Catherine Kelly arrived at the Servants' Home in 1862, having come out on the *Mary Harrison* with 150 other girls. Catherine became pregnant. Knowing that pregnancy would reduce her chances of gaining employment she did her best to conceal her condition. Her fellow inmates 'suspected that she was in the Family way', but it was just talk among the women, for Catherine herself never said a word. On Tuesday 16 September, just after 2 o'clock in the afternoon, having cooked and eaten lunch and feeling ill, Catherine crossed the yard to the privy. As she sat over the pit-hole her baby slid out and down into the cess-pit. When the cord had reached its full length it strained against and then tore from her body, causing the baby to sink into the pit where it died. Catherine dealt with the afterbirth as best she could, and pushed the blood-soiled skirt and rag into the pit also. She looked out from the closet and saw that some male prisoners were working in the yard. Only when they had moved away did she leave the closet and stagger with Mary Haggerty's support across to the cookhouse where she slumped down. One of the other girls ran to Matron Annear who came quickly and asked Catherine what the matter was. The girl replied that 'Nothing was the matter'. Matron Annear asked her what she had done. Catherine said that she had done nothing. She hung her head and began to cry.⁴⁶

Catherine Kelly was first charged with the wilful murder of her child. She faced the Coroner's Court which found evidence only for a charge of concealment of the birth, on which charge she was indicted to appear before the Supreme Court of Western Australia in January 1863. Found not guilty, she was set free to return to the Servants' Home. Here then was a life experience within the embrace of the investing class yet apart from them. It was always the same for the Catherine Kellys of Perth.

One visitor in 1878 quoted at length a newspaper report on the subject:

It was but the other day that the Chief Magistrate of the city directed attention . . . to the prevalence of the offence (wife beating). We believe that scarcely a week passes without charges of abuse on the part of ruffianly husbands on their wretched wives in the solitude of domestic privacy, coming to the notice of the police. The length to which the offence is extending is positively humiliating. And no man with the slightest respect for the female sex, or with a spark of manliness left in his soul, can fail to arrive at the conclusion that to allow this sort of thing to continue, to practically wink at the offence any longer, is to do a gross wrong to woman, and to connive at a crime which has a tendency to demoralise the whole community.⁴⁷

The sexual abuse of female convicts began on the ships. Although after 1811 the women travelled on separate ships from the male convicts, they had the crews to contend with. W. H. R. Brown told the Select Committee on the State of Gaols in 1819 that:

These women informed me, as well as others of their shipmates, that they were subject to every insult from the master of the ship and sailors; that the master stript several of them and publicly whipped them; that one

young woman, from ill treatment, threw herself into the sea and perished, that the master beat one of the women that lived with me with a rope with his own hands till she was much bruised in her arms, breasts, and other parts of her body. I am certain, from her general good conduct, she could not have merited any cruelty from him.*

He also reported that 'the youngest and handsomest of the women were selected from the other convicts and sent on board, by order of the master, the king's ships . . . for the vilest purposes . . .'.⁷ One convict woman, Elisabeth Barber, accused Thomas Arndell, the assistant surgeon of the ship on which she was transported of being 'a poxy blood-letter who seduced innocent girls while treating them for the fever, using his surgery as a floating whore-house'.⁸ Some convict women did not even reach their expected destination. In 1797 the military guard and several of the sailors aboard the female transport *Lady Shore* seized control of the ship and sailed it to Montevideo. There the mutineers were made prisoners of war and the 65 convict women were distributed as servants to Spanish ladies of the port.⁹ After this incident guards were no longer placed on ships carrying female convicts¹⁰, but the transportees could do little to escape the advances of the surgeons or sailors.

When the First Fleet arrived at Port Jackson, the female convicts were kept aboard for five days while the other ships were unloaded and elementary shelters were constructed. Governor Phillip turned a blind eye to the riotous two-day debauch which ensued when the women landed.¹¹ This Bacchanalia, and Phillip's response, signalled the kind of treatment which was to be the lot of the female convicts. One settler wrote to England:

It will perhaps scarcely be believed that, on the arrival of a female convict ship, the custom has been to suffer the inhabitants of the colony each to select one at his pleasure, not only as servants but as avowed objects of intercourse, which is without even the plea of the slightest previous attachment as an excuse, rendering the whole colony little better than an extensive brothel.¹²

The 1812 Select Committee on Transportation reported that female convicts 'were indiscriminately given to such of the inhabitants as demanded them, and were in general received rather as prostitutes than as servants'.¹³ The women were distributed to the men almost as part of the daily rations. In 1803 forty women were listed, baldly, as 'women allowed to the New South Wales Corps'.¹⁴

No, no - surely not! My God - not more of those damned whores! Never have I known worse women!

LT RALPH CLARK of the First Fleet, on sighting the *Lady Juliana* of the Second Fleet coming into Sydney Harbour with over two hundred female convicts aboard. June 1790

Though how many [of the female convicts] were prostitutes will never be known, almost all contemporaries regarded them as particularly 'abandoned'; and even if these contemporaries exaggerated, the picture they presented is a singularly unattractive one!

A. G. L. SHAW, *Convicts and the Colonies*, 1966

The social and economic conditions of the first fifty years of white colonization of Australia fostered whores rather than wives. The traditional Judaeo-Christian notion that all women could be categorized as being exclusively either good or evil - with the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene being the prototypes of each kind - was brought to Australia with the First Fleet. But its application to the women in this country was totally lop-sided. From 1788 until the 1840s almost all women were categorized as whores - or 'damned whores' - as Lt Ralph Clark called them. This categorization was initially based on the fact that virtually all of the white women to come here in the first two decades of colonization were transported convicts, but it was continually reinforced by the social structure which evolved in the penal colony. Thus even female convicts who had served their sentences had little chance of having their status redefined and the stereotype came to be applied to many other women in the colony who had not been transported.

And whereas, as from the great disproportion of female convicts to those of the males who are put under your superintendence, it appears advisable that a further number of the latter should be introduced into the new intended settlement, you are, whenever the *Sirius* or the tender shall touch at any of the islands in those seas, to instruct their commanders to take aboard any of the women who may be disposed to accompany them to the said settlement.

The women's punishment comprised transportation plus enforced whoredom. For at least the first twenty years they had no means of escaping this fate. The best a woman could do was to form an attachment with one man and live with him as his wife and in this way protect herself from the unwelcome attentions of any other man who fancied her. But whether she was concubine to one man or available to all she was still considered a whore. Since there was virtually no escape from the colony which required women to be whores, there was no escaping whoredom. Even those convict women who formed attachments with Governors or other prominent men, and bore them children, were unable to shake off the common status and assume anything matching the social standing of either these men or the wives and daughters of men of similar rank. The list of time-expired male convicts who were able to cast aside their past and acquire wealth and respectability is long and impressive. Very few women could match their success.

..... in practice women were transported solely to serve as sexual commodities and the British Government acted as imperial whoremaster

... The men of the colony were accustomed to having convict women at their disposal, even if there were at least three men to every woman, and it was impossible to prevent servants being regarded as prostitutes both by their employers and any other men on the place. Single men were supposedly not able to have female convicts assigned to them, but in 1837 James Mudie, a colonist, reported to the Select Committee on Transportation that 'they generally manage to get them'.²¹

The major obstacle to reform was the strength of the Damned Where stereotype. The ideology had become so powerful that it was confused with reality. Even if large numbers of women did not conform to the attributes of the stereotype, their behaviour was overlooked and the ideology that all convict women were whores remained unchallenged. Female convicts were universally condemned. Thomas McQueen, a magistrate and a former convict himself, described the women he sentenced as 'the most disgusting objects that ever disgraced the female form'.²² Governor Darling wrote in 1830 – a decade after Macquarie's term of reform had ended – that 'the women sent out to this country are of the very worst description, not in general being transported until there is no longer any hope of their reformation at home'.²³ James Mudie thought that they were 'the lowest possible . . . they all smoke, drink and in fact, to speak in plain language, I consider them all prostitutes'.²⁴ Even Macquarie was condemnatory and he wrote to Earl Bathurst in 1813 that the female convicts were 'so very depraved that they are frequently concerned in the most dreadful acts of atrocity'.²⁵ Although he wanted more male convicts to be sent out since the prosperity of the Colony depended on labour being available for public works and agriculture, he considered that 'female convicts are as great a drawback as others are beneficial'.²⁶

None of these men tempered their vilifications with any recognition of the lack of choice open to the women. They had been transported to service the sexual needs of the males of the Colony and were then condemned for their behaviour. This has always been the fate of prostitutes in a patriarchal and sexist society: the women are chastized while their male patrons, without whom prostitution would not exist, escape criticism or punishment.

On their arrival there, they are allowed to remain in a wooden building that is near the factory; and if they have succeeded in bringing their bedding from the ships, they are permitted to deposit it in there, or in the room in which the female prisoners are confined for punishment. The first of these apartments is in the upper floor of a house that was built for the reception of pregnant females. It contains another apartment, on the ground floor, that is occupied by the men employed in the factory. It is not surrounded by any wall or paling; and the upper room or garret has only one window, and an easy communication with the room below. No accommodation is afforded for cooking provisions in this building; nor does there exist either inducement to the female convicts to remain in it, or the means of preventing their escape. The greater portion, therefore, betake themselves to the lodgings in the town of Parramatta, where they cohabit with the male convicts in the employ of Government, or with any person who will receive them . . .²⁷

Such was the accommodation offered by the authorities! The women, who had just arrived had no opportunity to earn any money as they came straight from imprisonment in England. They were thus unable to pay for lodgings in Parramatta. The Government did not provide beds for them so what was their option but to sell their bodies in return for a bed?

The stigma of the stereotype snatched the female convicts as firmly as any leg-irons. It could be seen as a female equivalent to the chain gang except that there was less hope of being released from it. So strong was the idea that all women in penal colony Australia were whores that women who were not convicts became its victims too. Aboriginal women carried a double burden. As women, they were seen as sexual objects and fair game for white men; as members of a subject people they were also victims of the whole range of indignities bestowed by a brutal invading colonialism which considered itself to be the master race.³⁹

A further group of women who were seen as whores were the female immigrants. In 1831 the Government began to use revenue from the sale of land in Australia to assist the emigration of single women between the ages of eighteen and thirty. They were wanted as domestic servants and as wives. But this attempt could not immediately alter either the social mores of colonial society nor the

dominant view of women. Even if the scheme had been supervised more rigorously, its success under the social conditions prevailing in Australia would have been purely fortuitous. For forty years the dominant ethos of the colony had been one of individual self-assertion within a framework, first of the military discipline which regulated the penal system, and later of the exactitudes enforced by the opportunistic battle for prosperity. Transportation had created a social system characterized, as Humphrey McQueen points out⁴⁰, by a self-interest which often manifested itself in brutality and treachery towards one's fellows. The arbitrary introduction of a few hundred more women was not immediately going to alter this.

Female immigrants were subjected to the same kind of treatment as the women convicts. Whenever news spread that a ship-load of female immigrants was due to arrive hordes of men would assemble at the docks, waiting to claim their share of the imported goods. Employers seeking domestic servants had to battle with lustful men who had no intention of paying for the services they required. Some of the women received proposals of marriage before they disembarked, but mostly they had to face proposals of a different nature.

When in August 1834 the *Strathfieldsay* berthed at Hobart Town, several thousand men were waiting to greet the female immigrants on board.

As soon as the first boat reached the shore, there was a regular rush towards the spot, and the half dozen constables present, could scarcely open a passage, sufficient to allow the females to pass from the boats; and now the most unheard of, disgusting scenes ensued - the avenue opened through the crowd was of considerable length, and as each female passed, she was jeered by the blackguards who stationed themselves, as it were, purposely, to insult. The most vile and brutal language was addressed to every woman as she passed along - some brutes, more brutal than others, even took still further insulting liberties, and stopped the women by force, and addressed them, pointedly, in the most obscene manner . . . scarcely a female was there, but who wept, and that most bitterly; but this, again, was made the subject of mirth, by the brutes that were present.⁴¹

This behaviour was considered reprehensible by the reporter and so it is evident that there was opposition to women being treated in this

fashion. But the point is that no one, not even the police, was able to prevent it. The men in this case pursued the women to the house in which they were billeted and remained there for three days, making continual attempts to break in. Although the constabulary was able to maintain a guard on the house it could not disperse the crowd. Authority was in a defensive and therefore unstable position.

The same incident illustrates the dilatory nature of the arrangements which the authorities made for the arrival of free women. These women had to wait six-and-a-half hours before being given any food and their sleeping arrangements consisted of 'a few dozen blankets (for nearly 100 women) and as many bed ticks, in which the girls were set to put straw, so that they might have something better than the bare boards to lie down upon.' By contrast the 320 convicts who had landed that same morning had been immediately provided with clothing and rations. The Governor had welcomed them and they were given sleeping berths.⁴²

At times they are excessively ferocious, and the tendency of assignment is to render them still more profligate; they are all of them, with scarcely an exception, drunken and abandoned prostitutes; and even were any of them inclined to be well-conducted, the disproportion of the sexes in the penal colonies is so great, that they are exposed to irresistible temptations: for instance, in a private family, in the interior of either colony, a convict woman, frequently the only one in the service, perhaps in the neighbourhood, is surrounded by a number of depraved characters, to whom she becomes an object of constant pursuit and solicitation; she is generally obliged to select one as a paramour, to defend her from the importunities of the rest; she seldom remains long in the same place; she either commits some offence, for which she is returned to the Government; or she becomes pregnant, in which case she is sent to the factory, to be confined at the expense of the Government; at the expiration of the period of confinement or punishment, she is reassigned, and again goes through the same course; such is too generally the career of convict women, even in respectable families.²¹

These two Reports are tantamount to an official admission of the enforced whoredom which was the punishment endured by the convict women. Molesworth also drew attention to a further discriminatory feature of the women's punishment. No matter what length of sentence had originally been imposed, in practice women were often transported for life. Time-expired male convicts could work their passages home aboard a ship. Women could not do this except, again, by prostituting themselves to earn the fare. This was likely to earn them another pregnancy and another year at the Female Factory, thus effectively extending their sentences.

In 1821 the new Female Factory at Parramatta was opened; it was a three-storey stone building designed by Francis Greenway to accommodate 300 women. It was both a prison and a place of employment; until 1835 women were employed spinning and weaving. (There were two similar factories in Tasmania: one at Launceston and the Cascades Factory in Hobart.) Women in the Factories were divided into three classes. The First Class consisted of women who had recently arrived from England, women who had been returned from service with good character reports, and women who had undergone a probationary period in the Second Class. Women in the First Class were eligible for assignment and to marry. In the Second Class were women who had been sentenced for minor offences and who could, after a period of probation, be transferred to the First Class. The Third, or Crime, Class consisted of women who had been transported a second time or who had been found guilty of misconduct during the voyage out or since their arrival. Convict women who became pregnant, and female immigrants convicted of vagrancy or other offences were also confined in the Factories.

But while the Female Factories would appear to resemble conventional imprisonment, they did not abate the enforced whoredom of the convict women. Rather they removed the women from the sight of the free population - so that they could ignore the ill-treatment and degradation of the convicts - and enabled their systematic abuse to be conducted more efficiently. Even within the new Factory conditions were appalling and; as the number of women transported grew, very overcrowded. The infant mortality rate at the Factories, especially at the Cascades Factory, was high, in contrast to

the low rate for the colony generally.

Within the Factories women were subjected to punishment as well as incarceration. Most despised by the women was the shaving of their heads as punishment for refractoriness. Women were supposedly not allowed to be flogged, but the Rev. Samuel Marsden, a member of the Managing Committee of the Parramatta Factory had one woman, Susannah Denford, flogged and then dragged through the streets of Parramatta behind a dray.⁵² In 1836, one hundred small dark cells were built at the Factory 'in order to try the effect of solitary confinement on recalcitrant females'.⁵³ A frequent form of punishment in Van Diemen's Land prior to Governor Arthur's administration was to force around the women's necks an iron collar which had a long prong on each side of it. This, says Robson, gave them the appearance of horned cattle.⁵⁴ Evidently this was considered an eminently suitable mode of apparel for what was, in the 1812 Select Committee's opinion, a herd of prime breeders. In 1837 a treadmill was erected at the Cascades Factory; such punishment had been meted out to women in Sydney since 1823. This horrendous form of torture had especially deleterious effects on those women sentenced to periods on it. An English surgeon, Dr John Goode, who reported on its effects found that its main consequence was 'a very horrible pain in the loins' which precipitated a greatly intensified menstruation.⁵⁵

Any man, emancipist or free settler, could visit the Factory and choose a wife:

(the eligible women) are turned out, and they all stand up as you would place so many soldiers, or so many cattle, in fact, in a fair; they are all ranked up. . . . The convict goes up and looks at the women, and if he sees a lady that takes his fancy, he makes a motion to her, and she steps to one side; some will not, but stand still, and have no wish to be married, but that is very rare. Then they have, of course, some conversation together, and if the lady is not agreeable, or if the convict does not fancy her from her conversation, she steps back and the same ceremony goes on with two or three more.⁵⁷

It is difficult to ascertain how many had been prostitutes before coming to Australia: Robson calculates that about one-fifth had engaged in full- or part-time prostitution.⁵⁸ So the wholesale adoption of whoredom on coming to Australia has to be explained in terms of the social climate of this country and the expectations held of women. It was deemed necessary by both the local and the British authorities to have a supply of whores to keep the men, both convict and free, quiescent. The Whore stereotype was devised as a calculated sexist means of social control and then, to absolve those who benefited from it from having to admit to their actions, characterized as being the fault of the women who were damned by it.

① If we follow this idea that the women were the victims of an unconscious desire by demeaned males to be superior to somebody, we may arrive at some idea of how this aspect of national identity was formed. The convict women were considered to be far more hardened and of worse character than the convict men; thus corresponding with their degree of oppression. They were hardened by the brutality with which they were treated and some became violent and aggressive. Let us examine the experiences which gave them the reputation of being callous, uncaring and, most importantly, worthless. Convict women were, not infrequently, raped or intimidated on the voyage out and, once here, were housed in female factories which were totally inadequate for their needs. The huts which Governor Phillip provided for them in 1791 were built of unlimed bricks which soon disintegrated. In 1804 Governor King built a room for women over the men's gaol at Parramatta. It was built to house sixty but often contained two hundred or more. When the floors were washed the boards were so shrunken that the water fell through to the gaol below. In spite of the pressing need, Macquarie did not build a new female factory until 1821.⁶ In Hobart the women and their babies were treated with the same lack of compassion and humanity. Many babies died and many were badly emaciated as once they were weaned their mothers had to face punishment for the crime of becoming pregnant and so kept them weak and dependant.⁷

Prostitution was inescapable for many of these women. Those that could not be accommodated in the inadequate

government facilities prostituted themselves for their nightly shelter. The women who were assigned as servants were so harrassed by men that they often chose one man for protection. If they then committed an offence or became pregnant they were returned to the Government and the exercise repeated. Some immigrant women also found themselves in the same position. These too were in danger of degradation on the voyage out and of those that entered service many were seduced. It is no wonder that some such women showed little motherly instinct when they came to the Sydney Benevolent Asylum to have their infants.⁸ Unable to feel love for themselves or their bodies they were often incapable of showing any for their unfortunate children.

Such instances of lack of maternal feeling reinforced the misconceptions of the gentry who believed that "women of 'that class' were of loose morals; women of 'that class' lacked the true 'parental feeling' of women of the women of the investing class, women of 'that' class often committed infanticide..."⁹ This distorted picture of the group of women who formed a very great percentage of the female population doubtless added to the ease with which their sex was denigrated.

We can see then that poor and convict women were treated as scarcely human by the government and were used as scapegoats by their menfolk. The manner in which they were punished shows that they were considered to be more worthless than the men of their class. Victorian

(two)

notions of gentility and femininity did not extend to these wretched members of society. Both free and convict women could be forced to stand in public with their dresses over their heads exposing their genitals for minor misdeameanors.¹⁰ Convict women had to wear heavy irons and suffered far more than men on the treadmill. They received little assistance from their genteel sisters who shared the general male view of them as outcasts.



Japanese women, probably prostitutes, on the goldfields, 1900

GOOD WOMEN

HIGHER STANDS

Mary Jones is her name
Single is her station
Happy be the man
To make the alteration

- Anon.

With the development of capitalism, a related psychohistorical dynamic operated to diminish the personhood of woman. It derived from the need of the rising bourgeoisie to conquer and yet imitate the aristocrat. Bourgeois men, especially those either in reality or, in their own eyes, still in the process of 'making it', had to feel certain 'their' women were as decorative as those of the aristocracy, as 'incapable of useful effort' and thus they were to constitute a badge of 'vicarious leisure', 'to be supported in idleness by [an] owner'.¹⁶ The main reason for the spread of contraception among middle class families was this desire of males to preserve decorative wives.¹⁷ Later, of course, when producer capitalism began to give way to consumer capitalism, the working class tried to ape the bourgeoisie: 'no bloody wife of mine is going to work.'¹⁸ Thus within the western patriarchal tradition, the nineteenth century played a decisive part in

spreading that definition of the female we call 'feminine', far beyond its original historical home in the aristocracy. And so by the mid-twentieth century, one anthropological observer of English folkways could conclude a study of 'differences' in England with these words:

As far as differences in values and attitudes are concerned, the greatest contrast between groups of English people is not that between different social classes or between different regions but between men and women.¹⁹

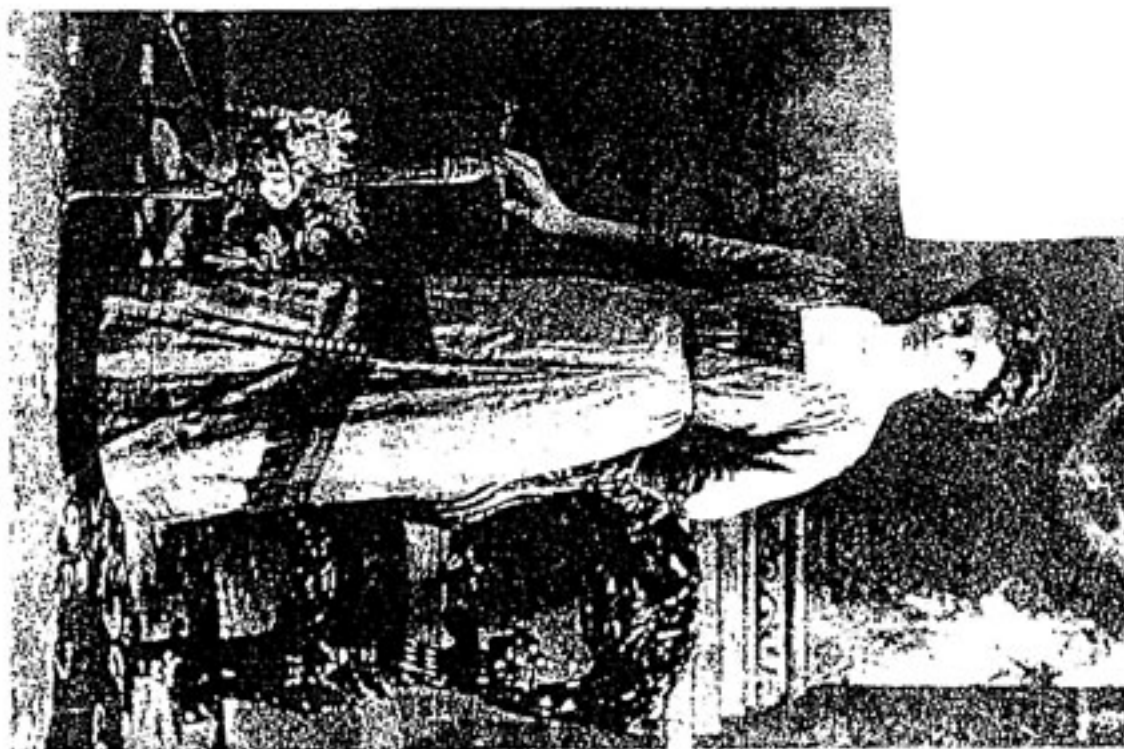
Their vessels landed them on sandy beaches, where they set up tents and lived in sand. They lacked fresh food and shelter, but they had brought their pianos and chandeliers with them. As the Sutherlands, the Australian historians, wrote in 1878:

The colonists, quite unconscious of the future that lay before them, carried out great numbers of costly, very often unsuitable articles . . . It was found difficult to convey this property to the town and much of it was left to rot on the shore where carriages, pianos and articles of rich furniture lay half-buried in the sand and exposed to the alternations of sun and rain.



An arrangement of wildflowers (kangaroo paw and others), photographed in 1911

The grocer's daughter, photographed in about 1912



In Hobart, the *Colonial Times* reported in 1842 that the Governor's wife, Lady Jane Franklin, formed a Ladies' Committee to manage the Female Convict Establishment. In many ways Lady Jane had a punitive approach to the poor, certainly towards women convicts,¹³⁹ and her Committee intended to see that in the 'lowest crime yard', women convicts spent their time in 'breaking stones for the finishing course on the roads'; 'a certain task [had] to be fixed and finished daily, under the penalty of an extension of sentence.'

At any rate, from the first, one finds observers who believed the influence of convict women on that small community was far-reaching. Shaw, we noted at the beginning of this chapter, describes a letter from Mrs Elizabeth Leake to Mrs Taylor: it was 'almost impossible for those families who study the quiet and morality of their children to endure Female Convicts'.¹⁴⁰ Harriet Beecher Stowe believed the entire fabric of family and sexuality in the American slave South was permeated and moulded by the institution of slavery. We've had indications that nineteenth century observers sensed something of the psychic spin-offs from convictism. Keeping in mind Mrs Leake's statement, here is Charles Darwin's comment in 1836:

There are many serious drawbacks to the comforts of families; the chief of which, perhaps, is being surrounded by convict servants. How thoroughly odious to every feeling to be waited on by a man, who the day before, perhaps, was flogged, from your representation, for some trifling misdemeanour. *The female servants are of course much worse; hence children learn the vilest expressions, and it is fortunate if not equally vile ideas.* [My emphasis]¹⁴¹

Good God. When we consider that these wretches in human form are scattered through the Colony, and admitted into the houses of respectable families, coming into hourly association with their sons and daughters [emphasis in original], we shudder at the consequences . . .¹⁴²

A more recent researcher draws a similar conclusion on Tasmanian women convicts: 'Those who left the Factory and went into service became degrading influences in the families where they worked.'¹⁴³ And in 1844 Mrs Charles Meredith pointed to a similar process when she wrote that the 'largest portion' of female convict servants were 'totally unfit for a respectable place . . . from their inherent propensities to do evil, every shape of vice and depravity seeming as familiar to them as the air they breathe'.¹⁴⁴

In 1886 a former Van Diemen's Land convict chaplain who served in the late 1830s, wrote a novel which touched on the domestic impact of convict women:

The settlers, many of them married men, were in many cases improperly intimate with their female servants, many of whom had been on the streets of the great cities at home . . . Young men, who, however wild they may have been when at college or away from their parents, found themselves when staying at the houses of the settlers in veritable brothels, each house containing in the shape of domestic servants its quota of unblushing prostitutes . . . the most disgraceful

scenes were enacted under the roof where the mothers and grown daughters dwelt, and who to their shame be it said were well aware of what was being done.¹⁴⁵

As modernization got under way, women and children evolved from co-workers into millstones, mouths, hostages to fortune. Men could not fail to experience women and children in this context, however else they also experienced them. As women and children dropped out of the paid work structure, their human value diminished; for like it or not, that value seems to be inescapably tied in with work. So since work and love, Freud's famous twins, are inseparable, the nature and force of the erotic bond between man and woman changed: work

relations are a curious, and curiously powerful, source of erotic bonding. Thus, with modernization and industrialization, 'Exit the sturdy partner, the practical helpmate who carried her share of the family's earning and living. Enter the romantic, inhibited, swooning Victorian whose fragility required cossetting (and corseting).'¹⁴ Yes, woman's standing in patriarchal society has generally been derived from that of 'her' man. But the searing and shattering processes of modernization and industrialization cumulatively skewed and diminished that derived status.



An avenue of sand: Lord Street in the 1860s, with members of the Stone family in the foreground.

... The home was seen as a 'vestal temple', impenetrable to terror, doubt and division—a 'Place of Peace'. The married mother was an angel, the father a 'Father in Heaven'; and in this way the moral authority of the Anglican Church was transferred to the family home.¹² In Perth the press printed articles on 'Home and Its Pleasures'. It dwelt on the 'Serene Highness' of the home, where 'dear domestic love and gentleness are the presiding angels'. The 'dear domestic love' of home transcended class boundaries and was found in the 'thatched cottage through which the hollow wind whistles, as well as in the gorgeous palatial pile'. If the father was a 'Father in Heaven', the wife and mother was at one and the same time subordinate and holy: 'Man to command, and woman to obey', as Tennyson put it; yet divine also. The *Perth Gazette* often printed articles with titles like 'The Value of Good Wives', and 'A Little Lesson for Well-disposed Wives', and it wrote of women as the principal guardians of future generations and the most powerful humanizing agents.¹³ In short, the ideal of home and family appealed powerfully to the leading colonists as a way of ordering their own lives and of securing stability and humanity in the lives of the serving classes. Adherence to the institution of marriage would not only humanize the lower orders, but would make decent, God-fearing and industrious citizens who would carry the peace of the home into their daily occupation within their ordained station in life.



Emma Thomson (née Roe): a marriage testament, 1856.

