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A SURVEY OF DARWIN'S SOCIAL HISTORY 1868 TO 1956
WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE
GROWTH OF A PROVINCIAL SOCIETY.

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P R E F A C E

This thesis uses the term "provincialism" as an "attachment to one's own province, its institutions, interests and so forth before those of the nation or state to which it is part." Thus when a former Minister in charge of the territory and later Administrator observed that the Darwin population in 1937 "appeared to consider that they were entirely distinct from the rest of Australia" he was, in fact, describing them as being provincial. In the past, administering authorities removed from Darwin appear to have underestimated and on occasions entirely overlooked the possibility of a distinct and separate community. Yet an interpretation holding provincialism as the most important social characteristic of Darwin life is best able to explain most of the attitudes, conditions and events of the prewar community.

The provincial life which grew up seems to have been largely the outcome of three broad conditions. The first was isolation and an unproductive hinterland giving rise to loneliness and poverty. The second was an unsuccessful struggle for greater democratic freedom resulting in a rather turbulent political history, the growth of extreme ideas and the lack of public spiritedness. The third was

the growth of a cosmopolitan community. These three conditions will be considered in the first three chapters. To them may be added a fourth - social unbalance between men and women and married and unmarried - which will be considered incidentally amongst the other chapters.

Due largely to the growth of air transport through Darwin, its development as a garrison town and the advent of a less sedentary government working force, the community began to lose much of its provincial outlook after 1937. The full effect of this transition, particularly the impact of new conditions and a new population on the old, became most pronounced in the decade beginning 1946. This transition and social impact will be considered in the fourth and fifth chapters.

The division of Darwin's social history thus into periods and separate influences is purely a matter of utility. Thus, for instance, economic factors considered in Chapter One played a large part in the struggle for selfrule considered in Chapter Two. Throughout the thesis the geographic and local name "Darwin" is used, even when the town was officially known in South Australia as "Palmerston".

Chapter I.

PROVINCIALISM AND GEOGRAPHY

(In what way was provincial Darwin the outcome of geographical conditions?)

1. Isolation and the Darwin Community.
2. Unproductive Hinterland and the Darwin Community.
3. Geography and Social History.



The greatest single factor conditioning the growth and nature of Darwin society has been its physical environment - or more explicitly, the two factors of isolation and an unproductive hinterland. Fundamentally these were geographical, though both were accentuated by historical events - isolation, through South Australia's uncompromising intention to develop the tropical north although separated by 3,800 miles of sea - an unproductive hinterland, because the site finally chosen for settlement included some of the highest rainfall, greatest humidity and worst soil conditions along the north coast.

These gave a direction to Darwin's social history which has been characterized by failure, stagnation and isolation; all of which have contributed to an outlook so distinct from the rest of Australia as to warrant the description "provincial".

Isolation and the Darwin Community

The facts of geography inevitably destined the Darwin community to a lonely existence, separated as it was by the Arafura Sea on one side, desert and grassland on the other and two thousand miles of unoccupied coastline on each of the remaining sides. This isolation is better gauged in terms of shipping times, as when the 1914 Royal Commission on Railways and Ports observed - "It takes

longer to journey to Darwin by sea from the nearest state capital (Brisbane, 2,100 miles) than it does to go from Darwin to Hongkong or Singapore." Further, the frequency of shipping services declined with economic prosperity. In 1883 Resident Price reported 13 vessels each way every three weeks. When the Commonwealth assumed control in 1911, Gilruth recorded a service of three boats each way per month. Seven years later, due to the war and in spite of the Vestey's Meatworks, three shippings lines had abandoned Darwin as port of call, resulting in occasional six weeks delays between mails. In 1925 Sir George Buchanan noted that only one regular service visited the port and that the Burns, Philp and Company's Singapore Java line which called once a month on the outgoing journey and again on the return journey. In addition, the Western Australian State Shipping Line ran a few services a year. Until defence development prior to the Second World War, these services remained the area's only practical link with the outside world and then only because of (1) a considerable government subsidy which by 1938 amounted to £7,850 per annum.

Though its geographic position thus made Darwin isolated, the vagaries of history further accentuated this loneliness.

Facing north as it does, this region might have been

better settled from South East Asia. With this in view and because of three earlier failures to settle it with Europeans, the British Government in 1843 threw Port Essington open to coloured settlers. In spite of considerable advertising (particularly in Singapore) the Asiatics refused the invitation, probably because of the unfavourable reputation which these areas had acquired.

As Grenfell Price has pointed out, from the beginning of South Australian history, its pioneers had nurtured the dream of a great central colony extending from the Southern Ocean to the Arafura Sea. This was considerably strengthened by events during the middle of the nineteenth century, the first of which was the failure of the direct British attempts to colonize Northern Australia and the abandonment of Port Essington in 1849. Instead of taking this as a warning, it was for the most part viewed as an opportunity. Then also, because of the failure to discover good pastures in their own north together with early difficulties in settling marginal lands, South Australians became increasingly aware of their natural poverty. Finally, there came Stuart's timely discoveries in 1862 with his report that Northern Australia was "suitable for the growth of anything and everything."

These events must be appreciated in order to explain

the vigour with which South Australia pursued its demands in 1861-2 to afflict itself with a settlement on the opposite side of the continent. On the other hand, the British Colonial Office better understood the situation. Newcastle, doubting whether separation "by the whole breadth of the continent could be expected to last" preferred the north to be administered from Brisbane - a responsibility which Bowen, the Queensland Premier, refused to accept. In 1863 Newcastle acceded to the South Australian demands, but then only on the assumption that they would colonize from the south through "an inexpensive squatting penetration."

(2)

These were historical events which would accentuate Darwin's isolation for the next seventy years. Instead of following up the promise with gradual pastoral infiltration, the Ayers Ministry immediately set about to colonize from the extreme north. This meant that (besides extra expense) the South Australians first settled at Port Darwin were further from home (3,800 miles) than the early American colonists had been from the Old World. Evidence of the depressing effect of this on early life is seen in Resident Reports and the newspapers. It also meant that being settled and administered along lines of longitude instead of latitude, Darwin was always separated from the mother colony by a central barrier of semi-desert.

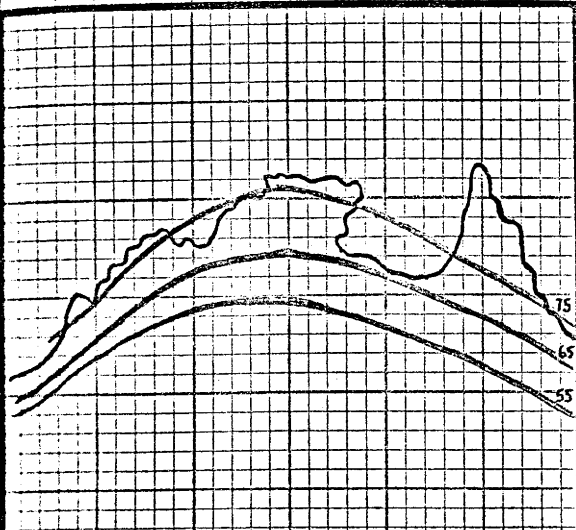
These conditions have not changed and provide a valuable clue when interpreting subsequent administration. Queensland might have become a less remote mother colony with a greater appreciation of tropical conditions. But having once refused, Queensland ministers were not likely to change their minds after South Australia had incurred a total debt of £173,000. When the Commonwealth relieved South Australia in 1911 and administered the region from Melbourne (3,200 miles distant) and later Canberra (2,800 miles) the conditions of isolation were not markedly altered. The northern community was still being mothered from the southern side of the continent.

In this way, geographic facts further exaggerated by historical events forced upon the prewar Darwin outlook at least three of its most important characteristics, a considerably un-Australian aspect, a reaction against unsympathetic administration and what Dr. Cecil Cook was (3) later to describe as a "stuffy" horizon.

Unproductive Hinterland and the Darwin

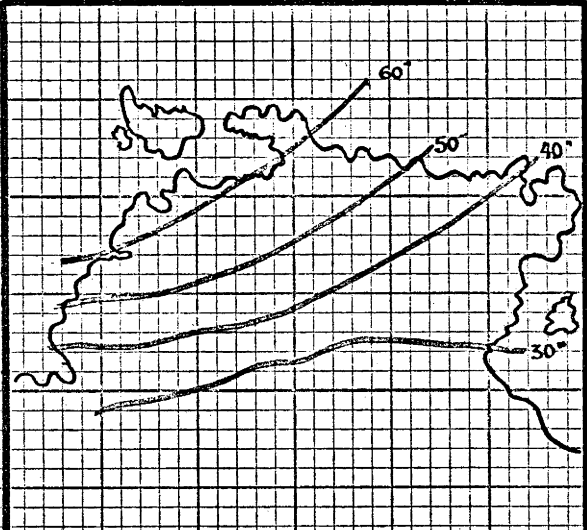
Community

But this was not the only way through which the region's geographic inconveniences were to be considerably



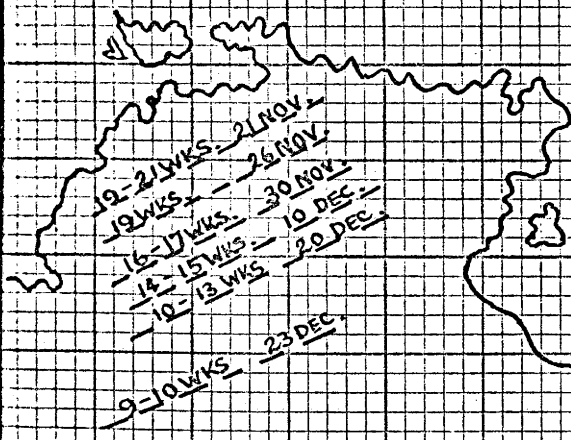
RELATIVE HUMIDITY
JANUARY

ADAPTED FROM GRIFFITH TAYLOR "AUSTRALIA" P.P. 408



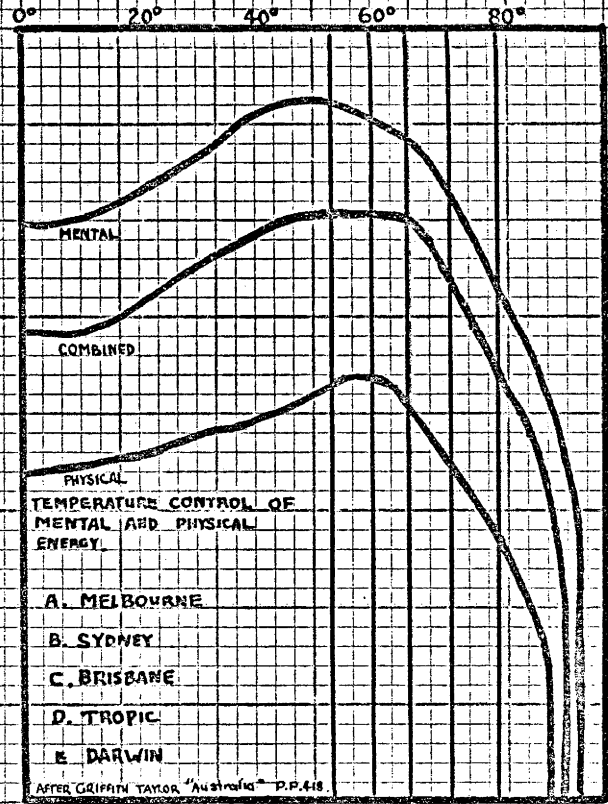
AVERAGE RAINFALL

AFTER GRIFFITH TAYLOR "AUSV. ENVIRONMENT" FIG. 57



GROWING SEASON
DURATION
DATE OF BREAK

AFTER "TASK FOR A NATION" P.P. 85



PHYSICAL
TEMPERATURE CONTROL OF
MENTAL AND PHYSICAL
ENERGY

- A. MELBOURNE
- B. SYDNEY
- C. BRISBANE
- D. TROPIC
- E. DARWIN

AFTER GRIFFITH TAYLOR "Australia" P.P. 418

A B C D E

SOME PHYSICAL CONTROLS OF DARWIN LIFE

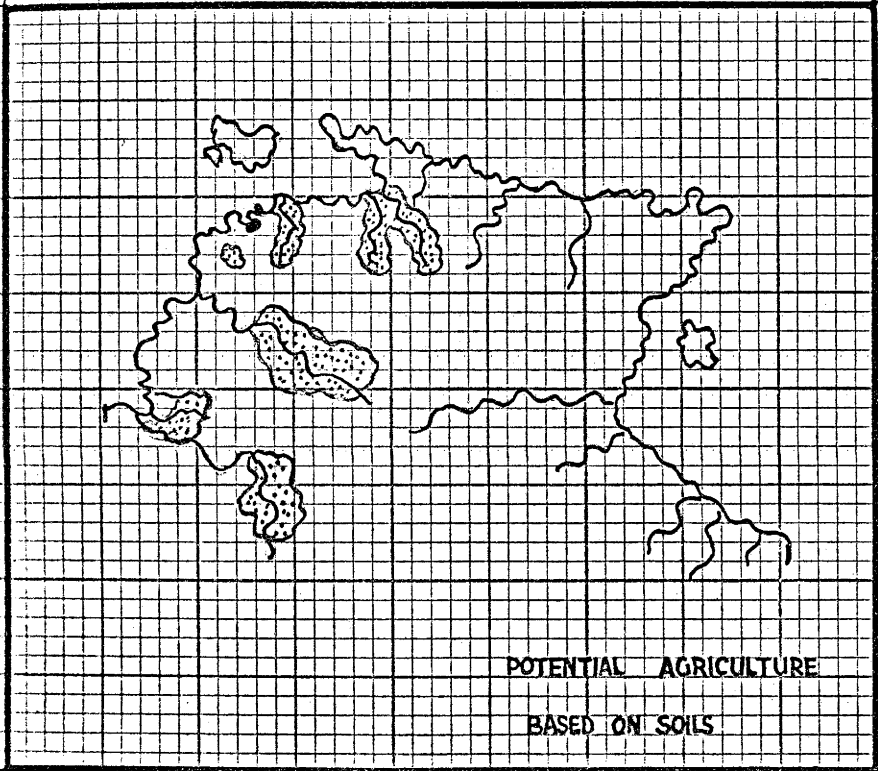
accentuated by the course of history. As the charts opposite indicate, Darwin and its immediate hinterland combines the greatest humidity, highest rainfall and some of the worst soil along the whole northern coast. As Griffith Taylor has pointed out, for six months of the year the wet bulb reading is continuously over 75° . For the remaining six months the reading is above 65° . This gives a humidity comparable to Madras and higher than Djakarta.

The rainfall is in excess of five feet per annum and affects human habitation in at least three ways. Firstly, being in a wet-dry monsoonal region it is liable to be irregular. Secondly, it falls only for four months giving a growing season of 19-20 weeks followed by almost complete drought. Thirdly, the heavy monsoonal rains have considerably leached the soil, which "is lacking in basic and other rocks which weather to form good soils." While the long drought, on the other hand, causes considerable surface sweating of soluble magnesia, iron and siliceous salts

(4) making the surface unsuitable for luxuriant vegetation.

This brief outline of some of the important physical determinants controlling Darwin life will help to explain the subsequent failures to establish rural industries in the hinterland. It will also help to account for the difficulty of attracting a stable and balanced population from the relatively underpopulated and temperate south.

With the physical inconveniences of the region so pronounced, why was it chosen as the northern capital? In 1864 the South Australian Government sent B.T. Finniss to the newly acquired territory with specific instructions to select and establish a coastal settlement from which inland development could be conducted. He was permitted to investigate the coastline between the Roper and Victoria Rivers in which to discover a suitable site. No doubt influenced by Stuart's earlier recommendations, he chose the mouth of the Adelaide River, supported as it was by a navigable river linking it with inland regions and rich alluvial soil. The representatives of the land investors opposed the choice and the home government chose rather to repudiate their own expert than offend these potential settlers. This decision was unfortunate in two ways. Firstly, a comparatively rich site was passed over. Secondly, having undertaken to have a site surveyed in five years the government was considerably rushed for time in a vain attempt to avoid a breach of contract. Escape Cliffs, Port Darwin, Daly River and Liverpool were each hurriedly recommended, investigated and with equal speed rejected. In 1868 Surveyor General Goyder selected Port Darwin stating that the area "is a first-class country for large stock such as horses and cattle - horses and cattle could easily be shipped



and conveyed to India." The dream of an Indian market did not eventuate and as the opposite chart indicates, the (5) second site for the capital did not have the agricultural possibilities of the first.

Geography and Social History

Like most pioneering communities, Darwin's early activities were centred around attempts to control and utilize the geographic conditions for productive purposes. This was the purpose for which the town had been intended when the Ayers Ministry in 1863 drew up the original plan of settlement. It was to combine the function of an administrative headquarters with that of being the centre of an active rural community, consisting of 250,000 acres in 160 acre farms behind which was to lie 300 square miles under pastoral leases. Until climatic, soil and pest conditions in the 1890's forced the abandonment of attempts to establish agriculture, Darwin appears to have fulfilled its dual purpose as a part-administrative, part rural community.

These early efforts to control and use productively the Darwin environment were directed towards three main activities - constructional work, mining and agriculture. These require to be analysed only in so far as they influenced the social conditions and attitudes of subsequent generations.

Most of the early building was concerned with constructing suitable shelter against the climate and relieving the town's isolation. The expenditure involved on works such as these (in all an excess of one and a half million pounds were spent on the telegraph and railway alone) gave an illusion of economic prosperity which seems to have mitigated in some degree the loneliness and hardship of those early years.

Housing statistics give a clear indication of activity within the town. In 1876 there were 61 houses, by 1881, 112 and by 1891, 356. In addition, a court, jail, hospital (6) and school were built at a cost well in excess of £10,000.

In 1871 the northern section of the overland telegraph was commenced under private contract. As an effective way of administering Darwin directly along lines of longitude, the telegraph was only useful for emergency matters. This, besides the practice of giving overseas traffic priority, meant that the telegraph did not overcome isolation for the community as a whole. Though it did provide regular employment for twenty to thirty persons - for instance, in 1925 Buchanan recorded that twenty-two British and nine Chinese were employed at the cable station.

A more immediate outcome of telegraph construction was to remind private citizens and officials that high rainfall,

flat terrain and absence of navigable rivers virtually isolated the town from its hinterland during the monsoonal season. The "bogging down" experienced by the telegraph company (besides gold seekers and agriculturalists) induced the South Australian Government in 1883 to pass a Railways Bill authorizing the construction of an inland railway to Pine Creek as part of an eventual transcontinental system. The line was commenced in 1886, with the contractors exercising the option of choosing ~~the~~ Chinese or Tamil or European labour. When completed, the railway did in part relieve wet season isolation, though it was more significant as a force (second only to mining) in encouraging the growth of a cosmopolitan population. During 1887 2,000 Chinese coolies were introduced and in 1888 3,000 were employed on railway construction.

More recent analysis has shown that the regions behind Darwin "are characterized by strong mineralization." This condition has had a considerable effect on the type of immigrant entering the region, as well as the town's prosperity as a supply base and shipping outlet. The surveying parties of both Finnis and Goyder recorded the presence of gold before the settlement became established, though it was not until telegraph construction directed attention inland that substantial discoveries were made. Thus the

first important activity in the settlement's life; constructional works, helped give rise to the second; a gold rush commencing in the early 1870's. The effect of mining activity upon Darwin and the Northern Territory population was reflected in the following census statistics:

Year	Port Darwin	Remainder N.T.
1868	68	
1871	201	
1876	285 including 160	458 Chinese males.
1881	572 including 2734	2879 Chinese males.

These figures for a period before the introduction of Chinese for railway construction indicate two trends. The first was away from centralization of population at Darwin, the second towards a cosmopolitan, predominantly male population which in 1888 outnumbered the original white population by eight is to one. Mining reports show however, that most of the Chinese were birds of flight exploiting the mines during the wet season and then (if able) returning home. This was borne out by the high rate of migration

	Immigrants	Emigrants
1881 - 1891	12,891	11,037 .

It was estimated by W.G. Stretton sub-collector customs in 1912 that during the South Australian period of administration £2,049,111 of gold had been won, plus (7) £556,195 of other minerals.

Neither constructional nor mining activities had the same long term effect upon the composition and outlook of the community as did the various unsuccessful efforts to establish tropical agriculture in the Darwin hinterland. As already shown, the settlement was intended to be a part-agricultural white community, but climatic, soil and pest conditions continuously militated against this. The first obstacle confronting the scheme was that of attracting sufficient capable farmers from Australia's temperate regions to the tropics. By 1871 South Australia's Commissioner of Crown Lands reported that "at present he had only one pastoral settler in view," though others had made enquiries about tropical agriculture. This lack of response forced the mother colony to revise the agricultural scheme - instead of a racially homogeneous settlement of white farmers, Darwin was to be surrounded by large plantations employing coloured labour.

This second scheme attracted wide interest - probably due to the common belief that the white man made a good master but a poor labourer under tropical conditions.

In 1874, 186 coolies were imported from Singapore and unsuccessful efforts were made to obtain other Asian labour. In 1880 J.G. Knight S.M. reported that "the cultivation of the soil was almost exclusively in the hands of the Chinese." Thereafter the plantation scheme experienced great activity. In a half year of 1881 applications were received for 74,000 acres of land. In the same year 249 gave their occupation as agriculture in the census returns. Over the next five years the agricultural possibilities of the coastal region were tested in india-rubber, coffee, chinchona and sugar. In addition an agricultural research farm was established at Fannie Bay. By 1886 the plantation scheme had been so unsuccessful that agriculture was being generally abandoned, except by a few Chinese gardeners. The largest experiment; a sugar plantation at Delissaville, in 1884 had yielded five tons in repay for £20,000 expenses. Thereafter the dream (8) of a rural community at Port Darwin seems to have faded.

Reports over the years 1889 to 1910 suggest that the South Australian government had despaired of converting the Darwin hinterland into a productive region. Constructional works ceased, in the early 1900's agriculture was (9) ignored altogether, while the number of farms dwindled "to less than half a dozen" and finally mining numbers decreased

- (10) from 2,120 in 1894 to 742 in 1910. This severe depression left society largely divided between two racial and occupational groups. The first was the urbanized public servants, who though they enjoyed regular incomes and spacious surroundings, suffered from unrepaired dwellings and extreme isolation. The second was the Chinese population cramped in hovels at a density as great as 32 families per half acre block, many of whom were aged, destitute and addicted to opium smoking. A number of these became shopkeepers and gardeners, though information on their housing and health conditions leave
- (11) little doubt that they existed at a bare subsistence level.

Thus was the town, which should have become the centre of vigorous and profitable industries and South Australia's northern gateway to eastern markets, left to stagnate.

On the first of January 1911, the Commonwealth relieved South Australia of its burden under the terms of the Northern Territory Acceptance Act of the previous year. It is interesting to study the early reports and debates concerned with the Northern Territory and note the curious admixture of caution and optimism with which the Commonwealth Government approached its new task. It seems to have been generally accepted that the Darwin region did in fact possess considerable

productive possibilities and that South Australia's failure to use them was in the balance more due to human factors than geographic conditions. In place of the sweeping optimism which characterized so many earlier statements, there was a general caution against placing all eggs in the one agricultural basket as well as the expenditure of large (12) sums on constructional works until the regions proved itself.

