GOVERNMENT OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

HERITAGE COUNCIL

A THEMATIC HISTORY OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

PREPARED FOR THE HERITAGE COUNCIL OF WA

CLARE MENCK · HISTORIAN

Acknowledgements

Tyson, Eva and Edan Menck
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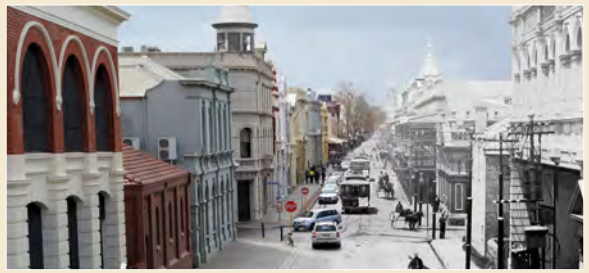

Cover image: High Street old and new

GOVERNMENT OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

HERITAGE COUNCIL

The Heritage Council acknowledges the traditional owners and custodians of this land. We pay our respect to Elders past and present, their descendants who are with us today, and those who will follow in their footsteps.

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Dedication

This document is dedicated to the author, Clare Menck who tragically passed away before publishing could be finalised. Clare worked for more than twenty years in the fields of history and heritage in Western Australia. Her ability to see the overarching themes, while still telling the stories of lesser acknowledged groups in society, was a rare gift. Clare was a consummate professional, meticulous in her research and always willing to share her knowledge. Her contribution to the industry cannot be underestimated.

In Clare's own words:

"this is the most important thing I have written and, as it turns out, probably my last major piece".

Selected other works by the author

Menck, Clare (2008) Sisters of Mercy in Australia: Responses to health, illness and disease by a women's religious order.

Menck, Clare (2013) Mundaring Weir Forestry Settlement 1923-2011: a history of community life and work. Prepared for Water Corporation WA by Clare Menck in association with Stephen Carrick Architects.

Menck, Clare (2014) A thematic history of government housing in Western Australia: final report / prepared for the Department of Housing.

Menck, Clare (2016) A thematic history of bridges of the Wheatbelt region Western Australia: prepared for Main Roads WA Wheatbelt Region: final report.

Menck, Clare (2018) On mission: a history of the development of Juniper a Uniting Church community.

Menck, Clare (2019) A thematic history of bridges of the Metropolitan region Western Australia: prepared for Main Roads WA Metropolitan Region: final report.

Menck, Clare (2019) A thematic history of bridges of the Great Southern region Western Australia: prepared for Main Roads WA Great Southern Region: final report.

Menck, Clare (2019) A thematic history of bridges of the South West region Western Australia: prepared for Main Roads WA South West Region: final report.

HAY STREET, 1906 – Courtesy of State Library of Western Australia

FOREWORD

Commissioned by the Department of Planning, Lands and Heritage on behalf of the Heritage Council of Western Australia, and authored by historian Clare Menck, the *Thematic History of Western Australia* is an outstanding achievement. Not only does it guide the heritage assessment and registration work of the Department and the Heritage Council on a daily basis, it is also an invaluable tool for anyone working in the field of Western Australian history.

Taking some of the most important key events and phases in our state's history, Clare has woven a narrative that takes the reader on a journey through time. Illustrated with examples to help tell these important stories, this thematic history allows us to take a step back and look at the big picture before diving back in to the many threads of our history. This work allows us to see where we came from, and better understand where we are today.

Clare was an active member of the Professional Historians Association for many years. She held the positions of WA President and National Committee delegate at the time of her short illness and death in January 2022. The Professional Historians Association (WA) Committee, the membership, and historians and researchers everywhere are grateful to Clare for this invaluable resource, and to the important legacy of her many research projects and publications. We will miss her sharp mind, calm energy, considered approach, supportive collegiality, and her joyous smile.

Committee of the Professional Historians Association (WA)

HANNAN STREET, KALGOORLIE, AUGUST, 1903 – Courtesy of State Library of Western Australia

PREFACE

In 2016, the Heritage Council added commissioning a Thematic History of Western Australia to its 2016-2020 Strategic Plan as a priority project. The objective was to inform the Council's strategies for ensuring that the State Register is a comprehensive representation of significant places.

A thematic history identifies and explains the primary factors, processes and events that have shaped a particular location, or maps out the development of an agency, construction program, practice, or other historical scheme/phase. It outlines the historical development of its subject, illustrating the factors that have defined its distinctive character over time within a thematic framework. As such, it is not an exhaustive history of the State, it is a concise document that provides an overarching framework to identify the key events and phases which have shaped Western Australia.

For the work of the Heritage Council, a thematic history is particularly helpful because it indicates whether a place addresses more than one key event or phase of the State's history, and therefore whether that place is a particularly good example of its type.

Initial work to compile the Thematic included research into a chronology and historical narrative for the development of Western Australia. This was then assessed against the Australian Historic Themes, developed by the Australian Heritage Commission for use in assessing places for the Register of the National Estate since 1998, and potential gaps in both the themes and the narrative identified.

As many benchmark histories of the State emphasise events over processes, research into social trends and demographics was also undertaken, and international influences incorporated. Other thematic studies and frameworks were also reviewed. A thematic framework was then compiled, based on the Australian Historic Themes, but as these do not always apply to Western Australia, new themes were also developed.

The author worked closely with the Department of Planning, Lands and Heritage, and the community during the compilation of the Thematic History. This included facilitating a workshop at the WA Heritage and History Conference in May 2017, and the incorporation of feedback from consultation into the document.

The *Thematic History of Western Australia* is designed to be dynamic and will be added to or revised over time as our understanding of Western Australia's heritage develops. The themes will supersede the 'Heritage Themes' currently used by the Heritage Council WA, and will be incorporated into the online historic heritage places database *inHerit*. It is complimented by a detailed Thematic matrix, which will also be published.

Historian Clare Menck [BA (Hons) History] was commissioned to compile the Thematic by the Department on behalf of the Heritage Council of Western Australia. Clare worked for more than twenty years in the fields of history and heritage in Western Australia, and in her professional work combined a great ability to see the broad overarching themes at play whilst bringing forward the stories of the less well known. She always sought to acknowledge these groups, such as Aboriginal people, working people, and women and their role in history, while also seeing world-wide trends and events that had an impact on the local experience. She was meticulous in her research and tenacious in presenting her point of view, yet always willing to listen to others.

The Heritage Council of Western Australia, and the staff of the Department of Planning, Lands and Heritage will always be grateful to Clare for her insightful work on what is an extremely valuable resource.

Heritage Council of Western Australia

JAPANESE PEARLERS, BROOME – Courtesy of Royal Western Australian Historical Society (Inc)

CONTENTS

SHEEP SHEARING, EASTERN GOLDFIELDS, CA. 1905 – Courtesy of State Library of Western Australia

INTRODUCTION

The Heritage Council of Western Australia is the State Government's advisory body on heritage matters, making key decisions and recommendations for places to be entered into the State Register of Heritage Places and providing advice relating to the development of Heritage Places.

Evaluating and recognising Western Australia's rich and diverse history is a complex undertaking. It is therefore important that careful consideration is given to all aspects of the heritage of each place under consideration, to clearly establish its importance to the story of the State.

Completed in 2018, the *Thematic History of Western Australia* is crucial in guiding that work. Compiled by historian Clare Menck, it provides a detailed framework, both thematic and chronological, that articulates the State's pre-and post-colonial history. When a place is nominated or assessed for inclusion in the State Register of Heritage Places, staff use the Thematic History as a tool to assist the Heritage Council in determining whether the place addresses any key events or phases in Western Australia's history.

Aboriginal occupation of the continent for millennia is acknowledged throughout the document, and Aboriginal stories are integrated. However, as the primary purpose of the document is the evaluation of places under the *Heritage Act 2018* – that is, those from the historic period – it is focussed on that time period.

This important work is now being released to the public, as a guide for practitioners and others within the heritage sector, but also as an entertaining and educative read for anyone interested in Western Australian history.

It is important to note that the document is not intended to be a full history of Western Australia and, as not all historical figures could be acknowledged, named individuals have been kept to a minimum. It is a framework, or overview, of the big stories or themes that helped shaped the State. Its primary function is to establish where a place fits within these themes. It is used in conjunction with the aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual values of the *Heritage Act 2018*.

Readers are advised that this document contains names of deceased Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders.

The document comprises the following key stories:

Environment

Peopling WA

- Colonisation
- Demographic Development

Economy

- Rural Occupations
- Natural Resources
- Mining and Mineral Resources
- Manufacturing and Secondary Industry
- Commerce
- Workers and Working

Infrastructure

- Development of Settlements and Services
- Transport and Communications

Social Services

- General Social Services
- Education
- Health

Governing

- Government and Politics
- Law, Order and Defence

Cultural Life

- Religion
- Recreation – Arts, Culture and Entertainment
- Recreation – Sport
- Domestic Life

International Links

Many important Western Australian narratives are woven through the key stories or themes. For example, the interaction between Aboriginal people and the health system is intrinsically part of the Western Australian story of health, while the influence of women in the workforce and the working conditions of women cannot be separated out as 'other' stories from those of workers and working more generally. These stories have therefore been integrated within the overarching key stories, to ensure the State's history is not implicitly separated into the traditional white, male history (as default) and 'others'.

Three stories considered particularly important have also been articulated as integrated stories – Aboriginal people, Women, and Non-British migrants.

A fourth integrated story is isolation. As a defining characteristic of Western Australia, this could have been considered a key story. However, it was determined that isolation was an influencing factor that has impacted on many key stories. As such, isolation is included as an integrated rather than a key story. The four integrated stories are considered the most important for understanding the complexities of Western Australian histories.