Domestic Happiness

Why has God filled the earth with these little bands of united individuals called families, if He had not in this arrangement, designed to promote the virtue and happiness of mankind? If there be anything which will soothe the agitating passions of the soul, which will calm that turbulence of feeling which the din and bustle of the world so frequently excite, it is the soothing influence of a cheerful fireside. (A man) 'goes out into the world to discharge his duties, and returns to his quiet home for happiness and repose'.

From the diary of Emma Thomson née Roe

The exemplars of the familial ideal were the Governor's wife and the wives of the gentry. Government House and the Governor's Lady were to Swan River society what Queen Victoria and Buckingham Palace were



The Familial Ideal of the Empire: Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, and the infant Duke of Connaught, receive homage from the Duke of Wellington. (Winterhalter, artist.)

to the British Nation and Empire. If ever a governor exchanged cross words with his wife, not a syllable was breathed out of Government House. Mrs Hampton, Lady Robinson, and the rest, cultivated the arts,

engaged in charitable activities, ran a domestic economy, and appeared in public with their husbands. Above all they and their families appeared in church on Sunday mornings. There they sat in the front pews and forgave those who trespassed against them, some of whom sat in the pews behind. The wives of the gentry did likewise.

The God's Police stereotype had by now become so widely accepted that it was taken to be descriptive of what all women were actually doing as well as being prescriptive about what they *should* be doing. There had been a radical change in the position of women since the convict days; most women could expect to marry and to acquire a respectable status as they worked as mothers and housewives within their own homes. Once married, the great majority need not work outside the home because they could rely on the economic support of their husbands. The condemnations and abuses associated with the Damned Whore stereotype had been replaced by the respectful tributes seen as being the due of women fulfilling a moral policing and civilizing role within family and society. But this change was mainly one of status and in ideas about how women should be regarded; the ideals did not always match the reality.

More than once she thought of taking her baby and going to her husband. But in the past, when she had dared to speak of the dangers to which her loneliness exposed her, he had taunted and sneered at her. She need not flatter herself, he had coarsely told her, that anybody would want to run away with her.²³

A good mother could not also be a sexually active person: God's Police and Damned Whores women were seen as polar opposites.

Women who wanted to share the status now attached to maternity had to take care not to preclude themselves with an illicit pregnancy. Those who feared race suicide had to bow before the evidence of a new family size, a size which was pioneered by Australian women, and which was evidently more suitable for local economic and social conditions than the large Victorian family which still straggled on in Britain. They were forced to recognize that the new small family heralded an expanded maternal role for women and not, as some traditionalists had feared, a decrease in women's responsibilities. Women were now expected to be far more conscientious mothers and to attend to the child's social as well as physical formation. This increase in maternal responsibilities enabled the State to exert a greater degree of control over the entire population. Women's economic dependence on men was now enshrined in the wage structure and women were thus firmly tied to their husbands and families. They now had a strong vested interest in ensuring the fidelity of husbands (and hence their opposition to alcohol and prostitution) and the perpetuation of 'the family'.

We must recognize the fact that the women are the mothers of the nation... it behoves us to see that we strengthen their judgement; that we so improve their mental faculties and so raise their intelligence that they will be better

able to perform their duties in training the rising generation. If we wish to have better men we can only hope to have them by giving our children better proclivities, and giving their mothers increased powers to promote their intelligence.²³

This kind of argument was sometimes used by those who believed in women's right to an equal education *per se* in order to win over opposition, but it soon became the major argument for girls' education and, as an article in the *Bulletin* demonstrated, began to replace the earlier ideal:

Women cannot be too learned, provided the learning she has helps her to fulfil her varied functions of mother, nurse, educator and trainer of her children... Woman, as woman, cannot be too much or too well educated; but her education must have the future well in view. On her the nation's future depends. Any education which unfits her for the fulfilment of her maternal responsibilities is not only useless - it is most emphatically a curse.²⁴

Married women were thus discouraged by social attitudes and by inferior wages from taking jobs and were compelled by the new notion of motherhood as a vocation to devote their entire lives to their families.

Motherhood was seen to be an all-consuming vocation, one that could not properly be combined with any other career. The mother was also urged to be responsible for her own housework, a neat ideological solution to a chronic shortage of women willing to work as servants. The 'new' mother of the early 20th century family was supposed to be a capable, responsible woman who wanted nothing more than to keep her family satisfied: she was cook and cleaner and educator of children as well as wife. Her vocation was clearly defined and socially valued. What was not considered was that, despite the opening of tertiary education and membership of the professions to women, the lives of the majority of women were more governed and determined by sexist notions than ever before. Whilst a handful of women could receive an education and follow a career, most women had absolutely no choice but to adopt the career of motherhood which, society said, was their 'natural' vocation.

In the early years of this century a rampant puritanism descended upon Australian society. It was the product of a family-oriented petty bourgeois mentality and its object was to promote and protect family life and, particularly, to enforce its morality on single women. The pervasion of this puritanism marked a victory for Church and State and signalled its success in having imposed upon a substantial segment of the population the view that 'the family' was an institution to be elevated to the highest national respect.

The feminists accepted implicitly the social stereotypes of God's Police and Damned Whore which characterized women in Australia. It did not occur to them to argue for an amalgamation of the two 'types' into an independent, sexually active 'new woman' whose maternal status was irrelevant. They had internalized this derogatory dualistic notion of womanhood so completely that they could only envisage trying to totally eliminate the Whore conception and turn all women into God's Police. They were not prepared to echo societal condemnation of women labelled as 'whores' but adopted a redemptive attitude towards them; hence the various rehabilitative measures they proposed or established.

sexual freedom, or licence as most of the feminists would have it, was too closely associated with the Whore conception for it to be even contemplated. Rather than argue that women enjoy the same sexual freedom as men, the feminists wanted men to acquire the same degree of chastity which they believed women to be blessed with: '... we believe that the stability of marriage and the home depend on our having an equal standard for men and women' said an article in the first issue of Goldstein's post-suffrage paper the *Woman Voter*.²²

the sowing of 'wild oats' by the young man is regarded as a necessity by some and as a trivial offence by others. And yet there will be no hope of a higher marriage relationship until this miserable falsehood be swept away. When a young man has been trained to rigid self-control before marriage, and has enshrined within his heart a high ideal of womanhood, he will approach the marriage relationship in a very different way to what he does now. He will realize that restraint is as necessary now as before, and his former training will stand him in good stead.²³

..... Women were still seen as being able to be encompassed by one of two stark categories, something which the feminists themselves contributed to by their missionary-like attitudes to women classed as Damned Whores.

It is telling that most feminists seemed to be more concerned by this division between women than by any other and this would constitute one explanation for their tardiness in trying to attract working-class women to the movement. They had perhaps unconsciously retained the middle-class assumption that all lower-class women were Whores unless they proved otherwise and while they were ready to bestow benevolent advice on working-class women they do not seem to have actively solicited them to join the movement.

A decade or more of family consolidation took place. The birth-rate rose spectacularly in the late 1940s while large estates of new houses opened up to accommodate families seeking a privatized suburban life. Family life and suburban life quickly became synonymous and were idealized as the most desirable way to live and the best environment for raising children. With these certainties being so confidently asserted it became difficult for women to express whatever doubts they may have had about the restrictions suburban family life had for them. It would have entailed abrogating the security that comes from conforming to a socially approved lifestyle; they would have had to battle against incomprehension and hostility as well as their own self-doubts. 'There must be something wrong with me' was the usual reaction of these restless women; as suburban wives and mothers they were embodying the ideal female existence according to the prevailing ideology. Everyone else professed contentment and happiness so the sources of discontent were seen to be purely personal.

upwards today were socially conditioned to want and to expect to marry and bear children. Some might have been given encouragement

to acquire some skills or training which they could use on the labour market but few women were given to expect that such skills were necessary except for filling in those few years between leaving school and marrying or having their first child. Yet the majority of women, when acquiring the expectation that many years of their lives would be devoted to full-time motherhood and wifedom, were not specifically prepared for it. The shape of their futures was definite but its actual details were hazy and undefined.

For many women, the extent of their preparation for the future was to engage in romantic fantasies about engagement rings and wedding days and perhaps to discuss with a female friend the respective merits of various house plans and interior decoration schemes. Never would it occur to a young woman that, after a few years of marriage, she could be isolated and marooned in a remote suburb in an under-furnished house with a couple of tiny children whose constant demands left her feeling continually tired and depressed. Her husband could be away for twelve or more hours a day if he had long distances to travel to work and also tried to fit in part-time study or a few beers with his friends at the end of the day. Far from feeling fulfilled, a young woman might start to feel cheated, to feel that she had been deceived about the romance of marriage and the rewards of motherhood, as she watched herself disintegrate from loneliness, overwork and boredom.

Yet children are still being inducted into these role expectations. Sex roles are so pervasive and so unquestioned, are so assumed to be the 'natural' order of things that the unhappy housewife seldom considers that this means of dividing people might provide a clue to her discontent. And so she does not refrain from instilling in her children traditional role behaviour and expectations. In this way 'the family' reproduces those very roles which are causing misery to its adult members.

Child-care centres still tend to reinforce a differentiation of the sexes which assures tiny girls that the dolls they play with will one day be replaced by living infants. Most girls still learn not only that maternity is their ultimate destiny but that they ought to tailor their entire lives towards preparation for it.

I adopted the device of analysing the position of women in Australia in terms of two stereotypes because it seemed to provide a faithful reflection of how women are actually categorized within this country, and to explain some of the divisions which exist within the one sex. I have concentrated on the God's Police stereotype both because it is the prescriptive one - it encompasses the behaviour women are exhorted to adopt - and because it seems to provide a key to under-

standing why women so far have not wanted, or have failed, to alter fundamentally their social and political position.

As I have stressed throughout this work, the God's Police stereotype has attached to it a status which acts as both a consolation and a compensation for the inequalities and burdens of women's role. It has been easier for most women to seek refuge behind this status rather than to embark on the difficult and lonely task of trying to change that role.

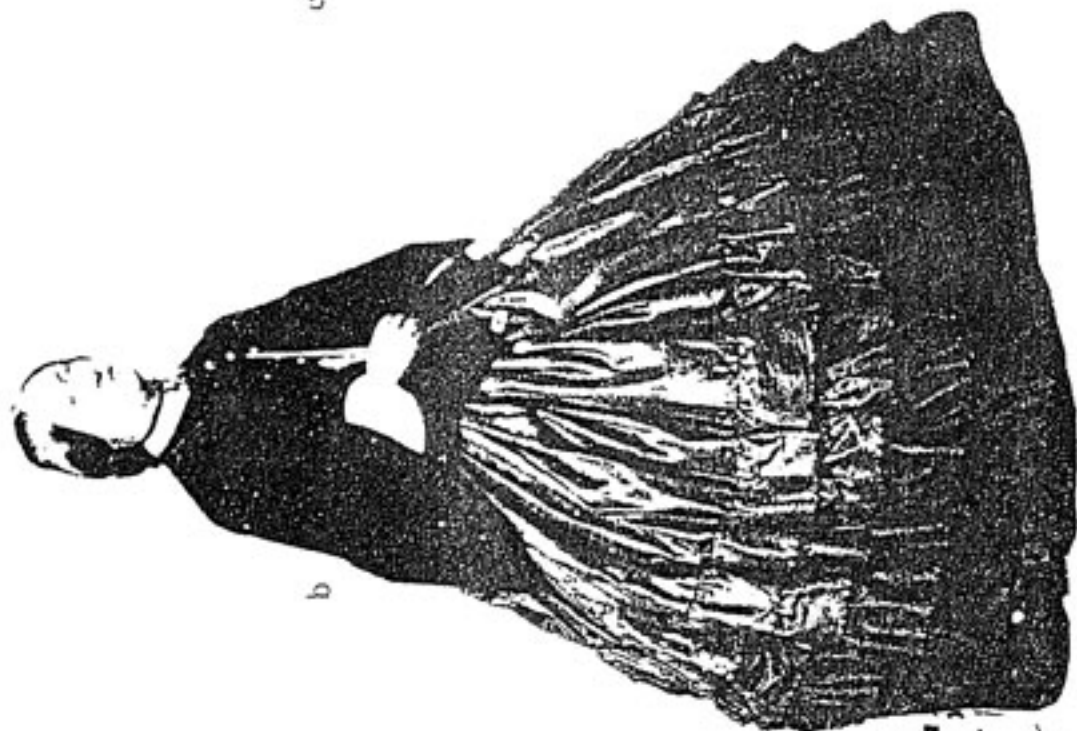
see an awareness of how extensively the God's Police ideology permeates our society - and even the Women's Movement, including the liberation groups within it - as being part of this. If women start to recognize the constraints this ideology places on their behaviour

and on their way of thinking, they will begin to understand how they have become accomplices in the maintenance of the existing order. Because they have performed, or have been expected to perform, a policing role on behalf of the current power-structure for so long now, they are the ones who can expose that role. They can ask: do we need to be policed? Can we not all accept responsibility for our own actions? A social order which cannot function through the voluntary consent of its people, but which requires power imposed from above and an army of moral police to check that it is being obeyed, is evidently not a just or popular order. If women were to refuse to perform this policing function, the power structure would be less secure and the way could be open to making all kinds of radical changes.

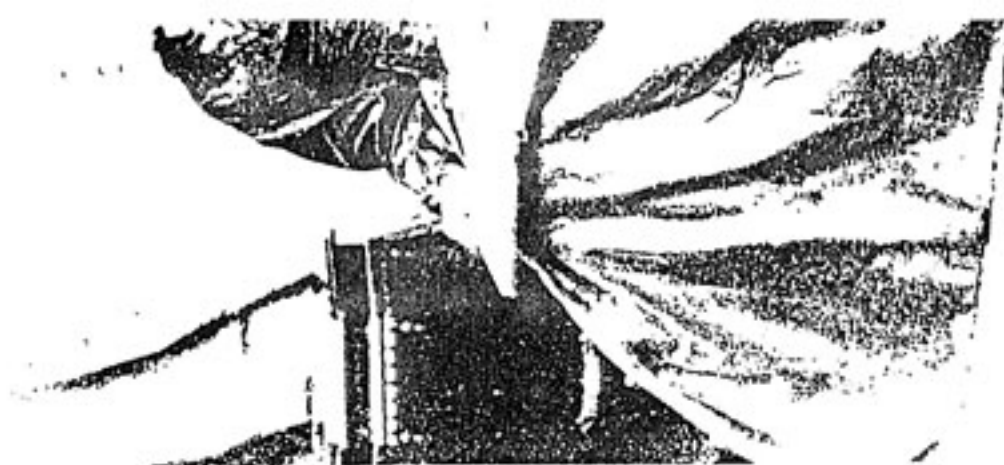
These well-off women were busy shaping a romanticized ideal of womanhood. The Victorian family ideal was placing them on a pedestal whilst at the the same time they had to obey their husbands in all matters of any importance. They had no rights to their own property unless an agreement was made legally at the time of their marriage. This domestic ideal was based on a belief in the essential responsibility of the family for the moral welfare of the community.⁴ Although this ideology was not at all applicable to the 'lower orders' it was the basic rationale behind the education and legal status of women. Even though gentry women were given more responsibility in a pioneer society they were not in any way more emancipated because of this. The support of the ^{genteel} genteel women for the ideology which denied them equality strengthened the formation of Australian male identity.



a



b



c



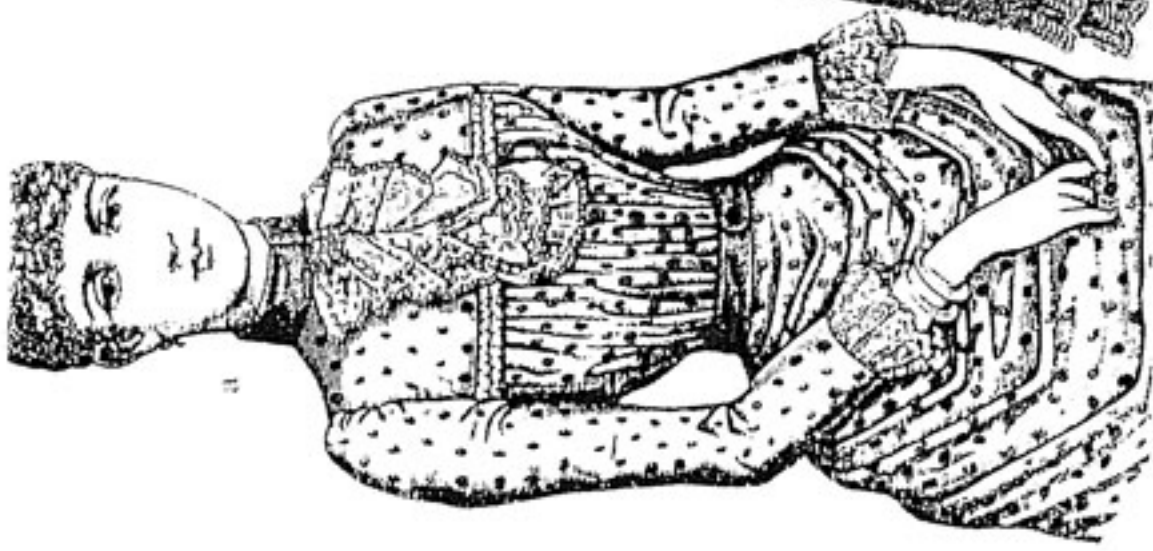
Starting for the Christmas picnic 1865

1865 photo

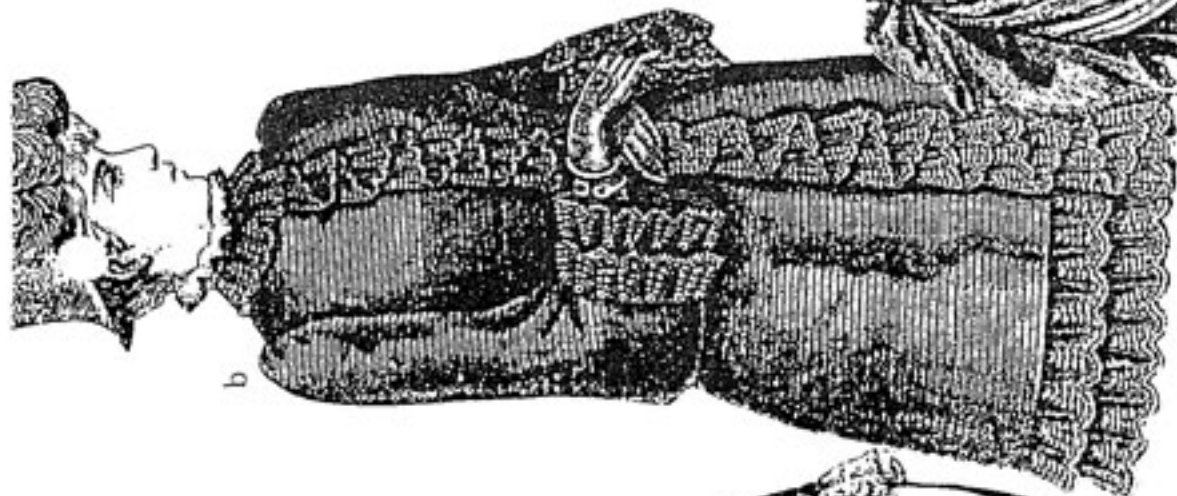
Crimoline with overskirt and cape clasped at the neck

Crimoline with flounces

1865 photo



a - Lady's Costume 1884
 This is a very lovely dress of the French style, made of silk, which is very soft and comfortable. The dress is made of the finest material, and is very comfortable. The dress is made of the finest material, and is very comfortable. The dress is made of the finest material, and is very comfortable.



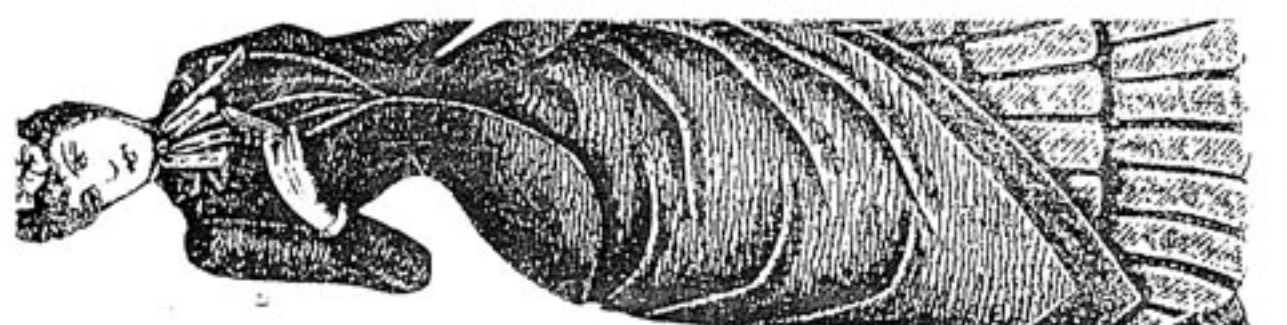
b - Lady's Costume 1884
 This is a very lovely dress of the French style, made of silk, which is very soft and comfortable. The dress is made of the finest material, and is very comfortable. The dress is made of the finest material, and is very comfortable. The dress is made of the finest material, and is very comfortable.



c - Lady's Costume 1884
 This is a very lovely dress of the French style, made of silk, which is very soft and comfortable. The dress is made of the finest material, and is very comfortable. The dress is made of the finest material, and is very comfortable. The dress is made of the finest material, and is very comfortable.



d - Lady's Costume 1884
 This is a very lovely dress of the French style, made of silk, which is very soft and comfortable. The dress is made of the finest material, and is very comfortable. The dress is made of the finest material, and is very comfortable. The dress is made of the finest material, and is very comfortable.



e - Lady's Costume 1884
 This is a very lovely dress of the French style, made of silk, which is very soft and comfortable. The dress is made of the finest material, and is very comfortable. The dress is made of the finest material, and is very comfortable. The dress is made of the finest material, and is very comfortable.

.. The line of the skirt grew wider, supported by six or more petticoats. The upper layer (underskirt) was a horsehair fabric or stiffened cotton. Eventually skirts became so heavy that the fullness was supported by a crinoline cage of steel hoops, suspended from the waist by tapes, or sewn into a petticoat. This allowed a reduction in the number of underskirts and eliminated padding. Underneath, long pantaloons edged with lace, were worn, often reaching the ankles for modesty.

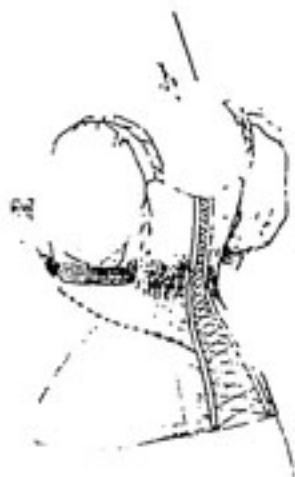
By the 1860's, the skirt had reached enormous proportions. Although the front had become flatter, the fullness was concentrated at the back, lengthening into a train. Layers of petticoats were no longer worn, but the bulk of the weight was supported by a crinoline of concentric hoops of whalebone suspended by tapes from the waist. Double skirts became popular as the decade progressed; the sides were looped up and bunched at the back.

The new decade saw the introduction of the bustle, which was now a light horsehair framework tied at the waist to give fullness at the back. Skirts, slim around the hips, long and trailing into a fishtail, were flat in front, with the back bunched, draped and elaborately trimmed and flounced over the bustle underneath. Overskirts, reminiscent of the *panier*, were draped at the sides and back. Horizontal draping gave extra emphasis to a narrow waist.

The elegant line of the cuirasse bodice and slim skirt with train, continued to be fashionable until the mid 1880's, when the overall silhouette became more exaggerated. The bust, thrown forward by tight corsetry, was enveloped by day and décolleté for evening.

The bustle became far more extreme with the introduction of the 'Langtry' bustle. This was an arrangement of metal bands on a pivot, which raised when seated and dropped back into place when standing. Over this, the enormous bulk of material arched horizontally from the small of the back. Outfits were heavily trimmed, often with real birds and insects.

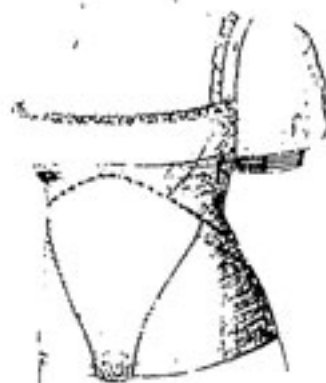
Paris was a dominating influence on fashion, and after a visit to France by the Tsar and the Russian Fleet, the vogue for fur was adopted by men and women alike. Women were enveloped in either complete fur coats or fur trimmings. The fashionable cyclist wore either a divided skirt or baggy knickerbockers called bloomers, with a tailored jacket, man's hat and a stiff white collar.



1810 Corset (French)



1810 Corset (English)



1810 Corset (French)

The 1820's marked a turning point in women's fashions. Styles became more romantic, influenced by the sixteenth century. The waistline resumed its normal position, tightly corseted, even for small girls, and was often emphasised with a wide sash or belt.

Skirts, which early in the century were still fairly narrow and weighted by frills, flounces or a band of fur, now became fuller and wide, thus introducing the 'hour-glass' figure. Extra fullness at the back was achieved by tying a small rolled pad, or bustle, under the skirt.

Despite the harsh conditions under which they lived and worked, these women still followed the fashion and were aware of changes taking place. They did not appear to develop any variations to suit the environment.

Skirts gathered, pleated or dome-shaped, became longer, reaching the ground. They were swathed over many petticoats and a horsehair pad known as a crinoline. This differed from the more cage-like crinoline of the 1850's and 1860's. Often the skirt was layered in flounces, 10 to 12cm deep.

Sleeves were tight-fitting or were full on the lower arm.

The boned corsage fitted tightly. The lines of the bodice were designed to emphasise the low pointed waistline.

TABLE 4-1. (Continued)

Decade	Evolving Fashions	Social Environment and Social Change
1940s	<p>Fabric rationing and fashion simplicity forced by World War II.</p> <p>The "New Look" of 1947, longer and fuller skirts, a Dior designer influence. Fashion interest and rate of fashion change increase.</p>	<p>Women working in factories during war.</p> <p>Women ready for a change from wartime austerity?</p>
1950s	<p>Increasing youth interest in fashion. California youth-fashion influences. Male fashion interest increasing. "Unisex" fashion trend begins. Women wearing pants. Diversity in clothing styles, colors, and fabrics. Abstract and modern art influences. Many well-known fashion designers in Europe and United States.</p>	<p>Young people have financial ability to pursue fashion interests (Squire, 1974). Families becoming child-centered. Interest in fashion by age groups begins to displace traditional status symbolism functions. New roles for men and women emerging. Man-made fibers becoming an important clothing functional component. Growing influences of the mass marketing and retailing economy. Rates of social and technological change increasing. New occupations, inventions, communications (television), population mobility, entertainment, sports interests.</p>
1960s	<p>Continuing trends toward unisex styles. Youth ("hippie") styles emphasize comfort and practicality rather than status symbolism (Reich, 1970; Harris and Johnston, 1971). Fashion emphasis on young styling in general. Pants become an important women's fashion. Mini-skirt lengths grow in acceptance. Durable press clothing arrives.</p>	<p>Changing sex roles in society. Youth challenges to traditional values and symbols of adult society. Feminism becomes a contemporary active movement. Increasing emphasis on individualism. Communal living in certain population subsegments. Generally, a decade of social reforms.</p>
1970s	<p>Increasing fashion interest among men (McQuade, 1971). Future of business suit challenged (Johnston, 1972). Diversity in women's style is the greatest in fashion history—pants suits, many dress lengths, variety in color and fabric choice, leisure and sportswear trends.</p>	<p>Relaxing of social and sexual norms, greater belief in individuality and freedom of choice. Changing marriage and family patterns. Highly developed mass marketing and communication system. New concerns with environment and conservation of resources. World-wide inflation. Thirty eight million women in the labor force.</p>

The Folk Society. The folk society is a traditional and nonindustrial society, characterized by a small population, geographic isolation, limited communication, and close family relationships. Clothing is created by a simple technology using few tools and limited skills of production. It may be created from natural resources such as leathers, shells, animal skins, vegetation, and natural pigments from resources such as clay. Conformity in dress is prevalent, and young people learn the customary ways of dressing from their elders.

The Agrarian Society. This society is characterized by its development and use of basic agricultural techniques. Dress is created by cultivating natural fibers and using basic technological crafts including spinning and weaving to produce fabrics. Social life remains centered around the family and customs, although as the wealth of the society increases, certain differentiations between social classes and ways of living will emerge. Variations in styles of dress may begin to emerge in this type of society.

The Urban-Industrial Society. This type of society has evolved to a relatively high level of industrial/technological development, and the population has become urbanized. Clothing is created and marketed through a strong economic system, and variety in types of clothing is wide. The social organization is heterogeneous, being composed of many social strata, value systems, occupations and social roles. Interest in rapid fashion change is stimulated by the combination of increasing wealth, industrial capabilities, and increasing social opportunities that characterize the society.

The Mass Society. The mass society may be considered the highest level of societal modernization to date. The combination of mass production, mass communication and mass marketing is a central characteristic of the society. As a technologically oriented society, it is capable of producing an almost infinite variety of fashions for virtually every need and social event. Though the society is extremely heterogeneous in terms of social organization, the mass system also has the effect of homogenizing the types of products available and the tastes of consumers.