As a result two schemes of development emerged, one: to revive the earlier research into tropical agriculture with a more direct emphasis on governmental research farms, the other: to encourage the pastoral industry in the regions behind Darwin, at the same time setting the town up as the centre of a freezing works and meat export system. This meant that besides the public service and predominantly Chinese commercial classes already established, the town was to incorporate a class of industrial workers as well as become the centre of a white rural population. The novel aspect was the encouragement of an industrial working class, later to play a militant role in reactions against government authority.

In 1911 a former Director of Agriculture in New South Wales, W. Scott Cambell was commissioned by the Commonwealth Government to select sites for the establishment of demonstration farms. This was to commence the second attempt at agricultural production in the Northern Territory. In the same year, three sites were suggested, at Batchelor, Daly

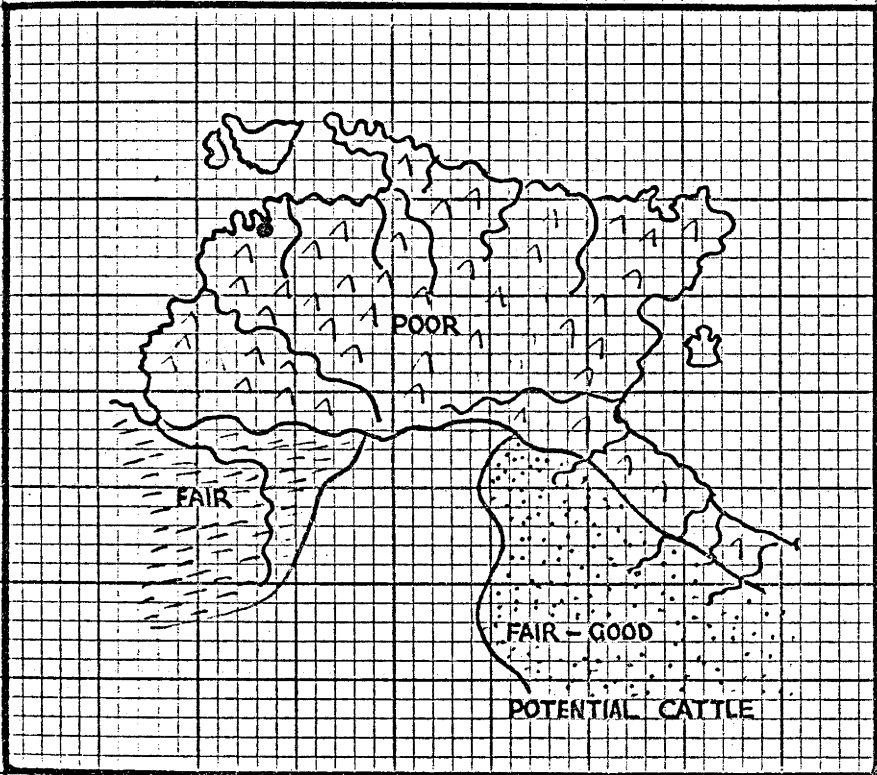
River and Katherine. The nearest was 60 miles from Darwin, thus indicating that it was now proposed to seek further afield for good agricultural land. The Minister for External Affairs decided to accept two sites, but rejected the one at Katherine - 170 miles away. In addition, the Commonwealth Government decided to continue the Fannie Bay experimental gardens situated almost on the outskirts of the town, under their former South Australian director, Nicholas Holtze.

It is clear from Agricultural Reports, that the Commonwealth Government intended to better the South Australian scheme of private development through a generous land policy, by pursuing an ambitious plan of government directed agriculture. With this in view, the settlements at Batchelor and Daly River were established around an agricultural research station, which could encourage, assist and educate any intending farmers. The thoroughness with which the scheme was implemented can be gauged from the detailed descriptions in the 1912 Agricultural Report. Each settlement was composed of two and a half thousand acres, Batchelor in virgin bush country and Daly River on alluvial plains. In the first year of activity, buildings, fences and water supplies were established, while fodder crops, vegetables, various tropical and temperate fruits, dairy cattle, sheep, pigs, goats and even bees were tested under local conditions.

The projects immediately encountered the difficulty of obtaining suitable experienced settlers, though the government was prepared to advance the necessary fares to the Northern Territory. The result was that the farms had to fall back upon labour, much of which was neither experienced nor interested in farm work. By the end of the first year, the labour report showed that of 85 men engaged only 33 remained, seven had been dismissed, two had been 'invalided', one had died and the remainder had transferred to other work. In 1913 the Administrator showed that the Northern Territory was composed mainly of city people indicating that a rural population was failing to develop. In 1914 many of the better settlers joined the army. Thereafter, followed a confusing period of labour disputes, strikes and dismissals. Added to this, crops flourished little better than under the South Australian experiment, while to the natural geographic difficulties of the region was added isolation - the farms being 60 and 70 miles from Darwin. With the growth of the Vestey's Meatworks there seems to have been a general exodus to Darwin. In 1919 the two farms were abandoned after a total expenditure of £50,000 had yielded £1,200 return. A few settlers remained principally to grow peanuts. In 1937 Payne pointed out that they were still "struggling along and comprised the only agricultural communities in the Territory."

There is no record of this failure in agriculture causing unemployment. The few who had shown any interest in agriculture appear to have either left the territory or been employed in the expanding meatworks. Thus the failure was important less for ~~for~~ what it affected, than for what it failed to effect; a stable rural population behind Darwin. This relegated Darwin to a lonely settlement on the coast, not even able to feed adequately its small population. Indeed, no problem so emphasized its artificial existence as that of feeding the inhabitants. Six years after the abandonment of the agricultural projects, Sir George Buchanan observed how, except for the well-to-do, the community existed on a diet of beef, pork, bread, potatoes, rice, sago and tea while "cows milk was unknown and goats milk nearly so" and green vegetables were a luxury only for the rich. Even at this meagre level, the townspeople were living largely out of the holds of ships. A perusal of the local press after 1920 shows that delays in shipping and resulting food shortages were a regular occurrence. Nor had these conditions changed markedly when Administrator Abbott drew attention to the diet in 1939.

The second Commonwealth scheme of development - pastoral expansion - completely overshadowed the first. When in 1914 Hon. P.M. Glynn, Minister for External Affairs, outlined the



Commonwealth policy for the Northern Territory he made it clear that the pastoral industry would be encouraged wherever possible. This arose from the unanimous advice of a Royal Commission as well as the steady progress made by the industry in spite of early set backs from tick and red water fever. But, as the map opposite shows the industry had flourished in the less tropical regions removed from Darwin. In 1914 a Royal Commission (amongst other matters) considered the possibility of transferring the capital to less tropical climes near the heart of the pastoral industry. The Commission in a majority report rejected the proposal; the expense was prohibitive, they were impressed by Darwin's large strategic harbour, and were not convinced that the hinterland had been exhaustively tested for agriculture or cattle. They recommended instead, linking the town to the cattle areas by means of railway systems.

The Commonwealth accepted the first recommendation, but rejected the second. Instead of linking Darwin to the distant cattle regions, it was decided to bring the cattle areas to Darwin. This idea was at the root of the Meat Agreement between Lord Vestey and the Commonwealth Government in 1914. Under its terms, the Commonwealth Government was to make available pastoral leases in the regions behind Darwin besides extending the railway line to Katherine. Vestey's Bros. undertook to develop the pastoral areas and establish Darwin

as the centre of a meat-killing industry. The first pastoral holdings were taken up in 1913 and the Meat Works were completed in 1917 at a total cost in excess of £900,000. The magnitude of the factory can be gauged from its total floor space of ten acres and its refrigeration capacity of a million cubic feet. In addition, there were staff quarters for 35 men, workers quarters for 320 men and housing for 14 senior administrators. The size of these works leads one to suspect that the proprietors, like the labour force recruited, were guilty of trying to make too great a profit in too short a time. Its largeness may be compared with the smallness of the output table published in 1920.

Year	Weeks Worked	Cattle Treated
1917	14	19,000
1918	16	29,000
1919	16	22,000
3 seasons	46	70,000

(14) Average loss over this period was £3 per head of all cattle treated. After 1919 the works were closed down, except for a short period of boiling down in 1925.

(15) The opinion was still current in 1955 that the venture failed because of some ulterior motive known only to the proprietors. However, in 1937 Payne considered that "the

enterprise was just an ordinary and orthodox business venture which failed and nothing more." Little in the failure cannot be explained in terms of geography or the war-time shipping shortage. Isolation and tropical climate made labour difficult, costly and of poor quality, and together with poor wharfage facilities and the shipping shortage, increased construction costs over four times that originally estimated. The grass-lands behind Darwin were never used for stock with the same success as on Victoria Downs or the Barkly Tableland.

The brief history of the meatworks had a long-term effect extending over the remainder of the prewar period.

In the first place it was directly responsible for the growth of a predominantly white labouring class. Before 1900 the labour force had been mostly coloured and as late as 1912 Gilruth wrote that the only white labour was employed by the government. By 1914 the position had changed and he reported the first large scale use of white labour by a private firm, Vestey's Bros. This change in the racial composition of the labour force was significant in that it helped establish militant unionism and industrial unrest as a noticeable feature of Darwin life.

During the South Australian period, the labour force, consisting principally of Chinese, was characterized by a low standard of living and industrial docility. However,

between 1890 and 1910 the Chinese population decreased by three quarters while those remaining established themselves through intense industry and cooperation as a commercial class. By 1925 Buchanan observed that the Chinese were mostly a race of shopkeepers, domestic servants, laundry proprietors and private miners. Due to the disappearance of coloured labour and Exclusion Acts, the conditions governing labour recruitment underwent a considerable change in the decade before 1911. After 1900 competition with southern labour markets left Darwin at a disadvantage as Vestey's found when they had the invidious task of giving the new policy its first large scale test. The Commonwealth Government recruited 500 men for railway construction as their part of the Meatworks Agreement, while by 1919 the Meatworks itself (16) employed (directly and indirectly) approximately 600 labourers.

"Everyone in Darwin is here for what he can get out of it." Thus did a prominent labour leader summarize the motive with which white labour has commonly entered the region. More explicitly, as Gavin Long observed of a later influx, the aim was to get rich quickly, live frugally in single tents and (17) hovels and then depart to more comfortable climes. In 1914 Gilruth observed the same motive amongst railway construction employees which led him to report (rather bitterly) that of 500 men, not 10 intended to remain in the Northern Territory. The housing habits observed by Long were again reflected in

the 1921 census returns where 30% of all private dwellings were occupied by single persons, while 22% of all private dwellings were single roomed huts.

The advent of a migratory working class intent on large profits in a short period, helps account for both the rise of militant unionism between 1914 and 1919 and also its vigorous policy towards wage increases. In 1911 there were no unions registered in the Northern Territory, by 1914 there were three with a total membership of 647, by 1918 there were four with a total membership of 1559. Over this period the A.W.U. as the organizer of unskilled labour remained the most powerful single union. The following table indicates only too clearly how white labour performed in tropical isolation.

Year	N.T. Basic Wage	Aust. Wage Rate	Disputes	Men Involved (directly)	Days Lost
By 1912 Commonwealth Gov. fixed N.T. rate at £3.2.4 (cf. 2.11.3 all Aust.)					
1913	3.2.4	2.14.0	1	131	2500
1914	"	2.15.1	2	68	552
1915	"	2.15.7	7	254	5237
Later 1915 Mr. Justice Powers fixed N.T. rate at £3.17.0.					
1916	3.17.0	2.17.11	2	120	420
In 1916 Mr. Justice Powers increased rates for skilled tradesmen (e.g. Carpenters 5.2.8.)					
1917	3.17.0	3.2.5	2	75	615
1918	"		3	112	428
1919	"		5	46	1910

This table needs interpretation in the light of the following facts. Firstly, Mr. Justice Powers found that because of cheap rents, clothing and low fuel costs, Darwin's cost of living was not greater than elsewhere in Australia. Secondly, these rates calculated for a three unit family overpaid the predominantly unmarried work force. Thirdly, most were paid in excess of basic rates; for instance, in 1917 butchers went on strike for an increase on a wage of £20 per week while the smallest earnings for "minors" was between six and seven pounds. Fourthly, the labour output

(18) was low due to climate and union policy.

These findings indicate how much wage speculation accompanied Darwin's only attempt at industrialization. As late as 1917 Gilruth was still hoping that high wages would end the round of disputes. By 1918 he confessed disillusionment:

"It is regrettable that the Territory should have acquired a reputation for chronic industrial unrest."

More recently the geographer, Griffith Taylor has emphasized these disputes as the sort of fate awaiting other similar attempts to pioneer tropical Australia with white labour:

"This promising industry (he concluded) was ruined in the opinion of competent judges by the suicidal policy of the trade unions [who] insisted upon the employment of gangs of so great size that all members could not work at one time. Lumpers secured wages of £101 per head in a period of 17 days."

(19)

But this oversimplifies the failure. The "suicidal policy" was quite consistent with a common desire to exploit the golden goose while she survived. Labours' tragedy was that she died too quickly and left many without reward; some without enough money to pay a fare south.

Thus the second important social effect of the Meatworks experiment was that its failure plunged the locality into eighteen years of mental and economic depression.

In 1920 the Acting Administrator considered in detail its effect upon the town's population:

"The industrial calamity of the year was the closing down of the great Meatworks... The rumour of the coming disaster was heard only in January..., on the 17th March the Meatworks closed down... The effect on the town was extraordinary... The Government was confronted with a town of 2,000 people, mostly manual workers and their families with not a wealth-producing industry in the place. Five or six hundred unemployed (two thirds the labour force) were walking the streets and in spite of every effort made by the Federal Government, no vessel could be obtained for nearly two months to take them away."

But the Government remained still unshaken in its resolve for "white industrial garrison of British descent." Free steerage was offered, particularly to non-British persons and 216 passages were granted mainly to Greek, Patagonian and Spanish while 22 old and indigent Chinese took advantage of the free berth to return to Hongkong. The "prospectors, miners, drovers, carters and station hands [who were] for

the most part penniless" and had congregated in Darwin "in anticipation of high wages" either remained to join the unemployed or returned to the remote areas. On the other hand the better-off meat-workers (in many cases the villains of the piece) returned to southern states by the first berth (20) available.

These events of 1920 cast a shadow over the community lasting for eighteen years. As Administrator Abbott observed, the Federal Government wished "to forget all about the Northern (21) Territory and leave it in its isolation." Private investors did the same.

"Intending investors shudder when they hear of Vestey's experience and proceed to find avenues for their energy and capital elsewhere."

(22) Thus did a Board of Inquiry in 1937 summarize the prospects for investment. In the period between 1917 and 1921 the European population decreased from more than 2,000 to approximately 850, leaving a town in which two out of every five citizens were coloured. In 1932 Administrator Weddell reported: "It is only a question of time when the white population will (again) be outnumbered."

Unemployment statistics show the effect of the depression on the labouring population. In 1921, 20% of the male working population were entirely unemployed, while many others worked a three-day week. This rate, approximately twice that for Australia, is high when it is considered that one-sixth of the working population were government servants,

(23) while many others were day labourers. In 1923, Administrator Urquhart noted little improvement and that the resulting poverty and reliance on government assistance did not have "an elevating effect" on the population. By 1933 one working man in ten had been unemployed for a full year, while one-seventh of the total unemployed had been so for over five years. In 1924 the Northern Territory Report analysed the reasons why the unemployed remained in Darwin.

Many were "family men who during the prosperous time... saved money, bought houses and small areas of land and settled down as permanent residents now their properties have depreciated to vanishing point... and the high rates of passage money to southern ports added to the uncertainty of finding employment elsewhere, cause them to prefer to remain here in the hope that the meatworks may some day reopen and relative prosperity return to Darwin."

Thus did Urquhart ably summarize the hopeless position of the community. However, these observations would not apply to commercial interests who abandoned the town (with one exception) to the thrifty Chinese.

These seem to be the principal events in Darwin's social history. In retrospect, it appears the same history repeated twice over - the record of two unsuccessful attempts to utilize the one set of geographical conditions. On each occasion the settlement was relegated to a human outpost, without means of support, depressed by poverty and with no prospects. The

social attitudes thus engendered will be better analysed when changing under postwar conditions. However, foremost seems to have been a sense of frustration which found an outlet in a hot and constant indignation against government authority and policy. In addition there seems to have grown up a strong common bond, which militated against class and race distinctions. Yet, the community was constantly divided by personal feuds such that club activities were seldom possible. As Sir George Buchanan observed in 1925:

"The monotony, the long periods of damp heat..., the indifferent food and the isolation combine to engender in many of the people a state of temper and nerves which is demonstrated by perpetual labour troubles, the bitter friction between officials and the private feuds and quarrels."

These were the attitudes, which together with material conditions largely responsible for them, marked out the community as essentially provincial.

Chapter II.

PROVINCIALISM AND POLITICS

(In what way was provincial Darwin influenced by political institutions and events?)

1. South Australian and Commonwealth Administration - contrasting premises.
2. The Reaction.
3. Part Submission and Non-Cooperation.

South Australian and Commonwealth
Administration - Contrasting Premises.

As correspondence between Newcastle and the South Australian Government indicates, this colony set out with the intention of acquiring, developing and then incorporating the Northern Territory as part of its own territory. This does not seem to have been markedly changed by the later decision to settle from the tropical north, though the great distance somewhat strained its practicability. In its political aspect, this policy meant the incorporation of Darwin as far as possible in the normal political activities of South Australia.

Thus in July 1874 when the settlement was already well established and the population was over two hundred, the town was granted a local council enjoying similar powers to local governing bodies in South Australia. Its most formidable task seems to have been that of a local Board of Health; a function "in which it was extremely lax, probably due... to the remoteness of the governing Central Board of Health in Adelaide, as well as the great population of Chinese rate payers," who avoided rates by erecting backyard dwellings and passively resisting any attempts to reform their habits. The District Council obtained its finance by levying "a total impost of 2d. in £1, to which the Government contributed 5s. to each £1 in taxation raised."

In 1888, when the European adult population of the Northern Territory was approximately 800, parliamentary franchise was extended to the whole territory. The white adult citizens were permitted to elect two representatives for the Legislative Assembly and were included in the northern electoral division for the Legislative Council. These gains do not appear the result of general and vigorous local agitation as has characterized the Commonwealth period of administration, though as early as 1874 the local press was emphasizing the absence of 'electoral rights', 'representation' and 'a voice either in the raising of money or the spending of it.' In the years before 1900 the citizens took their part in the decision as to whether the Australian colonies should form a federal union. In 1901 South Australia further extended parliamentary franchise by including the Northern Territory in the electorate of Grey for representation in the House of Representatives and also permitting a vote for South Australian Federal Senators.

The significance of these early attempts to provide the Northern Territory with full democratic freedom was not the democratic tradition thus inaugurated (for the Commonwealth Government was soon to remove most of them) but the memory left behind. The knowledge of having once enjoyed parliamentary representation increased the later grievance against its removal and so afforded what Urquhart in 1922 called "a con-

(1) venient stalking horse."

The Commonwealth commenced administration by passing the Northern Territory (Administration) Act (No.27, 1910) which granted power to appoint an administrator of the Northern Territory. South Australian laws were to remain except where directly replaced by Commonwealth Acts and Ordinances. In 1911 Ordinance 1, section 4, charged the Administrator with "the duty of administering the Government of the Northern Territory on behalf of the Commonwealth." He was also given power, in sections 8 and 9, to appoint and dismiss magistrates and officials. The act omitted any mention of a system of democratic government to replace that formerly in use. There seems to be a fundamental inconsistency between this and the decision made in the same policy to settle the region principally with British stock. It meant that those prepared to endure the geographical inconveniences of the region were to be afflicted with an additional political disadvantage to which they were not accustomed. This disability was much accentuated when the largely autocratic form of government organized in its place proved, cumbersome and slow due to divided rule, government at a distance and bureaucracy.

It is difficult to discover from factual sources why the Commonwealth chose such an undemocratic system of government for the new dependency. There was, of course, the difficulty

of finding a place in the existing Commonwealth system of large electorates for a territorial group of less than a thousand white adults. There also was the financial objection that a territory which had initially cost a little less than four million pounds and which would continue to depend upon outside revenue, could not be jeopardized by the granting of self-government. But even assuming these reasons were valid, the alternative need not have been a system so conspicuous for its lack of democratic freedom. It appears that the Commonwealth in this, as on later occasions, underestimated the extent of local patriotism, particularly the

(2) belief that Territorians could best develop their own country. Also, it is useful to bear in mind that the Commonwealth took control of the Northern Territory for very different reasons than had South Australia, the one accepted it as a national duty, the other wished to develop it as part of its own territory and in consequence had a sounder reason for desiring the cooperation and political development of the inhabitants.

Whatever reason was uppermost, the Northern Territory after 1910 came to be administered by a system in many ways autocratic. Yet it was not this alone which irked the local

(3) citizens, but rather as Gilruth and Urquhart hinted and three Royal Commissions pointed out, its ineffectual central authority. In consequence the inhabitants suffered all the disadvantages

of weak despotism with the lack of clear-cut decisions and absence of appeal except by resort to violence. Though the provisions of the Northern Territory Act had granted the administrator powers similar to a governor in a Crown Colony, three factors seem to have weakened his central authority.

The first of these was divided rule. Section 4 of Ordinance 1 had stated that the Administrator was "to administer the Government of the Northern Territory," but had not defined how this was to be implemented amongst the various Commonwealth Departments established in the new dependency.

- (4) In consequence by 1920 one third of all public servants took their directions from departmental heads in Melbourne rather than from the Commonwealth's local representative. As Urquhart complained in 1922 - "an erroneous impression exists that all Departments... are under the control of the Administrator, but this, notwithstanding section 4 of Ordinance No.1 of 1911, is far from being the case." He then listed the two departmental groups, which brought up to 1925, were as follows:-

Departments: Independently conducted from Melbourne.	Departments: Directly responsible to Administrator.
1. Railways .	1. Agriculture .
2. Post and Telegraphs .	2. Police .
3. Customs .	3. Health .
4. Taxation .	4. Stock .
5. Public Works .	5. Education .
6. Quarantine .	6. Land and Mines .
(Added by 1937)	
7. Aviation .	7. Administration .
8. Navy .	8. Aborigines .
9. Army .	
10. Weather .	

A single example quoted by Buchanan will suffice to indicate the conflicting administration which could follow from such a division. For the most part of his administration Dr. Gilruth encouraged settlement in the further regions behind Darwin. In contrast to this, the Railways Commissioner actually reduced train services because he resented the loss involved in running trains to underpopulated areas being debited against his department.

Divided rule also helped give rise to serious weaknesses in the administrative bureaucracy. This was the second factor which limited the effectiveness of the Administrator's power. Of the two departmental groupings the first was, in fact, part of the normal Commonwealth Public Service, but the second was staffed by a special Northern Territory public servant:

"Isolated, small in numbers, he has no claim to transfer anywhere and the chances of promotion are very limited. He sees his confreres of the Commonwealth Departments... transferred at regular intervals to places where amenities of life... may be enjoyed while he himself is bound relentlessly to the wheel of Territory service and has no way of escape other than by resignation."

Thus did Urquhart in 1921 summarize the N.T. Service.