Although themes rather than chronology have guided the compilation of the Thematic, chronological periods also have thematic links of their own and shared influence across stories. As such, Western Australian history has been divided into 12 approximate time periods, and brief descriptions provided of the characteristics of each period.

As the intention of this document is to provide a framework for considering heritage places, some examples have been provided to illustrate some of the key stories, integrated stories and chronological periods. These are intended to demonstrate how a story can be manifest within a physical place, and how the significance of places is enhanced by understanding how they fit within important themes.

ABORIGINAL WORKERS, MT MARGARET, 1924 – Courtesy of State Library of Western Australia

COOLGARDIE, 1890s – Courtesy of State Library of Western Australia

KEY STORIES

Environment

A vast and diverse environment has formed Western Australians' experience. European and later arrivals initially responded to the land as an opponent and attempted to reshape it, but gradually learned to respect and care for the earth – attitudes long integrated by Aboriginal culture.

Western Australia is an ancient physical environment. The oldest known minerals on earth, 4.4 billion-year-old zircon fragments, have been located at Jack Hills in the Midwest region. Stromatolite fossils in the Pilbara are earth's earliest signs of life, dating from 3.5 billion before present (BP). Small pockets of microbial stromatolites and thrombolites survive at Hamelin Pool and some metropolitan lakes. Glaciers levelled much of future Western Australia around 300 million BP, before the land began separating from the Gondwana super-continent around 150 million BP. A diverse and intricate ecosystem developed prior to the arrival of the first humans, over 50,000 years ago and possibly as much as 70,000 years ago. By 40,000 BP Australian megafauna had become extinct. Finally, around 5,000 years ago, seas reached their current levels and the environment of Western Australia settled into roughly the form it was in when other cultural groups began visiting in the 17th century.

Land has always been the basis of Aboriginal identity, knowledge, law and ceremony. From 'pre-history' to the present, Aboriginal people have lived within a holistic worldview where all elements of the environment are 'living', related, and have purpose and value. In Aboriginal practice, humans are part of the natural world and have a responsibility to it. The physical world is also linked intrinsically with the past, present and future spiritual world. Knowledge of the land has been crucial to survival, especially knowledge of water sources for arid-zone communities.

Early Dutch, French and British visitors to Western Australia were largely repelled by its harshness, but fascinated by its unique fauna and flora, collecting samples and making detailed records. They labelled the landscape with European words, usually applying the names of powerful European men to geographic features. European visits to observe and record Western Australia's ecology continued through the 19th century.

The arrival of the first European colonists in 1829 brought a new relationship between humans and the Western Australian environment. Already, from around 1800, they had been taking from it for economic gain, hunting seals and whales. The new arrivals immediately set about transforming the environment into something more like home. The landscape was foreign, and Europeans had to learn to befriend it in order to survive. The presence or lack of permanent water dictated settlement patterns, as water storage and wells were rudimentary. Aboriginal knowledge was crucial to the success of many early ventures.

Although the environment sustained them, early colonists more often encountered it as a foe to be conquered. The natural world could attack as much as it could nurture, bringing fire, flood, drought and, after colonisation of the northwest from the 1860s, cyclone. The desert barrier to the eastern colonies was formidable and entered the Western Australian psyche as a defining feature of separation.

Through most of the 19th century, human impact on the Western Australian environment was limited by the small numbers of colonists, their lack of funds and their relatively primitive technology. Hunting was a greater threat to native species in the 19th century than habitat loss. The earliest 'conservation' legislation was to restrict hunting, although this had more to do with ensuring game supply than ecological benefits. Feral species also impacted the delicate natural balance.

Land for public parkland (the future Kings Park) was set aside in 1838 within the early planning of Perth, and formally gazetted in 1872 to stop encroaching residential development. In 1898, land was reserved at Greenmount that in 1900 became Western Australia's first national park (later John Forrest National Park).

From the 1890s, a new phase of interaction with the environment began. The massive increase of population through the gold boom period saw the human footprint expand in response. More money enabled increased development, with little or no consideration of environmental impact. Targeted government policies deliberately expanded the spread of agriculture, causing an acceleration of land clearing that continued into the 1950s. Mining honeycombed the land. The dispersal of Aboriginal people, especially after 1905, also removed the traditional custodians of the land.

Perhaps most significant of all was the capture, storage and transport of water on a large scale. Colonists no longer had to be responsible for sourcing and rationing their own water, allowing the intimate dependence of individuals on weather patterns to begin unravelling, especially through the long summer. Water on tap changed urban environments, as both private and public gardens could be developed on a larger scale. In the new century it would also lead to irrigation schemes to expand agriculture, especially dairying. Where Aboriginal people had for thousands of years lived in response to limited rainfall, colonists imported water to reduce the aridity and enable the land to support far more people and plants than its weather patterns or natural soils permitted.

Greater population allowed for the establishment of environmental and scientific societies. Humans interacted with the environment by measuring and recording it, participating from the 20th century in global monitoring. Early tourism also developed,

P2184 **Kings Park, Perth**

Kings Park is the product of very early efforts to ensure Perth city retained some of its natural environment. Changes in park management reflect developing environmental awareness and the emerging importance of bushland spaces for the general public.

John Septimus Roe's initial survey for Perth excluded Mount Eliza from private acquisition, reserving it for communal use and environmental resources. It was designated as future public parkland in 1838, formally gazetted as a Crown Reserve in 1872 and doubled in size in 1890. It probably survived as a natural bush reserve, rather than becoming the type of open, landscaped park typical in Britain, largely through lack of resources and water, rather than conservation intent. Nevertheless, sections within the park were logged, a quarry operated, Hale School laid out sports grounds, a large reservoir was constructed, and a tennis club was established. Landscaping of the park began in 1892, with scenic drives laid out to maximise river views and avenues of trees were planted.

As suburbs expanded, Kings Park became important as a substantial area of remnant bushland within the city. From 1902, war memorials were constructed. By the 1910s, the public valued the place sufficiently to protest proposed developments within its boundaries, defeating an attempt to use Kings Park land for the future University of Western Australia. In the 1950s, a Society for Preservation of Kings Park was formed, focussed on ensuring repeat efforts to put a swimming pool in the park did not proceed. In 1965, the botanic gardens opened, showcasing indigenous plants. Kings Park subsequently promoted scientific inquiry and conservation.

much of it linked to natural features. Nature reserves were established. From the 1920s, driving holidays were promoted, encouraging suburban residents to experience wider landscapes.

More people also brought more pests. Rabbits, camels, foxes, fruit fly, trout, deer, pheasants, guinea fowl, peacocks, doves and laughing kookaburras were introduced, many through the deliberate efforts of the Acclimatisation Society (1896). Jarrah dieback was first observed in Western Australian forests in 1921.

Deforestation increased steadily. By around 1910 it was acknowledged that clearing caused salinity. However, this was largely ignored until the 1970s, despite cautionary voices being raised many times. In the 1920s, the Group Settlement and Soldier Settlement Schemes cleared over 100,000 acres of southern forests, the ethos of 'subduing' the land still dominant. When soil erosion was in 1940 found to affect more than half of all Wheatbelt farms, response was more timely, with measures to address the problem promoted and legislation to restrict clearing passed in 1945. However, widespread clearing continued for several decades.

The Depression of the 1930s slowed the expansion of agricultural areas. Sustenance labourers expanded irrigation schemes and improved visitor facilities at Yanchep and John Forrest National Parks. In an economy dependant on rural exports, the decade of drought from 1935 to 1945 impacted not only farmers but also the wider community, slowing the State's recovery from the Depression.

Following World War II, further government-sponsored efforts to expand agricultural areas were launched. The Comprehensive Agricultural Areas Water Supply Scheme expanded the reach of piped water and the War Service Land Settlement Scheme opened many new farming areas. Advances in

technology meant post-war land clearing was rapid and comprehensive, doubling the area of cleared land in the State within 20 years. Salinisation and erosion increased in response. The availability of synthetic fertilisers allowed increased crop yields but also washed into waterways and impacted natural soils. Many weed species took hold that had previously been spreading only slowly. Native flora and fauna suffered, with some species becoming extinct. In arid zones too, despite minimal clearing, native mammal numbers collapsed, decimated by foxes and possibly also impacted by the loss of Aboriginal fire regimes.

Heavy industry developed from the 1950s, producing significant pollutants. The 1960s saw rapid expansion of Western Australian mining, especially the development of iron ore deposits in the Pilbara. Open cut mining began to dominate, eating away the landscape. As Western Australian lifestyle and urban development became increasingly industrialised, the human footprint on the environment increased.

In early 1961, huge bushfires through the Darling Ranges destroyed several forestry towns. Stricter controlled burning regimes were subsequently implemented. Summer fires remain an annual event, with varying degrees of impact and occasionally loss of life, but none impacted so profoundly on community memory and government policy as the Dwellingup fires of 1961.

Two other natural disasters that lodged in the Western Australian cultural memory were the Meckering earthquake (1968) and Cyclone Alby (1978), largely because both were felt in the metropolitan area, despite their main impact being further afield.

Nature appreciation groups had begun forming in the inter-war years. In the post-war years, these had an increasing conservation focus and were joined by groups specifically aiming to protect and not just observe. The number of national parks and nature reserves increased, and legislation improved protection of native flora and fauna. In 1972, The Environmental Protection Authority was formed, reflecting increased community concern at the human impacts on the Western Australian environment.