"Homemakers." The 68 women in this group represent the "traditional kitchen bound housewife." Her consuming interests centered on appliances and foods. Women in this group were in lower-income, "working-class" brackets, and their lifestyle was categorized in terms of "doing one's best" on limited income.

"Matriarchs." This group of 18 women was similar to the "Homemakers" but was also consumers of mass media and had higher incomes. They were described as "more secure" with their lifestyle.

"Variety Girls." This group of 32 women appear to have a "balanced" emphasis on their roles. Their consuming interests emphasized a balance of products including media, clothing, cosmetics, and appliances. They were among the older and higher-income individuals in the sample.

"Cinderellas." The 25 women of this group demonstrated a combination of homemaking and "glamour" orientations. They seemed to represent a conflict between being tied to the home and wanting a more glamorous lifestyle. They were among the older and lower-income members of the sample.

"Glamour Girls." This group included 32 women who were highly oriented to clothing and cosmetic products and constituted a fashion-oriented group. They were generally young upper-income women with the fewest number of children.

"Media-Conscious Glamour Girls." The 14 women of this group were characterized as "externally" oriented, away from housekeeping. They were oriented to mass media, clothing, and personal care products. They were found in the highest income and occupational prestige categories and were among the oldest respondents in the sample.

The contrasting patterns of consumer behavior and the particular function of fashion in several lifestyles are especially noteworthy in each of these groups.

An investigation by Gurel, Wilbur, and Gurel (1972) suggests a different approach to analyzing lifestyles and consumers' fashion-oriented behavior, one which focuses on contrasting orientations to dress within a single market segment. Though their research did not directly focus on the relation of lifestyle to consumer choice, their analysis has interesting implications. The study was conducted on a sample of 302 high-school students in a relatively affluent suburb of Washington, D.C. The researchers' objective was to identify relationships between personality and choices for clothing styles. What emerges is a picture of six identifiable orientations toward each of which distinctly implies (in the fashionable language of the late 1960s) an associated

"Dressy." This group of students emphasizes careful dressing with "conventional" clothing. For boys, dress shirts, slacks, coat, and tie are the norm. Girls emphasize "dressy" skirts, stockings, and shoes with heels. Both boys and girls emphasize careful hair grooming. The pattern of dress would be appropriate for church or for eating at a "class" restaurant.

"Sporty" or "Collegiate." School clothes of conventional styling is the norm with this group. Boys wear sport shirts, slacks, and sweater combinations. For girls, dress includes skirt combinations, shift dresses, or jumpers. This group is similar to the "dressy," but sports less dressed up.

Natural Habitat

Natural habitat is a fundamental environmental influence on forms of dress developed by a society. Particularly, the availability of resources and the climate in a geographic area combine to encourage the adoption of certain forms, while virtually excluding the acceptance of others. The forms of clothing, in their basic construction and materials used, also represent how a society has adapted to these features of natural habitat.

The development of clothing is vitally dependent on the availability of certain resources. Natural resources such as vegetation (leaves, reeds), fibrous plants (cotton, flax), animal skins, and animal hairs (wool) are among the most basic natural resources from which yarns and fabrics may be produced. Petroleum products and other organic chemicals may also be converted to fibers and fabrics. Dyes and other coloring agents may be used for aesthetic purposes. These resources are unequally available across geographic regions, and certain kinds of clothing have been developed in part because of the presence of those resources that can be converted into clothing.

Forms of clothing can also be designed for use in different climates. Clothing can be climatically designed to provide the wearer both physiological protection and warmth, while maintaining convenience of movement. Although the human body can provide some adaptation to climate and climatic changes, clothing can be formed to increase human adaptability substantially. For example, contrast the clothing desert in a region with that for an arctic region; or, consider the variety of desirable forms in a region with extreme seasonal changes in climate, as in many Northern states. In each case, some features of the form are occasioned by the physiological needs of its wearers, which are partly determined by climate.

The protective function occurs when clothing effectively screens out direct contact between the body and the natural environment. Comfort is enhanced when clothing maintains the consumer's preferred body temp.

Although any class of [fashion] product—the dress, the automobile, the chair—will always to some extent have its own design history, ultimately taste in all its ramifications is powerfully integrated around one central point of reference: the style of life characteristic of a society in a particular era. "The lady of the house" is seldom disposed to adopt fashions in one compartment of her life which are of a different taste vantage or vintage from those in another. There is always a master stylistic code (Robinson, 1961, p. 397).

Attitudes and Values

Underlying the American lifestyle are some basic attitudes and values concerning what society and its individual members hold to be desirable and important determinants of behavior.

Sociologists Mack and Pease (1973, p. 96) identify six values that characterize American society:

1. Belief in the desirability of material success and national progress;
2. Support of increasing education and literacy as a means for coping with individual and societal problems;
3. Belief in the value of size, as evidenced in the support for large skyscrapers, large schools, large corporations, and large cities;
4. Belief in the fast pace of life, as manifested in increased population mobility and rapid communications and transportation systems;
5. Emphasis on constant newness and novelty, in such areas as the news, drama, crazes, and fads;
6. A desire for "domination"—over other people and over all aspects of one's life.

Similarly, consumer analyst Markin (1974, pp. 471-74) points out a number of attitudes and values of our society:

1. Americans tend to judge various human activities in terms of polar opposites: things may be judged in terms of being moral or immoral, successful or a failure, practical or impractical, right or wrong.
2. Americans view work as something to be done regularly and purposefully, but with the underlying objective of getting ahead in life; work is also judged as something which must be done in order to obtain opportunities for leisure.
3. Americans are generally optimistic about the future.
4. Americans have traditionally believed that man rules over nature, and that the natural environment and its resources are something to be enjoyed.

Much of what is done in American society is influenced by religious morality, in terms of what is deemed good or bad. For instance, working and providing for a family are deemed as good, and similar standards of morality are placed on the consumption of some products and services.

Americans support the principle of equality. We reflect this "classless" orientation by supporting casual and unpretentious living styles. However, a norm favoring competitiveness exists, which attaches some unequal rewards to those who succeed versus those who do not. An overwhelming American value is materialism. This is emphasized mostly in the high values of pleasure and prestige attached to various forms of consumption.

Many other values are evident in American society. A high value is placed on family life, affluence, technological progress, social participation, personal security, conformity to social norms, individuality, self-expression, pursuit of leisure, freedom of choice, and willingness to change. Recently, attitudes favoring conservation of the environment and careful use of natural resources as well as concern with economic matters (inflation and recession) have also become prominent.

The 1970s saw some traditional values challenged. For example, the belief in hard work as a means to success was challenged by a new ethic of "the fun culture," hedonism, and indulgence (Carpenter, 1974). Belief in materialism and preoccupation with status symbols has been replaced by a "humanism of values," including an emphasis on environmental concern, conservation of resources, and social equality. The central institution of the family and family life has seen new patterns of marital and family relations emerge (DeJong and DeJong, 1977).

The Fashion Object

The first element for analyzing the fashion process involves characterization of a fashion object. This involves identifying what is unique about the object that encourages a process of fashionable behavior toward it.

Perhaps the most obvious characteristic of a fashion object is that it is continually subject to change and obsolescence. The life of a fashion object is short.⁷ For the majority of fashions, this period might range from several months to several years. Objects enduring for decades or centuries may more properly be termed *customs*, although customs may begin their lives as fashionable behavior. However, the truest fashion objects have temporary lives.

A second characteristic of a fashion object is that it does not necessarily have a *proven superior utility*. That is, it may not be a more useful or practical object than the one it replaces. Acceptance of the object is based more on such factors as newness, novelty, or perceived appropriateness, rather than on its purely practical superiority.

A third characteristic is that a fashion is a *social product*. That is, the styles accepted as fashionable are defined in the course of social interaction among people. The pressures of social conformity within groups of people help determine what is a fashion and what is not.

Finally, a fashion object may be characterized as a *communicative product* with symbolic social meanings. For instance, the particular style of the object might visually differentiate certain social features of the wearer, including his or her social status, wealth, social role, and affiliation with certain social groups. As a new fashion comes into acceptance, consumers will learn these symbolic meanings, and further adoption of the fashion may then be based on whether or not consumers perceive these symbolic meanings as desirable.

Integrative Analysis

As stated earlier, identifying the preceding eight elements simplifies the analysis of consumer behavior, but it is still important to remember that the acceptance of a fashion is a single systematic process of consumer behavior. Therefore, to summarize the analysis presented in this section, the following discussion integrates the eight elements of fashion analysis into an overall conception of the fashion process.

The process begins when a *potential fashion object* is introduced to consumers living in a particular *environment*. That environment presents certain positive influences and constraints, which ultimately determine the object's acceptance. Fashion leaders are the first *adopters* of the object. Their decision to adopt this new object is based on certain *functions* that they expect the object to perform, their psychological and social *motivations*, and the informational *communications* they receive concerning the object. Later adopters of the object are similarly influenced by certain functions, motivations, and communications; however, these influences can differ dramatically from those influencing earlier adopters.

As time passes, the object reaches a discernible *level of acceptance* which finally qualifies it as a *fashion*. The fashion process is also continually undergoing *dimensions of change* as time passes: changes in the adopters, motivations, communications, and level of acceptance. Ultimately, these changes lead to the decline and obsolescence of the fashion. A new fashion process then emerges, and a new object takes the place of the old.

Later chapters place individual emphasis on how each of the eight elements contributes to fashion analysis. Several chapters also focus on synthesizing the sort of integrative analysis just outlined.

The function of sexual attraction has also been linked to changes in fashions by the notion of *safing erogenous zones* (Flugel, 1930; Bergler, 1953):

Fashion is no more than a series of permutations of seven given themes, each theme being a part of the female body: the breasts (neckline), waist (abdomen), hips, buttocks, legs, arms, and length (or circumference) of the body itself. Organs "appear" and "disappear" as the theme of fashion changes, and one and then another part of the body is emphasized by succeeding styles (Bergler, 1953, p. 117).

According to this hypothesis, changing fashions stimulate sexual interests by constantly shifting visual attention to different parts of the body, the erogenous zones. As one part of the body may lose its sexual appeal from overexposure, new styles emerge to conceal the old appeal and draw attention to a new appeal. And, with so many erogenous zones to expose, there is no lack of opportunity for continual renewal of sexual attractiveness through changes in fashion.

Central to my conceptual scaffolding are aspects of Louis Hartz's theory.⁶ Hartz pictures Australia as a fragment 'spun off' the body of industrializing Western Europe at a moment when the 'lower orders' were beginning to influence communities in a way, and on a scale, never before seen in history. To Hartz, we are a bit of working class Western Europe, a freak fragment of Europe 'charged with the proletarian turmoil of the Industrial Revolution',⁷ a community truncated at birth ~~and~~ during formative decades, of an aristocracy, and of the upper and some of the middle reaches of the bourgeoisie. Established as a penal colony in 1788, Australia lacked an aristocracy and even a middle class of much solidity or national pride. For a long time, as Russel Ward points out, national pride was left to the 'lower orders',⁸ and on the whole was considered a mark of their natural inferiority. Ward's key concepts fall within a

Hartzian framework, and I agree with both that the 'lower orders', partly through the relative weakness of higher strata, had an unusual, and, for the nineteenth century, unique influence on our national mores. We are renowned throughout the world for this fact. We are also more well known than we imagine for the curiously low standing of our women. I submit that the two are causally related. In large part because the 'lower orders' have bulked large in shaping national identity, the vision of woman in that identity is, for a western nation, unusually impoverished. The psychosocial mechanism I see as mediating this impoverishment is captured in these words from John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women*:

And how many thousands are there among the lowest classes in every country, who . . . because in every other quarter their aggressions meet with resistance, indulge the utmost habitual excesses of bodily violence towards the unhappy wife, who alone . . . can neither repel nor escape from their brutality (and whose dependence makes them believe) that the law has delivered her to them as their thing, to be used at their pleasure, and that they are not expected to practise the consideration towards her which is required from them towards everybody else.⁹

Not for one moment am I arguing that Australian working class males, or Australians, are *physically* brutal to women: I'm trying to get at the psychology involved. Women's overall standing tends to be lowest amongst males whose own social standing is closest to the bottom rungs of the status hierarchy. Such males demeaned (and demean) 'their' women as a largely unconscious device to make up for the (usually unacknowledged) anguish they experienced as a result of their own demeaned position on the status ladder. In patricentric-acquisitive societies, personal self-evaluation finally stems from one's location on that ladder, and no consciously-held ideologies, even the most radical, even the most passionately and elaborately protested, can save men from this relentless and ugly fact. The women of males on the lowest rungs of the ladder internalized the proffered definition of female worth and they became what 'their' males needed them to become.

Since the value structure enveloping the early casual poor was contoured basically by those on the top rungs of the status hierarchy, accepting hierarchy meant, for the casual poor, accepting a demeaned version of their human worth. All the brave defiance, all the triumphalist ideologies in the world couldn't and can't ultimately shake this core acceptance. One last consolation, however, was left to the casual poor and naturally enough they tended to clutch at it: their women could be more demeaned, more lowly, than they. In this, too, for the most part they were imitating their betters.

Because self-evaluation for a casual poor male turned largely upon his position in a dominance hierarchy, he tended to demand, by way of compensation, that his woman occupy a lower niche in that hierarchy; and he simply failed to experience her as sexually relevant, sexually on his wave-length, if she did not meet this status-requirement. So we may see the man who mistreated Mayhew's young prostitute as unconsciously trying to undo his own feelings of profound worthlessness and despair by ensuring that 'his' woman felt worse. This might ease his own pain, dilute it through passing it to another, and might help fill the abyss.¹⁰ A destructive magic, which intensifies the initial *causal*, and a universal, not entirely unconscious, mechanism, most of us know a bit about.

There is a specific historical hypothesis that has been formulated by Freud. In short, it says that just as childhood experiences have a great impact on the organism and make a disproportionate contribution to character . . . so do experiences in the childhood of a nation, its formative period, lastingly and indelibly influence national character and outlook. . . . What we mean then by the childhood of a nation . . . is the time during which the group was formed and stabilized [emphasis in original] - in which the ethos common to the group came into being and was accepted and the mutual identifications established.

National or other groups, may have more than one formative period, more than one childhood.

Such periods, according to the Freudian hypothesis, are particularly sensitive periods, and experiences of these times have a lasting

imprint on the future life of the group . . . because it is the period in which the group is formed and stabilized it is also a time of success in terms of the group values. The behaviour and the methods of the time have thus 'worked' and become deeply engrained in the people's memory . . . They are transmitted as memories from generation to generation; they are also re-enacted in countless social situations from earliest childhood on and their efficacy is thus proved in what amounts to self-fulfilling prophecies. It is hardly possible for later adverse experience to dislodge convictions so deeply rooted . . .¹²

Much that was admirable came out of our formative decades, but much that helps explain Australian woman's not-quite-western low status also came out of them: violence, brutality, widespread prostitution and a concomitant generalized contempt for women;* male addiction to the company of males and heavy drinking; and a reverence for muscle-over-mind, which masked envy and manifested hostility towards the intellect. And no catharsis, no blood-letting on the scale of the American War of Independence erupted to seriously modify early patterns in Australia's development. Indeed, later experiences and processes - the goldrushes, for example - often also served to etch some early lines deeper.

This nation was settled and continuously repopulated by people who were not personally successful in confronting the social conditions obtaining in their mother country, but fled those conditions in the hope of a better life.

Dallas's article also sheds additional light on the baffling lack of commitment to community of so much of the Australian elite strata: 'the slave-minded ruling class', he observes at one point - referring to formative times. Like American slave masters, many raped the soil and moved on to a repeat-scenario. But Dallas remains a true Australian in some ways. His focus on women is very slight.

National identity was formed in Australia by the working class. This group, consisting of convicts, emancipists, currency people and free immigrants, made up a far larger proportion of the population than in the old world. There was no traditional aristocracy and only 3.1% were middle class.² In the early days these gentry people did not exert attention as how they attempted to preserve the manners and values of England and their influence on the formation of national identity was therefore small.

The convict and immigrant men came from the very poorest sector of British society. All their lives they had been locked into a system which degraded and demoralised them. The only people ~~that~~ ^{on whom} they could relieve their frustration ~~on~~ were their women who bore the brunt of their inability to prosper. According to Miriam Dixon the men wanted the women to feel even more unworthy than they themselves did. This process did not begin in Australia but was brought with them from their place of origin: "The casual poor mental-universe of early nineteenth century London lived on in the antipodes."

The rest tend to be males under all-male and danger-fraught conditions: e.g. mateship-men at Gallipoli and Ned Kelly's all-male gang; or males who are loners and rolling-stones, nineteenth-century Ockers, eternal sexual adolescents, one feels, exuding wariness or fear about women, and often themselves virtually womanless. Henry Lawson and Ned Kelly will do as examples. In short, Australian gods were and are largely misogynist.

During the formative times of all States, except South Australia, women were widely treated with contempt, in its many variations, and often with brutality. We have never outgrown the former attitude, and our women are still deeply, if unconsciously, impoverished by this dominant cultural characteristic.

Aborigines, then, perhaps convict women were treated somewhat like an outcast group. If, as repeated use of the term by historians suggests, there is such a thing as a 'formative' period for a culture's folkways, we have to ask whether the caste-like situation of convict women has contributed to shaping our sociosexual patterns. We will never know. But if out of distaste for the thought, we reject the possibility, then we ought also to reject the very notion of a 'formative' period. Or is it only admirable, or at any rate less horrifying, qualities that can be handed down from formative times?

English, bourgeois strata, our bourgeoisie is a *bourgeoisie manqué*: and our bourgeois males relentlessly, often consciously, compared themselves with English élites. Thus they suffered acutely from a sense of being less than whole, from a sense of something missing. The uncertainty characterizing the middle layers, combined with the militant philistinism of the bottom, produced a 'notably derivative and dependent society in its culture and institutions',⁷⁵ and a 'strongly imitative, conventional . . . people who have never quite ceased to feel insecure'.⁷⁶

This sense of inadequacy in relation to England contoured the outlook of the Australian élite in endless ways: it gave rise to what A. A. Phillips has called the 'cultural cringe',⁷⁷ to much of what Roe describes as 'the derivative element'⁷⁸ in our culture, which we can probably run to earth in an undefined desire to be more English than the English, more genteel than the genteel.

If we are to take seriously the idea of 'imprinting' and 'formative experiences', we can scarcely ignore the importance, within our early élite, of military men. High and low alike, their souls were pervaded and poisoned by the logic of their vocation, 'war, the most absurd and vicious of all the games that men play'.⁸⁰ Military men are probably finer specimens of male-bonders than mateship men – though as the celebrants of Anzac have reverently demonstrated – the categories are hardly exclusive. Military institutions are best understood as western analogues to Melanesian men's houses, whose atmosphere, Kate Millett tells us, 'is not very remote from that of military institutions in the modern world: they reek of physical exertion, violence, the aura of the kill, and the throb of homosexual sentiment . . . Citadels of virility, they reinforce the most saliently power-oriented characteristics of patriarchy'.⁸¹ An

early value-structure imprinted with military *mores* could therefore contain few notable feelings of fellowship towards women, who were largely irrelevant institutionally, economically and, to a curious extent, sexually.

Studying the labour movement and its ideologies since about 1950, I developed a theory about how ideology operated in the personality,¹ and concluded that, despite democratic, radical and even socialist ideologies, in cultures pervaded by or falling under the sway of the individualist achievement ethos (England during the nineteenth century, for example), working-class and middle-class men alike ultimately valued, and value, themselves according to that ethos. Despite sometimes passionate avowals to the contrary, men on *low* and *middle* ranges of the status ladder tend, and have long tended, to accept a definition of human worth which in the first instance derives from men on the *top* rungs of that ladder. But men on lower ranges have insisted – the process is largely unconscious – on one final consolation: 'their' women shall stand lower on the status ladder, and thus lower in their own self-evaluation. If women do not accept a lower standing and self-evaluation than their men, they tend to evoke a strange, usually unacknowledged, anger, and the male fails to experience them as sexually relevant, or sexually on his wave-length. This might be a consequence of the hierarchical nature of patriarchal societies, though it is critically exacerbated in capitalist societies.

and continuously repopulated by people who were not personally successful in confronting the social conditions obtaining in their mother country, but fled these conditions in the hope of a better life. . . . [Thus] we gained a critically undue proportion of persons who, when faced with a difficult situation, tended to chuck the whole thing and flee to a new environment."²

"A further reason for the low standing of Australian women derives indirectly from the fact that Australian elite males experienced unusual uncertainty about issues of authority and legitimacy. Like the United States, we lacked an aristocracy which, for better and for worse, has contributed in central ways to these issues in Western European lands. But as certain Marxists rightly point out is common in colonies, Australia (unlike the United States) lacked even a robust bourgeoisie. We also failed to experience anything analogous to the 1776 War of Independence, that cathartic blood ritual which helped separate American sons from a still powerful English father. Ultimately, women had to reflect male self-doubt. Though Australian male colonists steadily developed ideologies proclaiming increasing self-belief and clarity of identity (a prevailing one at the moment being Ockerism) they continued and continue to experience a massive uncertainty about these very things. So, in their colonial relation with England (an external relation), Australian elite males fell back on the same unconscious compensatory mechanism males deploy to cope with status-doubts about internal relations within a given community. Using women as the eternal mirror to validate themselves, Australian elite males, we proposed, stumbled on ways of ensuring 'their' women should feel even less certain of themselves, even more constricted in their self-definition.

However, prepared for it in infinite ways since babyhood, women overwhelmingly chose marriage when given the chance. Despite a fairly persistent surplus of males, it's not certain they got that chance quite as much as the figures might suggest, because many of the single men were not the marrying kind. Nor, for that matter, were a lot of the men who did marry. . . . For a long time, employment opportunities for women were in any case extremely limited, but choosing marriage on the scale they did meant that, unlike a good many nineteenth-century English women, Australian women opted out of the chance to mount pressure to enter the paid work force, especially at its higher levels, where most worthwhile status was generated. And choosing marriage also meant Australian women opted into an institution whose nineteenth-century form, if not its historical core, was (perhaps irreversibly?) tainted with inequality. And inequality rules out full-hearted and authentic human companionship.

This book also stresses the impoverishing effect on women's standing of the high value our community placed, from formative times, on single-male-staffed 'robber' and 'raping' industries such as whaling, sealing, fishing, wool, and mineral extraction; and the lower value placed on family-centred agriculture, which demands some kind of 'wooing' of mother earth. Women may achieve a far higher standing from this.

seems to have brought about a spread of the institution of marriage and an increased airlessness to its inner climate. This is both a cause and reflection of the many ways in which that century, because it saw an increased flowering of acquisitive capitalism, also witnessed an unparalleled diminution in the personhood of woman. That diminution pervades the entire Australian formative experience.

Yet of course the nineteenth century also saw the emergence of counter-currents, which are now beginning to take women, roughly speaking, back to that level of derived status more widely enjoyed by pre-industrial women. Those same currents are also taking some women towards a non-derived status, a style of being a person in her own right. But as to the outcome of it all, and as to what balance history will finally strike between the two tendencies, who can say?

The mechanisms males deploy to manage their own inner feelings of self-doubt tend, on the whole, to be pretty crippling to women.

Christmas was one of those festivals which reminded the young of the motherland: 'it is becoming fashionable and we, at this antipodean distance from the mother country, are determined to do Christmas in Western Australia . . . family gatherings, large puddings and a profusion of Christmas flowers'.⁷⁰ Even a main meal of hot roast beef made practical sense in an era without ice

boxes, especially if a servant could be employed to do the cooking. The festival was also used to teach the children about charity—whether for lunatics⁷¹ or Aboriginal children: in 1873 the Church of England Native Mission had a Christmas tree laden with presents given by white children for black children, 'children of the most powerful and most civilized nation in the world to those of, we will not say the most, but we may say one of the most degraded'.⁷²

They wanted to employ men 'with no encumbrances'⁷³ so they would not have to provide rations for unproductive women and children. They were happy with the existing situation whereby there was a supply of whores who could keep their men from becoming too restless and whose offspring could be supported by the Government.

With the beginnings of mass immigration to the colonies and the development of an alternative ideology about the function of women, the enforced whoredom of women could no longer be so blatantly maintained. It was replaced by the more subtle controls of the institutions of marriage and motherhood.

Transportation to Australia ceased in 1852 and by that time the Damned Whore stereotype was no longer dominant even though it persisted as a label for the *demi-mondaine* who became outcasts, forgotten or ignored by respectable society.

It was inevitable that the social engineers of Australian society would look to England rather than to another colony, or former colony like the United States, for the values they wished to implant. The great majority of the immigrants who peopled Australia in this nation-building era came from the British Isles, most of them from England, and the greater proportion of settlers in Australia were of British descent. However much they aspired to a new way of life or wanted to declare their political and economic independence from Britain, they retained links with the parent nation which were founded as much in cultural obsequiousness as in simple nostalgia or the desire to maintain contact with relatives. The English immigrants came to Australia convinced that the British political and economic system deserved emulation; what they also brought with them was the hope that this system would work more successfully for them in the new land than it had, for the majority of them, in the old.

The mechanic who emigrates to this colony has the same object as the capitalist. Ask anyone what he came to the colony for, and his answer will be: to better his condition.⁴¹ Rather than bringing in his baggage the predisposition to establish a socialist Utopia, the immigrant came hoping to imitate the bourgeois class whose monopoly of the wealth in England had forced him to leave his native land. What enticed him, argues McQueen, was 'the prospect of establishing, not a classless society, but a one-class society, and that one class would be petty-bourgeois in orientation. Even those who failed were subject to the attitudes of those who succeeded.'⁴²

Strange to say, too, the well brought up and pretty maidens of the middle and servant classes of Sydney do not appear to be much sought in marriage. Yet it is undoubtedly in these classes that the well-known preponderance of males exists. The single men do not want wives, and the responsibilities and encumbrances of family life. They prefer working hard - working like slaves - four or five days, and 'larking' the rest of the week.⁴³

These conditions in colonial Australia enabled working-class individuals and families to adopt the bourgeois family as their lifestyle. They could inhabit, and often purchase, their own cottage, thereby fulfilling the requisite of family privacy. Wages were high enough for a man to be able to support his wife who need no longer slave in factory or mill, but could remain at home, engaging in the never-before-experienced task of having an entire house to care for, and babies - who thrived instead of dying in their first year - to look after.

The idea that women ought to be homemakers and full-time mothers was beginning to gain credence in England at this time. In the 1830s and 1840s a host of books appeared, written by both men and women, which sought to establish the precise place of women in society and to set out the exact duties of the wife and mother of a family. The most common line of argument was that 'the sphere of Domestic Life is the sphere in which female excellence is best displayed' and advocates of this thought that it was a woman's fundamental task to create a home that would provide an environment of emotional stability for her husband and children.⁴⁴ In Australia after the 1840s, working-class people could realize these goals and it was these concrete aspirations involving their everyday lives, rather than abstract political notions, which brought thousands of immigrants flocking to these shores and which enabled 'the family' to be established as a basic unit of social organization with a widespread rapidity that was probably unequalled anywhere else in the Western world.

The sexual division of labour and responsibility was confirmed by the granting of universal manhood suffrage in all colonies - women, who were by now increasingly confined to the home, were presumably supposed to be represented by their husbands' or fathers' votes. Early industrial unionism was designed to secure better wages and conditions for men and was conducted on the apparent assumption that only men were in need of this protection. Women workers had to toil without such benefits.

By 1890 there were large numbers of women, especially single working-class women, in the workforce. In 1891 over 40 per cent of all women in New South Wales between the ages of 15 and 24 were in employment; most of them worked as domestic servants but increasing numbers were going into factories.⁴⁵ The majority, in both occupations, had to labour long hours for pittance wages. In 1888 William Lane, the radical socialist who was later to found a Utopian colony in Paraguay, wrote:

The position of working women in the cities of the colony is becoming worse and worse every year . . . They are becoming herded in stifling

workshops and ill-ventilated attics . . . They are forced to stand all day behind the counters of large emporiums . . . They are 'sweated' by clothing factories, and boot factories . . . the children too are being dragged into the slave-house of toil; little ones are working in factories and shops, and the Law, instead of rescuing them . . . stands by to ply the whips on their backs if they revolt.⁴⁶

the 'God's Police' stereotype of women. Caroline Chisholm had thought that the mere presence of large numbers of women would be sufficient to alter the mores of convict Australia; she was confident that what she considered to be women's innate desires for marriage, children and homes would, if encouraged by the authorities, secure a reversal of the Damned Whore stereotype. What she did not see was that the God's Police stereotype was just as much an imposition on women as the one it replaced.

There was an important difference, of course, in that the new stereotype was seen, especially by women themselves, as a vast improvement. But the situation was a very rigid one which allowed only two possible choices to women about what to do with their lives. They could be wives and mothers, or workers in surrogate-mother jobs, and win respectable status - and lose all independence to the authority and economic support of their husbands. A subtler form of exploitation but exploitation nevertheless: because women were doing what was supposed to be 'natural' to them, they were not expected to want any monetary reward or even any independent identity. They had status and the kind of power, formerly held by priests, that is acknowledged but resented by men, but their lives were now firmly circumscribed by the limits of home and family. They had lost all powers of self-determination. There remained another alternative, although class and other factors mediated to determine the extent of choice involved in its adoption. The Damned Whore stereotype did not disappear but was now applied to women who were outside the confines of family and maternity; it applied to the *demi-mondaine* who were, by definition, unrespectable. These were the women who worked in pubs, or as prostitutes, who were sexually free, who had 'illegitimate' babies. They were still victims of exploitation although, ironically, many of them were more independent than their more respectable counterparts.