The sedentary life of the local public servant needs to be understood, not only to complete the picture of Darwin's society, but also to appreciate the weakness of the bureaucratic system. The following summary made from the first

APPROXIMATE ESTIMATIONS -

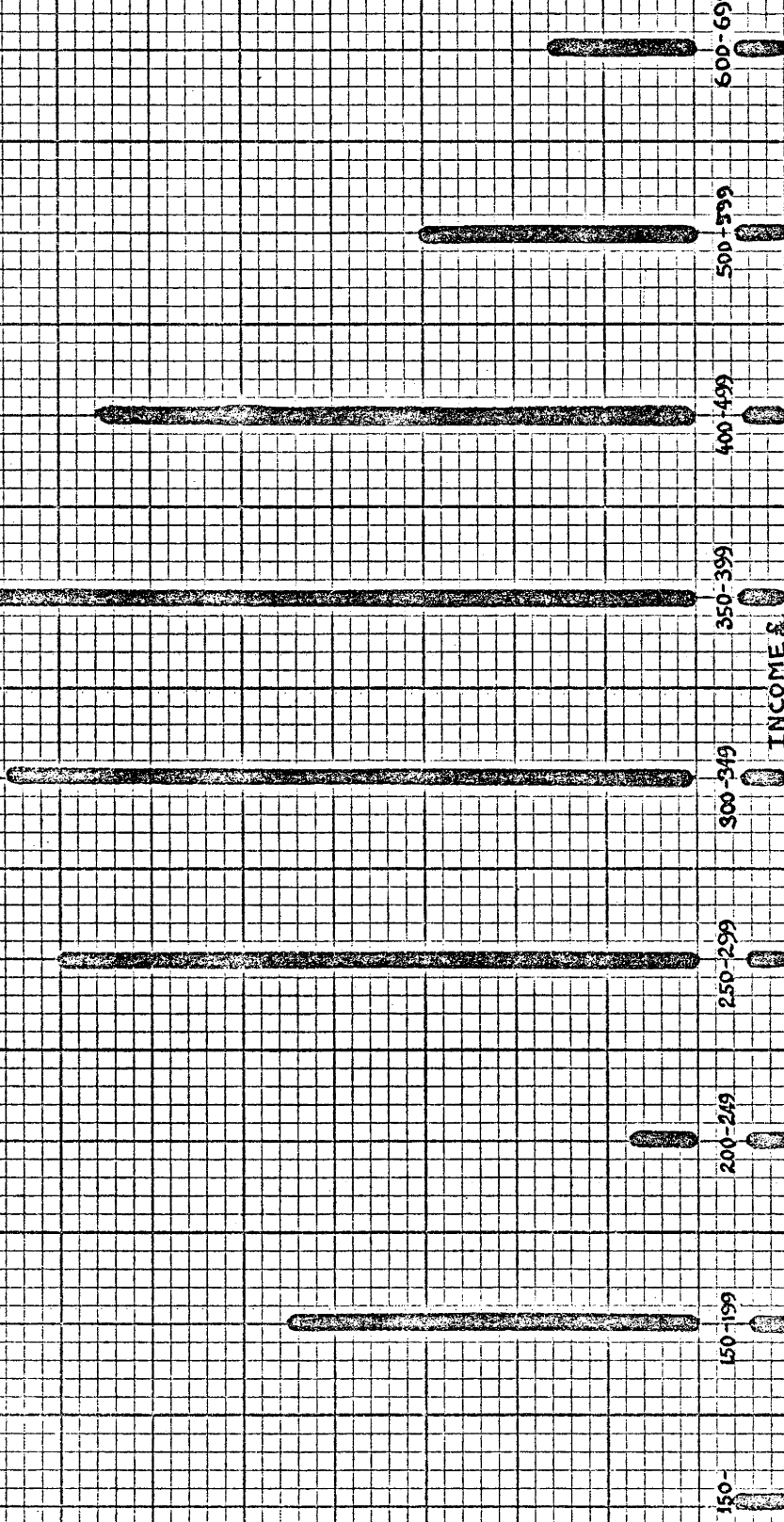
AVERAGE ADJUSTED ADULT MALE INCOME APR. 1950
 " " " FEMALE " " 1949

INCOME DISTRIBUTION

NORTHERN TERRITORY

PUBLIC SERVICE 1950

PERSONS



150 -

150-199

200-249

250-299

300-349

350-399

400-499

500-599

600-699

700-799

INCOME \$

detailed report on the N.T. Service indicates two interesting facts.

Public Services in the N.T. - Compiled From
Full Report 1920.

A) Income Distribution of N.T. Public Service
only - see chart opposite.

B) Occupational Distribution.

Commonwealth Public Service		N.T. Public Service	
Taxation	2	Administration	21
Quarantine	2	Education	9
Lighthouses	6	Aborigines	4
Customs	3	Agriculture	2
Railways	8	Works	3
Post Office	29	Health and Hospitals	9
Wireless	6	Gaols	6
		Police	30
		Lands and Survey	12
		Mines	10
		Stock	2
		Hotels	1
Persons	56		109

C) Period of Service (N.T. Public Service)
Average period in 1920 $6\frac{1}{2}$ years.

In the first place they were financially well situated, especially when compared with the rest of the town. They were also better housed according to Buchanan, particularly as Gilruth had previously constructed a small public service suburb of twenty-one tropical houses at a site on the outskirts of the town. However, already in 1920 (and this is

the second important fact) the average term of office was approximately six and a half years. It was the realization that he was bound to this little outpost for the rest of his life that most influenced the outlook and efficiency of the Northern Territory public servant. He enjoyed none of the advantages guaranteed under the Public Service Act, general wage increases, superannuation and especially opportunity for promotion. If, as Staniforth Smith observed, the climate forced his resignation he was guaranteed no similar position elsewhere. Thus he remained, taxed his health, adopted the provincial outlook and much of the extremism of the town and became divided by constant personal feuds. These were the conditions which all administrators after Gilruth sought to alleviate by directing official (7) attention to them in the annual reports.

The political reflection of all this was a bureaucracy often divided against itself and characterized by "inertia" and the "slavish following of regulations." Nor were these the only bureaucratic diseases which hindered government and (as newspaper reports and correspondence show) continually irked the citizens. The Commonwealth Public Service on the other hand had its limitations, being impeded by "exasperating delays" (it took eight weeks to obtain a senior officer's advice from Melbourne), "procrastination and the shelving of decisions," lack of "coordination" with local authorities

and departmental ignorance "which paid no regard to the
(8) fundamental differences of the Territory."

A third factor which discredited the efficiency of the central authority was the absence of a long term Commonwealth policy for the Northern Territory, which as Payne recommended could:

"give general directions and exercise a guiding influence and control but, so far as possible, could leave particular decisions to the Administrator and the local staff at Darwin. This would inculcate in the Territory Service a sense of responsibility and lead to that efficient and prompt administration which is needed."

This recommendation was later supported by Administrator Abbott. Without a guiding policy, the administrator was largely thrown on his own discretion and if this led to difficulties (as in the case of Gilruth) the Ministry need accept no responsibility. In consequence he generally
(9) erred on the side of caution.

This political system which the Commonwealth Government drew up in 1910 and 1911 must be viewed against the growing white British population which the government at the same time sought to attract. Subsequent political history was principally a reaction on the part of the British population against an autocracy, made considerably less bearable by the weaknesses which have just been analysed. This conditioned a political outlook quite unlike the rest of Australia for its extreme militancy, lack of compromise and in many cases open rebelliousness.

The history of this reaction appears to fall into two distinct phases. The first period extending to the arrival of Urquhart (1921) was characterized by instances of assaults, 'riots' and threats of violence. Thereafter followed a period when the Commonwealth Government with a small measure of compromise and a strong hand reduced the reaction to the level of passive non-cooperation. Over these two periods, the trend of democratic freedom was, on the whole, backwards rather than forwards. Darwin's political history became bound up in a furious circle, where dissatisfaction led to behaviour undermining the remaining democratic privileges, which in turn led to coercive measures by the Commonwealth Government and an increase in popular dissatisfaction.

The Reaction

There is no record of an immediate reaction in 1911 against the new regime imposed by the Commonwealth. The white adult population was small (905 for all the N.T.), the economic prosperity brought by the new administration outweighed any political disadvantages and the industrialized labouring class, later to become the vanguard in agitation against the government, was as yet undeveloped. Also, as emerged from evidence before the Justice Ewing Commission,

there was a common belief that parliamentary franchise would soon be returned. This was effectively destroyed by political developments between 1912 and 1919.

By Ordinance 2, 1911, a small Advisory Council had been established to assemble monthly and assist the Administrator. From the beginning it was largely superfluous, consisting entirely of public servants already engaged in assisting the Administrator through everyday work. Consequently Acting Administrator Mitchell repeatedly called the Council only to notify of no business, while Gilruth (acting upon the advice of his Minister according to Ewing) finally abandoned (10) the Council altogether. This body was probably never intended to form the basis for eventual parliamentary representation, but because the citizens viewed it as such, it was not only useless but harmful. Evidence before Mr. Justice Ewing revealed that the inhabitants considered Gilruth to have arbitrarily interfered with their freedom when he no longer called together the Advisory Council.

This idea was further reinforced by the 'Darwin Town Council Ordinance, No.7, 1915.' This abolished the Palmerston District Council and replaced it by a Town Council of seven members, four of whom were elected on adult suffrage by preferential voting, the remaining three members being nominated by the government:

"This was done in order to safeguard the interests of the Australian taxpayer, who finds a subsidy of 10s.

in each £1 collected in rates, and not for the purpose of defeating local control, which indeed it could not affect." (Comment by Dr. Gilruth in his criticism of the Justice Ewing Commission.)

On the other hand, the citizens viewed it, together with the earlier abolition of the Council's health powers, (Ordinance No.5, 1912) as another sinister attempt by the Administrator to overstep their democratic privileges.

The attitude of the public on these two issues clearly indicates that they had been tactfully 'kept in the dark' concerning the type of administration lately imposed on them. Evidence before Mr. Justice Ewing shows clearly that they considered the Administrator's dictatorial activities as arbitrary, power seeking and corrupt, while he was, in effect, (11) merely carrying out his duty as appointed by law. Further, the cumbersome nature of the administrative system increased their suspicion and made them more keenly aware of their political disadvantage. Though these were the political developments contributing to unrest, they must be viewed against the economic background in order to explain the extreme reaction manifested in 1918 and 1919. This was characterized by the decline of agriculture and the rise of industrialization. The one gave rise to a small discontented farming group who (as the 1920 Commission revealed) held the Administrator to blame for their difficulties. The other introduced a vigorous, at times unruly, democratically alert industrial population

who, because they acted collectively in trade unions possessed an independent power before unknown in Darwin.

In December 1918 the growing resentment against the Administrator and his position came to a head. As an official record of what followed reported:

"The people held meetings at which was voiced what they claimed to be grievances... and passed certain resolutions which in effect requested Dr. Gilruth to leave the Territory. [A deputation led by the Mayor and H. Nelson of the A.W.U.] waited upon Dr. Gilruth and first endeavoured to order him out of the Territory... Outside of Government House there was a crowd of about 1000 people. The deputation interviewed Dr. Gilruth for about two hours and, when it was found useless to try and dictate to him, the deputationists endeavoured to persuade him to go to Melbourne and place their grievances emphatically before the Minister." After this, as the Royal Commission into the incident recorded, the Administrator went out to address the crowd and explained that he, being responsible to a higher authority, had no power to leave his post. "As he turned to walk back to Government House" someone (allegedly H. Nelson) shouted "Over the fence, boys," palings were pulled out of the fence, lattice work on the verandah was damaged and his Excellency the Administrator was heavily assaulted by the crowd. (Evidence before Justice Ewing Commission.)

(12)

For a time after this attack the Australian Navy was called in to protect the Administrator. Abbott described how a subsequent attack was foiled by "a sharp command and on the lawn doubled naval blue jackets with fixed bayonets. The leaders turned and literally ran over their followers." In August 1919 Gilruth (whose term was to end at the conclusion

(13)

of the war) was recalled to Melbourne.

The Federal Government's reaction to these events is difficult to comprehend. The administrative system was reformed on the surface, but not in principle. Consequently, only three months later history largely repeated itself. The position of "Administrator of the Northern Territory" was replaced by that of "Director of the Northern Territory" with a lower salary but similar powers and duties. Also through Ordinance No.8, 1919 a Council of Advice was instituted with four official and four non-official government nominees, though still no useful function within the administrative system. The Council immediately degraded into an arena for abusive attacks on the administration, its organization and conduct of developmental projects. In October 1919 another general meeting was held and a similar ultimatum was given, this time to the three senior officials to quit the territory. The officials in question; Director Carey, Judge Bevan and Government Secretary Evans immediately contacted their Minister, who told them to stand their ground. The ultimatum was repeated, this time with a sinister hint of possible lynching and forcible expulsion. The three officials left Port Darwin on the "Bramba" on the 20th October, (14) 1919.

On the 12th November a Royal Commission was directed to investigate the local grievances. Commissioner Ewing seems

to have returned two important findings; the first that the autocratic system of government was sufficient "to bring about a state of rebellion;" the second that the officials concerned had acted improperly in the conduct of their duty. Ewing appears to have worked on the assumption that sworn statements by the incensed population could be taken at their face value. In consequence, many of the charges 'proved' were subsequently easily shown to be incorrect and two of the officials later claimed over £3,000 damages. The Commission found Dr. Gilruth "an able man", "courageous", but strong willed and later criticised him for his failure "to act with firmness, commonsense, discretion and justice." It praised Carey's, Bevan's and Evans' discretion in capitulating, but later implied that the same act was cowardly. In retrospect, the only fact adequately proved by the Commissioner was that the officials, and Gilruth in particular, performed their appointed duties very well. The Commissioner, like the population, confused the personal activities of the officials with the system they represented. The report found Gilruth ill-fitted to control a democratic people when it had actually proved that the function of Administrator was ill-fitted for democratic people. The Commonwealth Government found it convenient to accept the Commissioner's findings and the officials were discredited for obeying the same body's instructions.

During 1920 an attempt was made to pacify the dissatisfied citizens, firstly through a Director whose policy was clearly one of conciliation and pacification and secondly, by promising Northern Territory representation in the House of Representatives. Director Staniforth Smith, who assumed office in December 1919 and remained for thirteen months immediately endeavoured to placate the discontented sections of the community by establishing himself as both their advocate and defence council. Thus in a well-written report he attributed the failure of the Meatworks to conditions "arising entirely from the shortage of shipping as a result of the war." He deplored "the taunts hurled at the workers by certain misinformed people that they were variously Bolsheviks, Independent Workers of the World and Anarchists" by endeavouring to prove their patriotism. He further blamed the wharfage disturbances entirely as due to inefficient construction and management, advocated the abolition of the N.T. Public Service and abolished a previous source of grievance; state control of liquor. If the reports of his successor and the local press are to be taken as a guide all this achieved no more than the prevention of further attacks upon senior government officials. The stormy waters were not to be calmed by such sweet methods.

Staniforth Smith had been instructed by External Affairs Minister McM. Glynn to inform the local citizens that parlia-

mentary franchise would be granted as soon as possible. In consequence in December 1922 the Northern Territorians elected H. Nelson, political agitator and ringleader in previous attacks upon government officials as their non-voting representative in the Federal Parliament. In 1936 the member was given the right to vote on matters relating to Northern Territory Ordinances. In the meantime, the failure of Staniforth Smith's conciliatory measures clearly indicated that the struggle had progressed too far, feelings had become too high and extremist doctrines and practices too firmly entrenched to be overcome by the simple expedient of conciliation. This compelled the Commonwealth Government after 1920 to adopt a stern policy towards the unruly little community.

Part Submission and Non-Cooperation

Earlier, Home and Territories Minister Bamford advised that "a strong hand and a big boot" was the only effective way of enforcing order in the territory and after 1920 the Commonwealth Government appears to have concurred. This was immediately successful, curbing lawlessness and reducing disturbances. The local reaction against the autocratic system entered a second phase characterized principally by vigorous verbal onslaughts upon the administration and passive non-

cooperation.

The Commonwealth Government commenced its coercive policy by choosing ex-police commissioner Urquhart, who in February 1921 took up office in the re-formed position of Administrator. Comments made by the local press and his successors show that Urquhart was a man of courage, determination and accustomed to discipline. Abbott retold a local legend of how "he created a sensation when, within a week of his arrival, he called at the post office for his mail, with a shotgun lying affectionately in the crook of his arms." This annoyed the extremists, who convened a meeting, only to be foiled by the Administrator himself attending - still (17) carrying his shotgun. Whether true or not, this legend does give a clear indication of the impression his arrival made on the citizens.

This was considerably reinforced by the Law Observance Ordinance No.13 which he introduced early in 1921. For all offences other than capital, this abolished trial by jury, which had become much abused during the past disturbances. As Urquhart reported in 1922:

"Would be offenders can no longer count on the certainty of acquittal at the hands of sympathetic juries, and innocent persons no longer walk in fear of trumped up charges."

The Ordinance also provided for the maintenance of law at (18) public meetings, the deportation of taxation defaulters and punishment of any person interfering with the lawful occupation

of others. These firm measures were successful and in 1922 the Administrator reported that "the Ordinance has had an excellent effect on the general preservation of law and order."

On 3rd June, 1922, a second restrictive ordinance (No.4) limited local government only to certain sections of the community. The Darwin Town Council franchise was altered from adult suffrage to one based on a property qualification, the Council was restricted to five members and its activities were limited principally to the maintenance of parks, streets and public buildings. These reforms ridded it of "a continuous majority of socialist extremists whose tender mercies towards property owners were indeed cruel." The period was past when a militant mayor could take part in assaults upon senior government officers.

In his first report Urquhart made a forceful analysis of the Darwin community. This deserves considerable quoting because it bears out the extreme political attitudes and opinions which the struggle for self-rule was engendering:

"As the facts of the general situation at Darwin gradually unfolded themselves to me... I soon perceived that my lines were not to be laid in pleasant places... To begin with, the Service was permeated with the doctrines of extremist unionism, vigorously inculcated by the local union leaders (extremist of the extreme); and enforced by every subtle and tyrannical device their none too scrupulous minds could conceive until the more or less depressed and bewildered civil servants... seemed to doubt to whom their first allegiance was really due... Socially the Darwin Community was as a house divided... On the one hand were the extremists who talked of "Soviets" and kindred nonsense, and on the other (unfortunately in the minority) were the few who struggled...

against the blatant and shameless tyranny exercised in the misused names of "Labour" and "Unionism". And so the house of Darwin's prosperity fell. Production stopped, no capital came into the Territory and unemployment immediately presented an ugly problem..."

As this report indicated, the vanguard in the political agitation was the local trade union. Militant unionism first became established to enforce the claims of wage speculators between 1914 and 1919. With the decline in industrial activity after this period, the remaining active union became a quasi-political organization dividing its attention between vigorous political agitation and regulating the little available work amongst the labouring population. In this role, as Urquhart pointed out in 1922 and the Justice Ewing Commission earlier bore out, it attracted a large following while its extremist doctrines became widely accepted amongst the white and halfcast population. Leading A.W.U. members took a leading part on the assault on Dr. Gilruth in 1918. After this event H. Nelson attended an A.W.U. conference in Melbourne and was given permission to form an overall union for the territory - the North Australian Industrial Union. Following the deposition of Director Carey in October 1919, Mr. Justice Ewing was directed to investigate the activities of the union and its executive, which he did by the simple method of questioning local citizens. They testified as to its reasonable methods and usefulness in preventing industrial

disputes, though newspaper reports, government records and industrial statistics told the opposite story. In view of intimidation tactics and the political daring of the union such evidence seems quite understandable. By now Bolshevism appears to have become a popular creed amongst the local union and the possibility of replacing the administrative bureaucracy with Soviets was mooted by a few. Though a small number of extremists were probably confirmed in their beliefs, Bolshevism appears to have become popular because its current revolutionary reputation appealed to the unfranchised citizens.

To compensate for their political disabilities, many citizens also preferred to accept the immediate union executive as their first governing authority. Thus a feature of Darwin's political history was the dual government, one official and the other non-official. At times the unofficial body acted with a dictatorial firmness far greater than the autocracy it opposed. Within eighteen months of its inception the high handed methods of the N.A.I.U. had given rise to a group of dissenters. In 1922 Urquhart recorded how:

"Beginning with a small nucleus of boycotted and persecuted men, cast out and deprived of their livelihood by the tyrants of the North Australian Industrial Union, the Northern Territory Workers Union with an announced platform of moderation and commonsense is drawing to itself increasing members of the more reasonable and industrious workers in the Territory."

By 1925 Buchanan observed a 140 membership by the breakaway union as against 310 in the original union. In 1926 the breach

was healed and the North Australian Workers Union came into existence with^a platform more particularly industrial than political. In June 1932 the local union, which had conducted its own newspaper since February 1921, bought out the rival "N.T. Times" thus obtaining a monopoly with which to launch a sustained verbal, rather than physical, attack on (20) the administration.

These new union practices after 1926 were really part of the general submission enforced by Urquhart's strong handed rule between 1921 and 1926. Apart from occasional incidents as when Administrator Weddell was overpowered and locked in his office and Abbott experienced a minor stoning incident outright acts of lawlessness against government officials disappeared. But the aftermath of the political conflict: extremist elements in the community, a lack of civic pride and passive non-cooperation were still evident. In 1937 these contributed a final stage in the steady decline of democratic privileges: the abolition of local government.

In 1931 the Town Council quarrelled with the Commonwealth Government and resigned. Though the immediate issue was a question of franchise, the underlying conflict was the old grievance of official interference in what the Councillors considered their own province. The Commonwealth then appointed a mayor and four councillors consisting of prominent

citizens. In August 1935 the nominated Council petitioned the Commonwealth to assume full control of all municipal administration. They put forward three main arguments for their request. The first was that the advent of air services had changed the region's whole situation and that available rate money (£2890 including subsidy) was inadequate for its new role. "Unless the Government takes remedial action, the Commonwealth's first airport of call will remain the drab, uninviting, apparently uncared for place it is today." The second argument was that it was difficult to collect rates from union members without the N.A.W.U. boycotting their businesses. As a result, responsible persons refused nomination. The third argument was that as the town had regressed to a government outpost, it was only logical that the same should assume entire control.

In January 1936 it was announced that "the government has decided to transfer the control of civic affairs of Darwin to the Northern Territory Administration". According to a prominent citizen, Jessie Litchfield, the town immediately responded with public meetings and petitions. The "N.T. Standard" again brought to life the well-worn precedent of colonial America and sought satisfaction in contemplating a similar solution. The gist of the arguments at the public meetings (21) was that a nominated Council had no right to voluntarily surrender local government. Faced by a hostile town, the

councillors changed their stand and defended themselves with the argument that they had only resigned to re-establish an elective council. The ire of the citizens was further increased when, due to bureaucratic delays, only 6% of total rates and subsidy were spent by the Commonwealth Administration on preserving and improving the town over the first year of control. Local government was in fact abolished by Ordinance No.2, 1937. After the first of April, as Jessie Litchfield ruefully commented, even the town hall was converted into offices and someone rescued the hall's war service (22) list from the rubbish pit.