The degradation caused by agricultural clearing began to be recognised as a major environmental problem, threatening agricultural viability as well as the natural environment. From the 1970s, the government largely ceased releasing Crown Land for new agricultural areas, although clearing of bushland on private holdings continued. Farmers began innovating to address salinity and erosion. Landcare groups were established across the State in the 1980s, part of a national movement. Stricter controls on land clearing were introduced in the late 1970s. By the turn of the century, land clearing for agriculture was negligible, although mining and urban expansion continued to eat into remaining bushland.

Marine conservation was slower to develop. Bag limits for recreational fishing were introduced in 1967, and the WA Marine Research Laboratory established at Waterman the following year. Marmion Marine Park was declared in 1987, the first marine conservation area in the State. A further 20 more marine parks followed in the next three decades.

Environmental tourism increased through the latter part of the 20th century. Walk and cycle trails were developed through bushland areas. Sealed roads brought more visitors to remote places. Whale watching flourished. World Heritage status was granted to several areas. Governments supported eco-tourism initiatives. Some pastoral stations began removing cattle, relying on eco-tourism to supplement their reduced pastoral income.

Environmental activism entered a new phase in the 1970s. The last whaling station in the country, at Albany, closed in 1978 after sustained protests. Environmental activist Jo Vallentine was elected to the Senate in 1984, serving until 1992. Metropolitan campaigns attempted to save urban wetlands from expanding suburbia, especially major roads. Woodchipping in the Southwest, begun in the 1970s, continued to stir strong community sentiment for three decades, especially use of old growth forests. The latter became an election issue in 2001 that brought a change of government and a ban on old growth logging.

Entering the 21st century, environmental activists appeared to have gained some influence, including seats in the Western Australian Parliament. For several years, the State Government focussed on environmental sustainability across its operations, although a change of government in 2008 ended many of these measures. At the same time, a booming economy saw increased electricity and water use. Water shortages became a concern, sparking both private and government efforts in response.

Feral animals remained a significant problem, including newer pests such as cane toads and cats, despite some success in reducing rabbit and fox numbers and creating sanctuaries. By 2017, 162 Western Australian fauna species and 359 flora species were threatened, with habitat loss and feral animals the major dangers. Meanwhile fatal shark attacks increased from the 1990s, indicating a change in either shark or human behaviour, or both.

Western Australia increasingly also became aware of itself as part of a global environment. In 1987, Australia joined a global agreement to ban chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) in order to stop ozone depletion. From around 1970, average annual rainfall for much of the Southwest

dropped by approximately 20 per cent, with the 'new normal' remaining into the 21st century. By this time, government was acknowledging recurrent drought conditions as an ongoing reality. International activism and scientific opinion, reflected in Western Australia, urged major cultural and behavioural change to live more harmoniously with the environment. Reduction of carbon dioxide emissions was identified as particularly critical in order to address rising global temperatures, associated sea level rises, increasing incidence and severity of natural disasters, and potential ecological collapse. Domestic generation of solar electricity, moves to divest from coal and widespread adoption of technologies to reduce emissions are increasing among individuals, community groups and businesses.

P3164 **Penguin Island and Mersey Point, Rockingham**

Penguin Island and Mersey Point are located in Rockingham approximately 50 kilometres south of Perth, with the Island 700 metres east of Mersey Point. The island comprises a bird sanctuary, with a large colony of penguins, a pelican colony, and a sea lion colony. Acknowledged to be the most northerly place this penguin species is found it is currently home to an estimated 300 little penguins and is the largest known breeding colony in Western Australia. The place currently functions as an educational centre.

As early as the 1870s, Penguin Island was used by whalers, sealers and local fishermen, and by 1889 the island was being exploited for its tourism potential with steamboat tours leaving from Fremantle. The island remained uninhabited until c.1914 when Seaforth MacKenzie and all his belongings were removed from Garden Island to Penguin Island by the Australian Navy which had begun using Garden Island for military purposes. Penguin Island was officially gazetted as a reserve for public use in 1918, and an annual lease was granted to MacKenzie. During the 1920s, the island became a holiday resort, with people welcomed by the self-proclaimed 'His Majesty the King of Penguin Island'. Mackenzie left the island in 1926 when his lease ended. A series of lessees followed until 1987 when the Department of Land Management bought out the lease, and in 1995 a Penguin Viewing Facility opened. Penguin Island is an ecotourism destination, and tourists are able to visit the Island via ferry.

Peopling WA

Colonisation

The devastation wrought by colonisation, alongside experiences of struggle and success in a new land, underpin Western Australian history.

Aboriginal peoples were across the whole future State by around 48,000 BP, having come from the north and east. Aboriginal cultures are the oldest continuing cultures in the world, deeply connected to place.

The first non-Aboriginal people in Western Australia were survivors of Dutch shipwrecks, from the 1600s. Although some may have assimilated into Aboriginal communities, most died, rowed to Batavia or were rescued. From around 1700, Macassan fishermen visited northern coasts, living in temporary seasonal camps. European whalers and sealers similarly sojourned along the south coast from around 1800. Their interactions impacted the local population including through much abuse of Aboriginal women. A British military garrison was established at King George Sound in 1826. Soldiers posted to King George Sound had a relatively peaceful coexistence with local Minang people until troops were withdrawn in 1831.

Permanent British settlement began at the Swan River in 1829, the third British colony in Australia. Approximately 1,500 colonists arrived in two and a half years. Early explorations enabled stock grazing along the coastal plain. The first settlements were at Fremantle, Guildford and Perth, followed by Clarence (Woodman Point/Peel, soon relocated to Mandurah) and Augusta, then in 1831 the Avon Valley and a civilian settlement at Frederickstown (later Albany). Early settlement relied on Noongar people for local knowledge of routes, water and food.

As Aboriginal people recognised that the British arrivals intended to take their land, they began to resist. Interactions with colonists were frequently violent, with occasions of mutual respect outweighed by attacks on traditional owners (often with tacit or explicit government sanction). As early as 1830, documented militia attacks took place on Noongar people.

Midgegooroo and Yagan, leaders of the Noongar resistance, were killed in 1833. The following year, Governor Stirling led a massacre of Noongar people at Pinjarra in retaliation for attacks on Swan River colonists. Noongar resistance on the coastal plain subsided, and the focus of conflict moved to the Avon Valley and Vasse districts. Prominent colonists engaged in violent incidents over subsequent years. An Aboriginal prison opened in 1838 on Rottnest Island (Wadjemup) to detain Aboriginal men.

John Septimus Roe, the colonial surveyor, spent the first 20 years after colonisation exploring southern regions. Pastoralists followed the paths he charted, and small pastoral settlements were established through the 1830s in the Avon, Plantagenet, Williams, Murray and Vasse districts.

Colonists had been offered a promised land, but found the colony less bountiful than advertised. Many left. Some attempted settlements failed completely, most notably the Western Australian Land Company's 1841 effort to settle at Australind, which was largely abandoned by 1843.

From the mid-1840s, a second generation began expanding the colony. Where their parents had come with some curiosity towards the traditional owners, their sons generally had a pre-set disparaging view of Aboriginal people. By the end of the decade, European outposts were scattered through the South West. Settlements were underway at Port Gregory and Geraldton, soon followed by encroachments on Amangu land around Greenough. The latter met with fierce resistance, with coordinated attacks and raiding parties hampering colonisation for several years. A police-led attack by the colonists in 1854 quelled the resistance movement, allowing Greenough to become the growing colony's chief wheat-growing district. Some 10 years later, mining expanded the colony to Nhanta lands at Northampton. By the 1870s, Amangu and Nhanta resistance was substantially subdued, largely due to removal of leaders to Wadjemup/Rottnest.

The mid-1800s was the era of European exploratory land journeys that relied heavily on the Aboriginal guides. George Grey explored the North West, Gascoyne and Murchison regions in 1837 and 1839. Edward Eyre arrived in Albany from Adelaide in 1841, barely surviving the journey. Robert Austin went north in 1854. F.T. Gregory explored the Pilbara in 1861. Charles Hunt headed inland over three years in the mid-1860s, sinking wells and identifying grazing land. Expeditions in the 1870s crossed the central desert lands, including journeys bringing the Forrest brothers to prominence. At the end of the decade Alexander Forrest trekked through the Kimberley. European knowledge now covered the whole future colony; European presence and power followed.

The convict system brought funds and labour to expand the reach of the colony. Remote pastoralists began to move inland in southern areas, especially along the Perth-Albany route, by the 1860s extending east to Esperance. In the 1870s, a tiny number took up land towards the Nullabor, and established families in the Avon Valley ran pastoral outposts east of their district.

P12874 **Glentromie Farm Group, Victoria Plains**

Influential in the development of the Victoria Plains district, Glentromie Farm Group was part of the first successful lease application in the district and the location of the first mission site of the Benedictine Spanish Missionaries later responsible for the founding of the Monastery at New Norcia. Glentromie was established by Donald Macpherson, who became a successful pastoralist and an important figure in the local community.

Donald and his brother John arrived in the Colony as indentured servants to Captain John Scully in 1839. Free from indenture in 1845, the Macphersons were granted 12,000 acres in the Victoria Plains district and established a pastoral station. In 1846, Benedictine Missionaries, Dom Salvado and Dom Serra, erected a rough hut on the Macphersons' lease which acted as their first mission site. Donald Macpherson hired a ticket-of-leave workforce to construct a homestead, a two-roomed men's cottage, five married worker's cottages, stables, a shearing shed, cart shed, barn, flour mill, blacksmith's shop and slaughterhouse during Glentromie's main building phase from 1863-1878. The buildings were well executed and used bi-chromatic, chequerboard patterned brickwork to create a striking aesthetic effect. The two-storey stables, shearing shed and single-storey barn were particularly grand in appearance and scale and by the late 1880s, Glentromie farm was recorded as one of the 'finest pastoral properties in the colony'. It encompassed 150,000 acres on which Donald Macpherson kept thoroughbred horses and 5,000 to 8,000 sheep.