In the Victorian middle-class family where the wife was debilitated from annual childbirth and where, in any case, female sexuality was denied, the existence of armies of prostitutes had served to satiate the sexual desires of husbands. The distinction between mothers (madonnas) and sexual creatures (whores) was clear and, as has been argued so far, was embodied in sex stereotypes which categorized and described women's functions. Once women could control their fertility this distinction could no longer be so rigidly upheld: the possibility of wives engaging in sexual activities without pregnancy being a probable consequence meant they could start to value sex for its own sake. It also meant that single women could be sexually active without having either to bear an unplanned child or else be forced into marriage.

The idea of wives as sexually active, and moreover, sexually interested creatures, was abhorrent to the God's Police stereotype as articulated by Caroline Chisholm. Even more so was the notion of single women 'losing their virtue' since virtuous wives were seen to be the foundation of 'the family' and of the nation. And if women were to curtail their fertility to the extent that they were having only three or four children, instead of the huge families of the mid-nineteenth century, then, prophesied many, the race itself was in danger of extinction. There was a lot of lamenting about race suicide and the dangers of Australia being over-run by the more fertile Asian races to the north but behind most of this moralizing was the fear that 'the family' was in jeopardy. If the rigid distinction between madonna and whore could not be enforced, and if women refused to bear more than a few children, how could the mother remain the central figure in 'the family' and how, without her dominating

maternal presence, could 'the family' survive? These were the kinds of reasonings employed by the authorities of Church and State and it was these questions which were to be resolved during the first decade of the new nation.

alternative image of an independent and fulfilled existence. But their efforts were not assimilated into the repertoire of roles available for future generations of Australian women; the pervasiveness of the God's Police stereotype condemned these women to defensive eccentricity. The social world they constructed around themselves was either ignored or ridiculed; they were pitied because they did not have children; they were assumed to have no opportunities for sexual expression and were categorized as frustrated. They were pointed out as warnings to young girls who read too many books or entertained ideas of professional achievement.

The two ideals, the right of women to remain single and not become social pariahs, and the right of married women to work, involve a similar set of assumptions. Both require the erosion of the sexist characterization of women in terms of their relationship to a man and in terms of their success in the motherhood stakes. Women must have the same freedom to combine various sets of activities that men do and not have their social worth assessed by one suffocating standard. The battle for the educational rights of women did very little to change this. That the struggle was not carried through is hardly surprising for it was not difficult to perceive the social revolution involved in that proposition. Those who argued for women's equal education on the grounds that it would better equip them for motherhood helped ensure that the battlegrounds would not be drawn. It was conceded that women might have to support themselves if they were unable to find husbands, or if they were widowed, but this contention simply reinforced the idea that women, particularly middle-class women, worked not from choice but through personal misfortune. The rights of the single woman to a secure social status were rarely discussed except in terms of the 'problem' they posed to embarrassed families. By the early 1890s it was starting to be recognized that married women might engage in a wide range of activities outside the home, but these must always be altruistic activities performed in a spirit of bourgeois benevolence and never for monetary reward.

They were in effect denying that women, like men, have multi-faceted natures, each part of which desires satisfaction. While it was never questioned that a man had the right to enjoy love, fatherhood, home and the job by which he made his living, the patriarchal assumptions of the 19th century attributed to women one over-riding vocational desire and elevated it to the status of an instinct. Motherhood defined women and represented their ultimate fulfilment; any other activity on the part of women was activated by economic necessity or because of frustration of this 'natural' destiny. Thus these educated women were faced with what one English feminist labelled 'the intolerable choice'; the desire for an intimate human relationship with the satisfaction of bringing up children, and the wish to fulfil those ambitions which her vocation-oriented education had instilled in her. Those who chose the latter might be praised for their professional capabilities, as many of our early doctors were, and their altruistic endeavours received high social sanction, but the insulting epithets 'bluestocking' and 'spinster' were continual reminders that in society's eyes they were only half-women, part of whose essential natures remained frustrated.

If Her Majesty's Government be really desirous of seeing a well-conducted community spring up in these Colonies, the social wants of the people must be considered. If the paternal Government wish to entitle itself to that honoured appellation, it must look to the materials it may send as a nucleus for the formation of a good and great people. For all the clergy you can despatch, all the schoolmasters you can appoint, all the churches you can build, and all the books you can export, will never do much good without what a gentleman in that Colony very appropriately called 'God's police' - wives and little children - good and virtuous women.

CAROLINE CHISHOLM, *Emigration and Transportation Relatively Considered*, 1847

... Caroline Chisholm was to set a pattern for women who followed her into public life in Australia. Her work was philanthropic, but practical; it opened up a new field which official policy had neglected; it led to changes in both legislation and administrative policy; it was directed to ensuring public and private morality and ensuring a more stable foundation for family life; and it did a great deal to offset the rough masculinity of colonial society. All this, moreover, was achieved without a head-on clash with Victorian conventions, and without raising any issue of principle about women's rights.

NORMAN MACKENZIE, *Women in Australia*, 1962

Our business being to colonize the country, there was only one way to do it - by spreading over it all the associations and connections of family life.

HENRY PARKES, NSW Legislative Assembly, 14 August 1866

... The bourgeois family required wives who were sexually faithful and who, ideally, were virgins at marriage. Wives were seen by the bourgeois class as a form of property and as instruments of reproduction; husbands wanted their property to be untainted and they wanted a guarantee that they had fathered the children they were obliged to provide for. In addition, as the wife's functions increased and she undertook the moral guidance and elementary education of the children, it was seen as essential that she conform to bourgeois moral standards. So, although a woman characterized as a Damned Whore could marry and raise children, the stigma of the stereotype would brand her forever, in the eyes of society, if not her husband, and her fitness for performing these functions would always be called into question. The kind of women who were seen as being ideal wives in the bourgeois family were those who had led thoroughly respectable lives, who knew little of the world and especially of its seamier, that is, sexual, side, and who were prepared to submit to the authority and opinions of the husband who was regarded as the undisputed master of the bourgeois family.

Caroline Chisholm was no feminist and she was well aware of the contradiction between her own political and public activities and the function she wanted other women to fulfil. But she felt compelled to act, and to neglect her own family, in order to see other families established and within them, women policing the morals of their husbands and, indirectly, the entire colony. Thus her public life in no way set a precedent for women to follow. She herself was opposed to any measures which would discourage women from marrying. While arranging employment for single women, she wrote:

... the rate payable for female labour should be proportional on a lower scale than that paid to the men ... high wages tempt many girls to keep single while it encourages indolent and lazy men to depend more and more upon their wives' industry than upon their own exertions thus partly reversing the design of nature.⁵⁰

Her philosophy of women's role was rapidly and widely accepted for she was voicing a view which was evidently compatible with the rapid and stable growth of colonial society.

During the 1890s teachers' salaries had been cut, and female teachers had been dismissed, teacher-training had been restricted and school building had been limited.⁵⁸ Even more importantly, the view of education being directed towards purely pragmatic ends was vindicated by the fight for economic survival; there could be no question of enabling women who were not economically distressed to compete for male jobs. The traditional male/female division of labour was asserted to be the only possible way to arrange the economy and if education for girls was to be compulsory then it would have to be a form of education which would equip them to perform their traditional female functions. Thus schools providing technical and domestic arts training for girls were introduced in all states while the syllabuses in high schools were altered for those girls who did not plan to go to university.

The old principle of equal secondary education was reversed and the majority of girls, their future vocations assumed, received what was considered appropriate training for fulfilling their female destinies:

The old system with its divisions into full high schools, intermediate high schools, domestic science schools, involved far more differences than mere changes of names. The actual content of education differed, subject matter varying both in nature and degree of treatment. Mathematics, science and languages were three important areas that were treated superficially or ignored in the intermediate highs and domestic science schools catering only for girls. Even in such an apparently common subject area, English, vast differences in types of text books were clearly evident. The whole stress in girls' education in such schools was on a commercial/domestic level, but with a commercial course designed to produce lower level office personnel, certainly not executive staff, and a domestic course basically designed as a general background course for girls who would eventually marry, having filled in their time up to then in that vast army of unskilled female labour on which many areas of our economy still rely.⁵⁹

... far-reaching implications, for it made the sharp distinction between the rates of pay suitable to 'men's work' and those for 'women's work'; it explicitly stated that job protection for males was desirable; and if necessary should be ensured by equal pay; and it expressed the view, still widely held, that if women are offered wages comparable to those earned by men they would be 'dragged from their homes' by this inducement and the traditional roles of the sexes and the stability of family life would be imperilled.⁶⁰

By 1900, then, women in Australia were an oppressed sex. This seems to have come about for various reasons. As well as Miriam Dixson's psychological theory, it is ~~thus~~ that: "In all the acts defining who could or could ~~not~~ work, the superiority of the male in physical strength and other intangible qualities was acknowledged, and the inferiority of the female tacitly accepted as the grounds of her exclusion from employment." Women were considered lower on the scale of creation and, to some extent, tended to ^{act} out the role which they had been given; owing to the social conditions and attitudes of the time could not become independent enough to escape from their demeaned positions. Women as sexual objects or as a moral influence were acceptable but there was no reason to treat them as equals. This attitude became firmly engrained in the Australian male identity and the influence of the early experiences of both sexes was to continue to exert itself for many years.

The relationships between white men and aboriginal women, although sometimes long lasting, did little to help racial understanding. The aboriginal woman used sexual intercourse to cement social ties which was not recognised or understood by her partner. To the white man it meant that the woman lacked a sense of morality and this increased her worthlessness. In turn these whites angered the aborigines by not fulfilling the kinship obligations that ensued from such a union. The preponderance of men and the liking of aboriginal women for tobacco and alcohol meant that these unions were common. Miriam Dixson suggests that they "contributed an early layer to the general low esteem in which women are held in our country."

The bush and the way of life from which the Australian ethos grew were hostile to women. In the outback they had to struggle, not only against nature, but also against itinerant men many of whom had no compunction about taking advantage of these isolated women. Barbara Baynton's short story "The Tramp" written in 1896 gives a horrifyingly clear account of the murder of a young woman.¹⁷ This unfortunate woman meets her death not only through her murderer but also through her fear of going for help to her unsympathetic husband. In spite of extreme hardship women in the bush still attempted to live up to the domestic ideal. Henry Lawson's story "The Drover's Wife" gives a good picture of the isolation and loneliness which many women experienced; alone with only her children and a dog for six months or more at a time: "As a girl she built, we suppose, the usual air-castles, but all her girlish hopes and aspirations are dead. She finds all the excitement and recreation she needs in the Young Ladies' Journal, and, Heaven help her, takes a pleasure in the fashion plates."¹⁸

The Committee Concerning Causes of Death and Invalidity in the Commonwealth reported in 1916-17 that "fully 25 per cent. of the sick children in Melbourne are tainted with Syphilis and that about 10 per cent of the total number of children are syphilized."⁴⁴ Between 1 July 1917 and 30 November 1918 there were nearly 10,000 registered cases of venereal disease in Melbourne but since only a fraction of infected cases were registered, it has been suggested that there may have been as many as 80,000 people (of a population of 743,000 in 1919) afflicted.⁴⁵ However, when the suggestion was made in the Victorian Parliament that medical examination of both parties be compulsorily effected before marriage, the response was that it was more important to protect the modesty of decent women than to protect society from the contamination of promiscuous ones.⁴⁶

This is not meant to imply that I think it is merely a matter of radical women identifying with the Damned Whore stereotype. As we saw in Chapter Seven, this division between women has been an important means of keeping them quiescent. If we see liberation as a process of eradicating the social and economic divisions between people, as a means of decentralizing power and making self-management possible, then the stereotypes have to be transcended, not perpetuated by a new group of women. Women have to be seen as individuals, and as human beings, not as stereotyped representations within a moral dualism devised to perpetuate the patriarchy. To this end, it is obviously important for all women to refuse to countenance this dualism, and for those who perhaps pride themselves on their God's Police role not to be party to denigrating those women who have been categorized as Damned Whores. Nor can they adopt a patronizing or redemptive attitude towards their so-called 'fallen sisters'. Both attitudes perpetuate the divisions imposed between women by men. Women could help negate these divisions by publicly identifying themselves with women in the condemned groups, not by romanticizing them to heroic status or by blindly ignoring the poverty or suffering or discrimination these women usually have to endure, since this too denies their humanity and the reality of their present lives, but by identifying with them as women. Our common sex is a fragile bond - but it is all that we have with which to break down these divisions.

Once women start to understand how and why they have been divided from each other in this country, to see the purposes the stereotypes have been made to serve, then the possibility of eroding them begins to exist. Then, as Sheila Rowbotham points out, once we understand ourselves in relation to one another we can begin to

understand our movement in relation to the rest of the world. Then we can begin to use our newly-acquired self-consciousness strategically. Then, the prospect of finding the ways to struggle for liberation will not seem so remote.

RESEARCH:
PAUL THOMAS

Work for, Something.

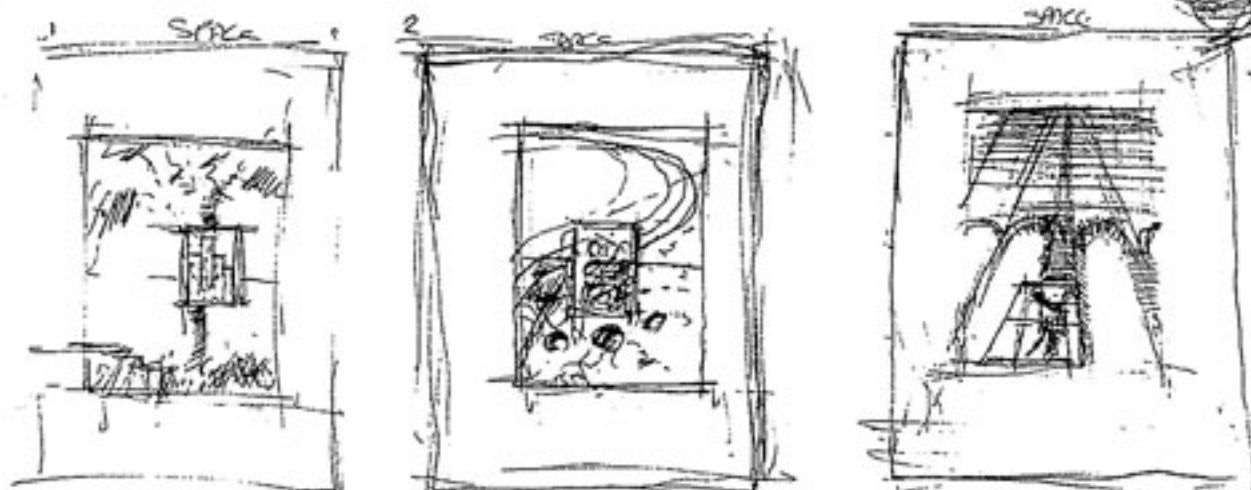
DIRECTION.

Whether visual value judgements can be recognised and then presented by placing out of context.

- 1 The research will take the form of finding images in the city that reflect the values of the people living around them then by trying to place them in different positions in a natural environment.

The information will come from an examination of the photo's and then be either reworked or not made from them.

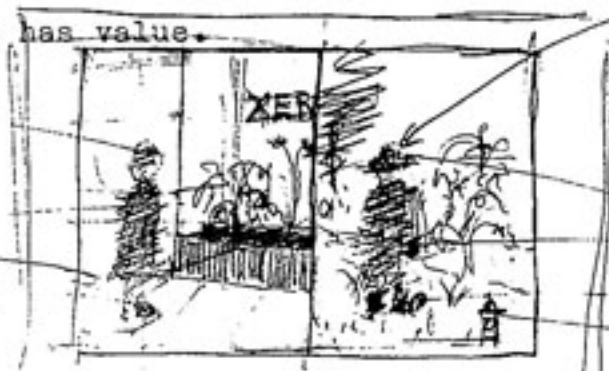
value judgements on Special Awareness?



- 2 The research will be to place my self in city environments and then trying to recreate that environment out in the bush and see how i relate to the

The information will then be used to asses my values what has value.

No hat
100% pure
Pine
anti dry
shirts
Normal shoes
or Thinner



Looking at a similar photo.
Assessment to
see if relating
the only way he
can
shelter sun
have for his
costs for clothes
should be covered



find out about - atmosphere

- 3 The research will be to take photo's of myself holding photo's that relate to Perth out in the bush and also at the beach, Using myself to show that i am white and the reflections are of a white person.

1.
1
20
4
2
9
180
170

lots
at home
meaning is
overcoming

do with
the paint
show
white lines



noted: exposed beam

white col. features

Photo
Photos of Japan
Befitting people here

out of order
try to return

Waves
sketch

Spans
white

Workday on my lakes in relation
to the landscape

sketches

Photo & sketch



to have
to climb
down

VALUES EXPRESSED

If it doesn't have any meaning why stay? what is it, as opposed to other places that keeps one here. Trying to examine if I am really afraid of the bush, the heat, the dryness, it could be that the work is about not belonging therefore trying to make yourself belong.

I don't value what isn't mine and never will be, the sand takes back what you have made. So it seems that nothing can be sustained in this environment only existed with, implanted cultural ideas have no part. it seems that any ideology must be ready to be swept away by the sand. This seems to relate to my thoughts on nothing being important here. thou now ~~that~~ any thing which appears in this place must be ready to revert back to nothing.

Research into the Urban environment

For example, when a few architects in New South Wales published the latest broadside against non-

design in 1966, called *Australian Outrage*, the critic Max Harris called them old fogies and found the photographs ravishing. 'Vulgarism,' he wrote in *The Australian*, 'is the very life force and dynamic of an affluent urban free-enterprise society. . . . We have to incorporate outrage into our aesthetic. We can't stem the irresistible cultural tide, but we

The disease of Featurism, which sweeps Australia in epidemic proportions, is hardly less virulent and threatening anywhere than modern technology and commerce are in coalition. In describing the horrible Australian symptoms of this distressing international complaint, the one thing I

have intended to prove is this: that every object made by man has its own integrity; that it should be an honest thing, made with an understanding of all its functions and with a sense of order. To learn how to make things like that is the main problem and duty of professional designers of all sorts; but this is a social problem too. To learn to appreciate sound design when it does appear is part of the essential artistic education of everybody; so it seems to me.

urate features. Featurism is by no means confined to Australia or to the twentieth century, but it flourishes more than ever at this place and time. Perhaps the explanation is that man, sensing that the vastness of the landscape will mock any object that his handful of fellows can make here, avoids anything that might be considered a challenge to nature. The greater and fiercer the natural background, the prettier and pettier the artificial foreground: this way there are no unflattering comparisons, no loss of face.

To hide the truth of man-made objects the Featurist can adopt one or both of two techniques: cloak and camouflage. Each has its special uses. Cloaking changes the appearance of materials, and camouflage changes their apparent shapes. Cloaking of common materials with more exotic finishes has always been a favoured practice in Australia. After technology arrived in 1867, in the form of the first wood veneer saw, the practice of sticking a film of imported wood over the plain native boards gradually grew to be routine in furniture manufacture. Now wood veneering is accepted in the

Examples from the book *The Australian Ugliness* by Robin boyd

Many sensitive Australians are uncomfortably aware of the rootless nature of their artificial environment. Nevertheless Featurism is frequently perpetrated as much by the artistic section of the community as by the commercialisers, as much by sentimentalists as by the crass and uncaring. As the suburbs grow outwards, as the holiday resorts round the beaches and on the hills fill with campers and weekenders, the continuous process of denudation accelerates. It is the same non-pattern of unrelated snippets of blight whether the countryside which is being overtaken happens to be beautiful or barren. Nature's features of beauty — the waterways, glades, hills, headlands — are not so familiar in the neighbourhood of Australian cities that one would expect them to be treated with contempt, yet the process of their development is this:


Meanwhile, in the commercial streets, where Featurism thrives in the knowledge of its economic justification, the diversion of attention from wholes to parts grew steadily more agitated. Lettering and illustrations, crying for attention to the wares of each little shop, grew from fairly discreet signwriting to huge placards and cut-outs. Hardly a section of external wall in the shopping streets was left without commercial announcements as Australians grew after the middle of the twentieth century into the most vigorous and undisciplined advertisers in the world.

For years Australians have been noted for seeking an answer from visitors. 'What do you think of Australia?' 'How do our cultural achievements stand?' 'Is our work world class?' Amiable visitors respond by praising the high peaks of development. Less agreeable ones condemn the troughs, and the nation seethes with anger at them. For what was requested of the visitors was not criticism, favourable or unfavourable, of specific efforts, but something more fundamental: an assurance of how the averages stand, how the standards stand in the world scene. If one is not an initiator, if one lives by copying, it is essential to be reassured on such points at regular intervals.

But what has happened to the wild colonial boy, the weathered bushman, and the sentimental bloke that they are reduced to this? The typical Australian of folk-lore was too well-adjusted to worry about others' opinions of him; he knew where and what he was. Visitors built up a picture of him. 'Quick and irascible, but not vindictive,' said J. T. Bigge in 1820, looking at the first native-born generation. 'Un-energetic, vain and boastful, coming too quickly to a weak maturity, too content in mediocrity,' said Anthony Trollope in 1871. 'They have no severe intellectual interests. They aim at little except what money will buy,' wrote J. A. Froude in 1886. 'They have too often the self-sufficiency that is gotten on self-confidence by ignorance,' said Francis Adams in 1893. 'They have in their underside,' he added, 'the taint of cruelty.' Max O'Rell in 1894 agreed, but found Australians also 'the most easy-going, the most sociable . . .'

And look more closely. Follow the successful Featurist with his neatly creased jacket-sleeves and his four-button cuffs when he leaves the office in his two-tone Holden (light pink with plum feature panel) and goes home to have tea in the

feature room: the room he calls the sunroom: the one that he used to call the back parlour, the one the American now calls the family room.



The room's main feature is not really the feature wall in the yellow vertical v-jointed *Pinus Insignis* boards, nor the featured fireplace faced with autumnal stone veneer, nor the vinyl tiled floor in marbled grey with feature tiles of red and yellow let in at random, nor the lettuce-green Dunlopillo convertible day-bed set before the Queensland Maple television receiver, nor any of the housewifely features hung on the walls; nor the floor-stand ash-tray in chromium and antique-ivory, nor even the glass aquarium on the wrought iron stand under the window. The real feature of the room is the tea-table, groaning with all kinds of good foods set in a plastic dream. The table top features hard laminated plastic in a pattern of pinks resembling the Aurora Australis. The table mats are a lacework of soft plastic, the red roses in the central bowl are a softer plastic, the pepper and salt shakers are the hardest of all. And, soft or hard, all this plastic is featured in the most vivid primary pillar-box red, butter yellow, sky blue, pea green, innocent of any idea of secondary or tertiary tints, and all strikingly prominent against the pale, hot pastel tints of the flat plastic paint on the walls; all vibrating like a chromatope beneath the economical brilliance of the fluorescent tubes on the ceiling. The main feature of the feature window is immediately apparent: the venetian blinds featured in a pastel tint. But look again and discover that this is more than one tint; every slat of the blinds is a different pastel hue. And if you look more closely still you may discover, if this is a very up-to-date house, that every aluminium blade of the blind carries a printed pattern, perhaps of tiny animals done in aboriginal style. Everywhere, the closer you look the more features you see, as in the old novelty picture of a man holding a portrait of himself holding a portrait of himself holding a portrait of himself, until the artist's and the viewer's eyesight fail.

11

The failure of Australia to come to terms with herself - worse: her failure to have the least desire to come to terms with herself - can be largely explained in a phrase: the cult of pioneering. The early period of discovery, exploration and taming of the country coloured the national outlook till long after the frontier was pushed back out of sight of the corner window of Mon Repos in Hydrangea Crescent. And when Australia grew a little too long in the tooth to cling any more to the blanket excuse of youth a new pioneering period opened and revived the spirit.

Despite the lack of water, and the national fear of drought, and the general agreement that dryness could be the worst impediment in Australia's boundless future, the object of the pioneering cult is to remove all sight and sound of water from everyday life. The city waterfront is the place only for wharves and warehouses. Factories have always gravitated to the river valleys where they had wonderfully convenient natural drains for the disposal of dyestuffs, sewerage, and industrial refuse. The lowness and the thicker undergrowth beside rivers and creeks also recommended their valleys as official or unofficial dumping grounds for suburban refuse.

Despite the natural tendency of the country to overheat, despite the blistering outback legend and the constant search for relief even in the milder areas during the hottest weeks of summer, the object of the pioneering cult is to banish all shade from everyday life. Every lot is cleared for yards in all directions before it is considered safe for building.

Despite the nation's lack of attractive, dramatic historic background, and the temporary look of most of man's feeble efforts to subjugate the natural elements, despite the political advantages of national symbols at a time when the northern Asian waters are growing uncomfortably warm, the object of the pioneering cult is to push aside old buildings, whatever their historic or architectural interest, without a moment's misgivings - without the knowledge that there is any cause for a moment's misgivings, if the space is required for a car park or an unloading dock.

The object of the pioneer cult, in short, is to clear all decks for action, to reduce everything to the same comprehensible level so that something new can be put on it. The pioneer has never a moment's doubt that what he puts up will be better than what he tears down. In fact all he achieves is a more intense reduction of character in the background culture, allowing him even more freedom for the application of momentarily satisfying features.

That it is lazy man's design is no concern to her. Featurism gives the required effect by the simplest means to people

anxious to get on with the practical things of living. Featurism satisfies those who care least about appearances as well as many aesthetes who care most about beauty, and Australia has, by the law of reaction, a considerable number of the latter to counter the majority in the former class. All she lacks is any sizeable body of people, between the two extremes, prepared to contemplate natural and manufactured objects as they are without comforting masks or contrived eye-catchers. Australia is content with Featurism because it can make anything prettier without anyone building up a head of steam over principles. Featurism gives the desired effect without anyone having to work Saturdays to get the whole thing right. This is reasonable; anything more would be sheer fussiness.

It is inevitable that Australia should be drawn deep into the aura of American influence in this second half of the American century. However, there is a difference between being stimulated by ideas from another country and copying the detailed shape of its thinking, habits, and fashions. The former is normal international cultural exchange, and America makes no bones about being in this market. She absorbs ideas from outside with avidity, but she changes and develops them. Australia's method of copying America, on the contrary, is in the second category: the Chinese copy, the parrot's imitation, the little boy mimicking his big brother's actions without fully understanding what he is doing. As this is one of the best ways to kill one's own national identity, Australia today, culturewise (to use a favourite Australian means of expression), is sinking out of sight into the Pacific.

But Australia, mouth open, blind to the extraordinarily high average of her own standards, swallows the American unofficial propaganda intact. Every intelligent American is, of course, as aware of faults in his own country as all Australians are aware of Australia's shortcomings. Where he differs is that he is only self-critical, not self-destructive. He recognizes faults and difficulties, but he sees them set against a sunny background, an ever-broadening horizon, and unwavering lines on millions of graphs rising firmly and steadily.

ances they change sooner or later into cowboy clothes. Singing, one of Australia's most notable native talents, is done silently. As the recorded voices of California's favourite singers roll on along their relentless, changeless hit parade, young Australians occupy the screen, mouthing the words and engaging in desperate soundless antics in a sort of last rite of American worship.

And what is Australia's essential truth? Something too big and frightening to contemplate, thank you. For the present it is much wiser and safer not to be too definitive; and why need one be when all the trimmings anybody could wish for are available for the picking in the cultural markets overseas?

This is how one turns to Featurism. Not prepared to recognize where, when, or what he is living, the Australian consciously and subconsciously directs his artificial environment to be uncommitted, tentative, temporary, a nondescript economic-functional background on which he can hang the features which for the moment appeal to his wandering, restless eye. Thus he shapes his houses, industrial areas, towns and cities, often making them carefully, sometimes even beautifully in an indeterminate way, but almost always non-committally. He knows that he can change the features tomorrow if necessary without much trouble. He does not care that the only thing of any meaning in art, the only creation, ultimately the only satisfaction in life, lies in understanding himself and making decisions accordingly.