In retrospect, Darwin's political history is characterized by two important developments. The first was a steady regression in democratic privileges. From a town which in 1901 enjoyed parliamentary representation in four Houses, local government and trial by jury, Darwin regressed until 1937 when it boasted one nominal representative in a Federal House. The human reverse of this was the growth of non-cooperation, lack of civic responsibility and antagonism towards authority. The second development, most noticeable between 1915 and 1925 was the growth of extremist doctrines and practices, such that compromise and discussion were often overshadowed by militancy and physical intimidation.

Both these developments again marked out the community as an exception when compared with most other Australian communities. But the political attitudes to which they gave rise were in many ways understandable in a society which seemed to consider its only significant freedom as the right to criticise - as exemplified in this Darwin ballad:

"The bloody town's a bloody cuss,
No bloody trams, no bloody bus,
Nobody cares for bloody us,
So bloody, bloody, bloody."

(23)

Chapter III.

PROVINCIALISM AND COSMOPOLITANISM

(In what way was provincialism the outcome of a cosmopolitan community?)

1. Labour Shortages - and the Chinese.
2. The Fishing and Pearling Industry - Japanese and South East Asians.
3. The Indigenous Inhabitants - Full Blood and Half-caste.

Labour Shortages - and the Chinese

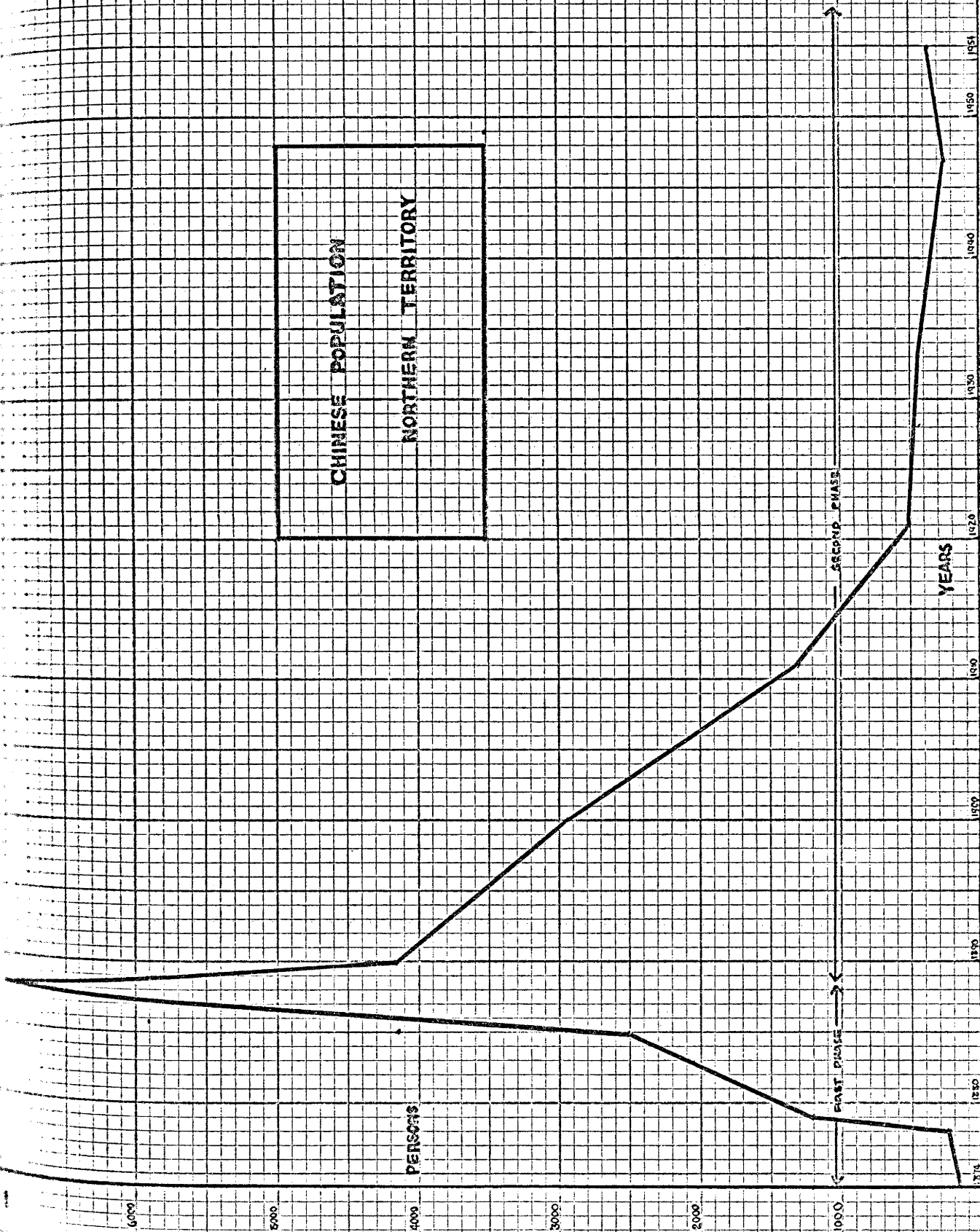
South Australia's early plans of settlement laid no serious emphasis upon a part-Asian territory. Yet three years after G.W. Goyder had selected the site of Port Darwin, the first Government Resident stationed there wrote:

(1) "In order to make sugar growing and the cultivation of cotton and other tropical productions remunerative, coolie labour must be imported. It is however useless to depend on a supply from the islands of the Arafura Sea, or Java, or the Dutch East Indian islands. Chinese coolies must be imported. In some parts of British India and the recognised trading ports in China, not the slightest difficulty will be experienced in obtaining coolies at from 1s. to 1s. 3d. per diem."

This recommendation conveniently summarised South Australia's immigration policy and the reasons which determined it for the next fifteen years. Unable to practice their original intention of settling Port Darwin with white settlers and small capital, they fell back upon coloured labourers for white companies. This had two advantages - it was cheap and in view of Darwin's geographical outlook, near at hand. Yet the nearest supply was passed over (being too backward) and the required manpower was sought from the Asian Continent.

Efforts to recruit Asian labour were successful only amongst one race. In 1888, the peak year of Asian migration, Resident Langdon Parsons could count 150 Indians and Cingalese compared with over 7000 Chinese. That this was not intentional is apparent from a survey of the principal migration

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schemes. In 1874-5 negotiations were conducted with the Governments of Ceylon and Mauritius for suitable coolies. Next year Bishop Bugnion was asked for 40,000 of his Mennonites from Russia, Mauritius and India. In 1877 the Japanese Ministry in Tokio was approached. In 1879 an "Indian Immigration Act" was passed and three years later Major Fergusson was sent to India to arrange an immigration plan. When these schemes failed South Australia was thrown back (2) upon a predominantly Chinese immigration policy.

As the graph opposite shows, the Chinese population first grew rapidly, then slowly declined - two convenient phases for analysis.

There were three distinct stages in the rapid increase. The first began in May 1874 when Captain Douglas, who had relinquished his position as Resident, was commissioned by the South Australian Government "to engage on their behalf about two hundred Chinese coolies for service in the Northern Territory and... [to] proceed by mail boat Baroda... for that (3) purpose." They were to be engaged for two years "at or under three dollars per week" for "private employment and failing that... for public works." 186 coolies were thus recruited in 1874. Early reports paint them as a depressed class, but unlike their successors, they were fairly permanent. In (4) 1876 they numbered 160, in 1877, 115 and in 1878, 208. According to W.C. Kellaway, Superintendent of Buildings, 1912,

they were largely employed under white supervision in constructing the first roads and public buildings. During the 1870s they were paid one shilling to one and ninepence per day for building and one shilling for road work (compared with (5) eight shillings for white labour.)

In 1878 there were 208 Chinese in the new settlement, a (6) year later, this had increased to 1176 and two years after that to 4108. These increases indicate the beginning of a second influx of Chinese immigrants. The reports of Residents Price and Langdon Parsons show that they came direct from China, principally Hong Kong and were mostly assisted by Chinese:

"Hongs, who find passage money and outfit and who through their agents here (in Darwin) obtain a large and long continued squeeze from the wages these coolies earn or the gold they find."

Their intention was to "make a sufficient fortune to live at ease in their own country for the remainder of their lives" particularly from alluvial gold. They panned alluvium during the wet season, after which the successful went home and the less fortunate lived on Government rations and casual work. Thus the advantage of coolie labour was often offset by its migratory habits. In 1882 Price showed that almost a third of the population had either arrived or departed during that year. There was the added disadvantage of inferior labour being attracted to Port Darwin, being the only Australian port without a poll-tax. Many were diseased, drug addicted "and belonged to secret and dangerous societies." Though, according

to Parsons (1887) "they were usually law abiding, except in (8) respect of thieving, gambling and perjury," South Australia began to regret that its labour cure created problems as difficult as the disease.

In 1877 G.R. McMinn was commissioned to investigate the (9) practicability of an inland railway. In 1883 a Railway Bill authorized its construction and in 1886 private contractors commenced work on the line using Chinese labour. This marks a third brief stage in Chinese migration. During 1887, 2000 railway workers were imported increasing to 3000 in 1888. This influx and the regular mining migrations accounts for a (10) Chinese population of 7000 in that year.

These alarming increases enforced a change in official policy in 1888. Darwin got a poll-tax and a Quarantine Station and an All Australian Conference agreed to a general restriction of Asiatic migration. This introduced the gradual decline represented on the previous graph by a rapid and then gradual decline. The second phase in the history of the Chinese population was characterized by three distinct developments. The first was an anti Chinese reaction most pronounced between 1890 and 1920; the second was a transition in Chinese occupations; the third was their gradual Australianization in spite of stubborn patriarchal resistance.

The reaction against the Chinese seems to have first

developed in Darwin in the early 1880s. This was probably the outcome of the close social contact which followed Chinese settlement in the town. Embarrassed by the Asiatics' lack of hygiene, Resident Price allocated them a region in the town from which the wind seldom blew. The Palmerston District Council despaired of enforcing health regulations and lived in constant fear of Eastern diseases. "It was not that we were becoming overpopulated alone," wrote Langdon Parsons in 1888, "we were continuously invaded by smallpox." There were also outbreaks of typhoid, cholera and leprosy amongst the Chinese.

More important, the Chinese had a depressing effect upon white capital and labour. This attracted widest official interest. In spite of South Australia's dream of white capitalists employing coloured labour, the Chinese preferred to be their own masters and by 1880 were effectively undercutting white enterprises in mining, commerce, agriculture and contracting. After 1885 when white capital was withdrawing from the territory, the Chinese threatened to establish themselves as a monopoly. While the South Australian Government viewed Asiatic migration only as a temporary measure to steer the settlement through early labour problems, the growth of an uncontrolled Chinese population successfully excluded all white labour. Between 1874 and 1884 the demand for Chinese labour was such that their wages increased from 1s. to 1s. 9d. to 3s.

(11) while their white overseers decreased from £2 to 17s. per day.

In 1881 Price observed:

"There are still always from 20 to 25 Europeans on relief work... unable even to pay a fare south... I would again urge on Europeans not to come here to seek alluvial gold. It is hopeless for them to compete with swarms of Chinese who manage to live on one fourth of what a European requires."

These were the developments which led to the 1888 poll-tax, which did not set out to exclude the Chinese completely. As Parsons commented in 1887, "A limited number of Chinese are useful to the territory." The tax was meant to reinstate the white supervisor assisted by Chinese market gardeners, artisans, cooks, house servants and doxies. But the restriction was really part of an Australian wide movement bent on complete exclusion. The Northern Territory could be no exception and in 1911 the Commonwealth Government entered the field not only committed to white labour but also to an anti-Asiatic policy.

(12) Early reports show clearly that the Commonwealth Government regretted the Chinese legacy, particularly in Darwin.

Thus two policies towards the Chinese were adopted: to encourage their emigration and where this failed: to enforce definite standards of western living.

In pursuing their emigration policy the Commonwealth was not adverse to gentle 'coaxing' and 'pushing'. In 1915 the Chief Health Officer pointed out that 70 old Chinese, mostly from Darwin had been repatriated. Each was given a free berth,

plus four pounds in gold to assist in re-establishing himself at Hong Kong. After an apparent lull in emigration activity during the "boom" period, 22 more were repatriated in 1920 and a further 16 in 1924. After that the emigration scheme lapsed, leaving about a hundred old Chinese labourers too poor to return home. Many other Chinese left rather than accept the alien living conditions thrust upon them. Thus between 1912 and 1920 there was a steady stream of Chinese emigrants.

Date.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Gain or loss through migration.
1912	155	190	- 45
1913	82	152	- 70
1914	57	178	-121
1915	95	156	- 61
1916	68	101	- 43
1917	46	44	+ 2
1918	154	202	- 48
1919	No Record Available.		
1920	38	99	- 61

(13)

The Commonwealth preceded its policy of westernisation with a vigorous criticism of Chinese living conditions. China-town consisted of "a conglomeration of hovels" "built in most cases of old galvanized iron on a framework of timber"

"ill-lighted, insufficiently ventilated and evil smelling" using doors as drains and often too low for standing. Health officers also criticised the congestion of as many as 32 houses on a half acre block, absence of disease precautions and the "shops where fruit and vegetables lie heaped on the floor amidst dirt, decaying vegetable matter" and frequently fouled by dogs.

In 1912 the newly appointed Health Officer announced, "It will be necessary to pull down many of the at present hopelessly insanitary and unsafe buildings." Even Chinese agriculture was to be revolutionized, the gardeners being deprived of their own and the town's night soil which they sprinkled around (and over) the vegetables. In 1913 fifteen dwellings were demolished and a new Chinese settlement was planned for those too poor to renovate their houses. This settlement was to be constructed at a site less than two miles from the town and was to consist of quarter acre family blocks at a rent of two and sixpence per year. Next year the Health Officer reported difficulties:

"Chinese conservatism renders them very obstinate and difficult to move and they have a decided objection to living in an open settlement."

Undeterred by this refusal to budge, the authorities pulled down 190 hovels over their heads. During the next two years 20 more residences were demolished and in 1917 it was reported

that only "14 (condemned) premises remained." In 1921 this scheme had been completed and 56 houses had been constructed at the new settlement. Thereafter, the enthusiasm of the Commonwealth Government waned as in other things, though China-town still left much to be westernised. The efforts to enforce western standards were succeeded by a slow process of assimilation hastened eventually by the Japanese blitz (14) which destroyed the Chinese Quarter.

The second characteristic of the Chinese after 1888 was their change from labouring to commercial occupations. There seems to be three major reasons why the Chinese labouring class disappeared. In the first place, it always had been migratory for traditional and economic reasons. As Parsons reported in 1887:

"The great majority of the Chinese will always be nomadic and temporary... confined mainly to those who by gold finding, trading, labor-money saving or gambling gather a sufficient amount of money to return to China.."

The imposition of poll-tax and quarantine regulations after 1888 particularly restricted the entry of poor coolies. Finally, the economic depression after 1890 was responsible for a steady stream of emigrants - evident in the decline (15) of Chinese miners.

Number of Miners - N.T.

Year	European	Chinese
1894	65	2,055
1896	193	1,678
1898	107	1,456
1900	72	1,432
1902	47	1,160
1904	189	1,158
1906	179	1,018
1908	150	674
1910	140	602
1911	101	575

Against this decrease in Chinese labourers there was an increase in the proportion of commercial people. There were two principal reasons for this. In the first place, though emigration was very high amongst the labouring majority, it was very low amongst the commercial minority, which previously had so effectively undercut white competitors. After 1888 these last compromised their traditional ties and economic interests, by remaining at their established businesses and making regular journeys to China. This new population was considerably more stable and in the decade after 1891 general migration, always predominantly Chinese, decreased to a third of the previous decades rate. It also became better balanced between males and females. In the thirty years before 1911 (17) the average Chinese sex proportion was 77 to 1. In 1921 this had equalized to 3.3 to 1 and by 1933, 1.6 to 1. It also meant a better class of Chinese, though this was somewhat

countered by the aged and decrepit remnants of the labour
(18) force which in 1923 numbered 114.

The second reason for the growth of a Chinese Commercial population was that the Asiatics were better able to survive the two sustained depressions which characterized Darwin's development. In the depression between 1890 and 1911, the Chinese became firmly entrenched as a business and gardening community. By 1911 most of China-town was living on a few shopkeepers who rented out the houses at two and sixpence
(19) per year. In the 1920-37 depression, the Chinese further increased their commercial superiority. In 1925 Buchanan showed that the Chinese ran two thirds of all shops, including four tailors, eight grocers, six fruit shops, two cafés and
(20) one bakery. In 1924 Mr. Justice Powers observed that no white man could compete with the Chinese in skilled trades like tailoring.

In 1938 the local press published a useful study of
(21) Chinese commercial activity. This pointed to the steady accumulation of wealth, much of which was returned to the "home" village in China, as their main object in life. To ensure this, they adhered to their own systems of commerce and stringent labour conditions. Any new ventures were financed by their own loan association (Chengwei) and not by white Banks. Commercial activity was often diffused over several industries, for instance one business man could combine

"tailor, trepang entrepreneur, laundry and hire car service." The profit margin was always small and the proprietors possessed high standards of communal honesty. Labour conditions were described as beyond white endurance. Wages ranged up to £15 per month. Normal working hours extended from 7.30 a.m. to 6.30 p.m. and customers would be served at any hour of the night. This was the commercial system which distinguished the town's business life until the war. Though it depressed white firms (only one white store survived its competition) it provided the citizens with cheap clothing, small profits (22) and a generous credit system.

The third characteristic of the Chinese population was their gradual assimilation into the Australian community. In 1887 Langdon Parsons claimed:

"The Chinese will always be and remain foreigners... The ages of isolation and of fixed usage in domestic, social and national life have produced an uniformity of racial idiosyncrasy which residence for a few years in a British colony does not affect."

The Resident's prediction only showed signs of being disproved in the decade prior to the war.

The rate of Chinese assimilation seems to have been conditioned by two opposing influences. The first was the White Australia Policy which by excluding new migrations tended to weaken the link with China. Opposing this was the traditional patriarchal system which stubbornly resisted the introduction

of foreign ideas. This conservatism was strengthened in two ways at least. The one was the lack of women and hence the necessity to marry brides from China. Because of migration restrictions the brides were only permitted to remain in Australia for limited periods, during which an infant was often born to claim Australian citizenship.

Between these periods the husband supported his wife in China and visited her as frequently as his limited means permitted. The other influence tending to preserve the Chinese traditions was the custom of sending many six and seven year old children to China for several years education and village life. They then returned to relearn English at the public school where they distinguished themselves for their lately acquired

(23) Chinese habits and their exclusiveness. In addition the local Chinese maintained their own school and teacher with a curriculum, according to the 1926 Education Report, intended to inculcate a "love of the Chinese race ^{and} _A the use of the Chinese language."

This stubborn resistance only seems to have delayed the process of assimilation so that considerable deviations only appeared in the 1930s amongst the third generation. This is reflected in religion-statistics. In 1911, almost the entire population gave their religion as "Chinese" or "Confucianism", in 1921 approximately 90%, but in 1933 only 4% so

described their religion. Evidence from newspapers shows that by the late 1930s the younger generation only accepted the old Chinese rituals as formalities, despised opium smoking, preferred films to joss houses and were tending towards sex equality and marriage by choice. In 1936 a 'Darwin Chinese Recreational Club' was formed by the younger generation with the object of breaking down Chinese exclusivism and encouraging social and sporting contact with the rest of (25) the population.

The Fishing and Pearling Industry -
Japanese and South East Asians.

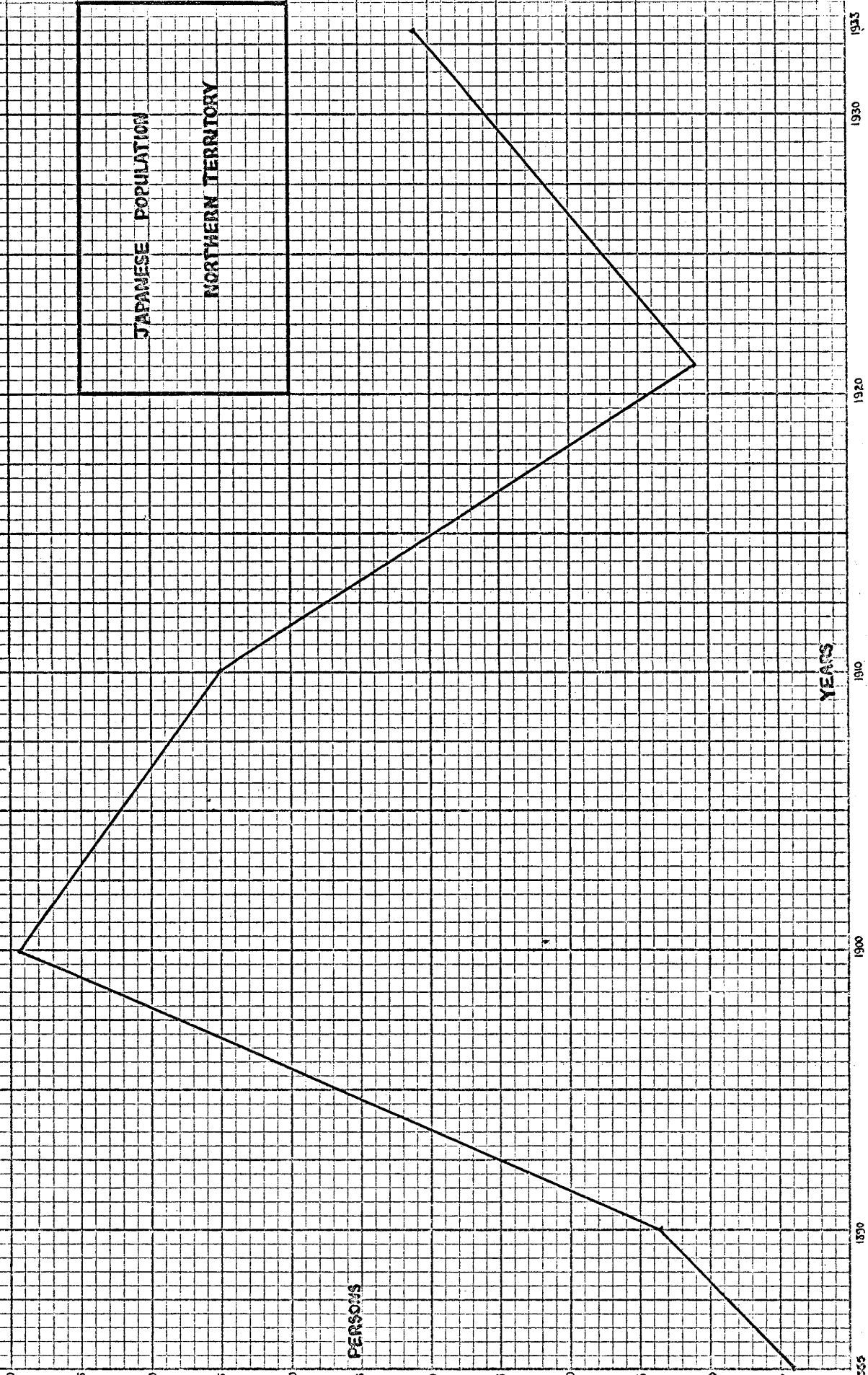
The second factor influencing the growth of a cosmopolitan population were the fishing activities conducted in the seas near Darwin. Macassar fishermen searching principally for trepang had pioneered the industry before 1800. In 1905 the coast was closed to them thus giving the Darwin fishing industry a virtual monopoly. Meanwhile, as early as 1884 Resident G.R. McMinn had reported the discovery of pearl shell in the Darwin Harbour, followed by the formation of a local company and a rush of pearling boats from Torres Strait. But the muddy water, depth and scarcity of the shell and poor

JAPANESE POPULATION

NORTHERN TERRITORY

PERSONS

YEARS



1850

1900

1910

1920

1930

1935

quality of labour contributed to a low return and by 1887 the industry had been abandoned.