Colonisation of the north began in 1863 with a pearling town at Cossack in the Pilbara, from which pastoral expansion spread. The Gascoyne region followed from the latter 1870s. Interaction with traditional owners was largely characterised by abuse and aggression. Aboriginal people were captured and used as slave labour, especially in pearling. The Jaburara of the nearby Burrup Peninsular were practically wiped out. Meanwhile, several efforts to colonise the Kimberley in the 1860s and 1870s failed due to strong Aboriginal resistance.

Colonisation eventually took hold in the Kimberley in the 1880s. Pearling relocated to Broome by mid-decade, developing a thriving Asian town. Overlanders from Queensland arrived in 1885 to establish pastoralism in the East Kimberley, the same year gold was discovered at Halls Creek. Aboriginal resistance continued but was met with brutality. From 1894 to 1897, the Bunuba waged a sustained war against pastoralists, resulting in many Bunuba deaths. Even by colonial standards, Kimberley violence caused alarm among some observers, but authorities largely ignored atrocities and often actively supported them. From 1910, Kimberley Aboriginal people were herded onto reserves.

In the south the 1880s saw railways established, allowing agricultural settlement in former pastoral lands. Legislation from 1887 promoted agricultural expansion. In the 1890s the funds to enact the vision of an agricultural colony appeared, as gold wealth fuelled a boom. For the next 40 years, the Wheatbelt expanded. Service towns were established, and earlier settlements became regional centres. Railways enabled the expansion, and also followed it into new areas, many agriculturally viable only through introduction of new technologies and fertilisers. Noongar people, who had often co-existed with pastoralists, were forced into reserves or off their lands altogether.

Gold also stretched the colony east. Charles Hunt's wells became a corridor for prospectors. The Yilgarn (1888), Pilbara (1888), Ashburton (1890) and Murchison (1891) goldfields were eclipsed by discovery of gold at Coolgardie in 1892. Many transitory towns sprang up. By the turn of the century, long-term survivors had emerged, with Kalgoorlie as a regional centre. Settlement elsewhere also boomed. Most notably, urban centres flourished and the kernel of a suburban metropolis around Perth emerged. Fremantle port and Perth city were confirmed as the hub of the colony and future settlements oriented in relation to them. At the time of Federation, approximately one-third of the recognised (non-Aboriginal) population lived in the metropolitan area and one-third in the Eastern Goldfields. The remainder were mostly in the south, with only three per cent in northern districts.

A Royal Commission in 1904 was highly critical of the mistreatment of Aboriginal people, especially in the north. It resulted in the *Aborigines Act 1905*, a paternalistic piece of legislation that oppressed Aboriginal people for 60 years. The Act dislocated Aboriginal people from their land and instigated forced removal of children from their families. Many Aboriginal people were detained at Moore River Settlement (from 1918) or on other missions established through the 1930s. The *Aborigines Act 1905* was as brutal a form of colonisation as the violence of the 19th century. Through the 20th century, virtually every Aboriginal family was impacted by the removal of children, and the effects of the Act are still felt today. Remarkably, Aboriginal people survived, retained links to country, and nurtured their ancient cultures through generations of systemic disadvantage, dislocation and persecution.

Southwest forests had few colonists. Timber settlements had been established from the 1850s, extending gradually into the Darling Ranges from 1870 and particularly through the gold boom. In the 1920s, schemes were launched to turn forest into farmland. Soldier and Group settlers cleared forests to establish dairy farms. Many failed, but the country was opened up and small settlements survived. Group settlers also converted swampy land south of Perth into farms, sustained by irrigation schemes. The main Group Settlement districts were Manjimup, Denmark, Margaret River and the former Peel Estate.

Soldier settlers also fed into the rapidly expanding Wheatbelt. By 1927, the Wheatbelt comprised 41 per cent of the total State population, reaching an all-time high of approximately 150,000 residents.

A massacre of Aboriginal people at Forrest River in 1926 sparked a Royal Commission. Although police involved escaped conviction, public opinion was shifting. Violence and oppression continued, but extra-judicial killings would no longer be tolerated. From 1937, government policy officially shifted from 'protection' (scarce as it had been) to 'assimilation', although with little impact until the 1950s. 'Well-behaved' Aboriginal families were technically permitted limited access to towns and services from the 1940s, but in practice few were granted the 'privilege'.

The first European settlement on Ngaanyatjarra lands was established in 1934, but pastoralism did not follow. Instead, the Western Desert remained relatively untouched by colonisation until mining ventures in the latter 20th century.

Expansion of European presence slowed through the Depression and halted during World War II. Some settlements folded, especially those established only precariously in the 1920s. In 1939, a proposal was considered to establish a 75,000-strong Jewish settlement in the Kimberley. War intervened, and by 1943 the idea had been abandoned. Kimberley Aboriginal people were not consulted. White residents of the north were evacuated south during World War II, especially following Japanese bombing raids in 1942. Asian and Aboriginal residents were left behind.

As service personnel returned home, the State Government rolled out the War Service Land Settlement Scheme. The Wheatbelt was expanded on the back of superphosphates into 'light lands' at its edges, especially Eneabba and Jerramungup, while orchards of the Albany-Plantagenet region and former Group Settlement areas were revitalised and expanded. The scheme continued until 1963.

The Perth metropolitan area also grew substantially in the post-war years and continues to expand. Increased car ownership stretched suburbs away from the train lines. From 1953, a satellite town was developed to support the Kwinana Industrial area. Regional centres also saw suburban expansion, often guided by the State Housing Commission. Legal restrictions on Aboriginal movement were gradually lifted through the 1950s.

Water schemes expanded settlement in the post-war years. The Comprehensive Agricultural Areas Water Supply Scheme, completed over nearly 30 years and covering most of the Wheatbelt by 1974, particularly facilitating expansion to the north and east. In the 1960s, the Ord River Irrigation Scheme created an agricultural settlement around Kununurra, along with a government support town.

Iron ore mining in the Pilbara resulted in many new towns, especially from the mid-1960s to mid-1970s. Settlement developed in what had been remote pastoral areas, where Aboriginal people mostly lived on pastoral stations. From 1968, the Pastoral Award was extended to Aboriginal workers, requiring they receive equal pay. Consequently, many were evicted from stations, and their traditional lands, and town camps became part of expanding Pilbara towns.

Major changes in government policy for Aboriginal people in the 1970s moved away from 'assimilation' to 'self-determination'. Remote Aboriginal settlements began to be established, especially in the Kimberley, returning some groups to country, although often with very poor services. Activists called for recognition of the dispossession of traditional owners and violence of colonial history, but this was slow in coming.

By the early 1980s, new land for agricultural expansion was no longer granted. Changes in farming and several years of drought meant fewer agricultural labourers were needed, and the rural population declined. By 2000, rural numbers were around half their 1927 peak. The Wheatbelt comprised only five per cent of the State's population by 2016.

New territory was added to Western Australia in 1984 when Christmas and Cocos (Keeling) Islands integrated with Australia. Western Australian laws were extended to both territories, although they voted as part of the Northern Territory.

In 1992, the High Court rejected the legal fiction of *terra nullius* in its Mabo judgement, paving the way for the *Native Title Act 1993*. Western Australia attempted in 1993 to extinguish all native title, but this legislation was ruled invalid by the High Court in 1995. The following year the High Court's Wik judgement clarified that statutory leases did not extinguish native title. Many native title claims followed, with the first

P9589 **Main Pump Station, Kununurra**

The Main Pump Station in Kununurra reflects the importance of access and distribution of water to settlement in Western Australia. Access to water facilitated development of the urban environment and expedited the exploration and expansion of agricultural areas in the arid regions. In the 20th century the construction of irrigation schemes further extended the capacity for agricultural production and thus the economic potential of the State. The drive for agricultural development was also part of the 'populate or perish' philosophy prevalent in the immediate post-World War II period in Australia. It reflected concerns that unless the population increased, Western Australia was vulnerable to military attack from the north.

The Pump Station was constructed in 1962-1963 as an integral part of the Ord River Irrigation Scheme, a bold venture to develop and settle the North West region in the post-World War II era. The newly established town of Kununurra was reliant on the Scheme, and the successful completion of the project accompanied a period of great expansion in Western Australia's resource and agricultural sectors in the north of the State.

The construction of a diversion dam to raise and divert water also created Lake Kununurra. The Main Pump Station pumped water from Lake Kununurra to some 180,000 acres of irrigable land. A range of crops have been cultivated in the Irrigation Area, including cotton, tropical fruits and leucana pasture, reflecting the considerable environmental impact of the scheme on the Kimberley region. Since 2012, the original irrigation area has been substantially expanded, and further increases in tropical agriculture and the sugar industry have been forecast.

native title agreement in Western Australia negotiated successfully in 2000 (Nharnuwangga, Wajarri and Ngarlawangga peoples).

Although public opinion included a significant remnant of colonial attitudes towards Aboriginal people, by the turn of the century a shift was evident. The Western Australian Parliament issued an apology to Stolen Generations in 1997 and this was followed by the Australian Government in 2008. The Close the Gap campaign, however, has identified that 200 years of colonisation continues to have long-lasting impacts on Aboriginal people, who remain a disadvantaged minority in their own land.