The highest-paid Australian actors or actresses receive, while a season lasts, less than a competent carpenter is paid continuously. A municipal council in 1955 advertised for a refuse collector and an assistant architect simultaneously, naming a higher salary for the former. Perhaps a dozen painters and as many writers in the whole of Australia make their living solely by practising their art. Visitors from abroad are frequently flabbergasted by being offered a fee for a television appearance of roughly the same sum as their hotel bill for one night, or by being offered nothing at all for a lecture to a richly-clad audience. This is the pattern. Nearly every-one who has a part in the presentation of any form of cultural activity: the cameraman, the sound engineer, mechanic, printer, distributor, manager, agent, is protected by unions or professional organizations or trade practices which ensure him a fair share of one of the world's highest living standards; but one member of the team frequently is paid very little or not at all. He is the one who supplied the creative idea which made possible the whole project. It is not simply a matter of resentment or meanness; the men of culture have shown themselves not to need money. Through many artless years they have indicated frequently that they are quite satisfied, indeed eager, if they are merely given an opportunity to express themselves. And so it has been assumed that a man who is egocentric enough to want to display his talent owes it to the community to display it freely and can be called upon to write, paint, lecture, and make sculpture or films in his spare time. Many talented and potentially-creative Australians accept this laudable, charitable role in society. They do not starve. They make a good living at something else and practise their art as a hobby. Others leave the country. A list of successful Australians in creative fields in London and New York suggests that there is something about the Australian sun and the meaty diet that produces a high proportion of talented people: Sidney Nolan, Arthur Boyd, Loudon Sainthill, Albert Tucker among the painters; Eileen Joyce, Arthur Benjamin, Charles Mackerras among

This one aspect of under-payment for creative thinking is probably where Australian development differs most from the pattern in America, which many of her developers admire so much, where the man of ideas is a sort of prince of the community. The making of ideas in art, of firm decisions in design, the cultivation of self-reliance and unequivocal statements, are specialized activities taking experience, concentration, and time, as well as certain native talent. But this is not the sort of work that is as apparent as the work of choosing and devising attractive features to disguise the absence of an idea. Therefore Australia habitually econo-

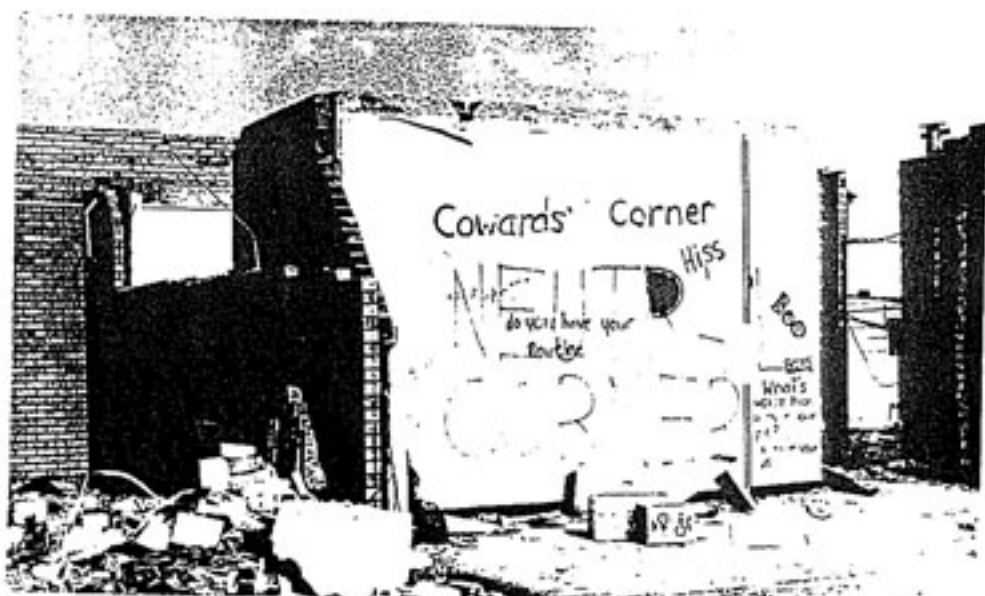
mizes on the formative phase of any production. Hence the scarcity of motives in the Australian backdrop. Hence Featurism.

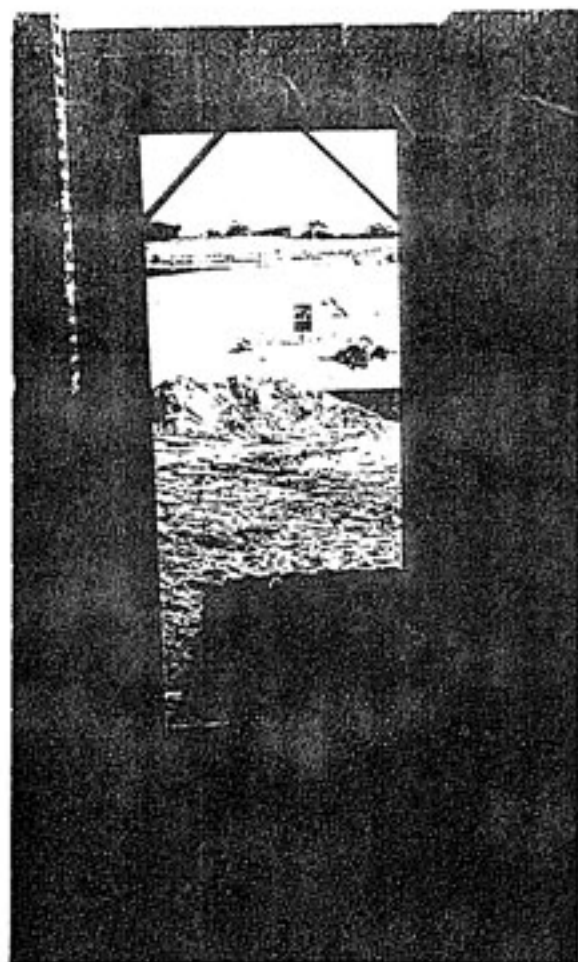
The tradition of minimum payment for creative work is generally accepted not only by those who should be paying more but by those who should be creating more. However little an Australian ideas man is paid, his employer can buy syndicated American ideas for less - or better still can pick them out of imported magazines for nothing at all, plagiarism being the most expertly practised art in Australia. Under these circumstances most employed artists are not inclined to adopt a bold, demanding attitude. Instead they learn gradually to put into their work no more than the encourage-

Even with the highest zeal and best intentions, the visual arts cannot rid the world of evil and ugliness, and they should not be interested in applying pleasing cosmetics to the face of the sick patient. They are doing well if they can portray, honestly, richly, and vividly, the world as it is, as distinct from the way it is represented by the paid or honorary purveyors of Featurism.

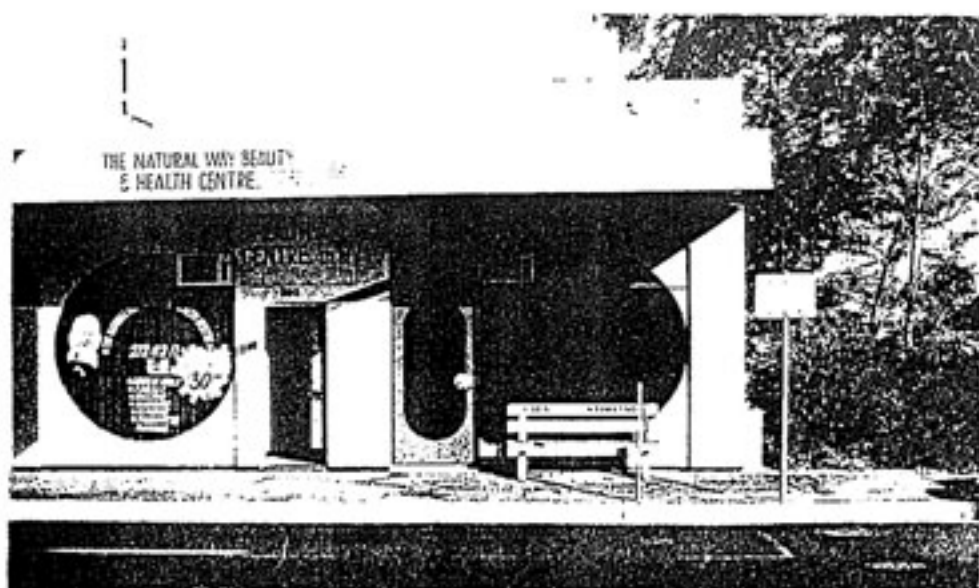
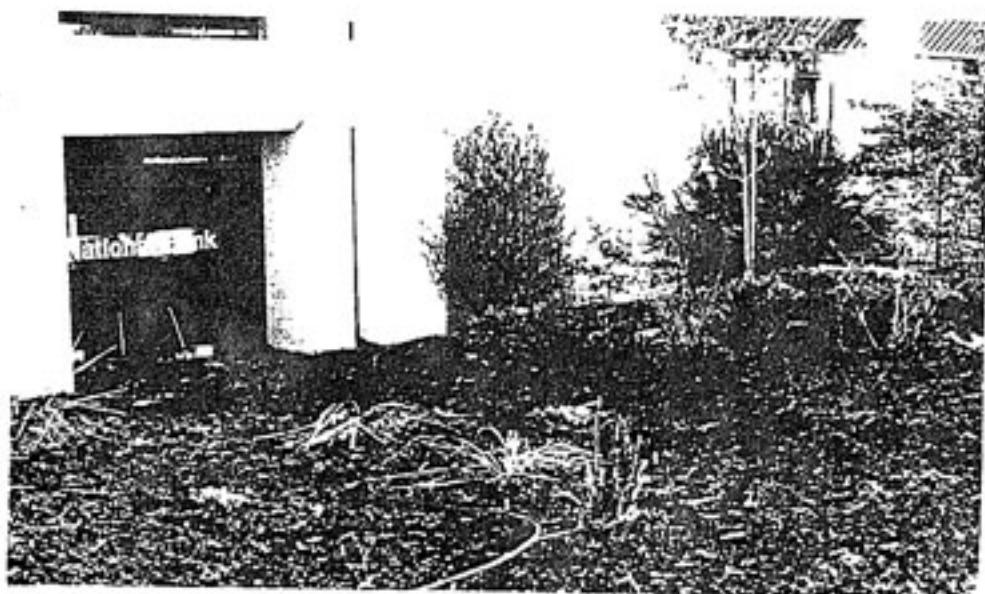
ful, only to a sort of gilded prison for the spirit. But the search the realities of design for everyday use is one of the most consequential activities in the cultural life of a nation.

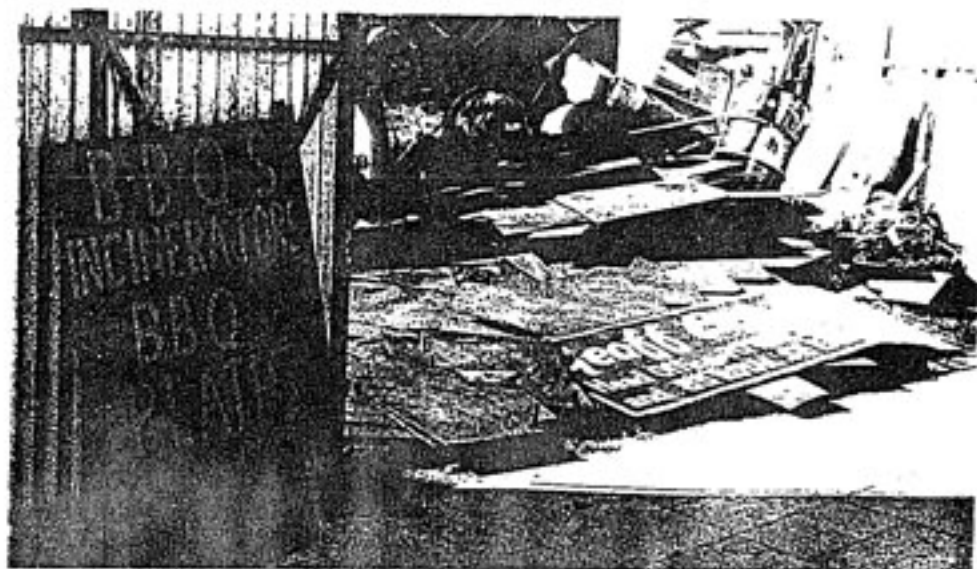
The universal visual art: the art of shaping the human environment, is an intellectual, ethical, and emotional exercise as well as a means of expression. It involves the strange sort of possessive love with which people have always regarded their shelters. The Australian ugliness begins with fear of reality, denial of the need for the everyday environment to reflect the heart of the human problem, satisfaction with veneer and cosmetic effects. It ends in betrayal of the element of love and a chill near the root of national self-respect.

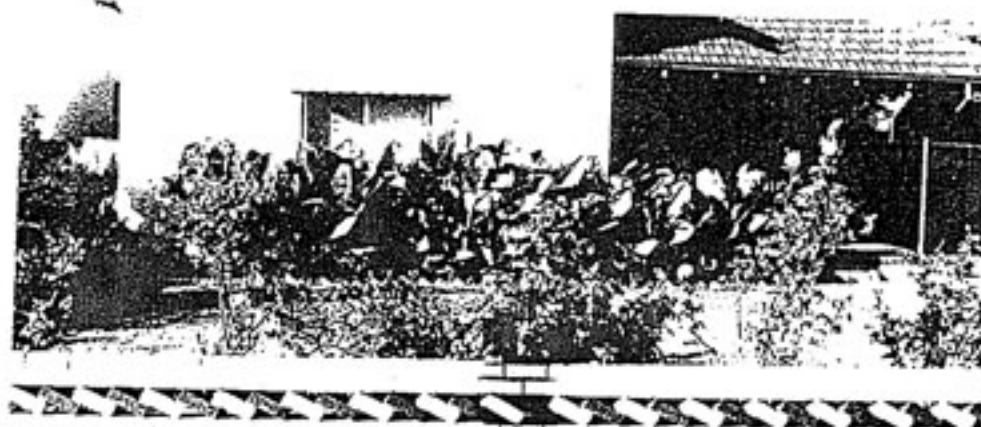
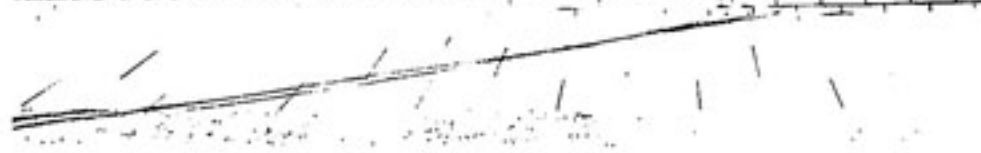
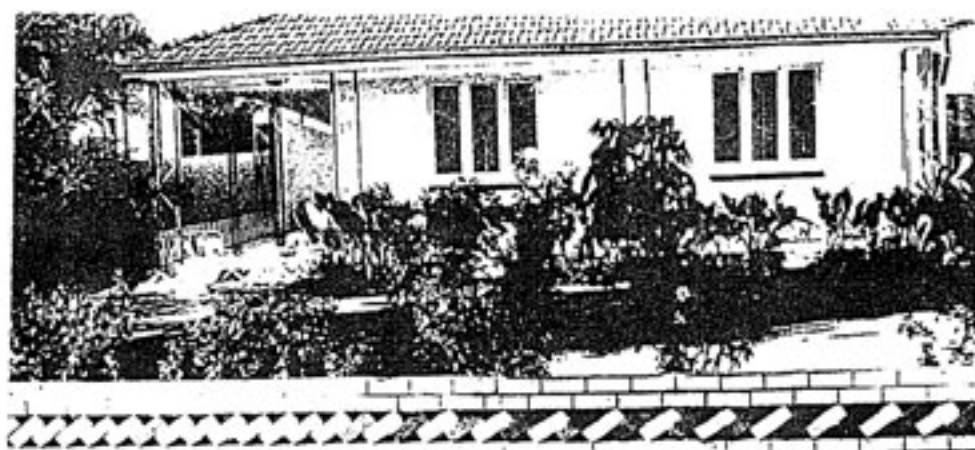


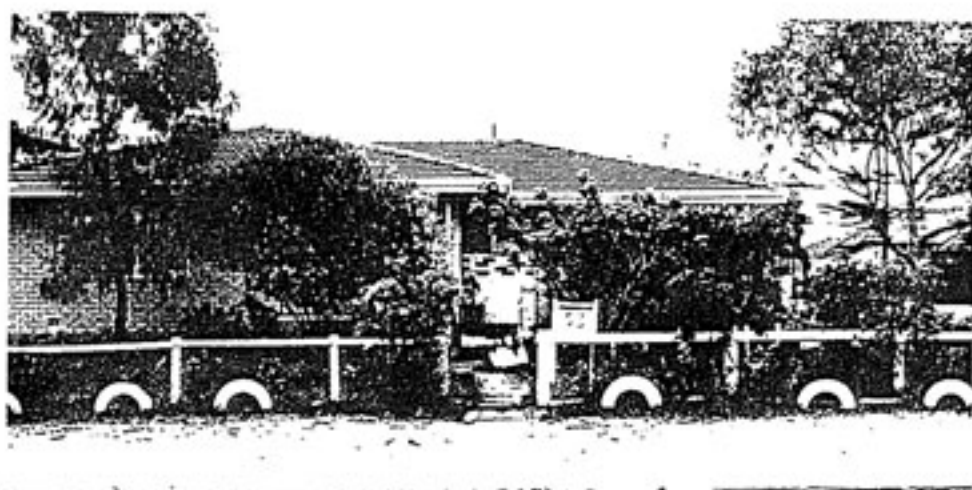


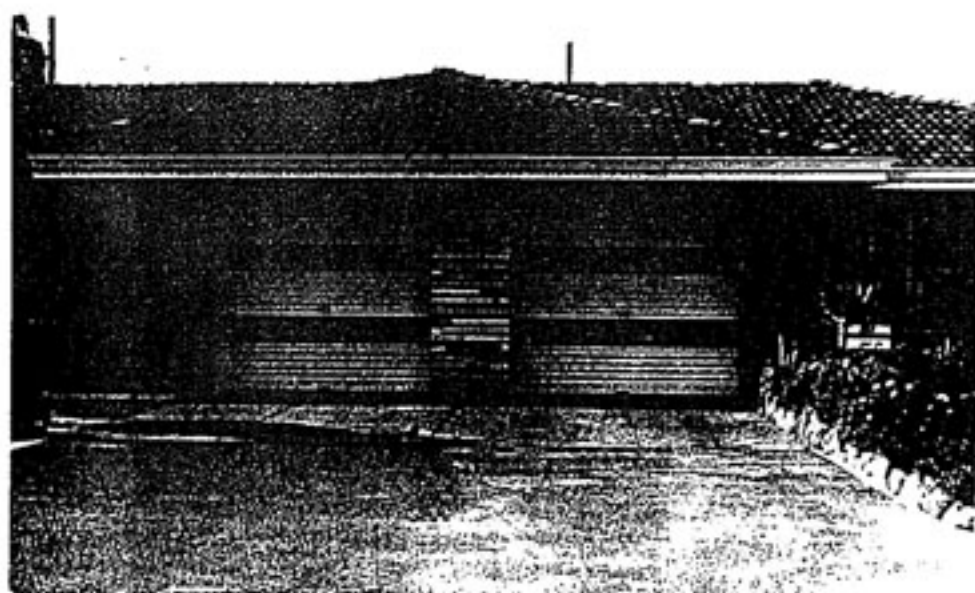
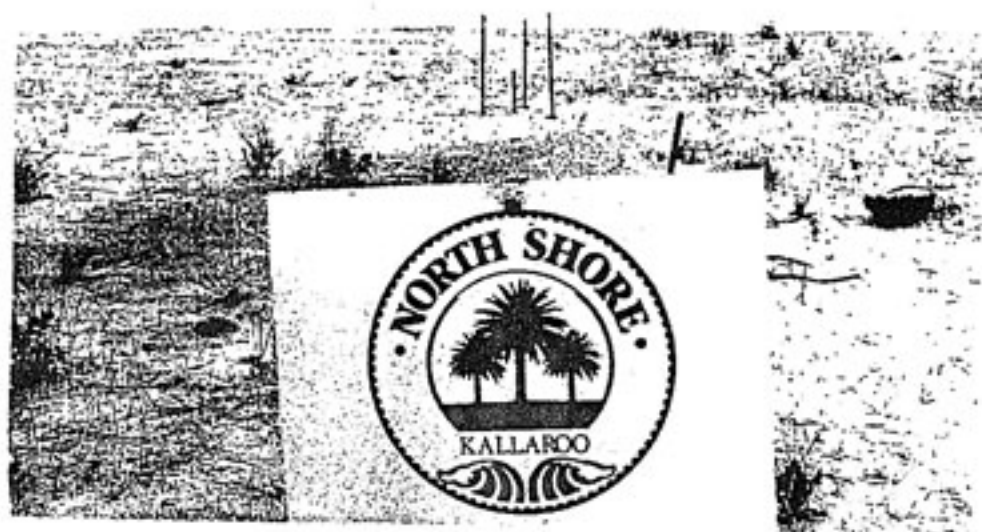








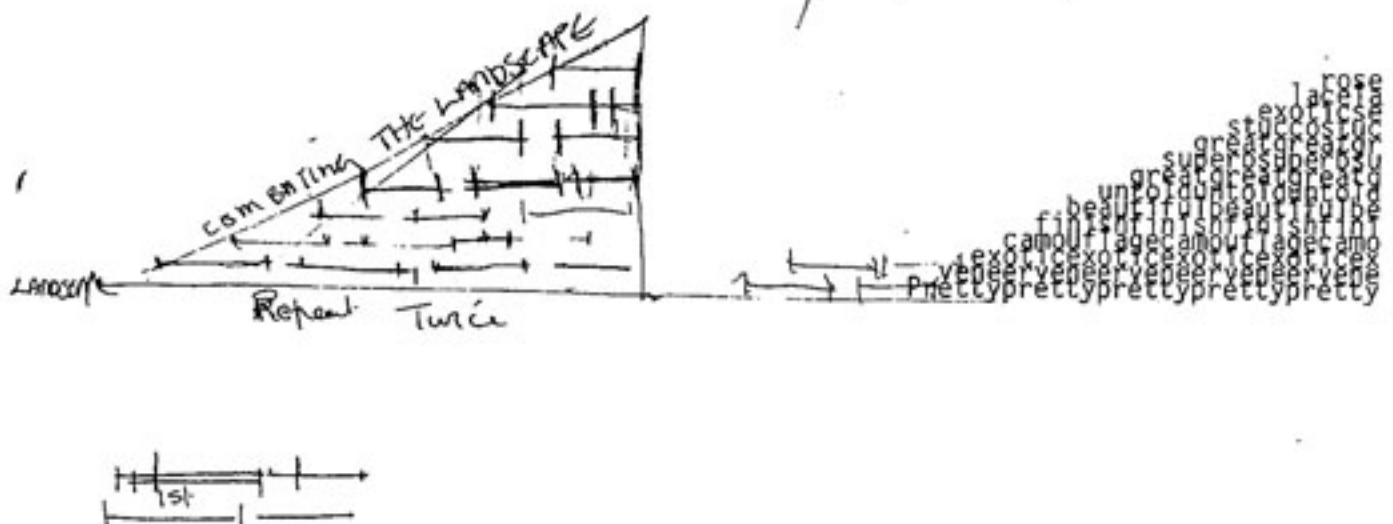




words for the tape to be spoken and then overlapped

	①	②	③
growing heads	pretty, 5	cream	pastel
	veneer, 4	contained	laminated
	exotic, 8	native	flair sent
	finish, 11	exotic	fussiness
	camouflage, 7	divine	showy
	beautiful, 6	glamour	sheeny
	untold	wonderful	incredible
	great, 2	ornaments	aint
	stunning, 1	stucco	crystal
	prettily, 3	individual	embossed
	unblemished, 2	sentimentality	flocked
	superb, 10	refined	lace
	cladding, 5	brilliant	roses
	clanking, 4	pleasant	sheeny
	incredible, 1	unpretentious	feature
	3		

Repeat each word twice, till the whole
first text is finished then a gap
I'm STILL ALIVE and coming to terms with world.



unpersons

incredible

pleasure

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Paul

Pretty

Pretty

Pretty

Pretty

Pretty

Pretty

Pretty

Venerable

Venerable

Pretty / Pretty / Pretty / Pretty / Venerable / Venerable

Plan for the making of the veneer installation.

The ground will be laid out into a grid formation along side a building site in Balladara. Then a series of constructions will be made using various building materials that are designed to cover camouflage and cloak the structure to make it more acceptable to taste.

The construction will be photographed in relation to the normal situation that occurs at a land development block.

Text for installation photographs

The GREATER and FINEER the Natural Background.
1. The new Artificial life for ground.

2. Cloaking and Camouflage.

3. Roses reflect the Quality of the owner

4. The cult of Pioneerism

5. The Rare earth of Balladara

6. White skinned Europeans land.

7. ASLUBS to contain the black.

8. Make the whole state appear like the beach

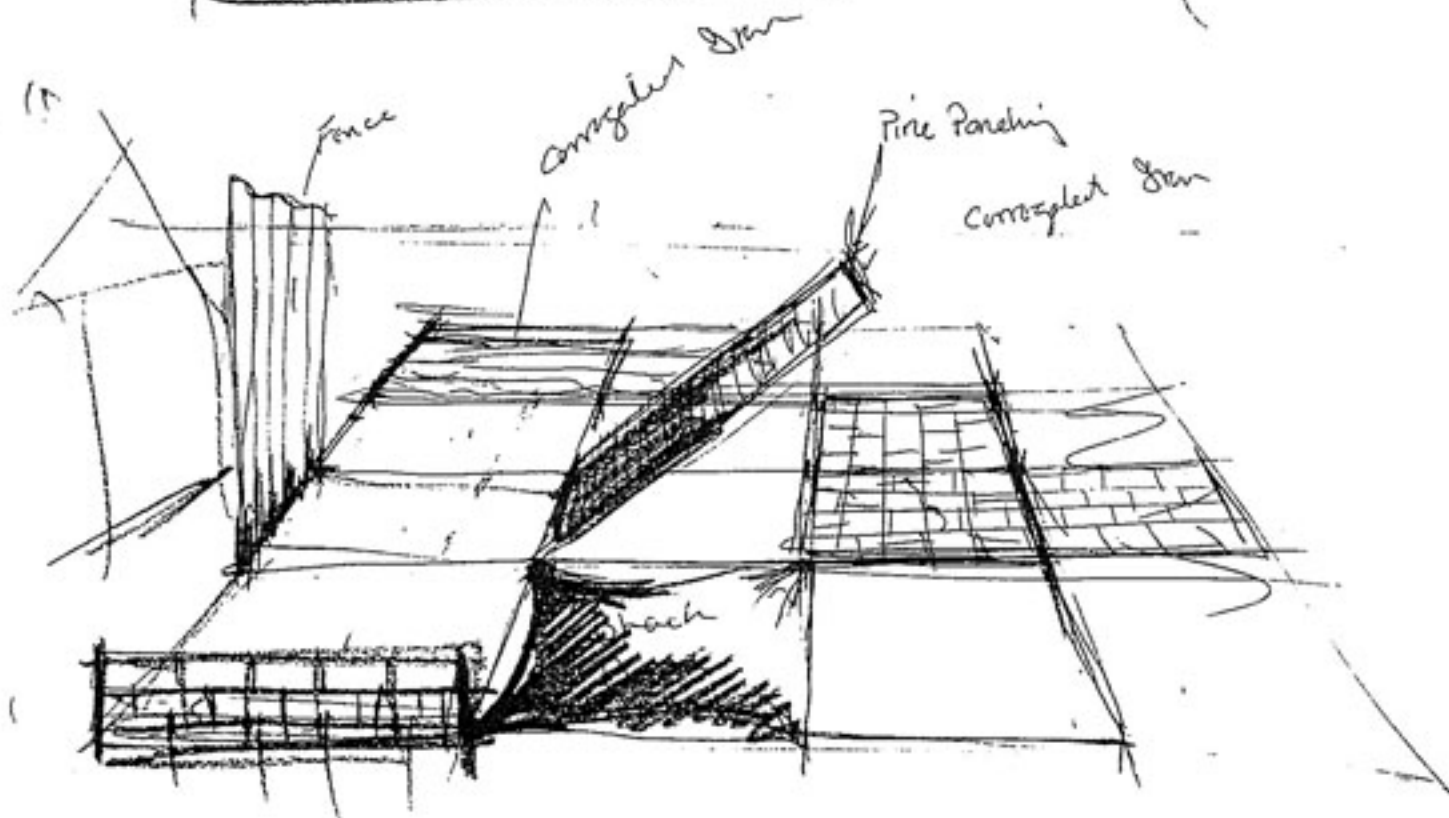
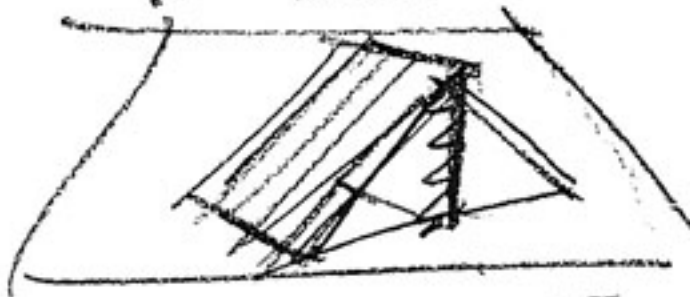
9. Make ^{subject} the island to man

6 ft x 4 ft

gal Plastic + lawn

" wood

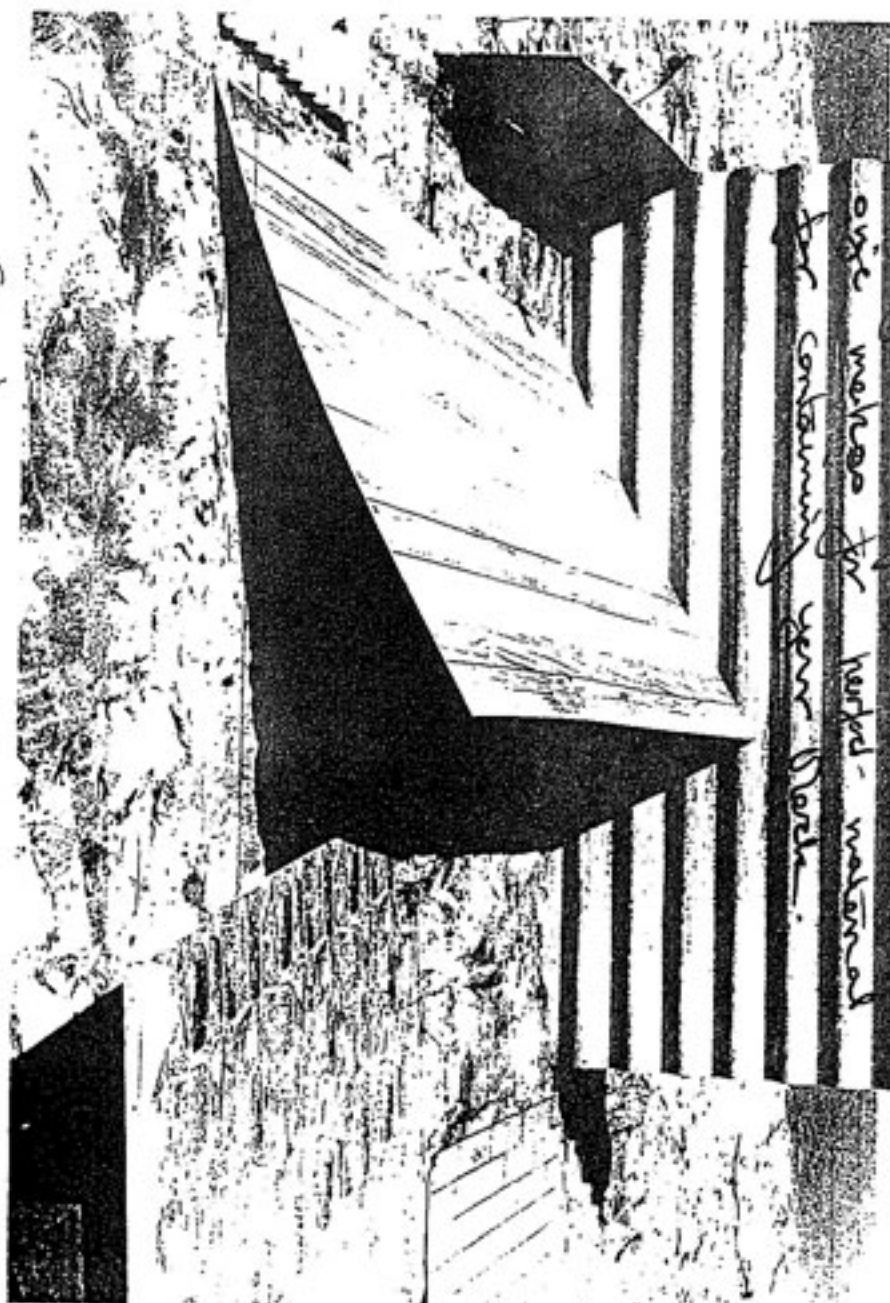
SPAX-



- Black plastic from wa drainage
- Pine Paneling — " "
- Posts " "

The Reader will find that the
only way to get the most out of
the contents of your book.