It was reorganized a decade later largely by the introduction of Japanese pearl divers and by 1897 its output was 137 tons. Developing as it did against an Australian wide anti-colour reaction, many efforts were made to make the industry profitable with white labour. In 1902 an investigation was conducted by Judge Dashwood who found that "as regards Port Darwin the only white men employed in the trade were three divers in 1884 [who] did not care about the life and left." His analysis of the labour force gives a useful indication of the cosmopolitan working force recruited.

Function	Number	Income
Employers	9 Europeans	not known.
Divers	7 Filipinos 37 Japanese 3 Malays	£20 to £23 per ton + £1 - £2 per month.
	47	
Crew Members	1 American 39 Chinese 42 Filipinos 99 Japanese 39 Malay 10 Aborigines 1 Pacific Islander	£2 to £2-10-0 per month.
	4 Other Races.	
	235	

When the Commonwealth assumed control in 1911, efforts were made to abolish coloured labour as part of the 'white territory' policy. After 1913 permits to indent Asiatics for the pearling fleet were to be cancelled. Due to the war this was postponed until June 1918. But, a Royal Commission whose findings were released in 1916 did "not consider that it would be either desirable or profitable to attempt by any drastic method to transfer the industry from Asiatic to European." Thereafter the small Japanese colony remained at Darwin, from time to time being supplemented by Japanese pearling vessels. In 1921 the permanent Japanese population included 13 males and 1 female, while 8 Japanese and 34 Koepang boys were employed in the local industry. By 1933 the population included 19 males and 7 females.

In 1937 Payne observed:

"The pearling industry has been of considerable benefit to the town... It is said that between £20,000 and £30,000 finds its way annually into the trading channels at Darwin."

He also reported that five pearlmen controlled the pearling fleet of 25 vessels, each of which was manned by six Japanese and three Malays. However, wages were low; in 1936 C. Price Conigrave, an ex-inspector of fisheries, wrote that wage rates were between £25 and £40 a ton plus £3 to £4 per month.

Besides Japanese, the pearling industry was also responsible for the growth of a South East Asian population. As these

married into the half-caste population, they will be better
(26) studied in the following section.

The Indigenous Inhabitants - Full Blood
and Half-Caste.

The third factor contributing to the growth of a cosmopolitan community arose from the impact of a predominantly masculine white and Asiatic population upon the indigenous inhabitants. This had two effects, it detribalized the aborigines near Darwin and gave rise to a part-aborigine population.

The South Australian administration seems to have pursued a laissez-faire policy towards the aborigines. "The intrusion of the white man (wrote Parsons) is a declaration of war and
(27) the result is simply the survival of the fittest." Only in 1912, when the Commonwealth commenced an Aborigines' Department, were efforts made to appreciate and report upon the aborigine problem. Professor Baldwin Spencer was made a special commissioner and Chief Protector of Aborigines and his report gives the first useful analysis of the conditions at Darwin. He showed that the original Larrakia tribe was completely detribalized and living in two camps within the town

area. A later analysis (1913) showed that they were almost extinct and largely replaced by members of surrounding tribes, lured to the white man's civilization. The aboriginal population lived in old, corrugated iron huts constructed principally of materials salvaged from the 1897 cyclone. Many had become addicted to opium through contact with the remnants of the earlier Chinese labour force, while a great number of women had become prostitutes, often ceasing to bear children because of Chinese methods of abortion. It was clear to Spencer that the tribe had become a part of Darwin's life, providing cheap labour to replace declining Asiatic labour.

- (28) As Professor A.P. Elkin has pointed out, the purpose of the new Aboriginals Department was largely protective. It commenced with the assumption:

- (29) "The supplying of aborigines with opium and spirits and and the wholesale prostitution of native women are common and constant practices amongst the great body of Asiatics and form the most serious evil that the Department has to contend with."

As a result, in the 1910 Aboriginals Act all Asiatics were refused right to employ natives and under the 1911 Aboriginals Ordinance, China-town was declared a prohibited area. In 1913 the Administration began the policy of banishing drug addicts to Melville Island. On the other hand, the Administration assumed that "so long as the absence of white women [was] a feature of the territory" it would be impossible to abolish prostitution by white men. In 1922 Urquhart repeated

the view:

"I can conceive of no legislation less drastic than such as would be intolerable to any Australian community... in putting an end to the present prevailing miscegenation."

Another protective measure was the erection of a native compound at Kahlin Beach on the outskirts of the town. Here the aborigines were provided with housing, hospital and educational facilities. The introduction of the Meatworks "increased illicit intercourse between white and native" resulting in an increase in prostitution and venereal disease and in consequence natives without permits were restricted to the compound. As recently as 1929 J.W. Bleakley reported that the practice of restricting natives to their compound (30) was still used over night.

Aboriginal Reports indicate that the citizens generally opposed these new restrictions as an interference with their employment of cheap labour. During the prosperity of the Meatworks the labour demand always exceeded the supply, with the result that wages increased to ten shillings maximum per week. Union opposition prevented the use of labour for any other than menial work. However, during the depression which followed the closing of the Meatworks, Mr. Justice Powers noted:

"Another matter which prevents the possibility of men obtaining employment at Darwin at 19s. 3d. a day is the fact that there is practically an unlimited number of aboriginals at Darwin... (250 in the dry season and 500 in the wet) who can be employed under a Government Ordinance at 5s. a week and aboriginal rations."

The general custom of employing black labour was still practised when in 1929 J.W. Bleakley observed:

"Life in Darwin... would be almost impossible without cheap domestic labour... This fact is admitted by all shades of opinion."

In Ordinance No.4, 1939, the whole aboriginal policy entered a new phase. The new assumption was "the conviction of the ultimate possibility of adopting the aboriginal to the conditions of western civilization." The immediate outcome of this was the formation of a separate Native Affairs Department under a Director. In 1938 work was commenced on a new modern settlement at Bagot, four miles from the town, which was intended to house the detribalized and urbanized aborigines under conditions favourable for their advancement. But, the advent of war interrupted the project and the settlement became a military hospital and barracks. The second period in Aboriginal administration with a positive policy of (31) westernization has been continued in the postwar era.

The second outcome of contact between White and Asiatic inhabitants and the indigenous natives was the growth of a half-caste population. By 1912 W. Baldwin Spencer described this as being "a very mixed group. In practically all cases the mother is a full blood aboriginal, the father may be a white man, a Chinese, a Japanese, a Malay or a Filipino." But the 1911 census statistics show that white-aboriginal

half-castes predominated.

<u>Mother</u>		<u>Father</u>	
Aboriginal	-	White	189
"	-	Chinese	8
"	-	Hindu	1
"	-	Filippino	22
"	-	Cingalese	4
		<u>224</u>	all N.T.

These figures must only be taken as approximate because of the difficulty in many cases of establishing the father's identity. Approximately a half, according to Spencer, lived in the northern region of the territory. The aboriginal-Chinese number was probably low because of birth control.

In Darwin particularly, the half-caste problem had two aspects. The first arose from contact between South East Asian fishermen and aboriginal or half-caste women. Because Malaysians, Filipinos and Cingalese had less objection to marrying these women, many appear to have established fairly normal homes and become assimilated (culturally and economically at least) in the Darwin community. As a group, they resented the various aboriginal ordinances which legally combined them with aborigines. Even when interrogated in connection with this thesis, they were careful to emphasize (32) their largely non-aboriginal background.

The second aspect of the Darwin half-caste population arose from extra-marital relations between whites mainly and lubras and the Commonwealth Policy, first defined by Spencer

in 1912, of removing the offspring to special compounds in Darwin and Alice Springs. In 1912 Spencer expressed the hope that the birth of extra-marital half-castes would decrease. But already in 1914 the Chief Inspector of Aborigines pointed out that, "Half-castes [were] increasing and the progeny of half-caste women also becoming numerous." This indicates a new problem; that of half-caste prostitution and the birth of quadroon and octoroon children. By 1921 the Protector's report stated, "Most of the half-caste women [were] prostitutes, but a few [were] married to white men and Malays," it added that of twenty part-aboriginal births only in one case could the father be traced. As late as March 1937 the 'Northern Standard' alleged that "coloured women were being openly

(33) bargained for in the streets of Darwin." These observations can be fairly well supported by statistical evidence. In 1913, the percentage of ex-nuptial births for the Northern Territory was 13.46%, a decade later it had increased to a

(34) peak of 40.21% and a decade after that to 18.92%. Between 1921 and 1933 the half-caste population of Darwin increased from 83 (or 6% of the population) to 223 (or 14% of the population) while over the same period the half-caste population

(35) of the N.T. increased from 12% to 16.5% of the total population.

At first the half-caste children were housed in the native compound. By 1917 the number here was 21. In 1920 Chief

Protector Waters recommended that half-caste children above the age of seven should be boarded out to respectable married people. In 1924 a Half-caste Home containing 21 girls was established in the public service residential area. In 1929 J.W. Bleakley made a full report on the Half-caste Home. He observed that 76 children were housed in a dwelling large enough only for one family. These included -

	H/c.	Q/c.	Octoroon
Aboriginal - European	56	5	1
- Chinese	4	1	
- Maori	2	2	
- Asiatics		5	
	15 m. 47 f.	5 m. 8 f.	1 f.

The predominance of females was due to the Protector's desire to guard the girls against prostitution and the station-managers' reluctance to part with potential station hands. By 1929, 11 inmates had been placed in domestic service in Darwin, many employers preferring half-caste domestic labour to the commonly used aborigines.

Throughout the 1930s a positive policy towards the half-caste population emerged. In 1929 the Bleakley Report advanced the idea that fifty percent or more 'white caste' should be actively assisted to assimilate in a western society. In 1934 Dr. C. Cook defined the new emphasis as "intended to elevate the half-castes' standard of living to that of the white."

This was to be effected by "encouraging the marriage of half-castes and whites," "Half-caste Apprentice Regulations for training boys in the pastoral industry" and a half-caste housing scheme which by 1934 included eight houses. In Ordinance 4, 1936, it was stated that:

"The Chief Protector may declare that any person shall not be deemed to be an aborigine for the purpose of this Ordinance."

In the same year 11 males and 2 females were given total exemption and 19 males partial exemption. But, even for these, exemption did not guarantee complete freedom and equality, for in 1937 in three cases exemption was revoked. The same Ordinance 4 imposed stringent regulations against (36) the drinking of intoxicants. The reaction to this was the formation of a Half-caste Association with W. Ah Mat as secretary (a descendent of South East Asian fishermen). This was the first attempt by the half-caste population to (37) organize themselves into a single body.

CHAPTER IV.

PROVINCIAL DARWIN IN TRANSITION

(What new influences tended to break down provincialism, most particularly after 1937?)

1. Provincialism and the Growth of a Garrison Town.
2. Provincialism and the Development of Air Transport.
3. Provincialism and a Less Permanent Government Working Force.

Provincialism and the Growth of a Garrison Town.

The first development to change provincial Darwin was its gradual transformation into a garrison town. It is useful to divide this transition into five fairly distinct periods, each of which created new social conditions amongst the Darwin community.

In the first period, which extended until 1934, Darwin was widely viewed as a prospective strategic base in the event of Australia being attacked. But as this was considered unlikely, no effort was made to develop a stronghold. As early as 1891 the Federal Conference recommended the formation of a defence committee which studied (as part of Australia's defences) the practicability of establishing a military base at Port Darwin. The Committee rejected the setting up of a base under present conditions, due to the economic depression "and annually decreasing population of Europeans of whom there [were] now only about 100 males between the ages of 18 and 40". They recommended instead, that the local rifle club be instructed in the use of weapons and "that two rifled field guns, two five barrel Nordenfelts and (1) 100 Martini-Henry rifles" be provided for the town. In 1914 the Royal Commission on Railways and Ports again considered the strategic importance of Darwin, the majority report quoting a naval expert as saying:

"At Darwin ... you have the whole territory of the commonwealth behind ... It is not only the most

northerly (settled) point of Australia [but controls the south eastern extremity of the European entrance into the Pacific]." But these were only theoretical

calculations which could be and were comfortably shelved until Australia was considered endangered.

The second period extended from 1934 to 1937 when Darwin became equipped with a small garrison suitable only for local defence. A decade earlier, in 1924, the Standing Committee on Public Works considered and recommended the establishment of oil depots at Port Darwin to reduce inland transport costs and also to act as a possible naval refuelling station, if

(2) there "was ample provision to defend it against attacks".

Resulting from this and the presence of the Cable Station the military garrison, which after the 1891 Federal Convention had been established on Thursday Island, was reconstructed

(3) at Darwin. In May 1934 the Chief of Staff (General Bruce) officially opened the new forts, which by 1937 had a garrison

(4) of about fifty men. Local fortifications were strengthened in May 1936 when a patrol vessel; the 'Larrakea', forty five feet long and with a crew of three, was stationed there.

Though its prime task was to stand by in case of air accidents over the Timor Sea, it became more commonly used to police Japanese pearling luggers enfringing on territorial waters.

(5) The weakness of these defences became more apparent as the gravity of the world situation increased. In 1937 the Darwin press observed:

- (6) "Darwin is not a defence post at present. It is merely a death trap for the garrison which could not fight a bigger force than a light cruiser's landing party."

When in 1937 Administrator Abbott observed that "the strategical position of Darwin has been assuming large proportions in the public eye" he was referring to an awakened Australian interest in the continent's northern defences largely provoked by the trend in international affairs. Thus between 1937 and early 1942 Darwin entered a third period in its transition to a garrison town; characterized by large constructional activity, such as would transform the region into Australia's fore-most defence outpost. In 1937 Colonel Sturdee studied the military situation and recommended the establishment of modern barracks at Larrakia, on the outskirts of the town. In the same year, Wing Commander Jones and Squadron Leader Eaton investigated the possibility of establishing a strategic air base. Thereafter, the town entered a period of intense military and part military construction which ended the eighteen year old depression and so commenced the region's third period of economic prosperity. On June 1st, 1938 it was officially announced that the area would be developed as a large military base and linked to Singapore. At the end of July Defence Minister Therby released details on Darwin's defence, which may be conveniently summarized thus:-

1.	Naval Depot	40 men
2.	Telegraph Station	22 "
3.	Army increase (garrison already 160)	22 "
4.	Mobile Troops	62 "
5.	Two Air Squadrons	43 Officers 393 men

Total Military Personnel 750

(10) (c.f. 1933, Darwin's adult male population only 610)

By the end of the year the air base was two thirds completed,
 (11) containing its own village for 600 people. Early in 1939
 (12) section of the shopping area and Chinese quarter was resumed
 for a naval base and by June 1940 preliminary surveys had
 (13) been conducted on a Naval Victualling Yard. Later still,
 a steel boom was constructed across the mouth of the harbour
 to prevent penetration by enemy ships and submarines. Work
 was also continued on the Larrakia Army Barracks, which
 eventually became a military suburb on the outskirts of the
 town. An additional defence area was established at East
 Point, an explosives area at the Three Mile and large radio
 direction finding stations were constructed. In addition,
 a number of part military projects were undertaken including
 a water supply system, an electricity supply and a hospital.

These attempts to fit a large garrison upon a hitherto neglected and provincially minded community involved considerable difficulties. Between 1933 and 1939 the white population trebled thus:

	Date	White	Asiatic	Halfcaste	Others
	1933	884	451	223	14
	1937	1473	679	368	17
	1938	1911	737	309	11
(15)	1939	2687	(not available)		

On the other hand, Darwin's economic and social position (16) was ill-fitted for this. Food production in 1939 amounted to 200 acres of peanuts, housing conditions were always inferior due to distance and poverty, while wharfage and railway facilities had seen little change since the nineteenth century.

More difficult still, was the task of adjusting popular attitudes formed over a long period of isolation and poverty to keep pace with the town's new role and situation. Thus the labour force refused to alter the leisurely habits which years of part-employment had engendered, while the local union held fast its union rights to conduct strikes, restrict wharfage hours and employment and insist on union membership. Because of this, a standing dispute existed between military authorities and union officials.

In October 1939 a Defence Panel investigated the delays (17) and emphasized inadequate transport facilities. In the following month the Sydney Morning Herald claimed:

(18) "For the second time since the war broke out and the fourth or fifth time this year the workers of Darwin have gone on strike."

This was an exaggeration, though as the following table

indicated industrial disputes did increase - probably due to wage speculation by southern and also local labour, who at last found themselves in a position to enforce wage claims.

	Year	Strikes	Workers Involved	Days Lost
1.	1935	1	4	128
2.	1937	3	160	696
3.	1939	2	234	2642
	(1940	3	185	1932)
4.	1941	1	200	600

(19)

The dispute between the military and workers was not decreased when the Americans arrived in 1941 with their emphasis on efficiency methods. In the months immediately before the bombing, the Commonwealth Government despatched former Labor Minister Blakeley to conciliate and when this failed the Minister for Labour himself went north and (20) succeeded in persuading the union to increase wharf labour and shifts. These events, and to a greater extent the inefficient wharf itself, contributed some part to the (21) bank up of shipping during February 1942.

Between February 1942 and February 1946 Darwin, by losing its civil characteristics and becoming entirely a military base, passed through the fourth period in its

history as a defence outpost. For two months prior to the first Japanese blitz, this phase was inaugurated by a full scale evacuation of women and children as well as Government Departments. On the twelfth of December, 1941, the War Cabinet despatched orders for the immediate evacuation of approximately two thousand women and children. By the end of January most had been evacuated by the Zealandia and President Grant to eastern ports and the Koolinda to western ports. Planes were also used, particularly to remove the later evacuees, the last plane departing 22 hours before the Japanese attack. The final 70 women were evacuated overland on the afternoon of the raid. On the other hand, the Lands, Mines and Native Affairs Branches were transferred by the 19th of February and the others were removed immediately after that date. On the first of March 1942 the Administration was reconstructed at Alice Springs and the military were in full control of the northern section (22) of the territory.

If it were at all possible to pin the transition from the 'old Darwin' to the 'new Darwin' to any particular period it would be attached to these two months under consideration. Provincial Darwin was bodily uprooted, a large proportion of the population being exiled for four years in southern states, many able bodied men were drafted into military service and a considerable proportion of the old town was destroyed by bombing. On the third of

March 1942 Mr. Justice Lowe was appointed to enquire into incidents of the first Japanese raid. These need only be sketched in so far as they fortified the local belief in official ineptitude and have affected subsequent conditions. The exact time of the raid or the number of aircraft involved remain unknown because the military services had not synchronized their clocks and observers differed (23) so widely on numbers. The complete number of casualties also remains unknown, thus while Lowe fixed the known deaths as 228 (mostly from Allied vessels in the harbour) the N.T. Press has since suggested that the number might (24) be as high as 1000. There were between 300 and 400 injuries. The Airforce Station received warning of approaching aircraft twenty five minutes before the raid, but failed to notify civil authorities so that the siren (25) almost coincided with the first bombs. This meant that men on the wharf were trapped at their work and 39 were killed, while a further 14 civilians, unable to evacuate the administrative area, lost their lives in the town. It also meant that in the interim before defences operated effectively, bombing was able to destroy much of the shipping (26) and administrative area.

Reminiscences appearing in the local press suggest that many of the sedentary inhabitants did not fully comprehend the town's new role until this raid. "No one could understand why we were such an important outpost of

Australia" - one wrote, and again - "The war still seemed far away and we went our smug way content that others were doing their bit." In consequence the first shock of the blitz was greatly increased - "It must be understood that we were frightened as at any moment the Japs might have landed to finish the job. We had never experienced anything like it previously and were too dazed to think clearly." It was not surprising then, that following a second raid a little less than two hours later "the one and only road leading from the town became a panic stricken route. Large (27) numbers of citizens and servicemen were leaving the town to its fate." Mr. Justice Lowe attributed this behaviour to a conspicuous lack of leadership. But in retrospect the civil aspect of the flight seems less due to the Administrator's inaction (as Lowe hinted) than to a political background which gave no opportunity for developing leadership, but on the contrary, fanned disrespect for the Administrator's (28) authority. After the war this interpretation was to be turned into an argument for self rule:

(29) "The Administrative set up is pretty much the same today ... and in a similar emergency it is inevitable that the Alice Springs Derby would be on again - with a bigger field and a better track."

For the greater part of 1942 and 1943 Darwin remained deserted, except as a Naval Headquarters, the army and airforce having established their defence line behind the

town, in anticipation of a Japanese landing. At the end of 1943, when the danger of Japanese invasion was considered past, the army returned to the town which was zoned out between the navy, Australian forces and American forces. In all 63 air attacks were made upon Darwin, mostly directed towards the naval establishments permanent-

(30) ly situated there. As a result according to evidence before the Public Works Committee in 1949 thirty percent of the houses were damaged or destroyed. On the other hand the long period of neglect caused damage through deterioration (particularly white ants) to a further

(31) thirty percent.

At an Inter-departmental Conference in Melbourne in February 1945 it was decided to restore civil control gradually, first in the region below Pine Creek and then in the north. The civil population was not to return to Darwin "until supplies and essential services were available." On the 28th of February, 1946, the National Security (Emergency Control) Regulations were repealed

(32) and the inhabitants began "to flock into Darwin."

With these events Darwin entered its fifth phase as a garrison town. On the 29th September, 1954, in a statement to the Darwin press, Prime Minister Menzies defined the new defence role as follows:

"The Government was not interested in setting up static defence bases on northern shores... [its] defence policy was based on three things - its supply of trained men, adequate equipment

and mobility of forces ... [therefore] northern bases had to be maintained to receive those mobile forces in case of emergency."

(33) As indicated, the new defence role was that of a large strategic base preserved in 'cold storage'.

Only after 1951, when due to international events Mr. Menzies stated that Australia must be adequately protected within three years, were positive efforts made to implement this policy. In 1951 the N.T. Press pointed out that best equipped defence was the local police force. By June 1953 Darwin's garrison strength included -

Navy.

1. 1 Frigate, H.M.A.S. 'Macquarie' (concurrently in N.G. Waters)
2. 1 Seaward defence motor launch
3. 1 unarmed tug
4. H.M.A.S. 'Emu'
5. Maximum, 200 seamen

Army.

1. Approx. 150 troops (mostly administrative staff)
2. Few members of a local C.M.F. Unit. (Formed early 1952)
3. Few permanent soldiers to man coastal batteries

Air Force.