Western Australia is the most urbanised State in Australia. Approximately three quarters of the population live within an hour's drive of the Perth CBD, while most of the State's 2,464,000 square kilometres is sparsely populated. While dramatic extension of settlement ceased around 40 years ago, the population in existing settled areas has increased density, especially in the South West, and urban areas continue to sprawl.

Demographic Development

After more than 100 years dominated by English origins, by the late 20th century Western Australia had developed a flourishing multicultural community, including increasingly recognising the cultural diversity of traditional owners.

The ancestors of Australian Aboriginal peoples reached South East Asia around 70,000 BP, and soon had contact with Australia's north coast. By 50,000 BP Aboriginal people inhabited (future) Western Australia, reaching the south coast by at least 48,000 BP.

P3630 **Beagle Bay Mission Church (1918)**

The Beagle Bay Mission, of which the Beagle Bay Mission Church was a part, was established by Trappist monks (Cistercians) in 1890 and later operated by Pallottine Monks in 1901. The church, which was constructed in 1915, is a physical reminder of the introduction of the Christian faith into the Kimberley region and the resulting impacts on the local and wider Aboriginal communities who were brought there and encouraged to convert to the Christian faith.

Mission monks and Aboriginal residents worked together to construct the mission church and decorate its interior using locally sourced materials. Local tribal symbols of the Njul Njul, Nimandoor and Bardi tribes and Christian symbology were inlaid on the alters using mother-of-pearl and opercula, indicating a recognition of Aboriginal culture at the mission during that time. The first mission in the Kimberley to teach Aboriginal children in their native language, Beagle Bay became a thriving religious community where Aboriginal people were instructed in local trades and domestic duties. At the time the church was constructed in 1915, government policy saw the forced removal of children to missions and institutions with children taken to Beagle Bay from up to 1,000 kilometres away. Despite their part in this process, which caused detrimental impacts to Aboriginal communities across the state, the missionaries at Beagle Bay were remembered fondly by community members. Later shifts in government policy to recognition and self-determination are reflected in the Beagle Bay Aboriginal Community being issued a 99-year lease for the land encompassing the Mission and the church in 1976. The Beagle Bay community continues to recognise and value the Church as an important part of their history.

Europeans began sporadically visiting the Western Australian coast from the 1600s, and some shipwreck survivors may have integrated into Aboriginal populations. From the early 1800s, Aboriginal communities included Aboriginal children with American, European, Maori and Tasmania Aboriginal origins, due to contact with sealers and whalers. By the time Europeans looked to colonise Western Australia, the future State had between 100,000 and 200,000 Aboriginal people with around 130 languages and dialects spoken.

The first permanent non-Aboriginal residents of Western Australia were predominantly young men of urban background from southeast England. By 1848, there were 4,622 non-Aboriginal residents in Western Australia, more than half of whom were children. Most colonists were English, with smaller numbers of Scottish and Irish and very few Welsh. The first continental European migrants were a German family arriving in 1836. The first Asian migrants were Indian labourers, brought in in 1838 and Singaporean workers from 1847 to 1850.

With a few, mostly early, exceptions, European contact with Aboriginal occupants of the land resulted in disease, dispossession, dislocation and violence. Frontier violence marked the colonial period. Across the colony, Aboriginal populations were severely reduced through violence, loss of land and introduction of European diseases, with survivors often relocated away from their traditional land. Within a century of colonisation, the Aboriginal population had been reduced to around 10 per cent of its pre-contact number.

The original male bias of the colonial population remained through the 19th century. Assisted migration schemes to bring single women to the colony had little impact on the colonial gender imbalance, particularly outside the main coastal settlements.

Unaccompanied child migration began in 1834 and extended from 1842 to bringing teenage boys from Parkhurst Prison. Both schemes ceased with the arrival of adult convicts.

From 1850 to 1868, Britain shipped almost 10,000 male convicts to Western Australia. Most were young English labourers of urban backgrounds, without specific skills and often illiterate. Accompanying guards, administrators and families added more than 3,500 further colonists to the population. By the end of convict transportation, the colonial population had reached 22,915.

In the 1870s, a diverse (although mostly male) Asian and Islander population arrived to work the northwest pearling fields. Only Chinese labourers established themselves in southern settlements. Legislation in 1886 restricted Chinese immigration to low quotas, but a substantial population remained. 'Afghan' cameleers arrived briefly in 1887, then returned in 1892 to serve the gold rushes. Broome was unique in Australia through the 1880s and 1890s for its ethnic diversity and Asian dominance. Asian-born persons made up four per cent of the non-Aboriginal population of the colony in 1891 (2,009 individuals), a percentage not matched again for the next 100 years.

In the latter 1880s, Germans became the largest non-English speaking European community in the colony, arriving via the eastern colonies to take up farming land along the Great Southern Railway, although less numerous than the Chinese until century's end.

The 1890s saw an almost fourfold net increase in the colony's non-Aboriginal population, with many more who both came and left between censuses. By 1901, 95 per cent of residents had British or Irish ancestry, and less than one-third of the non-Aboriginal population had been born in the colony. Many came from New Zealand, Italians and Dalmatian Croats were also attracted to the goldfields. Smaller migrant movements that began in the 1890s, although less tied to the goldfields, were Greeks and Middle Eastern migrants. Many gold rush migrants arrived via the eastern colonies, which were experiencing a severe economic depression, with the east-west flow only abating in 1906.

The already imbalanced gender ratio was further tilted by gold rush arrivals. Males made up over 70 per cent of the colonial population at the peak of the rushes. Although the proportion of women gradually increased, not until the census of 1996 were they recorded to outnumber men.

Organised opposition to non-white migration began in the mid-1890s. From 1897, Asian immigration was restricted. At Federation, similar legislation was implemented nationally, becoming known as the 'White Australia Policy' and governing immigration until the 1960s. Aboriginal people were excluded from the official population. Race-based violence between colonists began in the 20th century, particularly in northern pearling communities (between Japanese bosses and Malay or Koepanger labourers) and the Eastern Goldfields (between those of Anglo-Australian ethnicity and southern Europeans).

By 1911, 35 per cent of all Italians in Australia were living in Western Australia. They surpassed both German and Chinese to become the largest non-English speaking group in the State, a rank retained until 2006. Through the latter 1920s, they and other southern and eastern Europeans had immigration quotas imposed in response to a perceived 'influx' of such migrants.

The Western Australian Government in the 1900s funded assisted migration schemes, almost entirely supporting British migrants. From 1913, this included unaccompanied child migrants, sent to Fairbridge Farm School at Pinjarra and later to Christian Brothers institutions. Child migration continued until 1965, except during war periods, training children for domestic service or farm labouring.

Immigration virtually ceased during World War I. Residents ancestrally linked to 'enemy' countries (mostly Germans) were interned, with many sent to New South Wales. All Asian peoples were designated 'aliens' and required to register with the police. Restrictions on immigration of Greeks, Maltese, Germans, Austrians, Bulgarians, Hungarians and Turks remained after the war. Bans on southern European migration into the USA, along with expulsion of Greeks from Asia-minor, boosted Slavic, Greek and Italian migration to Western Australia in the 1920s. The Federal government took over responsibility for immigration in 1921, and further large-scale assisted passage schemes for British migrants followed through the 1920s.

Spreading agriculture increasingly displaced Aboriginal people from their traditional lands. The *Aborigines Act 1905* initiated systematic removal of Aboriginal people, especially through the institutionalisation of children. Many adults were also imprisoned far from their homes.

As the Depression bit Australia in the 1930s, immigration slowed to a trickle. Assisted British migration ceased. Non-Europeans were largely deterred or actively prevented from migrating unless uniting with families. Assisted migration schemes began again tentatively in 1936, then at full pace from 1938, until World War II completely halted immigration.

P499 **Quarantine Station (fmr), Woodman Point**

Quarantine practices were introduced in Western Australia soon after colonisation. By 1852, the Board of Health submitted revised quarantine regulations to the Governor which included provision of accommodation for 200 passengers at Woodman Point. By the end of 1930, the Quarantine Station at Woodman Point was one of the official 13 points of entry for overseas vessels in Western Australia.

The layout of the remaining buildings and elements demonstrate quarantine practices from the late nineteenth century to the 1970s and the place played a role in preventing contagious infections and diseases from spreading into other areas of the state for nearly 100 years.

From 1886, the place was the disembarkation point, and therefore the first experience of Australia, for many overseas visitors and new migrants up to the 1970s, including participants of the Group Settlement Scheme of the 1910s and 1920s. Many of these individuals moved out into the community after their period of quarantine was finished.

The arrival of foreign troops during World War II brought ethnic diversity in a new way. The Dutch and United States' airforces operated out of Western Australia, and their navies, along with the British, were based in Fremantle. Around 70,000 service personnel were stationed in the state (including Australian forces). The American presence in particular influenced local culture. Meanwhile, Italian, German and Japanese residents were interned. Dutch refugees arrived in Perth from the East Indies, British from Malaya and Singapore, and colonial Australians from northern regions.

By 1947, more than 96 per cent of the Western Australian population had been born in either Australia, New Zealand, Britain or Ireland. Only 0.7 per cent of the population was born in Asia at this time, indicating the effectiveness of half a century of restrictions on Asian immigration.

After the war, the Commonwealth Government instituted a decade of sustained, supported immigration in an attempt to increase the Australian population, with 58,400 assisted migrants arriving in Western Australia. Approximately half were from Britain, higher than the national rate. The remainder were largely continental Europeans displaced by the war, who migrated from camps across Europe. Between 1947 and 1954 the Western Australian population increased by 27.3 per cent. Continental Europeans nearly trebled as a percentage of the population, almost a third of them Italians, followed by Dutch, German, Polish and Yugoslav residents.