Clearing & Camouflage

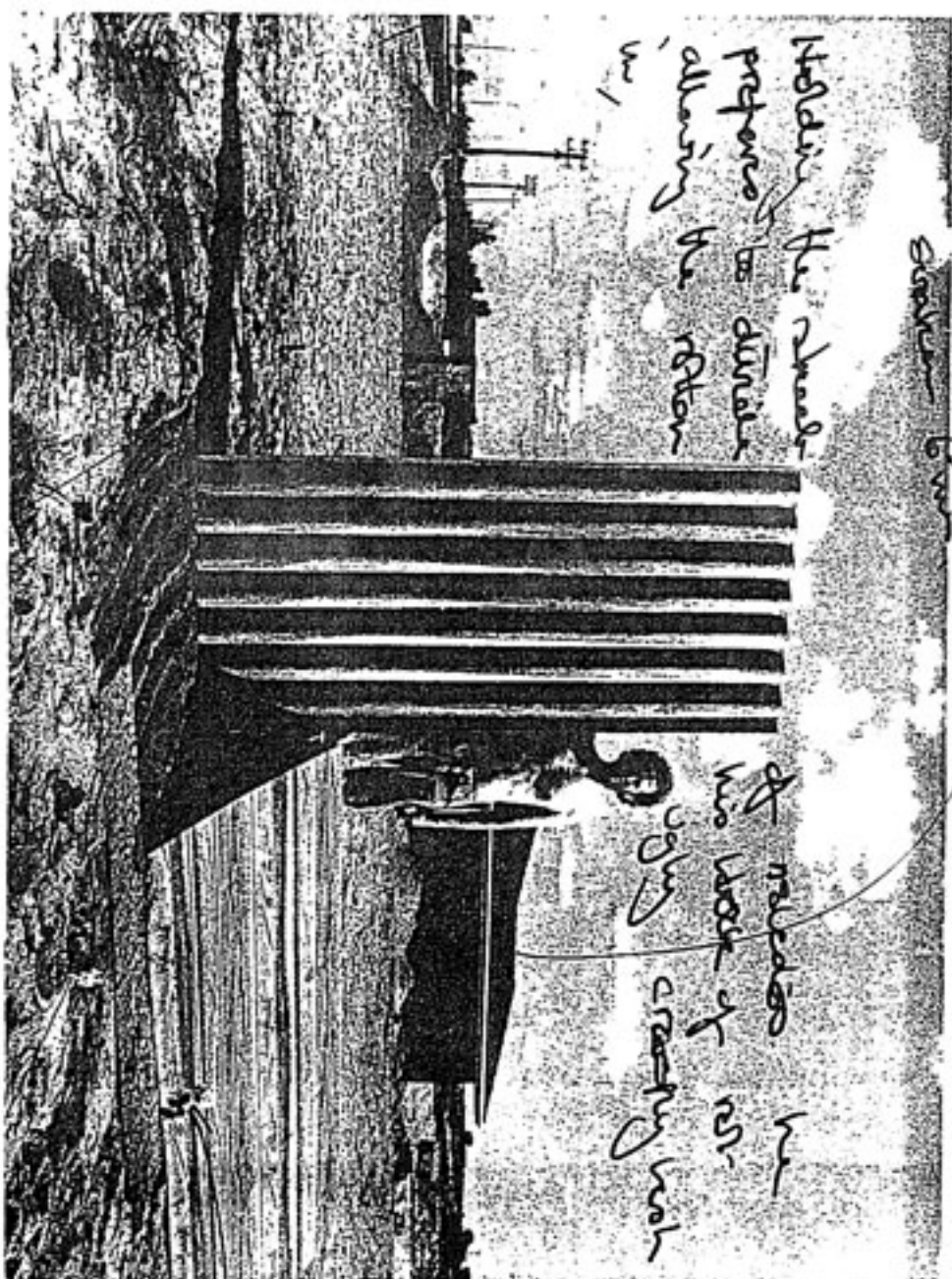


the box with some large

some

holding the small
papers to divide
allowing the other
in

of matter in
the back of the
box creating work



to expect. He
giving of the
man living
here

looking around his block of land. owning a piece of rubber earth he feels part of land. Considering the qualities of the materials used to create his station.

city -
meeting the Bush

The greater and higher the National Independent



looking around the block

is the
the scene

Soon to be regional park
to create new ~~national~~ desert!

Where are you dead? in the desert?
Protected from sun by shade trees and
towers a well earned break.

White skin
Europeans
and

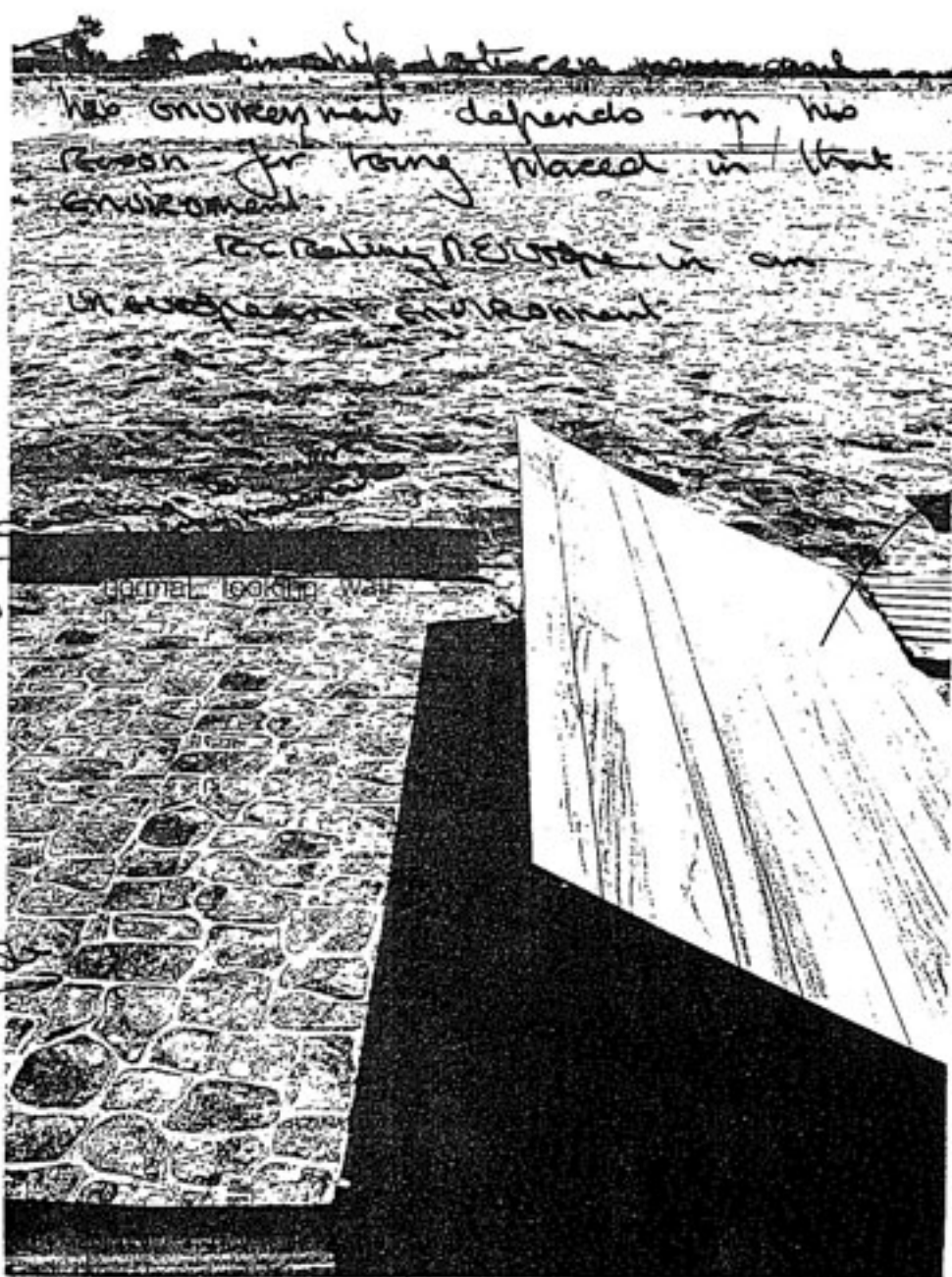
Bricks

feature
Design

land paper or over

Clear the
Booth. Then the
government is looking
for a positive
BAMADORA.

The Rince Emerald or



Brick cladding placed with
 Pine panelling creates welcome shade
 in hot lands.

If I stay in the sun I burn so where is the
shade

why is my skin white why doesn't
it go brown straight away so
I stay in the sun

why am I drying my hair in
middle of the day



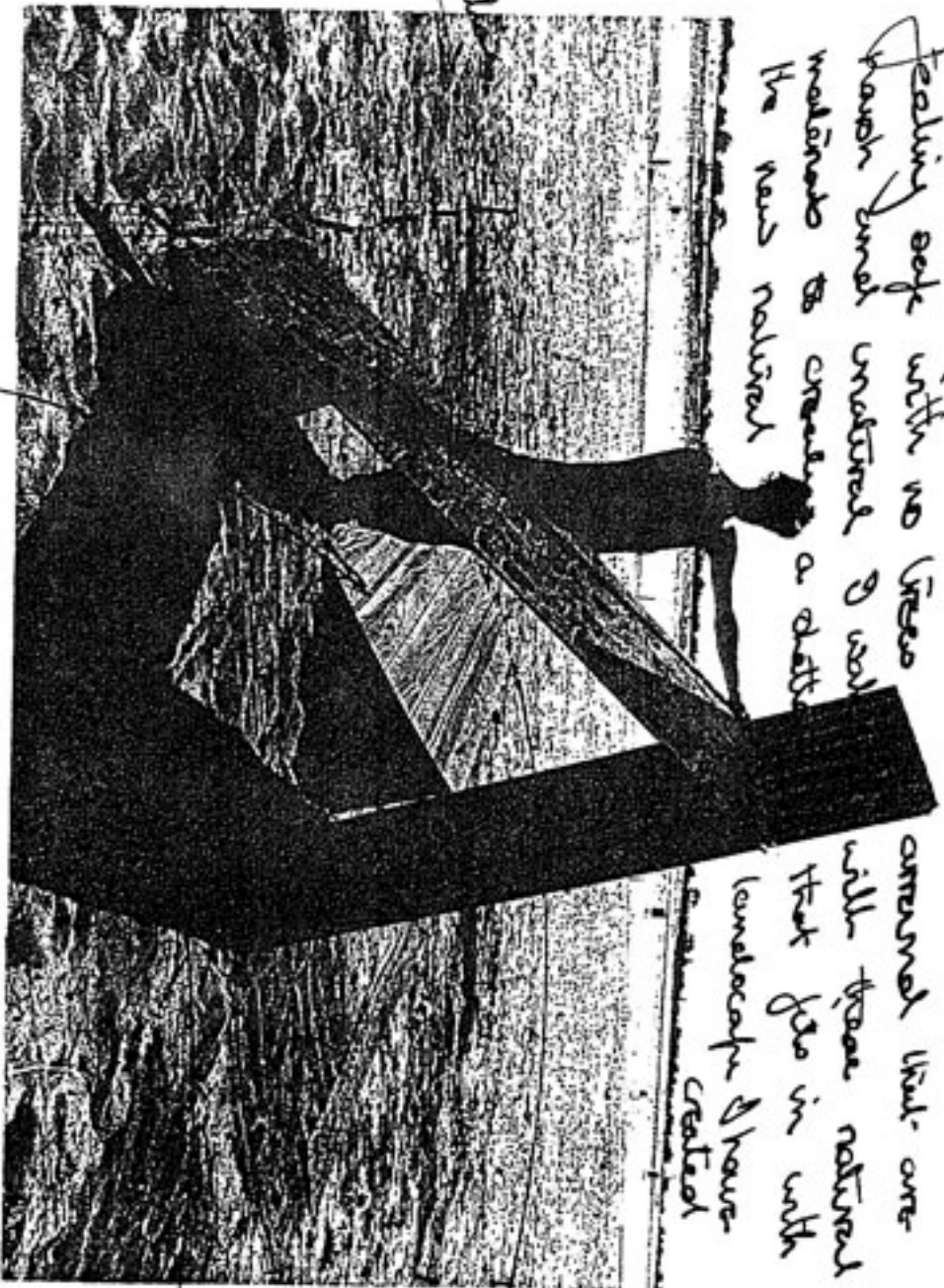
Pioneering Spirit

Pioneering

Feeling safe with no lines
 harsh and unadorned I will
 moderate to create a better
 the new natural

around that are
 with these natural
 that go in with
 landscape I have
 created

attractive
 much



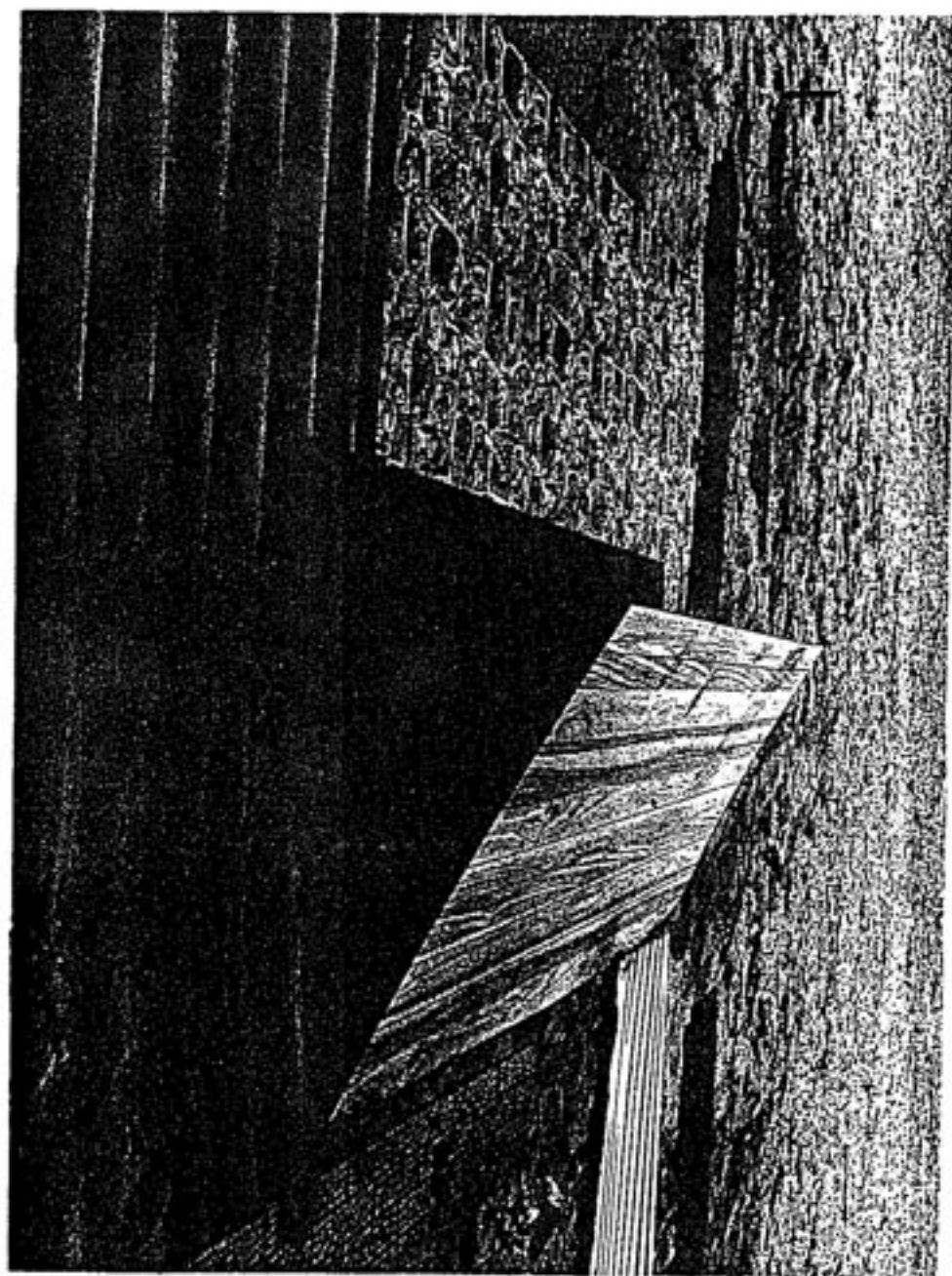
log cabin look.

ventilation

shade

Took to pieces the oval of my hand and
rearranged the pieces in the velvet environment.
The asbestos cladding absorbed the heat: with great
rapidity was not during the heat of the day.





RESEARCH:
ALLAN VIZENTS

MEDIA SPACE

March 20, 1983

Inquiry: REDLINE

Context: Perceptual (Literature)

Research: Allan Vizents

from A NEW HISTORY OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Pg. 619 In May, 1922 when Frieda and D.H. Lawrence were staying at Mollie Skinner and Ellen Beakbane's house (Darlington, W.A.)

Miss Skinner observed Lawrence "Picking up a lump of gum that oozed from the cracks of a huge redgum by the stable, he brought it over to me

'This tree seems to sweat blood, he remarked. A hard dark blood of agony. It frightens me--all the bush out beyond stretching away over these hills frightens me, as if dark gods possessed the place. My very soul shakes with terror when I walk out there in the moon light.'

Pg. 622 Katharine Prichard---"No one would suggest that Western Australians were her principal audience, nor should it seem curious that most of her works were initially published in London. What may seem ironic is that the first name that occurs to a literary historian who makes Perth his focus of attention is that of a woman who was in many ways remote from the society in which she lived."

She remarked to her son: I've been so isolated here from contact with men whose literary standard I value...since the days when I could discuss literature with Louis and Hilda, Vance and Nettie, Hugh McCrae and Frank Wilmot, there has been nobody in the West..."

Pg. 624: ...and a quite different genre may have had a more significant influence upon society. ...and like May Gibbs's unique mythologizing of her childhood experiences in Western Australia (first in Gum Blossom Babies, 1916 and most remarkably and enduringly in Snugglypot and Cuddlypie, 1918)....the extent to which such works have shaped the imagination of successive generations of Australian children has yet to be evaluated; it is probable that their influence will be shown to have been both subtle and pervasive."

MEDIA SPACE

March 20, 1983

Inquiry: REDLINE

Context: Historical (Reflection)

Research: Allan Vizents

from Chapter 22 in A NEW HISTORY OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Pg. 677 Edmund Stirling's proposal for a history in 1879:

"The present generation should be heartily grateful to a kind Providence for the really happy change in her actual condition with that of their sorely tried fathers, to whose trials and privations they owe in great part their own prosperity and success."

From the security of the self-governing, gold-enriched nineties Stirling proclaimed two themes which were to dominate Western Australians concept of the past. The pioneers were to be seen as tough and enduring stalwarts whose qualities deserved to be respected by later generations and rewarded by material progress; and if that progress failed to eventuate, it was not because of any defect in Western Australia or its inhabitants, but because of unsympathetic outside influences.

Pg. 677 The Fremantle Herald, ex-convict in origin and permanently at odds with the local establishment, took a deflating view of the first settlers. The history of the colony commenced with a shipwreck, said the Herald, describing the founding of the Swan River colony as a 'mad adventure.

MEDIA - SPACE

22March, 1983
Inquiry REDLINE
Context HISTORICAL
Research A. Vizents

from THE BEGINNING R.T. Appleyard and Toby Manford

Anonymous passenger aboard the *Parmelia*: (pg 133) "After our arrival at the land of promise we shall probably find temporary homes prepared for us by the *Tweed* and *Challenger* which have been sent there for the purpose. We expect the discovery of a large river, and a range of snowcapped mountains. If we can find the former, communications will be afforded throughout the length of a fine and generally open country as extensive almost as Europe.

The basis of the Thomas Peel syndicate's plan to settle the Swan Colony: pg 129-"It is well known that the soil of Swan River, from its moist state is better adapted to the cultivation of tobacco and cotton than any other part of Australia. Both of these articles are intended to be cultivated on a large scale as also sugar and flax..."

pg. 144: Press publicity was based primarily on an article prepared by John Barrow for the *Quarterly Review*, considered the major middle class journal of the period. An acknowledged expert on the southern hemisphere, his contribution to the *Quarterly* was a semi-official statement, and would have been seen by many readers as an impeccable and objective source of information. The reputation was misplaced. Barrow's excessive enthusiasm for Swan River led him to alter, emphasize and interpret Stirling's 1827 report to an extent which made it appear an even more attractive place for British farmers than Stirling had made it out to be. nothing less than paradise on earth. Plenty of land for everyone. 'an estimated five to six millions of acres, the greater part of which from the general appearance of the two extreme portions may be considered as land fit for the plough, and, therefore, fully capable of giving support to a million of souls.' Fresh water: "...the whole coast is a perfect source of active springs, discharging themselves (from rocks of the limestone ridge) on the beach in rapid rills of considerable extent, every six or seven yards.'
"Swan River mania"...as a group, the settlers arriving at Swan River during the first seven months were very young-three quarters were under thirty years of age and a third were under fourteen years; males predominated and only one-fifth of total arrivals were adult females. They were of predominantly urban origin, over 70 percent coming from major urban centers in the south east of England, and one-quarter from London itself, the remainder coming from the arable counties in eastern and southern England which had been hardest hit by the postNapoleonic wars depression. pg. 147 cont. As Pamela Statham shows, their occupations and skills were diverse, reflecting their predominantly urban origins "Many settlers came from civil and defence service backgrounds and few of the labourers hired specifically for agricultural work had had previous experience of that kind in England. Some eventually proved to have come from parish poorhouses and to have lacked any specific skill...."

Stirling and Fraser had been on the coast only 19 days and explored only small areas. From this information Barrow conjectured into fantasy. Barrow predicted that there would probably be found fertile plains beyond the hills, intersected by streams of water flowing from mountains to the eastward or northward.-pg. 161

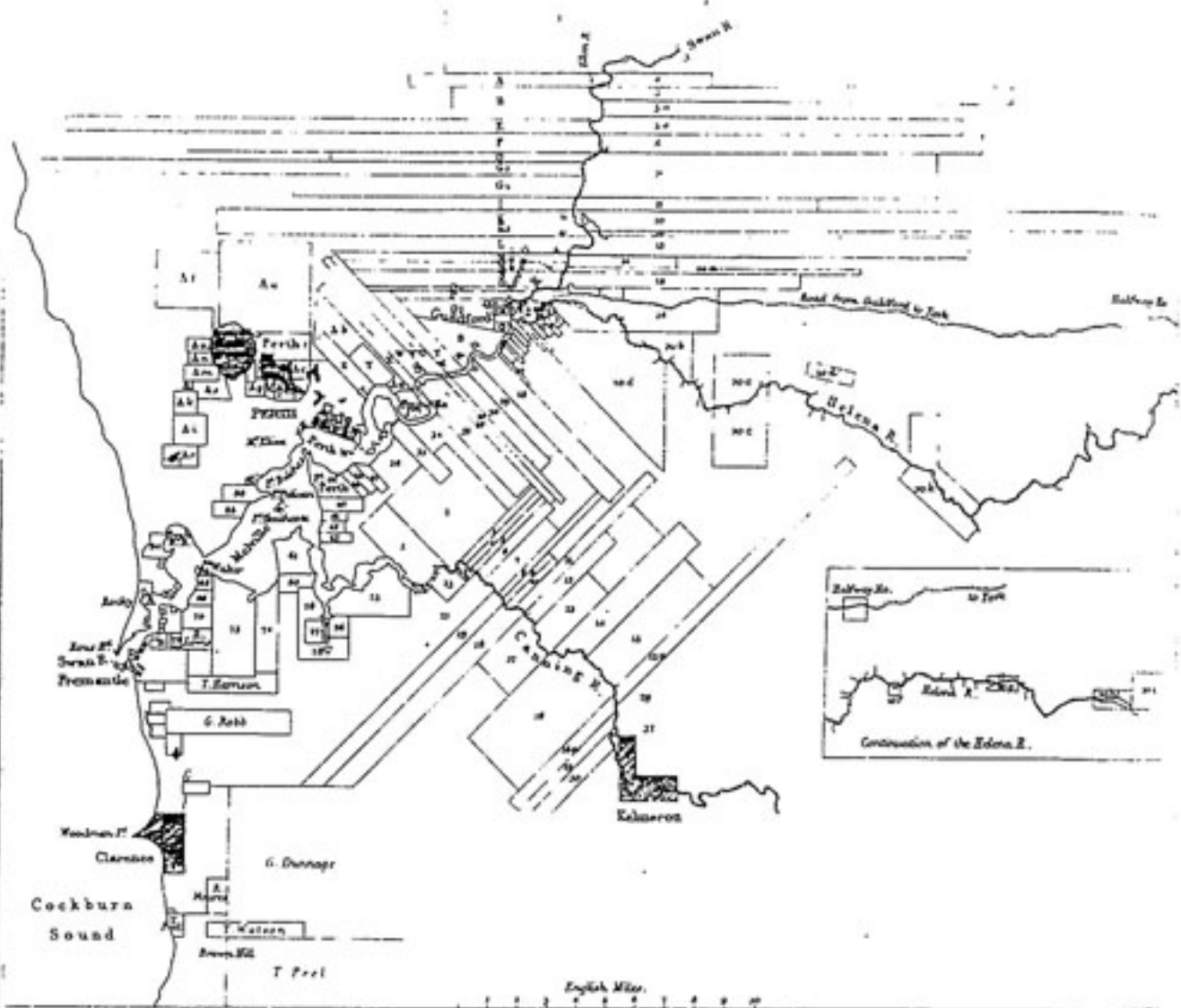


Fig. 5.1 'Strip' lots on the Upper Swan & Canning Rivers. [Reproduced from Arrowsmith Map 1839 and published in Nathaniel Ogle, *The Colony of Western Australia*]

Demand for boats and rafts to take colonists up-river was very keen. James Turner decided to construct his own raft even though he had not been allocated land. It was a harrowing experience, and so different from what he had expected.

we dragged [the raft] through the water often up to our waists—sometimes through carelessness the Goods were upset, one day I had 3 tierces of beef sunk

REDLINE

27-3-83

Linking into possible tape-narrative with research on tracks parallel.

The number in question is distributed among a series of people in isolated or in partly separate alienations from one another. They can never each one of them, know the entire story (the number in question) because it would require the coming together of all total isolations and partly separate alienations. The structure of language itself mitigates against this possibility.

As this impossibility is a known factor of their communication with one-another, they make up fantastic tales that can be masqueraded as the structural web of conviction. The web itself must be supposed to join the society as one.

In point of fact it fails repetitively and requires an enormous expenditure of energy and resources to patch motivations desires and abilities to wholly separate and discontinuous histories.