1. 1 Lincoln Bomber (used for air-sea rescue)
2. 1 Dakota Transport

3. 1 Wirraway trainer

(34) 4. Less than 200 men

After 1953 the emphasis on defence mobility led to an extension of the airbase. At the end of July 1956 there were 30 officers and 648 other ranks, including an airfield construction squadron of 392 making up the air defence unit. In addition, the area became established as a (35) tropical training base for southern squadrons. The effect of approximately a thousand military personal (excluding their wives and families) on limited terms generally not exceeding two years, was to increase the unsettled population of the town and help introduce into a hitherto fairly stable and provincial community completely new social conditions and popular attitudes.

The events of the war coloured the citizens' approach towards post war defences. An opinion survey conducted in June 1956 showed that 28% of the sample chose closer alliance with U.S.A. as Darwin's best means of defence, 24% wanted further fortification of the town itself, 18% chose closer alliance with Asiatic Powers and 15% the introduction of an Asian quota system. Because of the common belief that Darwin was 'let down' in 1942 with quite inadequate protection, a large proportion of the post war population felt more (36) secure with a static base than mobile defences.

Provincialism and the Development of Air Transport.

The second development modifying provincial Darwin was the growth of air services after October 1934, which besides reducing isolation, altered the whole town's situation as a hitherto shabby back entrance to that of the Commonwealth's front door. The value of air transport to Darwin's development appears to have been realized from its inception. In 1920 the Administrator reported:

"The arrival from Great Britain of Sir Ross and Keith Smith in an aeroplane was the most important event in the history of Darwin since 1872... The far reaching importance of this heroic adventure is difficult to overestimate... It has emphasized the unique strategic position of Darwin as the Capital of Northern Australia, through which the news of the world will ebb and flow -".

The greater part of this prediction did not eventuate until after the war, while fifteen years elapsed before isolated Darwin received any relief from air transport - apart from the excitement of occasional pioneering flights. In 1931 an inland air company, Qantas Ltd. combined with Imperial Airways to fly an experimental service from London to Brisbane. Two years later the partnership successfully tendered for this line and in 1934 a bi-weekly service was commenced, which in June 1938 was replaced by a tri-weekly flying boat service. In the same year K.N.I.L.M. extended their Amsterdam - Batavia air line through to Sydney. These developments unearthed a "drab", "unimposing" and "neglected looking" community, of considerable embarrassment to the airlines. "Conditions in Darwin...

are a great shock to the visitors from overseas -" reported
(37) Hudson Fysh in 1938. There is no evidence however, that
the advent of air services immediately ruffled Darwin's life,
except the public service, which according to Abbott, was
thrown "right out of its placid monotony". Referring to
1937 the administrator observed that the people still con-
sidered themselves as apart from the rest of Australia,
though air services had rendered much of their isolation
(38) outdated.

The full effect of the growth of airlines to and
through Darwin was only felt after the war. This was in
a large measure due to two policies adopted by the Common-
wealth Government. The first was the establishment of
Darwin as Australia's foremost overseas airport to prevent
wasting the maintained strategic airbase, and this in spite
of overseas airlines preference for Guildford with its
(39) temperate climate and cheaper operational costs. By June
1955 Qantas Empire Airlines, B.O.A.C. and A.N.A.-Air Ceylon
conducted extensive services through Darwin to Asian and
(40) European airports - the largest of these, Qantas Empire
Airlines averaging approximately 1,100 overseas flights per
year. The second Commonwealth policy was to replace internal
private companies by Commonwealth airlines, thus reducing
fares to a minimum and guaranteeing efficient contact
between Darwin and southern capitals. Thus in November
1947 T.A.A. replaced the Guinea Airways service to Adelaide,

in April 1949 replaced the Qantas Empire service to Brisbane and in March 1954 supplemented the overseas airlines services between Sydney and Darwin. In October 1955 a separate Darwin-Melbourne service was inaugurated. These, together with the prewar MacRobertson Miller airline to Perth placed all mainland capital cities within half a day's flying time from the town.

These developments influenced conditions in the community at least in two ways. The first was the growth of a civil airline population which by June 1956 may be summarized as follows --

AVIATION - COMMERCIAL				
Company	Number employed	Percentage Married (approx.)	Length of term	Accommodation Conditions
Qantas Empire	140	25%	2 yr. Male 1 " female	1. Berrimah rest home and staff quarters. 2. 1947 converted from army hospital. 3. 9 mile from G.P.O.
T.A.A.	18	40%	2 yrs.	1. TAA owned or leased houses. 2. Single men - hostel accommodation or subsidy towards private accommodation.
MacRobertson Miller	6	80%	-	1. 3 owned and 2 rented dwellings
AVIATION - DEFENCE				
R.A.A.F.	678	60%	15 month. Single 2 yr. Married	Quarters on air force property.

Assuming a three unit family in cases of married personnel (which is probably an underestimate) this table suggests that over 250 persons depended upon commercial aviation for their livelihood. This together with a similar calculation for the R.A.A.F. suggests that one person in five in 1956 depended upon aviation for his livelihood.

However, besides introducing a new occupational group into Darwin society, aviation had a second effect of reducing the community's isolation. This had three significant aspects. In the first place it reduced the sedentary habits of the population by providing a rapid means of transport to the rest of Australia. Thus in the year ending June 30th, 1955 --

Air passengers into Darwin.

T.A.A.	=	5008
M.M.A.	=	<u>1272</u>
		6280

Air passengers out of Darwin.

T.A.A.	=	5037
M.M.A.	=	<u>1249</u>
		6286

Hence in excess of 12,500 persons used these two major internal airlines to enter or leave the locality. These figures when set against a total town population no larger than 10,000 indicates the encouragement given by aviation to migratory habits, where previously had existed a sedentary population. However, relief from isolation was

considerably greater for the unmarried than for the family person due to the expense involved. The average air fare to five southern capital cities in June 1956 was approximately £47 or £90 return. This meant that a four unit family without travelling assistance and on an income of £900 required 30% of the year's income in southern air fares.

In its second aspect aviation greatly increased the variety of perishable goods appearing in retail stores. The extent of freight may be gauged from statistics for the year ended June 30th 1955.

Air freight to Darwin.

T.A.A.	=	912,523 lbs.
M.M.A.	=	<u>130,229 lbs.</u>
		1042,752 lbs.

Air freight from Darwin.

T.A.A.	=	124,763 lbs.
M.M.A.	=	<u>61,012 lbs.</u>
		185,775 lbs.

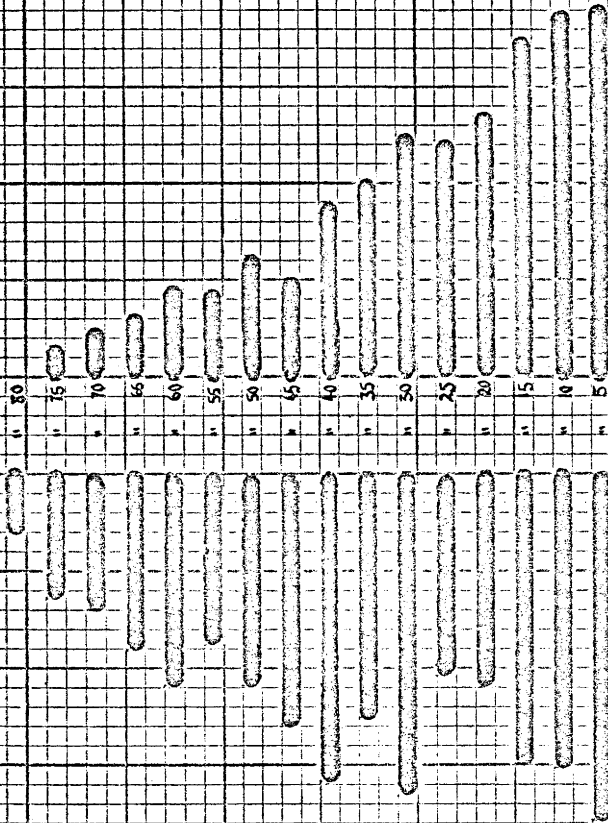
As a considerable proportion of the infreight included foods like fruit and vegetables, Darwin's postwar diet became more varied than previously. But air freight contributed to high costs. In 1953 the N.T. press calculated upon material provided by the Prices Branch that a grocery order was 31% and a three course meal 42% in excess of the (41) price at the southern capital from which the goods had been obtained. These high food costs were not compensated, as in the prewar period, by cheap Chinese tailored clothes.



Air transport also opened Darwin to new horizons of external ideas and news particularly through wide circulation of southern newspapers.

PREWAR 1933

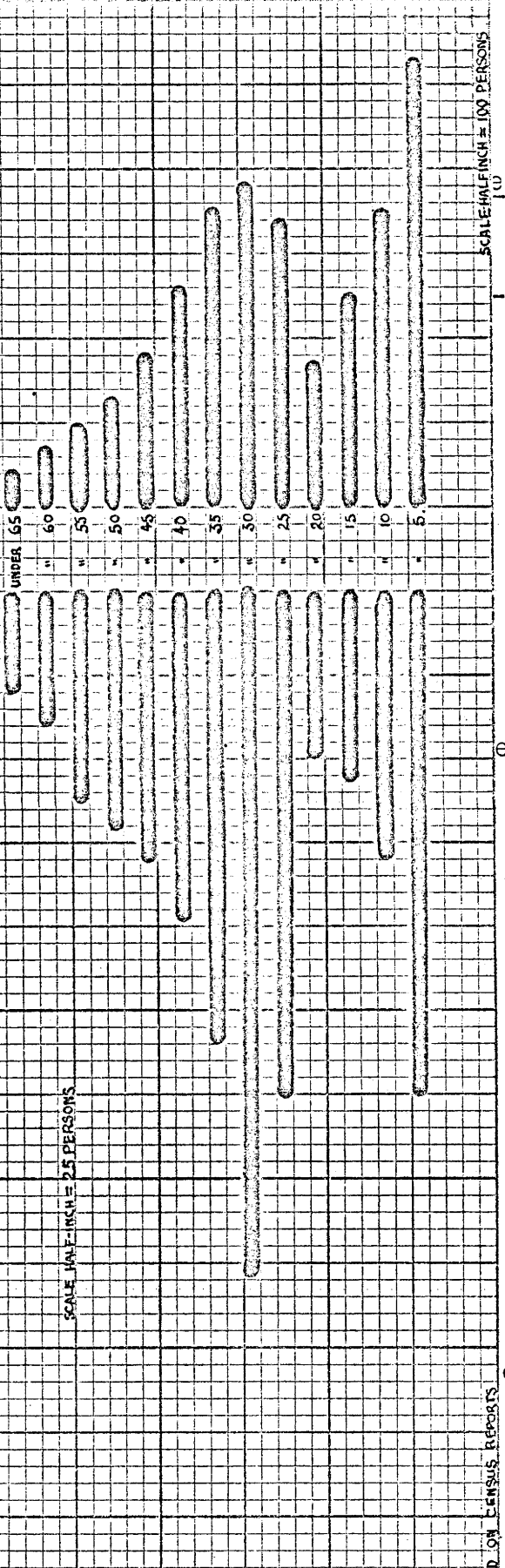
UNDER 65



TWO DEMOGRAPHIC STUDIES OF DARWIN
AGE DISTRIBUTION
MALE-FEMALE RATIO

POST-WAR 1954

UNDER 65



SCALE 1/2 INCH = 25 PERSONS

SCALE 1/2 INCH = 100 PERSONS

BASED ON CENSUS REPORTS

Provincialism and a Less Permanent Government Working Force.

The third factor transforming provincial Darwin was the growth of an urbanized, migratory population of government employees. Though this commenced with the defence preparation after 1937 it became more pronounced in the period after the war. The appearance of a migratory population during a period of prosperity was not new for Darwin. The novel factor was the large proportion of officials among the new floating population. Two conditions were responsible for this, the first being the incorporation of the hitherto local public service into the Commonwealth Public Service and the extension of other departmental activities in the Northern Territory. Henceforth Darwin tended to become a step in the ladder of normal promotion rather than the be-all and end-all of a public servant's career. The frequency with which labour arrived and departed however, was considerably increased by a second set of basically geographical conditions, which always encouraged a migratory population. These included climate, isolation, inadequate housing and a lack of women.

The structure of the N.T. Service was first reorganized in 1941 when all positions and officers, except those of Police, Prisons and Education were transferred to the Commonwealth Public Service to form the Northern Territory (43) Administrative Branch of the Department of the Interior.

In January 1945 South Australia at the request of the Prime Minister agreed to administer and staff all non-aboriginal public education, thus in practice reducing (44) further the size of the sedentary N.T. Public Service. In 1951 the Northern Territory Administrative Branch was transferred to the newly formed Department of Territories so extending promotion opportunities to all areas and offices under this department.

This reorganization meant that the administrative services became composed of three divisions which may be summarized thus -

N.T. Service	N.T. Administrative Branch (Department of Territories)	Separate Departments
Police Gaol Education (in theory)	(At Darwin) General Branch Lands & Survey Native Affairs Accounts Branch (At Alice Springs) Animal Industry Mines	Works and Housing Defence Departments Taxation Posts Civil Aviation Customs Railways Health Attorney General Audit Office Education (aborigines) Employment Immigration Interior (weather) Light House Census and Stat. A.B.C. etc.

(45)

The N.T. Service contained only those services which could not be absorbed into the Commonwealth Public Service. In

June 1953 it included 97 positions, only 79 of which were filled. Because this group preserved the weaknesses of the prewar service - a sedentary existence, few opportunities for promotion - it experienced difficulty in obtaining and maintaining staff. In May 1952 the Government Secretary replying to a question by the Member for Batchelor revealed that there had been 34 resignations in the previous four (46) years from a police force of approximately 50 men.

The frequency of labour turnover was considerably greater in the two other administrative divisions. In June 1953 there were 338 positions available in the N.T. Administrative Branch of the Department of Territories, of which only 273 (or 80%) were occupied.

Over 52% of the staff were untrained temporary personnel, while in the Transport and Special Services section this was as high as 80%. This, together with normal turnover through promotion led to an average term of residence in 1955 estimated as one year per officer. The independent departments, which formed the third aspect of administration, had always shown the greatest labour turnover. After 1937 their activities were considerably extended while the emphasis on defence and public works made these departments very large indeed. The 1951 N.T.A. Census indicated a defence population of 937 and the 1954 Census returns showed a defence population of 764, though this was considerably increased by the arrival in

1955 of an air construction corp of almost 400 men. Their normal term of residence was between fifteen months and two years. A similar staff was employed by the Department of Works, which in June 1949 numbered approximately 850, in June 1952, 1152 and in June 1956, 952. The last reduction was due to a greater use of contract construction. The relatively small permanent staff was eligible to transfer at the end of three years, though according to an estimate made in July 1956 the average time actually spent at Darwin "would probably be four or five years". In contrast, the labour turnover of the large temporary staff was very great. For instance, evidence before the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works in September 1949 showed that in 21 months a labour turnover of 4,000 persons was necessary to maintain a staff of 861.

The personal aspect of this impermanency amongst Commonwealth labour was investigated through three cross section studies mainly into reasons for entering Darwin. The first was conducted amongst an unmarried (or matrimonially separated) sample of 64 subjects (32 female and 32 male) comprising approximately 30% of three government hostels. The method employed was that of personal contact over a considerable time. From information so obtained it was shown that two broad groups accounted for 63% of the sample.

GROUP A.

Included a common tourist element - sightseers only or in combination with an official appointment.

Women	Men	Total
41%	47%	44%

GROUP B.

Included a common domestic or matrimonial element - e.g. broken marriages, death of spouse, dissatisfaction with home.

Women	Men	Total
19%	19%	19%

GROUP C.

Other reasons - climate, alcoholism, intentions to save money, direct appointment, because fiance appointed.

Women	Men	Total
40%	34%	37%

Analysis of this sample suggested that about 30% entered for reasons which could possibly lead to an extended term of residence.

A second investigation conducted by the questionnaire method amongst a 70% married sample of average age 38 years showed that a greater proportion entered for reasons of promotion or appointment.

The sample in this case numbered 97.

GROUP A.

Included a variety of personal reasons.

19% Total.

GROUP B.

Included the tourist element.

19% Total.

GROUP C.

Included a variety of financial reasons.

15% Total.

GROUP D.

Included those appointed or promoted.

47% Total.

A third investigation was conducted into State or Territory allegiance amongst a sample of 91 government employees. This showed that only 23% considered themselves territorians. On the other hand 82% of a sample of coloured persons regarded themselves as territorians.

Other allegiances were --

20%	S.A.
17%	Qu.
14%	N.S.W.
13%	W.A.
12%	Vic.

CHAPTER V.

POST WAR DARWIN.

(In what way did changes affect the causes and characteristics of provincial Darwin?)

1. Social Contacts - the 'old' and 'new' population.
2. Reconstruction and Prosperity.
3. The Extension of Self Government.
4. New Changes and Cosmopolitanism.

Social Contacts - the 'Old' and 'New' Population.

These three changes, together with the immigrants they brought, not only modified the outlook of the remaining prewar population, but also modified the conditions which had earlier contributed to a provincial life - isolation and poverty, an undemocratic political system and cosmopolitanism.

After 1937 and more particularly 1946, the old established Darwin citizens were continually being influenced by new arrivals. The impact was seldom reversed because of the impermanent nature of the new comers, except in a popular desire to relive the social freedom and lack of convention attributed to prewar Darwin. Though considerably outdated, this outlook was widely held, particularly by single men and arose in some measure at least from imaginative literature on the N.T. It probably contributed, together with traditional antagonism towards authority and a migratory population to the high crime rate. Thus in July 1955 Mr. Justice Kriewaldt in evidence before the Parliamentary Public Works Committee revealed "that the number of deaths from violence was very high indeed" and that "one person in every five in Darwin (1) stood a chance of coming before the police court". It also contributed to a very high consumption of alcohol. In 1952 a company investigating the possibilities for a local brewery revealed that territorians drank 700,000 gallons of alcoholic spirits

annually. If correct, these figures would suggest an annual N.T. consumption of about 80 gallons for every (2) adult person.

Where otherwise a recreational adjunct to life, sport emerged in postwar Darwin as the point of contact between the old and new population. In the twelve months up to June 1956, it was calculated that 1200 competitors actually participated in twenty different sporting activities thus making Darwin, according to a local sporting editor - "without doubt the most sports minded town in the country". Most clubs were equally sporting - social organizations conducting regular rounds of evenings, parties and picnics, which incorporated large numbers of followers. Because of the physical aptitude of part-aborigines for games, this practice encouraged "an extremely tolerant outlook on the colour question". The sports editor of the 'N.T. News' considered that four reasons contributed to a society unified in its games interest - the seven months Dry Season in which sixteen separate sports were played, lack of entertainment facilities, the high proportion of the population under 30 (almost 60% in 1954) and the very gregarious outlook (3) peculiar to postwar Darwin life. Social groups other than sporting emerged after the war to increase this last characteristic, though none performed the same role either in scope or as a unifying force. Thus the subsidized

cultural societies were supported largely by post war government employees, the Workers' Club by ordinary labour and the Darwin Club by professional, higher public service and business classes. This post-war gregarious outlook should be contrasted with the report made by Buchanan in 1925 :

"Wherever the British congregate together there is usually a club or clubs, but in Darwin there is neither a men's club nor a social one for both sexes, and, on asking the reason, I was informed that such an institution would be impossible in Darwin, and could not last a week after its formation."

Reconstruction and Prosperity.

Not only the people who had grown up in earlier Darwin, but also the conditions which had once played so large a part in influencing their lives were affected by the changes after 1937.

The first of these conditions; isolation and poverty were considerably reduced by air traffic and a third economic boom. Economic activity was revived through defence construction in 1938. In the period between 1937 and 1942 a very large but unspecified sum was given over directly to defence, £287,000 was spent on a water supply, £200,000 on an electric light plant, £140,000 on a hospital, £52,000 on government housing, £9,000 on married workmen's huts and £16,000 on streets and parks. This brought with it a train of private investment; two modern banks were

constructed, a large hotel at a cost of £65,000, £105,000 was spent on private housing and white business was reintroduced - organized under a Darwin Chamber of Commerce. With (4) an increase in capital went an increase in labour.

Year	Adult employees over 20		Persons
	Male	Female	
1934	1814	177	1991
1935	1838	187	2025
1936	1917	203	2120
1937	1955	205	2160
1938	2105	184	2289
1939	2800	200	3000
1940	3600	300	3900
1941	3800	300	4100

(5)

N.T. Statistics. Note increase in male population of almost two thousand - female 123.

These events set the temper and nature of Darwin's third period of prosperity. Like the South Australian boom the emphasis was on construction - but to a much greater degree - thus commencing what would appear as the least stable of the three periods of prosperity.

The war interrupted the boom, but more than that, ensured its continuation after 1946 because of the need for housing reconstruction and new military installations.

Almost two thirds of houses were either damaged or destroyed by bombing and deterioration. Yet by June 1947 2538 persons had returned, slightly more than the 1937 numbers and by 1954 8071 persons resided in the town. The re-turning population were housed in military camps, particularly at Nightcliff, Parap and Winnellie or in undamaged and damaged dwellings. Thus for instance, as late as

- (6) October 1951 twelve people including one family were evicted from the ruins of the old post office. The housing problem had three aspects, the need to find accommodation for single employees, for married employees and finally for the non-public servant population. In evidence before the Parliamentary Public Works Committee in 1949 the Commonwealth Administration defined what
- (7) amounted to its policy towards each of these aspects. This was to construct government hostels for single persons until such time as houses could be built for married officials. There was no mention of the non-public servant population. Already in 1949 341 persons occupied nine hostels. As many consisted of low standard huts it was decided in the same year to construct at least one large hostel for 178 persons at a cost of a quarter of a million pounds. When the Administration conducted a census in October 1951, 996 persons lived in government hostels, 313 in private hostels and a large proportion of the 937 servicemen in similar messes. These figures

suggest that approximately one person in every four were hostel dwellers. This policy imposed considerable hardship on married persons transferred to Darwin. Thus by June 1953 there were 170 unsatisfied applications for departmental homes, while the number had been higher in (8) previous years.

Worse still was the plight of the non-public service population, which the Commonwealth considered as not its concern. These included a large proportion of the old established citizens, occupationally often unskilled and hence almost unable to purchase their own dwellings. In consequence they remained in army camps which deteriorated in many instances to slum conditions. As late as (9) February 1953 Administrator Wise was reported in the press as saying that 40% of all houses were substandard and according to press comments almost all private citizens lived under substandard conditions. Their sense of grievance was aggravated by two factors. In the first place, while the Commonwealth took the stand that private housing was beyond their concern, most state governments commenced their large housing trust projects. The second (10) was the lack of departmental co-ordination which marred the reconstruction of the town. Due to the interest of Administrator Abbott and the work of the Brisbane town-planner, Darwin was completely replanned before the return of the civilian population. In 1945 the Darwin Acquisition

Act gave over to the government all land and houses in order to implement the scheme. However, this plan was lost in a departmental dispute between the Department of Interior and Post War Reconstruction; referred to Cabinet, which suggested an interdepartmental committee, which in turn set up a subcommittee which again included a third party - the Department of Works. In the meantime much of the town grew apparently without direction or plan and finally the scheme had to be abandoned in

(11) some parts and curtailed in others. This also meant that permanent building could not proceed until a lease system guaranteeing security of tenure was agreed upon only in the

(12) early 1950s. But an even greater grievance was the popular idea that having acquired all their prewar land and houses, the Commonwealth was morally bound to assist

(13) in reestablishing new dwellings. Only in 1953 did the Commonwealth offer any assistance to private persons and then in the form of loans for private house building, though the poorer classes could ill afford to build houses of their own.