Wartime internment of Germans and Japanese virtually eliminated both groups from the state. By 1947 there were only 21 Japanese people in Western Australia. German-born numbers were down to 260 people by 1942, less than before the gold boom, although many Western Australian-born individuals of German ancestry remained. However, many displaced Germans joined the post-war migrations schemes and, remarkably, by 1954 they had increased to over 5,000 in number. Dutch and Polish populations were also made up almost entirely of post-war migrants.

For the first time, multiple ethnic backgrounds became gradually normative for Western Australian urban society. From 1955, National Aborigines Day (precursor to NAIDOC week) began to be celebrated, reflecting both increased Aboriginal resistance to forced assimilation and widening community appreciation of multiple cultures. The community remained strongly European, however. Less than 1.5 per cent of the recognised population in 1954 were born in non-white countries (mostly in Asia), and many of those were ethnically European, largely from former British colonies. Aboriginal people continued to be omitted from census data until after the 1967 referendum.

Continental European migration programs slowed from the mid-1950s, although there was a second wave of Mediterranean migration through the 1960s. However, assisted migration for British citizens ('Ten Pound Poms') continued. From 1954 to 1981, 22.5 per cent of British migrants to Australia arrived in Western Australia, in total around 90,000 people. As a result,, Western Australia has a higher percentage of British-born residents than any other State in Australia, having been well above the national average since Federation.

Australia signed the United Nations Refugee Convention in 1954. Over subsequent decades Western Australia accepted refugees from crises in Hungary, (former) Czechoslovakia, Chile, Lebanon, East Timor, Poland, Iran, Romania, China and (former) Yugoslavia. Although thriving ethnic communities resulted, none became a substantial presence in the State, as the population passed one million in the early 1970s and refugee groups were small minorities.

After a lull in the early 1960s, the mineral boom brought a flood of migrants into the State in the latter 1960s and early 1970s, many arriving from the eastern states. Many of the arrivals were young male workers aged 15 to 40, and the gender balance again tipped towards men.

The first census to include Aboriginal people, in 1971, identified 21,093 Aboriginal people, comprising two per cent of the Western Australian population. Over the next 20 years, the Aboriginal population doubled, increasing to 2.6 per cent of the state.

The White Australia policy was unwound from the late 1950s, with final removal of all reference to race, ethnicity, birthplace, religion or cultural background as determining factors in immigration legislation in 1973. In 1976, the first refugees from Southeast Asia began arriving, sometimes by boat. By 1985, 120,000 refugees from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam had been accepted into Australia. While the bulk of these arrivals settled in Sydney and Melbourne, a significant number also made their homes in Western Australia, mostly in Perth.

Activism of the 1960s and 1970s led to increased recognition of minority groups, including ethnic minorities. Policy both for Aboriginal peoples and migrant groups moved away from assimilation. The landmark *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* banned administrative discrimination against non-white groups, although culture was slower to change than legislation. In 1983 multiculturalism was formally adopted to guide State Government policy. The community was shocked in 1988 when a race hatred campaign in Perth, led by an extremist far-right Neo-Nazi group, included firebombing of Chinese restaurants.

Since colonisation, migrant programs had largely focussed on 'unskilled' labourers, often unaccompanied men. Migration was largely dominated by push factors in home countries, such as political turmoil or limited economic prospects, rather than particularly successful international marketing of Western Australia as a destination of choice. From the 1980s, the focus shifted to skilled migrants and began to prioritise families. European migration slowed to a trickle, while Asian arrival numbers increased steadily, especially from India, Singapore, Malaysia and the Philippines. Students from Asia increasingly studied at Western Australian universities. South Africa also became a major source of migrants to Western Australia, most being English or Afrikaans (white South Africans). By 2011, South Africans were the third largest migrant group in the state.

From 1997, Western Australia began receiving refugees from camps in Africa, particularly displaced Sudanese. Although small in number overall, the Sudanese by 2003 represented the majority of refugees accepted into Australia. It was the first time Africans had lived in the state in any significant numbers.

Public unease at acceptance of refugees was rising, however, especially those arriving by boat to claim asylum, largely Middle Eastern or Asian in origin. Restrictive immigration regimes were implemented nationally. Indian Ocean territories were excised from the 'migration zone' in 2001, immigration detention centres subsequently set up on Christmas Island, Manus Island (PNG) and Nauru, and from 2013 boat arrivals were no longer granted asylum.

At the 2016 census, Western Australia had a population of 2,474,410, with close to equal numbers of males and females. Almost 40 per cent of the State's residents were born in other countries, predominantly England, followed by New Zealand, India, South Africa and the Philippines. All these groups were higher than their national averages, while Western Australia had lower percentages of Chinese, Irish or Scottish-born residents than other parts of the country. The British and European-born populations are ageing, while younger age groups include higher percentages of more recent migrant groups, especially from Asia. Rural and urban populations have ancestral links to successive waves of arrivals, but mining communities have not retained significant populations descended from earlier migrant groups. Mixed-ethnicity relationships are becoming more common, especially among third and subsequent generation migrants. The census recorded 75,976 Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islanders in the state, making up 3.1 per cent of the population, slightly above the national average.

P1400 Elverd's Cottage, Kojonup

Elverd's Cottage, Kojonup is a single-storey cottage constructed in 1854 in the Victorian Georgian style to house members of the Enrolled Pensioner Guard.

From the outset of convict transportation to Western Australia in 1850, convicts were accompanied by a force of guards drawn from the Enrolled Pensioner Force, so named because they drew a pension from having previously served in the British Army. The 'Pensioner Guards' were accompanied by their families, having gained free passage and a small income for their service, and on arrival were assigned land in 10-acre lots. The lot on which the cottage is situated was one of several 10-acre blocks allocated for the use of the Pensioner Force at Kojonup in the early 1850s. On 20 November 1852, it was assigned to William McDonald (b.1803, d.1879), a former private in the 88th Regiment.

In the 1890s the place was sold to Charles Edward Elverd. The Elverd family had a long association with Kojonup and John Charles Elverd (1858-1891) had rented the cottage since McDonald's death. His son, John Charles junior ('Charlie') was born in the cottage c.1888 and lived there all his life. In 1911, the property was transferred to John Charles junior ('Charlie') Elverd, then described as a farmer, but was involved in a number of industries in the area, doing odd jobs and at one stage operating a milk run. When Charlie Elverd died in January 1979 the place was transferred to his nephew, Charles Harrison. Harrison had the property subdivided, and in 1982 a small portion surrounding Elverd's Cottage was donated to the Shire of Kojonup. It was subsequently developed as an historic house and associated farm museum by the Kojonup Historical Society.

P3322 **Martinup, Broomehill East**

Located along the route from Gnowangerup to Broomehill are the remaining structures of Martinup, the first farming homestead developed in the Gnowangerup area. The place was established in the 1860s by expiree Edward Treasure, who was taken to Martinup by local Noongar people. Martinup subsequently became a successful sheep station, and a significant stopping place and social centre for the local community.

Remaining elements include a homestead, meat room, blacksmith's shop, shearing shed, barn, men's quarters and a well, with many constructed by expiree Samuel Smith. With little modification since the 1880s, the place demonstrates early agricultural practices and the self-sufficiency and resourcefulness of early pioneers in isolated rural areas during this period.

Following World War I, it was one of the established estates purchased by the State Government to be subdivided into farms for the Soldier Settlement Scheme.

Economy

Rural Occupations

From colonisation to the 1960s, Western Australia was a rural economy. Since then, the still-substantial agricultural sector has declined in economic, political and social influence.

Aboriginal people in some areas practised early modes of agriculture. 'Firestick farming' herded animals and facilitated growth of grasses, allowing game animals to flourish. Some groups grew yams in large tracts, planting and harvesting annually.

British colonists brought European forms of agriculture from 1826. The following year, Captain James Stirling and botanist Charles Frazer gave glowing reports of the agricultural potential of the Swan Coastal Plain, which underpinned British colonists' hopes, but proved an oversell. Colonists planted crops immediately upon arrival in 1829. The following year, land made suitable for farming by generations of Noongar landcare was discovered in the Avon Valley, and the district soon became the colony's agricultural heartland. European understandings of agriculturalists' rights to exclusive use of this land led to violent confrontations with traditional owners. Good harvests ended food rationing in 1833, but food security remained fragile. For two decades the colony was a subsistence agricultural community, with food largely imported, spurring a mid-1840s depression. Rural life was physically demanding. Family farms dominated.

Wool exports to Britain began in 1832, and sheep numbers boomed. Native plants poisoned European animals and caused severe stock losses, but wool led the colonial economy until the 1890s. Horses were bred for export to British India from 1838, using Indian labourers. Pastoral leases were granted near

Geraldton in the 1850s, and within a decade the Greenough and Irwin districts were established as chief wheat producing areas for the colony.

Labourers were in short supply and consequently expensive. Aboriginal people frequently worked as farm labourers, especially as shepherds. Farmers agitated to obtain convicts, who were transported to the colony from 1850 to 1868. The convict establishment boosted the demand for food, making local production more profitable. Wages for rural workers subsequently dropped and Aboriginal workers often lost their jobs.

Northwest pastoralism began in 1863. It relied on Aboriginal workers, as convict labour was banned north of the Murchison River. While pastoral work sometimes allowed traditional owners to remain on their country, use of Aboriginal labour was highly exploitative and accompanied by physical and sexual violence. Child labour became accepted practice. When pastoralism extended into the West Kimberley (1879, mostly sheep) and then East Kimberley (1885, mostly cattle), violence and exploitation also expanded. A frontier mindset among Kimberley pastoralists led to largely unchecked attacks on Aboriginal people, with many brutal deaths.