Most words become hyphenated to indicate terminal combining forms.

Items are objectively stored for no particular purpose. Items are counted, catagorized, forged into chains of short durations. (No one knows what happens to art students after they leave the institution.)

Everything along the REDLINE keeps a low profile. The lichen glows red-brown like the soil, spreading in the wet and contracting in the dry. The whites move from the coastal fort toward the interior with mechanical exploitation tools like dinosaurs of the industrial revolution.

We all wish the flies were dead and express a complete super-imposition of values. Its been like a holiday, very expensive, a long stretch at Singapore, shopping. We import mega-tones of super phosphate to survive. Nullified, beguiled, ballooned, cajoled, the wind scrapes glass co-ordinates. I'm partly sanctioned, partly ignored, semi-tolerated, circling the edge clarifying a problem with no solution.

If marriage can be annulled why can't a city? The city as catafalque, a brick and wood tower supporting the culture in an elaborate state funeral.

Even the crickets are imported. Bands of ferral cats mill about waiting to be released. A flase prop pinned together with rusty tacks, shabby and temporary...

The blacks taught us to move slow, stay well hidden in the summer, keep

your ass low to the ground, dig up the potatoes then replant the stalk.
(As if no one had been there, or so you might return for more).
Be home by dark, and above all be good.

It is an exchange of mis-information. For instance, I come in the door and say "The house is on fire...smother the children!" You offer me a cup of tea. I say "where is the garden hose?", and you say "ask my granny."

Packages arrive marked return to sender. A long silence with no questions, lollies, coins and bread as prizes.

| LOLLIES | MONEY | BREAD |
|-------------|------------|----------|
| role | moknee | free ad |
| follie | meanie. | breeze |
| debrie | easy | abre |
| lie low | loonie | fad |
| low lies | moonie | dead |
| lillies | knock knee | redy led |
| lowler eyes | mohigh | e-gad |
| frillies | memememe | mad |

Why don't we make a movie about what we did to the Australians instead of what the British did to us?

And a good deal more will be spent on identity and national purpose and way of life, etc. And every celebration will be spent forgetting which is the right restroom to wait in. So, what not to talk about, which closet has a bit more hiding space left and will the floor under the carpet take any more sweeping.

The fantasy can not survive. It has no cultural reality, no historical relation with fact, other than the 'cover-up'. It has no evidence to support either a model of perception or a condition of living other than a modified stereotype. Oversimply, the regional culture has nothing to do with anything, and entertains that perception continuously.

A cultural relationship is one that links the natural the social and the mythical through meaning. To be provincial in fact is to be secure in your relationship with the land. To be provincial in fantasy is an insulated exploitation of the land in spiritual and conceptual ignorance. It is essentially to live in fear.

Fear of dehydration, fear of fire, of skin cancer of insects of thorny spiky nasty dirty untidy bush, of branches falling on one's head, of foreign influence, immigration, of racial depletion and every other neurosis engendered by fantasy. The road that ends unexpectedly, throwing the car headlong into the bush. The illusion of plenty, the deep trance, the vision of D.H. Lawrence at Darlington.

The successful education systems in W.A. are those that teach the skills of exploitation. Cultural education in the arts is either of imported values or hollow, without any model of alternative perception. The imported lecturer is full of misunderstandings and values emptied of meaning in an Australian context. HE/she is imported for that specific misunderstanding-to further the dream that we are anywhere else except in Australia. To be born and raised locally is to be severed from anything save a heavily coded history so obscure that its factual reality is beyond recognition.

29-3-82

sing a song of sixpence a pocket full of pearls
four and twenty manly blackbirds lugging
up the coast. Here come the ball-draggers
with the chained up blackbirds
cossack cosack row me a cossack a black burn on a sack of clams
row me burn and chugger lugger full of black boys
nine meters down with the fested white teeth or
its black blood and boiled billy tea yer lot./
every day sinking in corals nothing to record sept
the silence all around. Pump chugging water draining from
another swamp.

bungeeman ina coffin holden goin gaet me some black ass
aw you don't understand you couldn't you just wasn't there.
the europeans are coming, get the kids outa school
they got the dozers and the statehousing flats
were shifting out bush.

(Water, dock noises, thumps on wood, gulls etc.)

Kimosabe: white man not so all right maybe one moon left.

Inquiry

SIDE A:

The Number in Question
Beguiled Ballooned:
The Begger's Binning
Claims and Roe: K0
Bungeeman
Snugglepot and Carrolup
The Dark Works

Quotations in order of appearance:
ABORIGINES OF THE WEST: Berndt and Berndt
THE BEGINNING: Appleyard and Manford
A NEW HISTORY OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA: Stannage
SNUGGLEPOT AND CUDDLEPIE: May Gibbs

SIDE B:

Oral Redline: Maud Ritchie, Bert Wright,
Charles Cable and Clarrie O'Laughlin
interviewed by Helen Bradbury, Forestry
Department of Western Australia

Voices: Allan Vizents, Patricia Vizents
(Snugglepot) and Helen Bradbury (Inter-
viewer). Synthesizer: Allan Vizents and
Jeff Jones.

This work was produced as part of a larger
inquiry by MEDIA SPACE in May, 1983

MEDIA - SPACE

REDLINE



AT THE END OF THE DAY
"Mr. and Mrs. Sandgroper." A snapshot taken in their garden
near the close of fifty years of pioneering.

REDLINE

A. VIZENTS • • MEDIA SPACE

LAPE TEXT BY TRACK

| TRACK | COUNT | TEXT |
|-------|---------|--|
| 1 | 003 | The number in question is distributed among a series of people in isolated or in partly separate alienations from one another. They can never each one of them, know the entire story (the number in question) because it would require the coming together of all total isolations and partly separate alienations. The structure of language itself mitigates against this possibility. As this impossibility is a known factor of their communication with one-another, they make up fantastic tales that can be masqueraded as the structural web of conviction. The web itself must be supposed to join the society as one. |
| 1 | 017 | In point of fact it falls repetitively and requires an enormous expenditure of energy and resources to patch motivations, desires and abilities to wholly separate and discontinuous histories. |
| 1 | 024 | |
| 1 | 035 | |
| 1 | 036 | |
| 1 | 044 | |
| 1 | 045-047 | Blank |
| 1 | 048 | Its been like a holiday, very expensive. A long stretch at Singapore, shopping. We import megatonnes of super-phosphate to survive. Nullified, beguiled, balloned, cajoled. I'm partly sanctioned, partly ignored, semi-tolerated, circling the edge clarifying a problem with no solution. |
| 1 | 069 | |
| 1 | 071-074 | Everything along the REDLINE keeps a low profile. In the beginning was the land fraud. In the beggars' tinning was the balloon, John Barrow's balloon. An estimated five to six millions of acres, the greater part of which from the general appearance of the two extreme portions may be considered as land fit for the plow, and therefore fully capable of giving support to a million of souls. |
| 1 | 093 | The whole coast is a perfect source of active springs discharging themselves on the beach in rapid rills of considerable extent, every six or seven yards. 143 |
| 1 | 101 | Thomas Peel: It is well known that the soil of Swan river from its moist state is better adapted to the cultivation of tobacco and cotton than any other part of Australia. Both of these articles are intended to be cultivated on a large scale as also sugar and flax. 129 |
| 1 | 109 | As a group, the settlers arriving at Swan river during the first seven months were very young. Three-quarters were under 30 years of age, and a third were under 14 years. Males predominated and only one fifth of total arrivals were adult females. They were of predominantly urban origin over 70 percent coming from major urban centres in the southeast of England and one quarter from London itself, the remainder coming from arable counties in eastern and southern England. |
| 1 | 112 | As Pamela Stratham shows, their occupations and skills were diverse reflecting their predominantly urban origin. Many settlers came from civil and defense service backgrounds and few of the labourers hired specifically for agricultural work had had previous experience of that kind in England. Some eventually proved to have come from parish poorhouses and to have lacked any specific skills. (142) |

| | | |
|---|---------|--|
| 2 | 003 | The basic patterning of Western Desert religion consists of ritual associated with the sites of mythic beings situated in local group territories. However, these sequences were not performed separately, but always with the active co-operation of members of other similarly constituted groups. The clue to Desert religion lies in the criss-crossing of its mythic tracks along which spirit beings travelled: what they did provides the content of the ritual. Almost every mythic track is shared by members of several local groups. This means that mythic information, mythic knowledge, relating to any one track is fragmented. It is held by a number of people, and is not always presented ritually in toto, because it is and was not possible for all the people concerned to meet together at one time. In short the religious knowledge of Desert Aborigines is held in a series of partly separate 'packages', distributed traditionally among many local groups. |
| 2 | 048 | Blank |
| 2 | 049-052 | Blank |
| 2 | 052 | After our arrival at the land of promise we shall probably find temporary homes prepared for us by the Tweed and Challenger which have been sent there for the purpose. We expect the discovery of a large river, and a range of snowcapped mountains. If we can find the former, communications will be afforded throughout the length of a fine and generally open country as extensive almost as Europe. |
| 2 | 068 | Blank |
| 2 | 068-078 | Blank |
| 2 | 078 | In the beggars' tinning in the blanning beggars' bunning John Barrows bunning balloon. Its solid and its chunky - fit fit for the plow. a fit a plow fit a fit of plows. Pianos plowing sand, five to six million fathoms of sand fit for starving. Be home by dark. Its solid and its chunky. Is the circle completely round? (100) |
| 2 | 086 | regards sincerely ever fascinated yours regretfully redigardfully mine and yours forever yours fortuitously fordy heartblank mega heady ceres above and behind all party truly to yer ever never getfully peace beyond you least not have not per sure yours time safely till sized and shrunk never know inful factually yours matter of mutual garded grippingly severed everly outwardly contagious terminally backsliding further to slipping away we speak closely ring off get out the actual fry the getty slamming the sedan (138) |
| 2 | 101 | |

1 145 It is an exchange of misinformation. For instance, I come in the door and say "the house is on fire, smother the children." You offer me a cup of tea. I say "where is the garden hose?" and you say "ask my granny." Packages arrive marked return to sender. A long silence with no questions...lolites coins and bread. The fantasy can not survive. It has no cultural reality, no historical relation with fact other than the coverup. It has no evidence to support either a model of perception or a condition of living other than a modified stereotype. Oversimply, the regional culture has nothing to do with anything, and enters into perception continuously. (186)

1 187 A cultural relationship is one that links the natural, the social and the mythical through meanings. To be provincial in fact is to be secure with your relationship with the land. To be provincial in fantasy is an insulated exploitation of the land in spiritual and conceptual ignorance. It is essentially to live in fear. Fear of dehydration, fear of fire, of skin cancer, of insects of thorny spiky nasty dirty untidy bush, of branches falling on one's head, of foreign influence, immigration, of racial depletion, and every other neurosis engendered by fantasy. The road that ends unexpectedly throwing the car heading into the bush. The illusion of plenty, the deep trance.

1 216 end

1-2-3 218 lolities
rold
folle
debrile
lie low
low lies
lillies
lowdr eyes
frillies

1-2-3- 230end
1 231 To be born and raised locally is be severed from anything save a heavily coded history so obscure that its factual reality is beyond recognition. (237)

1 235 Sing a song of sixpence a pocket full of pearls.
1-2- 238 Four and twenty manly blackbirds lugging up the coast. Here come the ball-draggers with the chained up blackbirds. Cossack, cossack row me a cossack a blackburn on a sack of clams row me burn me and chuggerlug full of black boys nine meters down, with the fested white teeth or its black blood and boiled billy tea yer lot. Every day sinking in corals nothing to record sept the silence all around. Pump chugging water draining from another swamp. Bungeeman in a coffin holden...going get me some blackass. aw you dont understand you could not, you just wasn't there. The europeans are coming get the kids out of school. They got the dozers and the state housing flats. Were shifting out bush. White man...maybe one moon left...Kluosabe.

1-2 280end

2 143 Here we go. Perth Gazette 26 July, 1834: The editor, McFall: "Although we have ever been the advocates of a humane and conciliatory line of procedure, this unprovoked attack must not be allowed to pass over without the infliction of the severest chastisement, and we cordially join our brother colonists in the one universal call for a summary and fearful example. We feel and know from experience that to punish with severity the perpetrators of the atrocities will be found in the end an act of the greatest kindness and humanity. So away goes Sir James Stirling and a force of 24 soldiers and civilians and they trap the main force of the Murray River tribe in a deadly crossfire at Pinjarra. Now official reports place the death toll at 15 Aborigines and one white man, a captain Ellis. Eye-witness reports by Surveyor-General Roe describe how one mounted section approached a camp population estimated at eighty men women and children. This force charged the awakening tribe driving them towards the river, where Sir James Stirling and his party lay in ambush. Captain Roe and a small detachment had been positioned downstream at a shallow ford and recorded that the wounded drifting down were shot.

2 200end
2 202 One year later, 1835, June. The first foundation day organized by Stirling to commemorate the great naval victory of the Parmelia and called the glorious first of June. This was reported in detail in the Perth Gazette. A general sports program of flat races was a prime attraction. The children ran for sweets, the men for purses of coins and the Aborigines for loaves of bread. (216)

2 216end
1-2-3 218. money
maknee
manic
casy
lonie
mponie
black knee
mough
mekememe

1-2-3- 230end
1-2-3- 238 Sing a song of sixpence a pocket full of pearls. Four and twenty manly blackbirds lugging up the coast. Here come the ball-draggers with the chained up blackbirds. Cossack, cossack row me a cossack a blackburn on a sack of clams row me burn me and chuggerlug full of black boys nine meters down, with the fested white teeth or its black blood and boiled billy tea yer lot. Every day sinking in corals nothing to record sept the silence all around. Pump chugging water draining from another swamp. Bungeeman in a coffin holden...going get me some blackass. aw you dont understand you could not, you just wasn't there. The europeans are coming get the kids out of school. They got the dozers and the state housing flats. Were shifting out bush. White man...maybe one moon left...Kluosabe.

1-2 280end

1 282 There was great excitement on the opening day. All the artists and other queer people went to see the pictures. When Snugglepote saw the portrait of the Banksia man it looked so real that he felt quite nervous. The great eye seemed to blink at him; he stood rooted with horror.

1 290 Then suddenly the picture burst open, and out from the frame sprang the Banksia man, almost on top of him. With a terrible yell the Banksia man seized Snugglepote by the legs and scattering the people right and left, he ran from the gallery. The artist rushed out after him shouting "Murder! Help! Stop him! But the Banksia man's long legs covered the ground so quickly, and he turned so many different ways, that no one could catch him, and soon the shouts died away in the distance. All this time poor Snugglepote's head was going round and round, and he nearly fainted with the pain of being carried upside down. It's very cruel to carry any live thing darted into a doorway and down a long passage, climbed a lot of steps, groped through a long, long dark tunnel and came out into a cave at the end. In the cave were a number of Banksia men smoking, arguing and playing bones. "Got in at last!" said the Banksia man, panting. "Is he alive, grunted one, poking Snugglepote with his horrible bony finger. Is he what? sneered the Banksia man, tossing Snugglepote into a corner. What if we do with him, that's the question. The slimy sinner growled one. String and ring him, said another. Rack and crack him snarled another. Bust and rust him, croaked a monster with three eyes. Stick in on a bull-ants nest; they'll kill in and the crows'll come and pick his bones, squeaked the smallest and ugliest of them all. But Mr. Lizard saved the day. He came along with a big stick and whacked those Banksia men. Then he piled them into a heap in the middle of the cave and set fire to them. And that really was the end of those wicked Banksia men.

1 237end

2 283 In 1914 at Katanning the Aboriginal school was taught by an enthusiastic young teacher named Anna Lock. Miss Anna Lock was all too successful with the children. Aboriginal families came from many miles around-the expelled families from Mount Barker, others from Tom-bellup and Gnowangerup-and camped near Katanning so that their children could be educated. The protector of Aborigines, Sergeant Buckland of the police, grumbled that Miss Lock would like to have the whole of them on the Great Southern line dumped down at Katanning. The local residents were not at all happy. The aboriginal camp had neither water nor sanitation, and its inhabitants used to help themselves from the townspeople's tank water from their backyards. The property-owners demanded that the government should shift the Aborigines to Carrolup, a site sufficiently far from town which everyone agreed was admirably suited for a reserve. The government decided that funds could not be found. Meanwhile the aborigines attempted an initiative. On a Sunday afternoon in June Anna Lock was invited to attend a big meeting, for which she was asked to act as secretary. Aborigines had come in from Wagin and Marragoin and Bunbury for the purpose of choosing their own policeman and magistrates and making laws by which they would regulate their own conduct. Anna Lock wrote down six laws. The first was simply that they must be good. The others were that no loafers would be allowed on the camp; that there must be no gambling in the way of cards or two-up, and they were not to play for clothes or money; that they should be home by dark and bring no liquor into the camp; that they would carry no native arms for fighting; and that the young men must have their own camp, and instead of loafing about on the old people and eating their rations should go and earn their own food and help the old ones. With the coming of summer, the police decided not to wait for a government decision about Carrolup. They simply rounded up the Katanning Aborigines and dumped them there. The government accepted the fait accompli, established Carrolup as a departmental settlement, and appointed a superintendent with autocratic powers over the inmates. This was a decisive moment for southwest Aborigines. Suppression was brought into law, first at Carrolup and later at the more notorious Moore River.

2 294

2 303

2 312

2 317

2 326

2 335end

TAPE SEQUENCE
10-4-83

Track

Winthrop Hackett, editor of the West Australian newspaper: "J.B. Gribble is a lying, canting humbug." 1055
Message to Gribble on the door of the Carnarvon school he used as a church: "Old Parry sent a parson here, his name is J.B. Gribble. Poor silly wretch..he dammed himself to save the Lord the trouble." 1035
Sir John Forrest, premier of Western Australia: "I did not intend that these natives should be flogged with Cat-o-nine-tails but simply whipped like one would whip a bad child." 104
George Simpson, member for Geraldton 1892 "In view of the humane and considerate treatment of the Aborigines by the people of the colony, it is desirable in the opinion of this house to abolish the Aborigines Protection Board." Simpson, the previous year- "it will be a happy day for Western Australia and Australia at large when the natives and the kangaroos disappear." 1105
1930, the superintendent of the United Aborigines Mission at Mt. Margaret "all Aboriginal custom and belief are works of darkness, not to be countenanced." 301BS
When the Second World War came, one of the Egans, it is not clear whether father or the son, was found in Geraldton saying in public "we will be better off when the Japs come...the Japs will do me." 1445
In 1944 Parliament legislated to grant full citizenship rights to Aborigines. The certificate deemed the holder to be no longer a native or Aborigine.
One would expect a culture so deeply committed to fantasy to express similar values in visual and verbal terms, in architecture, music and to revere the crafts above those expressions that propose new models of social awareness. One would expect to find no models for change in fact as they would undoubtedly disclose a shallow reality of determined Europeans in an alien environment. One would expect all cultural expression to be either imported or third hand representations of European achievements. G.H. Lawrence was in Western Australia in 1926 staying at Mollie Skinner and Ellen Beakbane's house. Lawrence picked up a lump of gum below a huge red gum and said "this tree seems to sweat blood. A hard dark blood of agony. It frightens me, all the bush out beyond stretching away over these hills frightens me, as if dark gods possessed the place. My very soul shakes with terror when I walk out there in the moon light." One would expect a closed society to remain trapped well into the 20th Century, fearful of exposure, of outside unsympathetic probing into the hollow shell of local fantasy. One would expect to find minor fortresses built on the crumbling wall of minor fortresses, in fact a whole system of protective barriers insulating the city from the natural environment,

Track

Flogging of criminal offenders had been legalized in 1882. J.B. Gribble was opposed to flogging and all the questionable justice meted out to Aborigines. Gribble was threatening the whole economy of the north by exposing it for what it was based on, the enslavement of thousands of men women and children and the conspiracy of silence upon which the system depended. In towns like Carnarvon and Roebourne the regional prisons were hardly more than stockyards where humans were broken and tamed in preparation for employment while Rottnest Island became the final answer for holding those too wild and rebellious to submit to local service. 1055
Apart from handouts for the increasing numbers of destitute, nothing was done to check the deterioration of Aboriginal standing in the South West. Most communities demanded what was virtually a complete system of apartheid. Beginning with the central part of Perth in 1927 a number of townsites banned Aborigines from their streets. 1495
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the cultural society from external achievements, any one artist from another, every teacher from his fellow educators, in fact a system of internal empires engaged in prolonged defensive skirmishes at the walls of their public illusions.



"The Society of Gummi Artists"

ORAL HISTORY TAPES

A: MAUD RITCHIE

- 001 When I got married I went back to a tent and had a four foot six wall. And I thought I was made. And Jim's grandmother gave me a mat, it had a pheasant on it one of them pheasant birds. We laid it on the floor, dirt floor. Oh it was terrible days.
- 010 I worked on the Woodline, I worked in the boarding house.
- 012 My mother they were out on the group settlements and they were on the Northern Inlines and all those old places, lived in tents and cooked in tent ovens and Dad was on the ill cause he went to war and when they came back they went down to these group settlements and he didn't like that much, not enough in it so he went on the lines when they put the line from Kerriedale to Busselton and we lived in tents and cooked in camp ovens so I was used to all that.
- 033 MUST HAVE BEEN HARD FOR A WOMAN OUT THERE Oh yea you used to carry two hero tins of water so as to keep you level. We used to get it out of these tanks and god knows how we didn't get diptheria they were never cleaned out. But as Clarie rekons, it was beautiful water but what about the bottom?
- 041 I got Typhoid friend of mine brought it back from Perth didn't she Edna Ward, she had the germ. 1934. Jim was really ill in bed, we had chook for dinner or something...(Clarie) I spent two monthes in the Kalgooralie hospital. I could hardly walk when I got out.
- 066 Came home baldheaded yea, shaved all my hair off. You used to wear a cap didn't ya. (Clarie)
- 070 Oh they were all right wern't they, well I mean you couldn't go into details but the flies there were millions and every time the meat got blown you had to soak it in salt and vinigar to get the maggots out otherwise you would go hungry.
- 081 What was that Bird blokes name? PIN DUNLOP? Yeah I seen him in Perth one day and said I don't know who you are but I'm married now.
- 087 It was that automatic you know regarding we were going to shift in six weeks or something and everything would go each thing all meticulous we didn't have any worries cause we knew we were moving and they used to lift the whole tents up on the train.
- 094 The line had a little culvert, it was down and the kiddie was in it and couldn't get out. I heard her crying and didn't know what she was crying for. And instead of going in...I must of been behind me mind thinking of some danger I just pulled her out as I did I fell over and the kiddie I dropped her and the train went streight past.
- 108 And those other people they didn't stay that long. They had a silly daughter. You know they had a son and one of these big dogs. I can't think of their name yeah Burks thats right.
- 116 When I left for No. 5 camp I was the only woman there. Thats why I went and lived in the main camp. And I used to cook terrible but they reckoned I was better than them. Tell about the chook I cooked? I left all the inside and everything in it.
- 125 My son my daughter shes 10 and a half years old when my son, hes a little deveil he was, anyway he pinched a nut, her silkworms and she said oh you've got my silkworms. Cause I always had the stove goin cause we had a lot livin here. So he didn't want to throw them in the pie he thought it would be cruel so he put them in the pea soup. We had pea soup on see? Jim just pushed his plate aside Marrie said Mom I didn't think you put turnips in pea soup. I thought I won't throw it away so I gave it to the lady over the back, she had five kids too.
- 147 WHEN YOU WERE ON THE WOODLINE DID YOU HAVE ALL YOUR CHILDRED IN KALGOORALIE? No only two, I had the eldest one and Marrie then I went eight years and I went mad. WERE THERE ANY DOCTORS OUT THERE

- ON THE CAMPS? Oh every Sunday once a month the doctor came. But I never ever had any doctors examine me or anything. We never seen a doctor from the time we got pregnant til the time we went in.
- 160 When I was a union secretary thats when the doctors started. (Clarie) about 1931. Yeah if you got sick out there you had to go all the way to Kalgoorlie. She put a nail in her foot and of course it was terrible. It came up like a thats when we were coming down to Perth thats when Jim won the money. She said I'll fix it, it wont hurt cause the outer skin doesnt hurt when you got a big...oh her foot was terrible. So she let it out and the Doctor refused to do it unless she went to Kalgoorlie. She had to go through all that agony, all that pain and he wouldn't do it unless she got sterilized and all that and she did it with a razorblade.
- 178 The way we lived, all dirt floors and we used to sweep for miles cause we was always frightened of snakes we never ever seen any. Ants were a problem (Clarie) And the lavatory was just a stick across a hole, bit of paper, hessian around it wasn't it? Thats for fussy married women (Clarie)
- 186 What about the little Parakeets? They used to shift with us too. We put them in a box and let them loose as soon as we got there.. Something like I got two budgies there they are naughty boys.
- 192 I took Kathleen streight off the breast she was about 15 months old and I got big absesses on me breasts and everything and all me nipples cracked. Anyhow they put me in for Pneumonia but it was Typhoid fever and pneumonia I had. I was burnt down I was a member only. I know when I left the hospital Sister Halse tripped my hand and said don't ever come back as sick as that again.
- 204 YOU KNOW WHEN YOUR HUSBUND USED TO GO OUT FOR THE DAY TO WORK aw he came home for dinner WHAT DID YOU USED TO DO? oh! carry the water cut the wood do the washing never ever stoped still. HOW DID YOU USED TO DO THE WASHING THERE MUST NOT HAVE BEEN MUCH WATER? Enamel tubs...I had a washing board. But I carried all my own water.
- 222 See I was used to battling on account of my mother and father see there was five of us. My mother had five daughters and a son. She had a terrible rough time. I never went to school til I was ten. And then my father went over to the eastern states to get a job off his brother, Charles Linham, he used to have scate rings all over Sydney and Melbourne, and he didn't get a job and says he was coming home and we don't know whether he shot through but we never seen him from that day to this. Then we had a pretty rough spin there.
- 240 HOW DID YOUR MUM...? go to the welfare. If she hadn't died 3 or 4 years ago she be 94. SHE MUST HAVE BEEN A MARVELOUS WOMAN. Oh yea she did her own cleaning, looked after herself. She was all very skinny, she was like you.
- 246 They neiver used to talk much about their family. When Jim went back he destroyed all the photos of granny and photos of differnt ones you know and himself and Paddy going to war and all that. We never brought a thing down. That how we come down the Toojay road with a bed with stumps for legs. THATS AMAZING ISNT IT THAT HE JUST WON THE MONEY AT THE TWO-UP SCHOOL AND DECIDED THEN AND THERE I decided...YOU DICIDED...I wouldn't go back. I had enough FIVE YEARS IS A LONG TIME. The conditions were terrible.
- 264 It was alright for men. But Jims granny she was quite young, she wasn't that old when she died. When I first went out there there was Tilly, there was Shela, there was quite a few wasn't there? Then they all drifted away.
- 270 I went to the convent, they didn't even teach you how to sew. WHERE DID YOU GO TO SCHOOL? I went to St. Bridget's first then St.

Thomas's.