In spite of difficulties and hardships in civil reconstruction, the inhabitants entered a period of prosperity after the war. Thus in June 1956 a cross-section study showed an average annual income for the sample of approximately £1,300 with an average estimated saving of £200. This may be interpreted against an

estimate made by the Public Service Association in 1955 that £1,200 was necessary to maintain a five unit family at a standard of living comparable to southern people.

- (14) In this sample however, a three unit family was the average. The following table indicated the income distribution amongst three groups included in the sample.

Annual Income (June 1956)	Annual Saving
	Private Employers or self employed
1430	230
	Government Employees
1275	210
	Private Employees
1225	170

(15)

The same survey revealed that 88% of the first owned or used a motor vehicle, 80% of the second and 70% of the third. The prosperity indicated above was assisted by an employment situation more stable than in southern states due to the absence of seasonal occupations in the

(16) Northern Territory.

Employment statistics for Darwin and its hinterland to Adelaide River indicated that the prosperity was not of a sort likely to establish a permanent population.

June 1956

Professional - Clerical	800
Building	750
Mining (Rum Jungle)	700
Transport	650
Construction	500
Hotels etc.	250
Manufacturing	250
Health and Hospitals	200

(Defence omitted)

(17)

The most significant factor here was the lack of agriculture and industry groups necessary to make the area self supporting. In 1952 an Agricultural Section of Lands and Survey Administration Branch was created which conducted small scale experiments in peanuts, cotton, fruits, tobacco and rice. Rice experiments behind Darwin (18) attracted American capital and were consequently extended. Though local citizens viewed these efforts with considerable reserve, there was a wide appreciation of the need for agriculture in order to ensure Darwin's future. An opinion survey conducted in June 1956 revealed that 31% emphasized agriculture as the solution to an impermanent population, 25% mining and pastoral industries and 19% better housing conditions for married people. There was also evidence to suggest that the lack of industries, whether subsidiary to or independent of agriculture, contributed to the shortage of women as reflected on the graphs opposite. In June 1956 the Darwin employment officer pointed out that demand for female labour (other than skilled commercial) was erratic and very weak.

When interrogated in an opinion survey, 28% of a sample agreed with this, 40% chose isolation as the main cause, while others emphasized unsuitable accommodation and climate. On this last score, almost two thirds of the same sample believed that climate limited energetic effort at Darwin, (19) though a number thought only in the monsoonal season.

While many of Darwin's geographic problems thus remained unsolved, the whole region became firmly wedded to a prosperity based on external finance. The dependence in fact, was so great that any anti-inflationary measure by the Commonwealth Government could precipitate a major depression in these areas. Not the least of Administrator Wise's achievements was his hard begging to have the N.T. excluded from reduction in Commonwealth spending - a task made more difficult by the division of Commonwealth spending between many departments. In September 1949 the discovery of radio active ores at Rum Jungle, about 70 miles south of Darwin guaranteed a continuation of (20) Commonwealth interest in the N.T. Although, as the Federal Minister for the N.T. warned in June 1955 :

(21) "Should the mining boom die down, interest in the Territory's development would wane in Canberra (with) a danger that it will again become the forgotten area of Australia."

The Extension of Self Government.

The second condition, which before the war contributed to the growth of a distinct provincial outlook, was a political history characterized by decreasing democratic privileges, antagonism towards authority and the growth of extreme political views and methods. The advent of an impermanent and for the most part urbanized Australian population, together with the new prosperity thus initiated considerably modified these prewar conditions. This modification was broadly of two kinds. In the first place, the extremist elements centred in the local trade union were reduced to a minority by the influx of moderate elements. Secondly, the new official emphasis on the Northern Territory arising out of the war and developments after, together with the necessity of attracting a larger population, forced upon the Commonwealth Government a reversal of the antiliberal trend apparent between 1911 and 1939.

On the 23rd of September 1945 without official consent and under the lights of a motor truck directed into the union hall, the N.A.W.U. held its first post war meeting and passed the following resolution :

"That this general meeting of the N.A.W.U., the first held since February 1942 declares that the time for autocratic control of the Territory of any kind, military or civil administration is long past, that, we want democracy now and will not rest until we get it."

(22)

This showed clearly that the remaining members of the

local trade union intended to continue the earlier role as the vanguard in the struggle for democratic privileges.

Between the return of the civil population in February 1946 and January 1952 the union reasserted itself as a militant, part-political organization. In June 1948 Administrator Driver expressed himself "perturbed indeed with the situation in Darwin brought about by the complete control of all workers by the North Australian Workers Union". A study of the union press over this period furnishes a useful picture of the prevailing views and activities. Articles were divided between prolonged and bitter attacks on various aspects of administration (23) and, what the succeeding executive described as, fairly orthodox Communism. Politically the body retained its prewar independence, at one time supporting Labor Policies, at another rejecting the party as "spineless, never working (24) for Socialism ... a refuge for unprincipled politicians" or as reactionary followers "of Pig Iron Bob or any outright Facist". The union supported the Indonesian rising against the imperialist Dutch, rejected criticism of Russian coups in Eastern Europe as "imperialist smoke (25) screens of lies" and featured articles by prominent local and outside communists, including the eminent E. Varga. Such militancy did not receive the same support as in prewar Darwin, the established moderates having been reinforced by the new labour influx.

In 1947 commenced the inter-union struggle in the course of which the local organization was forced to forgo its political function in a desperate effort to preserve its existence as the prime industrial association. In this year southern unions "moved in" on the N.A.W.U., partly because they distrusted its part-political communist organization and partly because they disputed (26) its right to control all unskilled labour in the N.T. In three test strikes at Qantas Empire Ltd., D.C.A. and the Shell Company, southern unions challenged effectively the N.A.W.U. right to control all labour. "The N.A.W.U. was regarded as a Communist Union and it was the policy (27) of the Federal Council to oppose it and smash it". All but the extreme members of the N.A.W.U. interpreted statements like this as an ultimatum and it was decided to forgo political activities in order to preserve the advantage of a local industrial association. "It is essential that the N.A.W.U. function as an industrial organization without politics or creed if it is to survive (28) as a potent factor in the N.T." This resolution passed in August 1951 was followed by the reorganization of the ballot system, which was placed under the control of the Arbitration Court and finally the removal of the extremist faction in January 1952.

The following fourteen months were taken up with a determined effort to preserve the integrity of Darwin's

oldest voluntary association. Early in 1952 the executive made a plea for solidarity :

(29) "If we are to take this fight through to a successful conclusion we must drop our internal hate war, forget our internal political squabbles and concentrate on establishing a united front to defeat the would-be union interlopers --"

Because the union's 1927 registration did not exclude other unions, the N.A.W.U. based its case upon its pioneering record, that "through the cost of organizing the Territory [it] was given a virtual monopoly to cover all workers employed in all industries.." In November 1952 the executive applied to the Industrial Registrar for a change of rules to this effect. There was considerable surprise when it was granted in March 1953. Thus one institution of provincial Darwin at least was preserved, (3) albeit considerably modified.

The greater awareness of Australia's northern settlements, together with a general desire to increase their white population led to renewed activity in Darwin after the war. Available material suggests that it was this, rather than the years of local agitation, which after 1946 brought about a complete reversal in Commonwealth policies regarding N.T. self government. The new assumption, similar to that first held by South Australia eighty years earlier, was that the territory must be developed, not only economically, but also socially and politically to the same level as the rest of Australia. This gave

rise to the extension of political rights simultaneously in both fields of local and general government.

Local self government ceased to function in 1937 and proposals to place municipal affairs in the hands of a Town Manager were cut short by the war. After 1946 definite efforts were made to set Darwin about on the road back to municipal government, which path by 1956 already contained three important milestones. The first of these, the Darwin Town Management Ordinance, 1947, provided for the establishment of an Advisory Town Management Board to assist in the large and expensive task of municipal reorganization. This contained five nominated members, the Government Secretary, the Director of Lands, two Works Department Officials and one local civilian resident.

The second milestone occurred in 1950 when resulting from a campaign conducted by the Town Management Board, six District Associations were formed in the suburbs and immediate districts. These were appointed at public meetings and sent two delegates each to a Central Council, which acted as liaison with and advised the Town Management Board. This system, Administrator Wise considered the most democratic, short of a full municipal council. It is apparent from press reports that the District Associations did succeed in developing a small measure of civic pride, most noticeable (Significantly enough) in the agricultural district.

The third milestone was passed when the Local Government Ordinance, 1953, was introduced into the Legislative Council in September of that year. This permitted districts to petition the Commonwealth Government for the right to set up Municipal Councils. Control would first be granted over roads, parks etc. and then if the body proved "competent" over electricity, water supplies, (31) libraries etc. Press reports indicate that the opportunity was received with great caution, the districts welcoming the move, but desiring surer guarantees of Commonwealth financial assistance. Minister Hasluck on the other hand took the view that willingness in this regard would be taken as a guide for political preparedness in larger fields - appendaging a historical argument of very doubtful validity indeed; that Australian government had been developed as an extension of municipal (32) control.

However, the inhabitants of the Northern Territory and particularly those in Darwin showed a far greater willingness to accept the extension of political self determination in the general field. Indeed, their impatience at the rate of extension was the main political issue after 1946. The Commonwealth Government endeavoured to counter this by emphasizing on the one hand the region's financial dependence and on the other political

tutelage, though the latter argument was not altogether applicable for a community with such a large southern population.

Because the Commonwealth Government were less eager to hasten the extension of self rule in its wider aspect, the first decade after the war was marked by only one, although a very significant milestone. In 1948 Administrator Driver reported the formation of a Northern Territory Legislative Council. This had been formed in June 1947 by an Amendment to the Northern Territory (Administration) Act and was empowered to make ordinances for the "peace, order and good government of the Territory". Though by far the most democratic institution of its kind yet seen in the N.T., the Commonwealth retained a triple control over its activities.

In the first place it was ensured of a permanent majority in the council which consisted of seven official members and six elected members, the Administrator as President possessing a casting vote. The seven official members (senior public servants) were appointed by the Governor General on the nomination of the Administrator and held office during the pleasure of the Governor General. Darwin elected two of the six elected members, who held office for terms not exceeding three years. This system placed elected members in a permanent minority and like most permanent minorities they conducted

a sustained and untempered attack upon government administration represented by the majority.

Two further controls over Legislative Council decisions were held through the assent clauses. Firstly, the Administrator was required to assent to ordinances before they gained the force of law. Also financial proposals to commit Commonwealth revenue could only be introduced into the Council with his permission. Secondly, the Governor General was empowered to disallow any ordinance within six months of assent by the Administrator. In addition, all matters concerned with aborigines, the granting and disposal of Crown Lands or grants to the (33) Administrator required the assent of the Governor General.

The Legislative Council as constituted in 1947 was clearly intended to provide the citizens with a democratically elected opposition. In this role it was limited in two ways. Firstly, many decisions were made by separated departmental heads in Melbourne and Canberra who were too removed to be influenced greatly by local criticism. Secondly, from the beginning elected members made it clear that they were dissatisfied with anything short of self-determination, in part or in full. In this they were vigorously supported by the Darwin press, which regarded the Council as a "bureaucratic swindle". The outcome of this stand was to reduce the Council into a platform for sustained attacks on its structure, while considered

criticism of proposed legislation tended to become secondary. Dissatisfaction with the increased division of rule in the administrative system, as well as the efficiency of government labour was in part at least responsible for the stand taken by the elected members.

The issue upon which the struggle for selfrule was based was the refusal by the Commonwealth to legalize betting. The decision to make S.P. betting an issue when matters like agriculture, housing and taxation were at hand was in itself a commentary on the transient nature of a large proportion of the population. However, in view of its popularity and permanence (being kept alive by regular police raids) the politicians were tactically justified in making such a choice. As official replies to demands for self rule indicated, the basic issue here (as in municipal government) was really one of finance, the Commonwealth refusing to extend self rule until the region became more self-supporting. This viewpoint was widely disputed. A cross section opinion survey made in June 1956 showed that 47% of the sample considered that the Commonwealth should grant self government while continuing to meet most expenses, 30% thought that all should be equally shared and only a little less than 20% were satisfied with the existing system.

The introduction of a Legislative Council necessitated the formation of political associations and parties in

(34) Darwin. A study of three triennial elections indicated that parties tended to be centred on local issues, temporary and that the personal element dominated the choice of candidates.

The most important single characteristic of the 1948 and 1951 elections was the dominance of independent candidates, particularly public servants. In February 1948 two teams contested the Darwin electorate, an independent group - 'Territory Candidates' and the left wing N.A.W.U. - 'Progressive Labor', besides a number of single independent candidates. Primary votes gave the independents 58% of the total, while the N.A.W.U. party gained 25%. The trend of preferences suggested that few followed the party ticket, instead voting according to personal preferences. The N.A.W.U. supporters were a significant exception, tending to vote as directed. In April 1951 two different teams and five independent candidates contested the electorate. The local A.L.P. obtained 27% of primary votes, while the 'Maranga and Rural Districts Progress Association (the most active District Association formed in 1950) obtained 10%. These low percentages assisted two independent candidates to win seats.

Before the May 1954 election the Commonwealth proclaimed an act stating that [Any person is inelegible to enter Council as an elected member if] at the date of

his nomination he is employed in the public service of the
(35) Territory or Commonwealth." The width of this exclusion could only be tested in the Court of Disputed Returns - besides public servants it could possibly exclude many others working on a part-official and casual basis. From the point of view of the May 1954 election, it immediately removed the independent - public servant candidate, thus assisting the two established political associations - the local A.L.P. and N.A.W.U. to be successful with 29% and 32% of primary votes.

There appears to have been two reasons why the Australian wide division into Labor and anti-Labor did not seriously influence the foundation years of the Legislative Council. In the first place all parties entered parliament as a permanent minority. This not only discouraged organization by southern political parties, but actually overshadowed personal preferences for Labor or otherwise. Secondly, because of political seclusion and the numbers of public servants, a large proportion of the population revealed no preference one way or other. This was borne out through an opinion survey conducted in June 1956. In this sample 50% of prewar public servants, 50% of prewar employers or self employed, 44% of the
(36) Chinese and 25% of the entire sample fell into this group. Those arriving during or after the war showed a greater

preference for one or other of the southern political groupings, only 17% having no preference. Of the 75% of the total sample expressing preferences, government employees showed a slight Labor preference, while the rest of the population a more pronounced anti-Labor preference. The overall findings may be summarized thus -

Anti-Labor	Labor	Undecided
41%	34%	25%

Thus were the earlier undemocratic developments reversed over the first decade after the war through the birth of new democratic institutions and associations.

New Changes and Cosmopolitanism.

The cosmopolitan aspect of Darwin life was both increased and decreased by post war influxes. In the first case, a large number of migrants from the European continent arrived, in the second, the proportion of Asiatic people decreased and the remaining coloured people became further assimilated.

The presence of a non-British white population was not a new occurrence in Darwin history. Committed to white migration, the Commonwealth Government intermittently encouraged European immigrants after 1911. Thus in 1921, 18% of the Darwin population were continental Europeans and in

(37) 1933, 12½%. However, as indicated in the following table this was considerably increased because of the Australian immigration policy after the war.

Place of Birth	1933	1947	1954
Czechoslovakia	-	2	97
Germany	22	26	172
Greece	57	59	110
Italy	37	125	302
Cyprus (Asia)	-	2	53
Total Continental	215	349	1102
% Total Pop.	4.5	3.2	6.7
- compare -			
British Isles	417	749	1352

(38) These Figures are for all N.T. - though a large proportion would be domicile in Darwin.

This new influx of non-British migrants again made Darwin, in the view of an Immigration Officer, the most cosmopolitan town of its size in Australia. In June 1956 the same authority made two significant observations on post war immigration. The first was that the town provided better opportunity for assimilation than other Australian towns because of the emphasis on sporting-social activities, the provision of hostel accommodation and the fact that new Australians were scattered and outnumbered in most avenues of employment. The second was that, though new Australians generally were no less migratory than other labour, South Europeans in particular showed a marked

(39) inclination to make Darwin their home. Thus a considerable proportion of the 302 Italians and most of the 110 Greeks recorded in the 1954 census were domiciled at Darwin, most being engaged in building and allied trades.

The growth of the Greek population after 1953 was the most important single event in post-war migration and probably the most successful effort at attracting settlers since the Commonwealth first introduced the policy of a 'white territory'. This was achieved through sponsorship by the prewar Greek population. These Greeks arrived about 1914 when they engaged in mining at Maranboy and assisted in the extension of the railway to Katherine and construction of the Vestey's Meatworks. By 1921, 67 Greeks lived in Darwin, 59 of whom regarded Greece as their place of first allegiance. By 1933 there were 53, 22 of whom were females and only a third now (40) professing Greek allegiance. These occupied a 'Greek Quarter' of tin shacks on the esplanade and as Educational Reports show, tended, like the Chinese, to move in a (41) clique. By 1939 the new generation were largely Australianized.

After 1946 this prewar community acted as a convenient core about which post-war Greek assimilation could be conducted. They formed a Greek Community controlled by a committee and president elected at a general meeting by secret ballot every two years. This had the avowed

purpose of assisting assimilation. A Greek church was also constructed and in June 1956 the community were awaiting a bi-lingual priest to assist in language tuition. The organization through the Greek ambassador canvassed in Greece for skilled tradesmen with considerable success. In June 1954 approximately 100 Greeks lived in Darwin, by June 1956 this had increased to 600, mainly from the Dodecanese Islands. The expected permanency of this (42) population was estimated by the leader as 90%.

In contrast to these increases in Continental Europeans the pure Asiatic population decreased. This was shown by the following table.

Race (all N.T.)	1933	1947
Chinese	462	250
Filipino	69	47
Japanese	91	21
Malay	59	20
Asiatic population as % of Total population	16%	3.5%

(43)

Again, a high proportion of the races listed here were domiciled in Darwin.

The two most significant changes over this period were the disappearance of the Japanese Community and the Australianization of the Chinese Community. With the advent of hostilities the Japanese population was interned,

while the Japanese pearling fleet disappeared. It was widely agreed by military personnel that the very accurate bombing of Darwin in February 1942 was only possible through information provided by the pearling fleet. In consequence, most groups opposed the reintroduction of Japanese pearlers after the war on the grounds that the security risk was greater than the economic advantage. The decision by the Commonwealth Government to reintroduce Japanese divers, thus reviving the pearling industry as a dollar earner, called forth a series of public meetings early in 1952 :

"The Japanese were cordially hated by all races in Darwin and had often been killed because they cheated." "Pearl shell can rot in the sea for 1000 years before we allow the Japanese back."

These two opinions are worthy of record because they represent the views of two of the town's most prominent (44) prewar citizens. An opinion survey conducted in June 1956 suggested however, that opinion was changing - 55% of the sample believing that the Japanese should be permitted limited entry, while only 15% wanted them entirely excluded. A further 17% (largely post war arrivals) believed that contact with Japanese should be much extended. As a background to this survey, Japanese pearlers already being operated from Darwin had desired that their families accompany them - thus making it possible that the prewar Japanese settlement would be re-established.

The destruction of China-town during the war, the evacuation to southern states and continuous contact with a

migratory population after the war all greatly accelerated the Chinese tendency towards assimilation already apparent in the 1930s. A post war leader summarized the result thus:

"The marked difference between the prewar educated Chinese and the post war educated is that they are changed from half-hearted Australian to whole-hearted Australian, from a good knowledge of China to little knowledge of China, from old style custom, habit and manners to new."

This was immediately shown in 1946 by the different reorganization of the Chinese Community. No attempt was made to re-establish the prewar communal society centred in a Chinese quarter. Rebuilt homes resembled Australian design and standards and were in many cases superior to most Darwin dwellings. The prewar Joss Houses were converted into a residence and old folks home and in their place tennis courts and a western hall were constructed as the centre of social activity. Prewar customs, in many cases already a formality, disappeared altogether with the exception of ancestor worship at the Chinese cemetery and Spirit Alms held once a year.

In the period after 1946 the Chinese more than any other race showed themselves eager to benefit from the reorganized educational system. This continued Chinese assimilation both through direct education and also through contact with the more migratory white children. By 1955 almost all Chinese entered school with the intention of continuing to the South Australian Intermediate or Leaving

standard. Thus in 1955 30% of second, third and fourth year secondary students at the public school were Chinese (45) and in 1956 20%. Because of the whole-hearted emphasis on public education the established Chinese school tended to be neglected. In 1952 36 students attended, by May 1956 there were only 6 to 8. By 1955 the Chinese of the fifth Australian generation regarded themselves in the same grouping as the white population as opposed to the "coloured people". Whether the Chinese will preserve their racial purity under conditions of complete westernization can only be tested as this generation matures. After 1946 the old emphasis on racial integrity was one thing which did not disappear and a number of young men visited Hong (46) Kong in order to meet suitable Chinese brides.

By 1954 the number of adult Chinese had dwindled to approximately 110. In addition there were approximately 50 young people above sixteen and members of the Darwin Chinese Recreational Club and 164 children. Economically the Chinese survived as a commercial class. A cross section opinion study returned a sample in which political preferences were approximately equally divided between (47) 'Liberal' and 'undecided'. The same study showed that savings per £100 earned (whether low or high income grouping) was approximately twice that of the white public servant population. It was also shown that a number of Chinese were entering the public service

where according to the views of some senior public servants, (48) they distinguished themselves as superior to average white labour.

The conditions in the N.T. during and after the war also had an important influence upon the indigenous inhabitants and the halfcaste population. During the war as many as 100,000 men were stationed in the territory. In addition, military authorities used 1000 natives, maintaining them in camps near the main military camp. The Darwin natives (49) formed an Army Native Unit at Koolpinyah behind Darwin. All this increased the opportunities for contact between service men and aborigine women with the result that the halfcaste population, declining prior to the war, suddenly increased -

	Halfcaste	Population	for	N.T.
	1937	1939		1947
(50)	981	951		1364

Contact with military personnel also contributed to the detribalizing of 'country aborigines', many of whom wished to transfer to settled areas. In 1953 only 800 of 13,500 aborigines lived a fully tribalized life. In consequence the Aboriginal Policy as defined in 1953 was "so to direct and encourage the re-establishment of the aborigines that they (51) will eventually be assimilated as an integral part of the Australian community". However, a sample of Darwin opinions

taken in June 1956 showed that 80% believed the aborigine incapable of ever assuming a responsible role in the affairs of the N.T. 82% believed that the slightly increasing native population would never create racial problems such as found between negro and white in America.

In spite of popular doubts, the Commonwealth Government made greater efforts to assist assimilation after 1946. In 1944 the local aborigines were returned to Bagot Compound. In June 1945 315 resided here, 1950, 174 and 1956, 290. Of these approximately 75% made the reserve their home. The hospital established by the military was continued for native use. In 1949 a school was established, which in 1956 contained 51 pupils. The Compound was also used as sleeping quarters for natives employed in the town. In June 1956, 25 were employed on a semi permanent basis by civilians and 65 by Government instrumentalities such as Administration, Crown Law, Fire Brigade, Aviation and Health. By 1956 the original Larrakeyah were almost extinct, the population consisting of representatives from neighbouring tribes, Arnhem Land and Melville Island - (52) the last predominating.