At Representative Government in 1870, voting was restricted to (male) landholders. This reinforced the political dominance of agricultural districts, with rural interests retaining significant political power until the mid-20th century. Remote pastoralism continued its gradual expansion.

Rural Western Australia developed in response to technological improvements. Fencing wire, available from the mid-1850s, reduced the employment of shepherds and facilitated the move from pastoralism to farming. A threshing machine introduced in the 1860s replaced hand flailing, and boosted outputs.

Cream separators enabled a fledgling dairy industry to emerge by the latter 1890s. However, farming remained essentially manual and basic. Many farmers could not invest in new technologies until the 1890s, when gold wealth boosted the economy and ploughing, seeding, harvesting and shearing machinery became more common.

Small vineyards had been gradually planted through the 19th century, but from the 1880s Swan Valley vineyards expanded and more commercial wineries were established. Market gardens, developed through the colonial period, flourished through the gold boom, and were a sector dominated by Chinese workers, especially as mid-1880s restrictions prevented Asian prospecting.

From 1887, the government sponsored wider agricultural settlement, beginning with deferred payments on land grants. The Great Southern Railway, opened in 1889, facilitated agriculture along its length, linking farms to markets in an era of deficient roads. Pastoral leases were extended to 21 years. An Agricultural Commission in 1891 resulted in a decade of government initiatives. *The Homestead Act 1893* granted free (conditional) rural land parcels, with incentives expanded in 1898. In 1894, the State Government established the Department of Agriculture, followed by the Agricultural Bank in 1895. Agricultural colonisation increased rapidly, following railways that developed concurrently.

The most significant boost to colonial agriculture was the population influx of the gold boom. Local producers could not initially meet demand for either food or fodder. The boom allowed new farmers to become established, while others invested in technology to reduce labour and increase yields.

Mediterranean fruit fly also arrived during the gold boom, becoming a long-standing orchard pest. Fruit growers were well established by this time. As the population increased, dried fruit exports developed, with the first commercial shipment to Britain in 1903.

Many migrants moved off the goldfields into agricultural pursuits in the 1900s. Former prospectors expanded the Wheatbelt, Slavic arrivals expanded Swan Valley viticulture, and Italians took up orchards and market gardens. New strains of wheat thrived in Western Australian conditions. A recession in 1905 saw redoubling of government efforts towards agricultural development, especially expansion of the rural rail network, and the Goldfields Water Supply Scheme was extended to agricultural areas. Locally produced superphosphate, from 1910, allowed farming of previously uneconomic soils. The rabbit proof fence (1901-1907), however, failed to halt the rabbit plague.

Kimberley beef, first shipped to Perth in 1890, supplied most metropolitan meat. Run by a handful of powerful families, the industry was rife with allegations of cartel behaviour. From 1911, government industries attempted to bring competition to the trade. The State Shipping Service (from 1912) improved access to North West pastoral areas and government meat works were developed at Midland (1914) and Wyndham (1919).

Agricultural expansions cemented the dispossession of Aboriginal people. As traditional ways of life were obstructed, many attempted farm jobs, but white labourers objected. From 1911 to 1914, three of four years were drought, and many newly established farmers struggled. Racial tension in Wheatbelt towns increased, and the *Aborigines Act 1905* began being rigidly enforced, removing many Aboriginal people from agricultural districts. However, as struggling rural workers enlisted for World War I, many Aboriginal labourers worked in their absence.

Western Australian Farmers Limited (later Wesfarmers) began in 1914 as a cooperative to improve the wheat market. Wool prices were protected by a compulsory wartime purchase scheme to secure supply for Britain. After the war, voluntary wool pooling was retained. Post-war food shortages cause high prices for several years, boosting Western Australian farm incomes.

Drought and war slowed Wheatbelt expansion, and a Royal Commission in 1917 bemoaned the slow uptake of Wheatbelt farms. In response, programs to expand agriculture accelerated after the war. Both the Soldier Settlement and Group Settlement schemes operated through the 1920s. The former extended the Wheatbelt; the latter placed thousands of potential dairy farmers into the South West. Both saw widespread failure, with many properties abandoned. However, the districts that were developed largely remained as farmland, and both wheat and dairy production increased substantially.

Improved technologies also increased yields. Subterranean clovers to improve poor soils became widely used through the 1920s and tractors, first imported in 1918, gradually replacing horses over four decades. Increased irrigation and artificial fertilisers expanded horticulture. Tropical plantations were established at Carnarvon and a tomato industry at Geraldton, the latter dominated by Mediterranean immigrants. As increased irrigation meant market gardens no longer required swampy land, many metropolitan wetlands were vacated, seeing Chinese workers largely move out of the industry.

The Depression of the 1930s hit Western Australian farmers particularly hard, as they depended on international prices, which collapsed. Newer farmers often carried substantial debt, so that despite government financial aid, many lost their farms. Those not indebted survived the Depression through subsistence farming, often also feeding the needy.

Farms largely moved to larger holdings, with a more even balance of sheep (for wool) and wheat. In 1933, farmers established Cooperative Bulk Handling (CBH), reducing time and cost of grain handling. As international markets improved in the mid-1930s, drought hit the state. It lasted to 1940 in the north and 1945 in the Wheatbelt. The South West, less impacted by drought, recovered from the Depression earlier. Dried fruit exports expanded to include fresh produce, due to improved refrigeration and packaging.

The war effort dominated agriculture through World War II. The entire state's wool clip was purchased by Britain, and the Australian Wheat Board (AWB) formed to purchase all wheat, retaining a monopoly on Australian wheat sales for more than 60 years. Women became farm labourers as men enlisted, although many rural men were prevented from signing up as farming was designated a 'protected industry'. From 1943, Italian prisoners of war were assigned as farm workers. However, agricultural production was hampered by lack of labour, fuel rationing, and limited supplies. Wartime internment of Italians gutted the horticultural workforce. Access to export markets was restricted, particularly impacting fruit growers, but loss of imported tobacco boosted demand for locally-grown leaf. Flax was also established, to supply British military requirements.

After the war, government incentives again expanded the Wheatbelt. Soldier settlement schemes were more successful than in the 1920s. Fertilisers addressed trace element deficiencies, bringing marginal soils into agricultural use. The Comprehensive Agricultural Areas Water Scheme, implemented over three decades, watered the Wheatbelt, and increased mechanisation improved yields. By 1970, available farming land had doubled, and acreage of wheat trebled.

Wool prices soared after the war, saving struggling North West pastoralists and underpinning a Wheatbelt boom. Wheat prices also climbed, with the AWB guaranteeing rates for growers. Asia became the main export market for Western Australian wheat. In the 1950s farmers became predominantly financially stable and many were even prosperous.

From 1946 to 1949, Pilbara Aboriginal pastoral workers went on strike, eventually succeeding in winning wage increases for Aboriginal labourers. However, many never returned to working for white pastoralists. In 1950, the Kimberley was the last Australian region to abolish paying Aboriginal employees in goods such as tobacco, clothes and food.

From the mid-1950s, rural railways began closing and road freight increasingly dominated. Increased farm mechanisation reduced workforces, as did automation of telephone exchanges and loss of rail services. Increased private vehicle ownership enabled easier rural travel, resulting in businesses consolidating into larger centres and many smaller towns shrinking.

In the mid-1960s, vines were planted in the Mount Barker and Margaret River regions, and from the 1970s, Margaret River attracted national attention for its wines. By the 1980s it was a premium wine region and vineyards began overtaking dairy as the district's major land use. Wine-making boomed across the state through the 1990s, with new regions established. Large commercial wineries dominated, supplemented in the 2000s by smaller, boutique operations.

In 1968, the Pastoral Award mandated equal pay for Aboriginal workers. Corresponding with a pastoral industry downturn, the change saw many pastoralists laying off Aboriginal labourers and ceasing to accommodate workers' families. Motorcycles

and helicopters increasingly replaced horses for mustering. Pastoral work became seasonal and contract-based, and many Aboriginal people were forced off traditional lands.

The Ord River Irrigation Scheme was constructed through the 1960s and from the 1970s the area became an important centre for tropical horticulture. Since 2012, the original irrigation area has been substantially expanded, and further increases in tropical agriculture have been forecast.

By the 1970s, rural populations were steadily shrinking. Large farm machinery became the norm. Farmers bought out their neighbours, increasing farm sizes and reducing the number of farms, a process continuing to the present. Although most farms continued to be family-run, corporations increasingly bought into agriculture. Women had always contributed substantial labour to family farms, and from the 1970s Muresk Agricultural College began admitting women, but the industry remained male-dominated.

The long-standing dominance of rural areas in State politics began to wane through the post-war decades, and government funding became more focussed on metropolitan or mining areas. Wesfarmers ceased to operate as a cooperative in 1984 but retained significant influence as a publicly-listed company.

From 1983, price controls and supply quotas were introduced to the dairy industry. These remained in place until 2000, when deregulation restructured dairying. Many farmers left the industry as it moved towards fewer, larger herds. By 2016, surviving producers complained that unreasonably low prices were putting them out of business. As the number of dairy farmers plummeted, dairy products were increasingly imported.

By the 1980s, salinity and erosion were threatening the viability of Western Australian agriculture, and drought forced many farmers on 'light lands' to abandon their properties. Crown land was no longer granted for farming and clearing restrictions tightened. Farmers established the Landcare movement, working to ensure agricultural land remained productive into the future. Extensive timber plantations (largely Tasmanian blue gum) were established on agricultural land, particularly through the 1990s into the early 2000s.