- 273 The morning that Kathleen was born I left at nine and she was born at quarter past...no it must have been eight I mean...I often wondered how I got there in time. AND WHO HELPED YOU ON THE TRAIN YOUR HUSBUND WOULD HAVE BEEN OUT WORKING. aw yea he wasn't home then-he couldn't leave the job then we just didn't have any money. You just went on the train on your own. WHERE DID YOU SIT? Oh in the van. JUST ON THE FLOOR? Oh yes thee was no beds or anything. As I say I took no notice on account of roughing it with my parents, see. When another person wouldn't have stayed there five minutes I don't think. We were used to roughing it. When my mother mother went first to the group settlements they had a great big stum in the middle, a big red gum in the middle cut out and made a beautiful big table.
- 305 HOW OLD WERE YOU WHEN YOU HAD YOUR FIRST CHILD? Eighteen. Its rather sad, when she was seven, her eyes started to turn and I took her to the doctor thinking you know how they put a thing over one eye to streighten the eye. And they said no its her kidneys. And the secretion was drying up in her kidneys. She died when she was eight. She only lasted a year.
- 317 Lakewood-thats just out from Boulder. Then we went back next time and it was deteriorated. I tryed to go back some years ago and I couldn't even find the road to drive out there...I couldn't get through there.
- 322 Cause at number 8 there was only, well I think Ann was living in worse conditions than we were cause there was only about three engineers, couple of stokers and they were deserters off ships. And about three or four families. Very lonely it was there.
- 329 They all died pretty young out there didn't they? They all ended up with cancer mostly. No, I'm still going. (Clarie) Oh yea, some people won't lay down for nobody. No I think we got out in time. He thought he would get out while the goin was good.
- 333 When we went back there there was one brick where the pub used to stand. It was sad too. To think that all that was there, and end up with a brick. Very sad I reckon, nothing but just a brick

BERT WRIGHT

- 001 Anyway they lived very hard, tents and camps and the dingos were bad. They used to have to build big folds for the night and put fires around it to keep the hounds back. As far as I know the only way to get to Melbourne was by boat. There was no trans-road line no road-we were a little island more or less. Anyway he got him over there and he won the Melbourne cup, in 1905. There was a lot of half caste boys and black boys on the station, their parents used to live down the creek and lived pretty hard, but we never thought of one another but as mates. There was no colour, none whatsoever, isn't it strange? Today, silly isn't it?
- 030 Anyway the dogs were bad, really bad. Big Lake Moore on the southern boundary of Ningam, and the dingo like any other dog he likes soft ground for his feet. The losses were getting greater and greater anyway they got this. Frank Hyde over from Delwalinu he had one arm, a terrific guy. They estimated that Frank caught about a thousand of them I know one week he caught twenty. This is around about 13 or 14 you'd have a great tank of say 10 to 15 thousand gallons. Well to get those things you had to have horse teams-the camel didn't come on Ningam for quite awhile-1922 I think the camel come.
- 056 Cause they had to get water you see, that was the killer. Today its only a kick to Ningam, only about 70 miles, those days it was about a hundred. More because of the bendy track going to water.
- 064 When it was first taken up I heard that the old fellers saw as possibility of good grazing sheep country, especially Marrino. Then they saw great lake Moore and others, Mongers lake..they couldn't say its Blackfellow name, never could..but Ningam bears a lovely little hill supposed to resemble a porcupine, a hedgehog, and thats how Ningam got its name. Goodinaw got its name because of the turkey, the Malle foul, thats a Gkoodinaw Waridaw etc.
- 096 In the creek there was alot of young abos and they slept under their heads with the right treatment, which they did get, absolutly got perfect treatment, they would make good honest men, which they did do.
- 104 After it got going a bit they would give thse abos seven or eight mills to look after to see that the tanks were kept full-couldn't fix the mills or...that was out-they give a few old nags and he would have his wife and kids there and they used to get plenty of flour and tea and sugar and trekle and things like that and there was oceans of game, turkeys, roos galore. And they used to live pretty well. His job was to see that the dingos didnt interfere and see that the water was kept up cause its a pretty big problem up there, poor rainfall. You must remember it was pretty hard times and there was a disease called Barque rot which was spretty rough on us blokes-you vomit half the time-only wanted lemons.
- 138 Oranges and lemons would have fixed it. We had very few greens, only what was growing on the run, no spuds, no onions, bacon was our main standby, it would keep.
- 149 My mother, she was from Castlemain in Vic, matter of fact she went to school with Ron Berassi's grandfather, we were living in a camp Dad made, part iron, part bush, bag etc.-she had a very hard life then. Once a product came over from I think Gipsland, Victoria. And it was called red feather brand, it was tinned cheese and tinned

- butter. This was something unheard of cause our own butter was mainly what we used to call chookie dripings-cook a turkey in some mutton fat-you get it at home and probably still do, good tucker too. The first consignment arrived in the middle of summer now just work this out, it comes over in an old steamer all the way ascross from Vic its unloaded in Fremantle, goes into a hot warehouse, then its loaded onto a slow boat to China which our train was at those times and its taken up to Wubin, unloaded at Wubin into an old siding, hot as a hogs tail, then its put on a horse team which does its good two-tree mile an hour, winds its way... got to give em a spell so we will camp here for a couple of days and give the team a spell, onwards Christian soldiers and it comes to Ningan, and it gets stuck in a storeroom where all the stuff is kept. Well, there she is lovely little tins, big red feather onem. Everyone we opened was green.
- 201 Well our main tucker then was rice, we used to use a fair bit of curry. Mutton, I never saw cattle til I was about seven or eight. Roo, turkey and rice was our main puddings. About 1920-21 dried fruit, dried peaches, apricots came on the market. Well didn't they make the bush. We would boil them up with some rice and you would have a bonza pudding.
- 216 Then the next thing that came on was tinned potatoes, mashed, well so help me God it was the closest taste to burnt ashes you could ever get, and it looked like them too. It didn't last long. But we did get some tinned meat called Globe, tinned dog they used to call it those days.
- 225 Well the poison, the losses got tok great and they had to abandon it-70 or 80 thousand acres. But I'll tell you Helen if you want to see a good stand of salt bush, thats the only place left in this country.
- 232 And there good tucker, did you know that? Sandlewood nuts... I brought down 700 once and my grandkids ate them in 2 or 3 days. and that was their medicine.
- 236 Well a horse team you have only gone half a mile and the horses are in a lather of sweat, white froth. Well he has got to get a drink. Nighttime comes he has got to get a feed. Camels are great ones to talk to each other, they are, when things are going good, they growl... but when the weight of the load would come on them or a steep hill, one would shut up then the other and the other. The camels a wonderful animal. I'd walk up to a big feller and i'd put my arm right down his big old belly and I'd get a trace of moisture. His nostrils close so no dust gets in to make him dry in the throat. Under extremes you might see a big tear under his eye and thats the only bit he loses. Where a horse would lose a gallon of sweat, he would lose a teaspoonful. Where he come from he was made not to lose sweat. Thats why he was such a wonderful animal here.
- 266 All the main worries of the day was to find permanent water. What they did find mostly had a bit of salt or magnisium it was hard.
- 272 I dont know what year it was on Ningan but it was pretty early and the dingos were playing up and a fellow said I don't know he was some college bloke or another, get some goats on your station. The dingo kills for sport he doesn't like mutton, thats why he tears all the flanks out of them. He said a billy goat will bail up and he said they will charge around him and if they are with the sheep the sheep will disperse and instead of killing a dozen he will only kill one. Good idea. Right the dingo kept on killing the sheep and the goats kept on breeding and we end up with 200 thousand goats in the Murchison.

284 Drought played a hell of a part in us up there. We had some
terrific droughts my god we did. Four years was the last one. And
there was one before that, seven, so you cant do anything if
you cant get rain.

289 There were two old billy goats and of course they were up on the
Mulga, the other trees were eaten dead level around it so you
couldn't reach another leaf...and thats why we are busted for
sheep I think...and they are up picking thse off and there is a
starving Kangaroo and when they would bite a drop a few leaves
they would drop and he was eating them.

295 DO YOU MEET ANY OF THE OLD SORTS NOW IN THE BUSH? Very few...
WHAT SORT OF PEOPLE ARE IN THE BUSH NOW? Blokes that will drive
past you on the road, wouldn't give you a lift; and things like
that. Cant leave your camp open for five minutes, if you are away
you got to lock everything up. And there is nobody in the bush.

302 The nut that Kalgoorlie was named after. They call it a pear
but its not, its called a Koogalie. Coolgardie etc. named...
(The mulga tree).

320 I got a girl singing home sweet home in 1904.

OUT 376

CHARLES CABLE

- 001 To give you a bit of an idea there was three trains a day, from
Kalgoorlie to Kanowna, and there was something like 22 hotels
there. But I could remember in my time when there was nine
hotels there. Now theres not even one building standing. Just
flat, the whole lot flatened out.
- 017 But sandelwood was the first thing that was exported from Australia
WELL DEFINITLY FROM WESTERN AUSTRALIA. It either went from Derby
or Broome Im not sure which place it was shipped to China.
- 027 In the 1900s the natives used to get rations there then. And the
way it was done, the storekeeper, a policeman and one jof the
residents of the town supervised the rations that were handed
out to each native. AND THESE PLACES NO LONGER EXIST. Nope. Took
quite a long while for it to actually peter out altogether...
- 045 They had the cemetry there, two cemetrys, and the first was right
where all the gold was, so there was a great to-do over that, and
they had to throw it open eventually all but just where the
actual graves were, and that was thrown open for prospecting.
They shifted the cemetry then in towards Kalgoorlie about a mile .
- 062 Because so much history has been lost. We covered a mighty
stretch of country during our time in sandelwood. I CAN GATHER THAT.
AND YOU WERE OFTEN THE FIRST WHITES IN THESE AREAS. Yea. I NOTICE
YOU GOT A PHOTOGRAPH THERE OF THE FIRST WHEELS GOING INTO THE
WARBUTON. Thats right we worked from 200 mile northeast of Laver-
ton right through to the transline-all that country. We made a
lot of road, we must have made hundreds and hundreds of miles of
road.
- 087 Course them days you wernt allowed to use natives. But they did
bring it in later on to allow us to have one native in the camp
to look after the camels. You see it was quite a big days work.
You get up daylight in the morning and you might have to walk
a couple of mile in the mornling to find your camels, bring them
back in, you have breakfast, then you are working all the rest of
the day. You used to have to work to earn your money. And what
we got was a pound a tonne-thats what we used to charge to pull
the wood.
- 106 WHY WERE YOU ALLOWED TO HAVE NATIVE HELPERS? I dont know why I
really dont know why. They used to employ them on the stations
and that. But still we wernt allowed to have them in the sandle-
wood camp. So we started in with the natives and they used to
clean with the tomahawk.
- 118 I seen one stick of wood in Kanouna that was 24 foot long and
weighed 2400 weight, just one stick. That was the full length of
the camelwagon and he had it laying alongside of his house on
exhibition...I don't know how long it was there.
- 138 You couldn't pull a stick under the size of a beer bottle, thats
after its cleaned.
- 142 And after I left Laverton, noone would know anything about me til
after I got back to Laverton. And we had a lot of wet weather.
I got bogged and I was there for about four days.
- 149 My wife was a pal of one of my sisters and we met 1939 when I
went down for a little shower, and we were married in 40.
- 155 And while we were away our house got burned down and when we come
back I had to bulid a new house. I kwanted the wife to stay in
Perth but the garage was still there so the garage was still
there so she said no we live in the garage.

162 I can remember when I was a kid in Kanalpi along side of our store there was an area oh it would be about four of these housing blocks that was one masss of sandlewod chips where they had been cleaning sandlewood. Of course all them chips was wasted now days thats not. WELL ITS BECOMING MORE AND MORE SCARSE.

181 June, 1930 and I went out through to the Warburton ranges and out past the Warburton going south towards the South Australian border with these rocks with all the various names carved on it. Theres John Forest and as I said earlier someone had put the Sir in front of his name in later years. Ernest Giles, Billy Vost (?) there were quite a number and they all carved their names and of course we carved ours. And Jimmy Tracurtha was another one. We camped-we used to make a rule when we would come to a rock hole, that was the watering point, we'd fill our water drums and go half a mile or so away from the rock hole cause there was a lot of natives around out there and we thought it wouldn't be right to camp right at the rock hole cause they wouldn't know what we were, camels and that, and they could come in and get their water and camp and go away. This time when we were filling our water drums some natives come along and we had two native boys with us as well, and they wanted us to camp down in the flat just down from the rock hole. They put on a real decent corroboree that night. It was a real proper corroboree not just jplkaying. The women and kids were all sent away, they had to go to another rock hole 8 mile away. And the men put this special corroboree on, we didn't get any photos of it unfortunately. Were you watching the opening of the games the other day? Did you see them natives? NO I DIDN'T. Well thats the poorest display of a native corroboree I have ever seen. The one they put on for us they were really decorated

240 They cut t he vein and get the blood and put it on them and they had feathers all around them and all over their faces and headdress. HOW MANY OF THEM? Oh there'd be 50 or 60 of them there all together. And it went all night this corroboree. Two of the headmen come over and we all had to go over and watch it, we had to sit down in a certain place, we wern't allowed to say anything, we just had to sit down quiet and watch. And it was a real decent corroboree.

254 We went on down through to the S.A. border then and oh there was a terrible lot of natives there. We were in bed one night and all of a sudden we heard the camel bells and hobble chains going and off our camels went. We don't know what frightened them but we reckoned later it must have been natives about. Anyway Doug and the two native boys had to go out and they had to go seven mile before they caught them. We never seen the natives but the next day we seen them. There was 14 men came in TO YOUR CAMP? no we were traveling when we met these and you'd never seen a better type of man in your life as they were they were fine muscley fellows you know-course they couldn't speak a word of English. They wern't too sure of us and they wern't too sure of the camels-they didn't know what to make of us anyway our boys had to talk to them and it was all right and they took us up along a creek into the Tomkinson ranges. We had to leave the camels we couldn't get them up it was too rough. They took us right up this creek and there was a big pool of water there, and another one up a bit further and water was trickling from one pool to the other and then it just disappears, you didn't see it from then on.

292 Well these natives was all green from this tobacco. Strong oh! The old chappy we had with us he smoked a pipe-I'm going to try it he says in my pipe. He dried it out and put it in the pipe and he started smoking it and it nearly killed him. We were six monthes on that trip.

299 We never used to take any unnecessary chances. We always had our
rifles close handy to us. DID YOU SHOOT GAME? Ah yes, Kangaroos
and Emus and rabbits. Its suprising the number of rabbits was all
out through that country.

305 We had a compass and a map of WA. WA IS A BIG PLACE. Well all the
early explorers theres John Forest and Frank Hand and Giles old
Carboid-any travels they made through the country they used to
keep a record of it and give it to the lands department. And of
course that would in time be put onto a map-thats what we followed.
Doug, he was the lead, he was the compass man-I didn't know any-
thing about a compass.

323 DID YOU EVER GET LOST? Nope. AT ALL, EVER? The only time I've been
lost is since I've been driving around through the bush in motor-
cars. That's when you'll get lost. You go through with a horse or
a camel, you won't get lost, but do it with a motorcar and you're
looking for a space to get through and another one over there and
it finishes up you don't know which way you're going.

332 Anyway daylight next moring the natives attacked him. He got a spear
jabbed into his back, went right through and one of the other I
don't know weather it was Pickering or Genet got a spear in the
leg-anyway that was the end of it. And they reckon the spear went
through oh I don't know how many parts of his intestine-the old
scars was there where the spear went through. But it never killed
him, he lived through it.

344 And this other old fellow, old Sam Haslut, that I showed you here with
the Drays, he was in geting water out and the natives was up on top
of the rock, let the spear gun go and drove it right down into his
neck. Well he had a half-caste chappy with him, and he pulled the
spear out, but the spear had the barb on it-you've seen the barb
they had on it? and the barb stayed in there. When he was down
in Dalwallineu he took ill with pneumonia or I don't know what it was
I don't know but during his illness he coughed this barb up off the
spear. It had been in him there for 20 odd years. And he coughed it up.

359 We were young and silly at the time but it didn't bother us.

360 NO RECENT TIMES, WOULD YOU COME ACROSS ANY NATIVES IN THE BUSH?
AT ALL? No. There are all in town.

CLARIE O'LAUGHLIN

- 001 oh we used to make shanghis, catapults they call em now days.
killing birds shed pidgeons, then like in we used to play games
at school but of course there was never enough there to have a
team to play cricket and football. In the later days there'd
be enough ...tennis I played tennis there too. I was their number
one representative when I was 18 there. Oh yes there was some
interesting times at Karoween.
- 021 WERE THERE MANY ABORIGINALS IN THE AREA? They used to come there
periodically-they didn't stop there-I can't think what season of
the year they came at a certain season of the year as I can remember.
PASSING THROUGH. No they used to come there from around Karowni way
or somewhere where they could gather-they used to come there and
make their spears-they used to split the white gums, saplings and
make the spears out of them. They used to also make boomerangs
out of we used to call it needlewood in those days. Its a scrub
actually, you get lotsa oh its fairly big. You gets lotsa limbs coming
off it like that, so you can go and cut a boomerang out it.
- 055 I met the man that took part in the Eureka Stockade. His name was
Montague Miller. I've read about him since, he was only 19 when he
took part...I know I was really upset-I was a little pincher that was
before my schooldays. And this old fellow he was bent right over like
that he was white as anything, looked like a goast it was horrible-
I had to go up you know and shake hands with him. I couldn't work out
why everyone was making such a fuss over him but thats who it was.
- 079 HE WAS REGARDED AS AN IMPORTANT PERSON. Oh yea of course you would
be in those days. He'd be as important as Ned Kelly perhaps. I
think there was a strike on or something like that I should imagine.
But he could only just move around and that sort of thing. I was
pulling back and that you know it was so ugly to a child like that.
- 090 WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT THE STRIKE ON THE WOODLINE THAT YOU JUST MENTIONED,
WAS THERE A STRIKE ON THE WOODLINE? Oh there was plenty, oh not
plenty but there were some. EVERY NOW AND AGAIN. Yes. WHAT WOULD
THEY STRIKE ABOUT? Oh mostly for wages and that sort of thing. DO
YOU THINK THE CONDITIONS WERE HARD? Of course they were they were
very bad-you wouldn't get any people to work under those conditions
today. Not at all, not for anyone they wouldn't work.
- 103 HOW DID THEY GET THEIR WATER? Water was grought out in square 100
gallon tanks. It was brought out in specially built tanks on the
railroads. They had their own private trucks and everything-the
government didn't own those. These 400 gallon tanks might serve
say 10 or 15 or 20 people and there'd be another one further on and
like that along the road. It was good water, that was one thing they
used to get it out of those dams at the...
- 123 MUST HAVE BEEEN HARD FOR YOUR MOTHER. Yes a lot of women didn't stop
there. WOULD HAVE BEEN PRETTY DIFFICULT I SUPPOSE. Aw yes there was
nothing there really. Not women, you probably wouldn't get anyone
to do it there.
- 130 There was another interesting character there-Mary Roberts her name
was and she used to chop wood for a living. DID SHE? SUPPORT HER
KIDS? Say when I was a young man she would have been a middle-aged
woman-roughly. And I was talking to a chap, and I've got to go and
see him too, and he was telling me she was a wonderful pianist in her
younger days, and they stuck her in Kalgoorlie. I thought she was
just a boozehouse but he reckons she was wonderful on the piano.
- 144 But who she was there is no one to ask when you come to think of who
she was or why she was there. HER STORY. But that whats she was she

- used to chop wood for a living. AND DID SHE HAVE CHILDREN TO FEED?
 No she didn't have anybody or anything. JUST WAS ON HER OWN?
 In her latter years she lived with an old bloke named Blackmore
 but he would have been...when she was a middle-aged woman he would
 have been up around the 80 I should say. They used to live together
 at Karoween in the depot. Go down to the pub on pension day and
 perhaps have a few drinks. She must have been somebody because even
 though she'd drink oh she could swear she got drunk-her normal speech
 and everything like that she was quite a nice person. SHE WOULDN'T
 HAVE STARTED OFF DRINKING PROBABLY TAKEN IT UP AS SHE GOT OLDER.
 I've wondered but of course I don't know, but on the rocks at the
 deadman's soak-thats on the old road from Southern Cross to Menzies,
 Well on that rock is carved J.S. Roberts, 1895. Well I've often
 wondered if she might have been connected with that chap that came
 through there-might have been her husband or-
- 196 Oh it was a wonderful life when you think back on it but you'll
 never see the times again.
- 198 Once I was oh I would have been only about 17 and I was working with
 a surveyor up on ...the Karaween Co. put the line in from Meekatharra
 to a place called horseshoe. And I worked on that and when you got
 over the parallel 26, you was entitled to more money and I didn't
 get it.
- 206 Well you carried your water out in what ever you could use, usually
 Kerosine tins. Cause all Kerosine used to come in tins those days.
 Used to use them for buckets. Thats what everybody did. Ladies
 carried it out there to do their washing. Lot of ladies carried
 their own. Mrs. Mattarana she was -oh she just died a few days ago-
 she could get a four gallon kerosine tin, she used to go to that
 tank and dip way down in it with her left hand then she would turn
 around and hit the otherin and walk away with them. Now just imagine
 get four gallons and dip it in the tank and walk away with it.
 PRETTY STRONG. Gosh she was strong.
- 231 There was an old fellow got hit by lightening-Paddy Hennings
 234 Mat Dackly, one of my, well my grandmothers husband-he was arrested
 at Eureka. My greatgrandfather-he came out as a convict. WAS HE
 SENT TO FREMANTLE? No he landed in 1828 in Port Jackson. Sent for
 bigamy.
- 247 Oh the Priest asked him something- he said I told him you have no
 mandate to interrogate and cross-question me-he was down on the
 Priest you know -for the early days when he could have eaten that
 egg that his mother gave the priest.
- 253 Oh yes theres some stirring things you can read. WAS THERE A LIBRARY,
 WHAT SORT OF...only a school library had sort of books like Tom
 Browns School Days, Huckleberry Finn and Tom Gardner.
- 260 SO I SUPPOSE YOU NEVER SAW THE SEA? No I never learnt to swim till
 I went into the army.
 Oh whats his name-he was premier-but weather he was premier at that
 time or weather he was the-oh I think he became governor-Jimmy Mitchell
 He was the one that sent this paper to her-it was signed by him so
 it was pretty right.
- 273 HE WAS REALLY OLD WHEN YOU WERE REALLY YOUNG. Oh yes like he might
 have been 90. He was very old-I don't know how he made a living,
 only thing I ever knew he gathered bottles. WATTLES? Bottles, you
 know, beer bottles.
- 280 I told Bill I reckon they're lucky on the Goldfields they don't get
 any more rain than they have. If we had more rain than we get on the
 goldfields now-see all these trees that you are looking at-they wouldn't
 be there. See there would be farms all there-all those trees would

be gone. Perhaps in another 1000 years it would be just a dustbowl. But while it stops like it is it won't grow anything but yet it will grow all that forest. More forest there now than originally.

290 Cause when the train went took the loaders out to load the wood up, they throw sparks you see, well sparks would go perhaps in these stacks of wood along the way-well there used to be a chap on a trike-well the correct name was a velosopede car-its one of these you pull like this you see. OH YES ON THE RAILS a single one like this the old trike. Well old Joe he used to be a track loader, then they gave him this job as he got older, and the damn train run him down one day.

302 Well he used to follow the train out say the train is going out there well he might leave half an hour after case any wood catches light he could put it out you see. He was apparantly coming back and the train was coming back and he couldn't hear it you see and it run him over.

MEDIA - SPACE

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Inquiry: REDLINE

Context: ~~Social~~ *Historical*

Research: Allan Vizents

From A NEW HISTORY OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA edited by C. T. Stannage.

Pg. 73 1688, William Dampier. "During his second visit to the west coast in 1699 Dampier fitted out Aborigines in the cast-off remnants of European clothing hoping to induce them to carry water from the wells to the ship's boat."

We brought these our new servants to the wells and put a barrel on each of their shoulders for them to carry to the canoe. But all the signs we could make were to no purpose, for they stood like statues, without motion...and they very fairly put the clothes off again and laid them down, as if clothes were only to work in.

[William Dampier, *A Voyage to New Holland*, London, 1703 Vol. 1 pg. 468]

"...His widely publicized descriptions of the Aborigines were to prejudice English and Australian attitudes well into the twentieth century."

Perth Gazette 26 July, 1834: editor, MacFaul: "Although we have ever been the advocates of a humane and conciliatory line of procedure, this unprovoked attack must not be allowed to pass over without the infliction of the severest chastisement; and we cordially join our brother colonists in the one universal call-for a summary and fearful example. We feel and know from experience that to punish with severity the perpetrators of the atrocities (settler Nesbitt killed) will be found in the end an act of the greatest kindness and humanity." (Pg 83) d

Pg. 84: Sir James Stirling and a force of twenty-four soldiers and civilians trapped the main force of the Murray River tribe in a deadly cross-fire at Pinjarra. Official reports place the death toll at fifteen Aborigines and one white man, Captain Ellis. Eye witness reports by Surveyor-General Roe describe how one mounted section approached a camp population estimated at eightymen, women and children. This force charged the awakening tribe driving them towards the river, where Sir James Stirling and his party lay in ambush. Captain Roe and a small detachment had been positioned at a shallow ford downstream and recorded that the wounded drifting down were shot."

Pg. 85: The first Foundation Day, organized by Stirling to commemorate the great naval victory of the *Parmelia* (Glorious First of June)- Stirling actually anchored in Cockburn Sound on the second of June.) At any rate this was held on the first of June, 1835 and reported in detail in the Perth Gazette. "A general sports programme of flat races was a prime attraction. The children ran for sweets, the men for purses of coins and the Aborigines for loaves of bread."

Pg. 87, Disent: Louis Giustiniani-the first European to defend Aborigines in a Western Australian court. The trial became a farce and defeat for him and the defendants after which "his few parishioners deserted his church and he became a figure of ridicule to the settlers, who attacked him through the pages of the Perth Gazette. (1836)

"Giustiniani is one of the neglected men in Western Australia's history. Like Robert Lyon before him and John Gribble fifty years later, his public protest is a tide marker...the government and the public in each case preferred to ignore the atrocities and discredit the lone crusader. Giustiniani was brought to the colony to Christianize Aborigines as a prelude to their domestication as servants."

Pg. 102: Gribble- ...continued to condemn the questionable justice meted out to Aboriginal offenders, the lack of legal representation and their ignorance of the crimes and consequences. The townspeople (Carnarvon) replied with a boycott and the stores refused him supplies. On the door of the school he used as a church was pinned the following doggerel:

Old Parry sent a parson here (Bishop Parry, 1885)

His name is J.B. Gribble

Poor silly wretch he damned

Himself to save the Lord the trouble.

Gribble was opposed to flogging of natives. Flogging of offenders had been legalized in 1882 and John Forrest speaking in support had said "He did not intend that these natives should be flogged with cat-o'-nine tails, but simply whipped like one would whip a bad child. He was sure, from his knowledge of the natives, that a mild whipping would prove far more efficacious punishment than imprisonment in a great many cases."

Pg. 105 "Gribble was whistling up a whirlwind that threatened the economy of the north by exposing it for what it was, the enslavement of thousands of men, women and children. As the enslavement came under public scrutiny so too would the instruments of slavery: abduction, incarceration, rape, flogging and assignment contracts....In towns like Carnarvon and Roebourne the regional prisons were hardly more than stockyards where humans were broken and tamed in preparation for employment, while Rottnest Island became the final answer for holding those too wild and rebellious to submit to local service. Gribble lost a libel suit in court and his credibility, supporters etc. as before. This was due to a coverup by Governor Broome of certain reports from Roebourne confirming Gribbles accusations. It was brought about by the editor of the West Australian referred to Gribble as a 'lying, canting humbug.' (Winthrop Hackett)

The Aborigines Protection Act: In 1888, when a constitution embodying responsible government was being drafted, the British government insisted that the Aborigines Protection Board remain an autonomous body under the authority of the governor but be funded through the state treasury at one per cent of the state revenue or £5000, whichever was the greater. On 20 April, 1892 the premier, Sir John Forrest, suggested the abolition of the board and from then until this was achieved in 1898 Forrest remained its most consistent opponent. Hew attempted to bankrupt the board by forcing financial responsibility for Rottnest Island Prison. George Simpson, member for Geraldton moved (September, 1892) "That in view of the humane and considerate treatment of the Aborigines by the people of the colony, it is desirable in the opinion of this House to abolish the Aborigines Protection Board as at present constituted." (pg. 110) Simpson's principal argument was that no 'native question' existed and that there was no deep-rooted antipathy between the settlers and the Aborigines. This received overwhelming support from both houses. Simpson's argument is blatant hypocrisy when set against his statement in the Assembly the previous year that 'it will be a happy day for Western Australia and Australia at large when the natives and the kangaroos disappear.' ^{en}

The removal of section 70 of the Constitution pauperized Western Australian Aborigines and made them beggars in their own land. Had the one percent continued to the present, it is likely that the social problems of the Aborigines would be considerably reduced...."

"Throughout the period of settlement the dominant theme had been exploitation. The early attempts to Europeanize Aborigines through educational and training programmes were little more than thinly veiled

schemes to domesticate them into the workforce.

Pg. 135: June, 1914-Katanning-the local residents demand that natives be removed from the town to a reserve at Carrolup. Anna Lock, an enthusiastic teacher was doing so well with aboriginal children that they came from miles around to attend. The govt. decided that there were no funds for such a reserve. The aboriginals convened a remarkable conferece with Anna Lock as secretary for the purpose of choosing their own policemen and magistrates and making laws by which they would regulate their own affairs (conduct). They got Anna Lock to write down six laws. The first was simply that they must be good. The others were that no loafers would be allowed on the camp; that there must be no gambiling in the way of cards or two-up, and they were not to play for clothes or money; that they should be home by dark and bring no liquor into the camp; that they would carry no native arms for fighting; and that the young men must have their own camp, and instead of loafing about on the old people and eating their rations should go and earn their own food, and help the old ones. The police in Katanning decided to round the natives up and dump them at Carrolup and the government accepted the fait accompli, established a departmental settlement. Opportunity would not be provided for part-Aboriginies to exercise initiative and self-discipline, either individually through seeking education and property ownership, or collectively through the making of their own code of conduct. Instead the government offered the suppressive control of the reserves; first Carrolup, later and more notoriously Moore River.

Pg. 142: March, 1928: delegation to the premier, Collier. Members were part-aborigines, William Harris, his brother, Edward and nephew Norman, a Kickett and a Jacobs from among the Quairading families whose attempts at self-improvement had been so consistently discouraged; Wilfred Morrison, whose wife and children were at Moore river, and William Bodney. Norman Harris: "every one of us is a prisoner in his own country."

Apart(Pg. 149) from handouts for the increasing numbers of destitute, nothing was done to check the deterioration of Aboriginal standing in the South west. Most communities in the Great Southern district demanded what was virtually a complete system of apartheid.

Beginning with the central part of Perth in 1927 a number of townsites banned Aboriginies from their streets. Part-aboriginal children were almost entirely excluded from Education Department schools.

Wartime policies and subsequently participation in the United Nations committed Australia to racial equality. 1944 parliament legislated to grant full citizenship rights to Aboriginies, provided that they were adult, literate, of industrious habits and good behaviour, and completely severed from tribal or communal associations. an applicant would receive a certificate of citizenship deeming the holder to be "no longer a native or aborigine."

Pg. 144...when the Second World War came, one of the Egans, it is not clear whether the father or the son-was found in Geraldton saying in public:"we will be better off when the Japs come-the Japs will do me."
(Document, Dept. of Native Affairs.)