In June 1953 the Northern Territory Legislative Council passed the Welfare Ordinance which brought about the complete abandonment of the protective approach to aborigines. The Darwin press summed up the new outlook as follows - "At present all natives are controlled until

they are free. In the future they are free until they are
 (53) controlled." Under the new laws individuals rather than
 races were to be committed to state care. This avoided
 the difficulty of defining an 'aborigine' and a 'part-
 (54) aborigine'.

The same ordinance brought an end to the halfcastes' struggle for legal equality. This commenced in 1936 and was revived in 1951. Immediately after their return from Balaklava, whence they had been evacuated in 1942, the halfcastes gained two important concessions. In the first, exservicemen were automatically exempted from the
 (55) 'Aboriginals' Ordinance and in the second, children were permitted to attend public schools. Thus by 1947 30% of all N.T. school children were part-aborigines. In 1951 the Aboriginals and Licensing Ordinances (prohibiting the sale of alcohol to all persons legally defined as 'aboriginals' without permits) was again strictly enforced. The hotel keepers on the one hand decided to force the issue by banning halfcaste customers and the halfcastes on the other hand reformed their 1936 association. Between 1951 and 1953 this association set out to gain as wide a support as possible. Already by 1951 the president could claim:

(56) "We part-aborigines have an unjust Ordinance imposed on us which is against the wishes of all political, industrial, religious, cultural and sporting organizations in the Territory."

In September 1951 a representative put forward the

halfcaste case to the A.T.C.U. Congress. In 1952 assistance was sought from J. Nelson, N.T. federal representative, as well as the Administrator. Finally, the association threatened to take the matter to the United Nations. Though the Welfare Ordinance eventually removed the legal inequalities, the economic and social remained. Being largely an unskilled population, great difficulty was experienced in obtaining suitable dwellings and maintaining a standard of living comparable to the white (57) population. In 1950 an Apprenticeship Scheme was introduced with the intention of encouraging skilled labour amongst the permanent population. Though Darwin was characterized by a tolerant outlook on racial problems, the new migratory white population were less inclined to accept the coloured person as equal than had been the sedentary prewar white community.

The permanence and extent of these new changes begs the question : Will development continue with its social changes, prosperity and increased self rule, or will the town lapse back into a neglected outpost? Part of the answer involves a further geographical question : Can the regions behind Darwin be used productively, (and if this is established) can a permanent population be

attracted to this tropical region? These questions, asked by the first settlers, still remain paramount -- and this in spite of developments in air traffic and defence.

Sources and Comments

General Sources

Most information for this thesis has been obtained from three separate sources.

1) Official Reports on or relating to N.T.

These were generally factual and exact. In some cases, as Abbott reveals in his book, they were obviously censored by departmental heads and hence liable to give an incorrect picture. Considerable use was made of the independent reports, particularly by Buchanan and Payne and the various Royal Commissions.

2) Newspaper Sources.

The Northern Territory Standard and News were used considerably. Other newspapers consulted were the Northern Territory Times, the Territory Topics, the Sydney Morning Herald and the Sydney Bulletin.

Though these were less accurate, their consistent criticism of the administration provided a useful counter to official reports. They also cover a wide range of social conditions and popular attitudes which do not find their way into official reports.

3) Questionnaires.

In all, approximately 7,000 questions were submitted to persons, about 40% of which were answered. Personal questioning presents considerable difficulties in Darwin because of the large proportion of public servants and military personnel. A number returned the questionnaires stating that, though they wished to assist, their official duties forbade them.

The samples finally obtained are probably in many instances not a true cross section. The samples generally are too small. There is also evidence that they under-represent the more recent arrivals and the common labouring class. The sample was arrived at by making a random selection from the electoral roll. Press reports and personal observation suggests that some come to Darwin with such a temporary aim in view that they do not trouble to register their names on the roll.

The questionnaires are also open to the objection of channelling opinions. However, questions finally asked were only arrived at after twelve months preliminary investiga-

tion into broad groups of opinions on set issues.

Approximately 500 questions were submitted to communities, organizations and departments. In most cases the assistance was very helpful. Commonwealth departments gave useful information in all matters which could not possibly be construed into criticism. The absence of information requested from the N.A.W.U. was compensated by the N.T. Standard which affords a storehouse of information on this union. However, the absence of material from commercial organizations was a more serious difficulty.

• Many more direct questions asked over twelve months in Darwin furnish the background to the last three chapters.

Chapter I.

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 - : N.T. Report 1912. op. cit. Survey S.A. Administration.
- (3) N.T. Standard. 18.X.1939.
- (4) Geographic Information.
- : T. Griffith Taylor: Australia (London 1940).
 - : A.G. Price: White Settlers in the Tropics, (New York 1939).
 - : Institute Political Science: Task for a Nation (Sydney 1954).
- (5) Sources - establishment Palmerston.
- : Finniss' instructions S.A.P.P. 1864, 36, 36A.
 - : Goyder's surveying S.A.P.P. 1868-9, 101, 175, 177. 1869-70, 31, 157.

- (6) Constructional activity before 1911.
 : Telegraph - S.A.P.P. 1870-1, 36, 38.
 S.A.P.P. 1872, 41.
 S.A.P.P. 1873, 29.
 : Railway - S.A.P.P. 1876, 225.
 : Building - Residents' Reports, scanty information.
 Census Reports.
 N.T. Report 1912 (op. cit) Works
 Department review of S.A. Construction.
 S.A.P.P. 1874, 120.
- (7) Mining Activity.
 - Residents' Reports.
 review. N.T. Report 1912 (op. cit) Mining
 Task for a Nation: op. cit. P.28
 Chapter II - recent information.
 Census reports.
 Commonwealth Year Book No.5.
 S.A.P.P. 1871, 126.
 S.A.P.P. 1877, 72.
- (8) Agriculture.
 - S.A.P.P. 1878, 43.
 S.A.P.P. 1881, 179.
 S.A.P.P. 1895, 65.
 Residents' Reports 1880-1885.
 N.T. Report 1912 (op. cit) - agricul-
 ture review.
 (Adelaide 1880) - J.G. Knight, The Northern Territory
 - small section on agriculture.
- (9) N.T. Report 1912 op. cit - agricul-
 ture review.
- (10) Figures from C. Year Book 5. Estimated annual produc-
 tion decreased to half. (1912 N.T. Report).
- (11) C.P.P. 1913, 45, 1922, 44. Health Reports for 1912 and
 1921.

- (12) Examples this outlook - 1912 N.T. Report op. cit.
1914 Report on Railways and Ports op. cit.
- (13) N.T. Reports 1912-1919. (Agriculture reports.)
- (14) Sources, Vestey's Meatworks.
C.P.P. 1917-19, 31. (1915, 1916 N.T. Reports).
C.P.P. 1920-21, 119. (1920 N.T. Report).
Payne Report op. cit. Pastoral Section.
- (15) For instance, idea that Meat Company constructed works as deliberate taxation evasion. Or, 1919 Ewing Investigation into the possibility of territory being deliberately ruined to give meat interests a cheap monopoly.
- (16) Unemployment figure deduced from Stanforth Smith's Report 1920 op. cit. It is liable to be inaccurate.
- (17) Sydney Morning Herald. 20-II-1942.
- (18) Statistics from Commonwealth Labour Reports (Bureau Census and Statistics) for these years.
Mr. Justice Power's Comments - 1924 Darwin wage case.
- (19) Griffith Taylor - Australia. op. cit.
- (20) N.T. Report 1920 (op. cit.)
- (21) C.L.A. Abbott: Australia's Frontier Province.
(Sydney 1952). Introduction, P.2.

- (22) Payne Report. op. cit.
- (23) Demographic information -
1917 N.T. Report. (op. cit.)
1921 Census Report. (C. Bureau Cens. Stat.)
1920 N.T. Report. (op. cit.)
- (24) See periodical election results for N.A.W.U. (N.T. Standard) for lack of colour prejudice in electing office bearers.

Chapter II.

- (1) Source: N.T. News - 21.VIII.1952 - article by J. Litchfield.
 : 1912 N.T. Report op. cit.
 : 1920 N.T. Report op. cit.
 : N.T. Times 24.VII.1874.
 : N.T. Report 1922. Session 1923-4-14.
- (2) Regular articles and letters to N.T. Times give clear picture of this outlook.
- (3) : N.T. Reports, 1915, 1922 (op. cit.)
 : Mr. Justice Ewing: Report of Royal Commission appointed to inquire into and report upon certain charges against the Administrator and other officers. Session 1920-21 papers 28, 46.
 : Buchanan Report op. cit.
 : Payne Report op. cit.
- (4) : N.T. Report 1920 (op. cit.) Section on public service.
- (5) Based on information in -
 : 1922 N.T. Report op. cit.
 : 1925 Buchanan Report op. cit.
 : 1937 Payne Report op. cit.
- (6) For growth of housing project at Mynilly Point see -
 : 1912 N.T. Report.
 : 1913 N.T. Report (session 1914-17 No.13).
- (7) See particularly -
 : N.T. Report 1920.
 : N.T. Reports 1932 to 1936.
 : C.P.P. Nos. 124, 203, 138, 237, 63. These by Administrator Weddell bear out the smallness of the labour turnover.

- (8) Most of these observations taken from Payne's comments - Payne Report 1937. The Buchanan Report, the N.T. Times and the N.T. Standard provide similar information.
- (9) For instance, Abbott tells of the Administrator, who despairing of the administrative system set himself to read one good book every week. Frontier Province P. 196.
- (10) From Justice Ewing Report and replies to report. op. cit.
- (11) Ewing was actually directed to investigate the allegation of Gilruth deliberately ruining the territory to share in a sell out to an American Meat Trust.
- (12) Ewing report on the incident has been quoted in full because of its official nature. It probably minimizes the seriousness of the event, e.g. no mention of the delegation having given their word of honour to protect his excellency if he addressed the crowd and then (allegedly) leading the attack upon him.
- (13) Quoted in Abbott: Australia's Frontier Province, P.54. Found no other reference to this incident.
- (14) Ewing Report. op. cit.
- (15) Dr. Gilruth. Reply to Justice Ewing Report. C.P.P. Session 1920-21, 46.
- (16) Ewing Report. op. cit.

- (17) Abbott: Australia's Frontier Province, P.55.
Originally an anti-Labor politician, at no stage does he conceal his dislike for this very left-wing union. The union press held this story up for ridicule.
- (18) Number of persons had refused to pay taxation using the famous American argument.
- (19) Abbott: Australia's Frontier Province, P.57, tells how the union welcomed him with the hope that they would agree and cooperate - intimating trouble if he did not.
- (20) Sources on unionism -
: Labour Reports. (op. cit.).
: N.T. Reports - as mentioned in text.
: Historical surveys made by union itself - particularly most recent. N.T. Standard 21.III.1952.
- (21) See N.T. Standard. 14.I.1936.
- (22) Sources, Local Government.
: N.T. Standard. January 1936.
: N.T. Report 1937. C.P.P. Session 1937-40, 58.
: Payne Report (special section).
: N.T. News 21.VIII.52. Article by J. Litchfield.
- (23) Discovered war author. Owen Griffiths: Darwin Drama. (Sydney 1947).

Chapter III.

- (1) Resident B. Douglas's Report. S.A.P.P. 1871, No.35.
- (2) For immigration schemes see-
S.A.P.P. 1875, 61.
1874, 65
1876, 29, 160, 160A.
1882, 42.
1891, 137.
- (3) S.A.P.P. 1874, 38.
- (4) S.A.P.P. 1880, 156.
- (5) N.T. Report 1912 (op. cit.) Public Works Review.
- (6) S.A.P.P. 1880, 156.
Resident's Report 1881.
- (7) Resident's Report 1882.
- (8) Resident's Report 1882.
- (9) S.A.P.P. 1877, 225.
- (10) Resident's Report 1889.
- (11) N.T. Report 1912 (op. cit.) Works Department review.

- (12) See N.T. Reports 1912 to 1919 - comments by Dr. Gilruth and Health Officer.
- (13) Compiled from Health Reports attached to N.T. Report 1912 to 1920.
- (14) Source of information on Chinese living conditions and habits, Health Reports 1912 to 1920. Photographs attached bear out many of these observations.
- (15) Commonwealth Year Book, No.6.
- (16) Commonwealth Year Book, No.5.
- (17) Statistics from Commonwealth Year Book, No.5, 1921, 1933 Census Reports.
- (18) N.T. Report 1923. C.P.P. Session 1923-24, 71.
- (19) N.T. Report 1912, 1913 op. cit. Health Reports.
- (20) 1924 Wage Hearing. Extracts in Buchanan Report. op. cit.
- (21) N.T. Standard, 15.V.1938.
- (22) In 1953 Mr. Luke of N.T. Legislative Council claimed that prewar Chinese creditors laid out £80,000 in bad debts - especially in mining. N.T. News, 24.IX.1953.

- (23) Education Reports show that teaching of Chinese presented difficulties due to exclusiveness and poor grasp of English.
- (24) This swing away from traditional beliefs seems very great and requires further investigation.
- (25) Information prewar Chinese -
 1) Press Reports esp. N.T. Standard, 15.V.1938.
 2) Information by Chinese leaders in response to questionnaires.
- (26) Sources -
 : Resident's Reports 1884-7.
 : Pearling Industry - Port Darwin and Northern Territory: Report by Judge Dashwood. C.P.P. 1901-2, A42.
 : Royal Commission on the Pearling Industry. C.P.P. 1913, 54. C.P.P. 1914-17, 326. C.P.P. 1913, 56.
 : Payne Report. op. cit.
 : Commonwealth Year Books 1912-1938.
 : C.P. Conigrave. Northern Australia (Sydney 1936).
- (27) See S.A.P.P. 1900, 60 which quotes this, together with the righteous indignation of some South Australian politicians at a policy due finally to their own inaction.
- (28) A.P. Elkin. Citizenship for the Aborigines (Sydney 1944).
- (29) N.T. Report 1912. Sub-report by Aborigines' Department.

- (30) Central and North Australia: Report by J.W. Bleakley.
C.P.P. Session 1929, 21.
Recommendations of policy in Native Affairs: Dr. D.
Thomson. December 1937. C.P.P. 1937-40, No.56.
- (31) .Source material on aborigines -
: N.T. Reports, aboriginals sub-report. 1911 to
1939, 1912 Report by Baldwin Spencer particularly
useful.
: Bleakley Report 1929 op. cit.
: Thomson recommendations op. cit.
- (32) Brought out by study of main half-caste names in
Darwin. e.g. Ah Mat, Angeles, Cubillo, Gonzales,
Lew Fatt, Damasco etc. Attempt to compile detailed
ethnological table of main families unsuccessful.
- (33) N.T. Standard. 5·III·1937.
- (34) Population and Vital Statistics Bulletins 1913, 1923,
1933. cf. with overall Australian figures -
1913 - 5.48% Extra-marital
1923 - 4.64% "
1933 - 4.71% "
- (35) Census Reports, 1921, 1933.
- 936) Information - half-caste population same as for
aborigines.
- (37) N.T. Standard. 31·III·1936.

CHAPTER IV.

- (1) S.A.P.P. 1891 Legislative Council Paper
1892 - 73.
- (2) Public Works Standing Committee, Darwin, N.T.
Oil Depots. C.P.P. Session 1923-24.
- (3) N.T. Report. 1934. C.P.P. Session 1934-37 - 138.
- (4) N.T. Standard 8 - VI - 1937.
- (5) N.T. Report 1937. C.P.P. Session 1937-40 - 58.
- (6) N.T. Standard 30 - XI - 1937.
- (7) N.T. Report 1937. op. cit.
- (8) C.L.A. Abbott - Frontier Province Pg. 60.
- (9) N.T. Standard 3 - VI - 1938.
- (10) N.T. Standard 29 - VII - 1938.
- (11) N.T. Standard 2 - XII - 1938.
- (12) N.T. Standard 14 - II - 1939.
- (13) N.T. Report 1940. C.P.P. Session 1940-43 - No. 24.
- (14) N.T. Reports. 1938-40. Sessions - 1937-40 No. 150,
1940 No. 13, 1940-43 No. 24.
- (15) Compiled from : 1933 Census Report.
: 1937, 1938, 1939 N.T. Reports.
- (16) N.T. Standard 14 - II - 1939.
- (17) N.T. Standard 24 - X - 1939.
- (18) Sydney Morning Herald 7 - XI - 1939.
- (19) Labour Reports for two yearly intervals shown.
- (20) C.L.A. Abbott - Frontier Province P. 76.
- (21) Report by Commissioner, Mr. Justice Lowe, into
Japanese Aircraft Attack on Darwin, February 1942.
C.P.P. Session 1945-46. No. 40.

- (22) N.T. Report 1942 C.P.P. Session 1940-43.
- (23) Lowe's approximate estimates were -
time, 10 a.m., planes 50.
- (24) N.T. News 15 - II - 1952.
- (25) Official explanation was that it was not intended to 'unnerve' the population with false alarms. Compare this with Mr. Drakeford's earlier statements concerning several false alarms: "The alerts are a satisfying indication that our troops and watchers were on the qui vive and ready to meet any attack." Sydney Morning Herald 9 - II - 1942.
- (26) From Lowe Report (op. cit.). See Abbott's reports and book Chp. XI for another interpretation.
- (27) N.T. Standard 14 - II - 1947.
- (28) Lowe's Report suggests that the quarrel with the Administrator was still carried on during the dark hours of the blitz.
- (29) N.T. News. 5 - V - 1955.
- (30) Section based on C.L.A. Abbott - Frontier Province Chp. XII, XIII.
- (31) Evidence before Standing Committee on Public Works. Sept. 1949. Investigating Construction of Hostel.
- (32) N.T. Report 1946, C.P.P. 1946-48, No. 48.
- (33) N.T. News 24 - IX - 1954.
- (34) N.T. News 4 - VI - 1953. These would probably be estimates.
- (35) Information provided by R.A.A.F. Headquarters.
- (36) See press articles especially in N.T. News, June 1953.
- (37) N.T. Standard. 30 - VIII - 1938.
- (38) C.L.A. Abbott : Frontier Province Pg. 207.
- (39) N.T. News 18 - IV - 1952.
- (40) Commonwealth Year Book, 1956.

- (41) N.T. News 19 - II - 1953.
- (42) Source material, including the table, was compiled from questionnaires to air companies operating to and through Darwin.
- (43) N.T. Five Yearly Report : June 1953.
- (44) For greater detail on the reorganization of education see N.T. Report 1946, 1953.
- (45) N.T. Report 1953. c.f. 1937 list, chapter II.
- (46) N.T. News 22 - V - 1952.
- (47) Information on Department of Works provided by Darwin Branch.

CHAPTER V.

- (1) N.T. News 21 - VII - 1955.
- (2) N.T. News 5 - VI - 1952. These figures seem very high. Attempts to check on them through company in question and N.T. police were unsuccessful.
- (3) Information on sporting activities provided by Sporting Editor, N.T. News. Most of it checks with personal observation.
- (4) Sydney Morning Herald 20 - II - 1942 N.T. Reports, 1938, 1939. op. cit.
- (5) Compiled from relevant Labour Reports.
- (6) N.T. Standard. 26 - X - 1951.
- (7) Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works. Evidence on a hostel for Darwin September 1949.
- (8) N.T. Five Yearly Report 1953.
- (9) N.T. News 2 - IV - 1953.
- (10) These grievances ascertained by interrogation.
- (11) C.L.A. Abbott. Frontier Province Pg. 106.
- (12) N.T. Report 1953.
- (13) This point of view well expressed in N.T. News 10 - IX - 1953.
- (14) N.T. News 12 - V - 1955. Efforts to check this by interrogating N.T. Public Service Association were unsuccessful.
- (15) Evidence to suggest that this cross section study under-represented the common labouring class.
- (16) Information by Commonwealth Employment Officer in Darwin.
- (17) Employment Officer.
- (18) N.T. Report 1953. Section on agriculture.
- (19) A slightly lower proportion of persons in residence more than 5 years thought that climate limited energetic effort.

- (20) N.T. Report 1953. Section on mining.
- (21) N.T. News. 30 - VI - 1955.
- (22) Territory Topics September 1945.
- (23) N.T. Standard. 21 - III - 1952.
- (24) N.T. Standard. 20 - X - 1950.
- (25) N.T. Standard. 19 - II - 1948.
- (26) Executive N.A.W.U. taken view that communist issue merely an excuse for southern unions increasing their membership.
- (27) N.T. Standard. 31 - V - 1952.
- (28) N.T. Standard. 17 - III - 1953.
- (29) N.T. News. 21 - III - 1952.
- (30) Relies largely upon information printed regularly in N.T. Standard. Southern newspapers tend to oversimplify the N.A.W.U. as a communist inspired cell.
- (31) Local Government -
: N.T. Report 1953.
: Counterchecked against regular articles in N.T. News.
- (32) Australia in Facts and Figures No. 39. Regular sections on territories give clear official outlines of government policies.
- (33) : 1953 N.T. Report.
: Amendment N.T. (Administration) Act.
- (34) A fourth election in late 1949 not considered to preserve the triennial intervals.
- (35) N.T. News. 4 - V - 1955.
- (36) These samples are small and must be interpreted with caution.
- (37) Census Reports, 1921, 1933.
- (38) Census Reports, 1933, 1947, 1954.

- (39) Information provided by N.T. Immigration Officer.
- (40) Census Reports 1921, 1933.
- (41) N.T. Reports 1917, 1934, 1938. See education reports attached.
- (42) : Information Provided by Greek Community.
: N.T. Immigration Officer.
N.T. News 3 - IX - 1953.
- (43) Census Reports 1933, 1947. (1954 statistics on race not available.
- (44) N.T. News 4 - IV - 1952.
- (45) Information by : 1955 Higher Primary School.
: 1956 High School.
- (46) This practice has been construed by many (including Mr. Calwell) as a purchasing of Chinese brides. See N.T. Standard 20 - VIII - 1953 and N.T. News 20 - VIII - 1953 for vigorous Chinese replies to this.
- (47) Sample is very small. But, its findings are supported by observation.
- (48) Most information by senior members of Chinese Community in response to questionnaires. Less inclined to answer questions on business activities.
- (49) N.T. Report 1946, 1947. See Aborigines Reports.
- (50) Compiled from N.T. Reports 1937, 1939.
Census Report 1947.
- (51) N.T. Report 1953 (section on Aborigines).
- (52) Information provided by Aborigines Department.
- (53) N.T. News 18 - VI - 1953.
- (54) Many citizens considered this an interference with liberty. See objection N.T. News. 29 - I - 1953.
- (55) N.T. Report, 1947.

- (56) N.T. Standard 28 - IX - 1951 - survey of Halfcaste Association. Association would not assist in survey.
- (57) N.T. Report, 1953.

MAPS AND CHARTS.

1. 2. Adapted from --
Australia - Griffith Taylor op. cit.
Task for Nation "
3. Based on statistics in N.T. Report 1920 op. cit.
4. 5. Figures from - N.T. Reports
- Year Book 5.
- Census Reports
6. Census Reports 1933
1954 (as yet unpublished)