Through the 1990s, global wool prices dropped. Farmers increasingly moved from stock to crops, and remote pastoralists largely converted to cattle. By the 2000s, sheep numbers stabilised at around 23 million, approximately 22 per cent of the total Australian sheep population. The AWB had been losing power for decades when scandal in 2006 revealed corruption in dealing with Iraqi officials. Wheat sales were subsequently restructured and substantially deregulated.

Droughts through the 2000s led to acknowledgement that the climate was changing. Government assistance ensued to transition farmers for operating under recurrent drought conditions. The long-term impact of climate change on the State's agricultural areas remains to be seen. In 2016, 24,000 Western Australians were employed in agriculture, 50 per cent fewer than 60 years earlier. However, unlike the 1950s, when 94 per cent of agricultural workers were male, almost a third of those working in agriculture were women.

Natural Resources

Prior to colonisation, harvesting natural resources was central to Aboriginal survival, and through much of the 19th century it also underpinned the colonial economy and enabled early colonists to subsist. The transition from this dependence to a minimal economic engagement with indigenous fauna and flora resources is indicative of the development of Western Australia as a modern industrialised State.

For at least 50,000 years, Aboriginal people have utilised the living resources of Western Australia as skilled hunters, fishers and gatherers. Evidence of 6,000-year old fish traps remain in south coast estuaries. From c.1700, Macassan fishermen visited the north coast seeking trepang and trochus shells, and trading with Kimberley Aboriginal people. European visitors of the same era reported nothing of commercial value in the north.

Seals and whales of the south coast attracted European attention by the late 1700s. American whalers operated in the region by 1789 and the British followed soon after. Sealing began around 1803 and continued sporadically through most of the 19th century. Sealers were frequently violent to locals and sexually exploited Noongar women. The British military garrison at King George Sound, from 1826, was established partly to restrain sealers. Local whaling began at Augusta in 1830, and at Perth from 1837. Whaling was a source of employment for Noongar men, especially on the south coast. By 1879, on-shore whaling had superseded open-sea operations, and whaling declined for over 30 years.

P3387 **Abrolhos Islands**

In the mid-1840s, as the colony struggled to diversify exports, Anthony Curtis began exporting dried salted fish to Asia from the Abrolhos Islands. He also began extracting guano. The latter was much prized internationally at the time. However, exports of both fish and guano from the Abrolhos remained small until the 1880s, when guano mining began in earnest, largely supplying international markets. Guano exports continued until the 1910 introduction of superphosphates largely eliminated the market. Commercial fishing continued, expanding after fast-sailing ice boats (introduced 1905) allowed fresh Abrolhos fish to reach Perth southern markets.

Small-scale seasonal rock lobster (crayfish) fishing commenced at the Abrolhos in the 1920s. During World War II, the government provided canned lobster to armed forces' canteens (from 1941) and opened a rock lobster cannery at Geraldton (1942). Rock lobster went on to become the main industry of the Abrolhos, with permanent camps established. Both the camps and the industry continued after the war, developing an island culture and adding amenities such as a school and church. The 1980s brought live lobster exports, initially to the USA but consolidating into supply for markets in Japan and Taiwan, securing the Abrolhos fishery well into the 21st century. Although the Western Australian fishing industry has substantially moved towards large corporate operators, rock lobster remains dominated by family businesses and retains a unique fishing camp culture.

The Abrolhos Islands are also important to the story of international links. Named by Dutch mariner Frederick de Houtman in 1619, they saw more European pre-colonial contact than most parts of Western Australia, including several shipwrecks. The first Europeans to live in the future colony, albeit temporarily, were survivors of Dutch wrecks *Batavia* (six months, 1629) and *Zeewijk* (ten months, 1727-1725). Batavia's demise became a particularly gruesome tale of mutiny, rape and murder, and is a significant event in the State's cultural memory, commemorated by an original opera by Richard Mills (2001). Discovery of both wrecks in the 1960s led to legislation to protect maritime heritage, and the establishment of the Fremantle Maritime Museum (1979).

Jarrah ('Swan River Mahogany') was exported to Britain from 1830. Jarrah exports were limited by the colony's lack of technology to provide sawn timbers. By 1848 hardwoods were being exported to India as railway sleepers. For local use, colonist often harvested their own timber.

Early colonists required bush skills to avoid privation and became adept at hunting and fishing. In some periods, starvation threatened. Colonists are reported to have eaten whatever meat they could capture, from possums to crows and even rats. Survival depended on utilising the land's natural resources, but colonists made little effort to learn Aboriginal bushcraft or explore indigenous foods beyond fish and large marsupials.

Initial attempts to establish commercial fishing failed by the mid-1830s, as colonists had no spare income, so fished for themselves. Imported canned fish met the local market for long-lasting seafood products. From the 1840s, dried fish was exported from Fremantle and the Abrolhos. Larger scale commercial fishing began near Perth in the 1870s, with fish canneries opening at Mandurah in 1879-80, employing Chinese and Japanese labourers.

Sandalwood was first harvested in the Avon Valley in the 1840s. It was exported to Singapore and China from 1845 at a time of high international prices. The industry fluctuated in response to export markets, peaking in the mid-1870s, but remained a significant earner for colonists well into the 20th century, especially as an alternative income for farmers in lean years (notably, through the 1930s Depression).

Guano was discovered at the Abrolhos in 1840 and extracted from 1844. There was keen international interest in guano deposits at this time, as it was an important fertiliser. In the latter 1870s, guano was also exported from islands off the West Kimberley. Abrolhos operations remained small until the 1880s, after which they flourished until the introduction of superphosphates in 1910 killed the guano trade.

Export of kangaroo skins and meat began in 1847. Six years later, hunting licenses were introduced as kangaroo numbers were plummeting. Further limits were introduced from 1872, and again in 1892. The latter also restricted sealing to a limited season and virtually abolished trade in kangaroo skins. Colonists allowed Aboriginal people to continue to hunt for food, but forbade hunting for skins. From 1897, even hunting for food was outlawed on pastoral lease land, causing much conflict and increasing Aboriginal dependence on handouts of European food.

The Southwest timber industry expanded from the 1850s as it supplied the convict establishment's building program. Exports increased, especially following establishment of sawmills from the mid-1850s, but most timber supplied local markets until the mid-1870s. In 1870, three large timber concessions were granted in the northern jarrah forests and timber towns such as Jarrahdale began to be established. Large orders were sent to South Australia to supply railway sleepers and telegraph poles. The colony's first railways were built in 1871-1872 to transport timber. By the end of the decade, timber was the colony's second largest export income. Large timber companies were established through the latter 19th century, from M.C. Davies in 1879 to Bunnings in 1897. Through the 1880s, rail construction fuelled the timber market.

Pearls were first harvested at Shark Bay in 1862. From 1866, the industry was established at Cossack, where pearls were of greater quality. North West colonists depended on pearling to supplement pastoral income. Pearling relied on forced, unpaid Aboriginal labour, often women and children. Many were captured further north in 'blackbirding' raids, a euphemism for obtaining slaves, despite the British Empire outlawing slavery in 1833. Legislation in 1871 attempting to restrict the practice was largely ineffective for at least a decade. Cyclones also periodically killed large numbers of pearl workers. Pearling in the mid-1870s earned the colony more income than any other product besides wool. There appeared little interest in addressing workers' conditions, which may have considerably reduced the profit margin. In 1875, 1,000 Malay pearl divers arrived at Cossack, sparking legislation to restrict Asian pearling. However, pearling remained dominated by Asian workers until the mid-20th century. Broome became the colony's pearling centre by the mid-1880s, due to its higher quality deep-sea pearls. Apparatus diving began in 1885, bringing Japanese pearlers. Legislation attempted to keep Asian pearlers from owning boats. However, the industry largely operated with Japanese bosses managing a workforce of Chinese, Malay, Koepanger, Filipino and Aboriginal divers. When the White Australia policy was introduced in 1901, exemptions were included for the pearling industry.

The gold boom enabled development of commercial fisheries at Albany, Fremantle and Geraldton, although rivers and estuaries were reserved for recreational anglers from 1890. Iceworks opened to facilitate fresh fish supply to the Goldfields. From 1905, ice boats extended commercial fishing north to Shark Bay and the Abrolhos. Many Italian, Austro-Hungarian and Scandinavian migrants worked in fishing. Restrictions in 1906 formally ended more than 200 years of Macassan fishermen visiting northern Australia, although illegal contact continued. Aboriginal fishing was significantly disrupted by colonisation, as the estuaries and river mouths suitable for trapping and spearing were also favoured for European settlements. Blasting the rock bar across the Swan River mouth in 1894 destroyed traditional Noongar shallow-water fishing in the area.

The Woods and Forests Department was established in 1896 to monitor and administer the booming timber industry. Huge government infrastructure investment of the gold boom period, including railways, jetties and telegraph construction, along with mining requirements and a general building boom to serve the growing population, gave timber a decade of economic dominance. Bunbury prospered as an administrative and transport hub for timber exports. In 1898, timber surpassed wool in export value, although by this time gold had eclipsed both. From the 1900s, smaller companies began to fold or merge into larger operations. A Royal Commission in 1904 cautioned against trends towards price fixing practices. In 1913, State Sawmills was established, partly to break the duopoly of Millars and Bunnings. Into the mid-20th century, the timber industry remained largely unmechanised, relying on horses, axes, crosscut saws and individual milling of logs.

In the 1900s, international fashion trends stimulated fur exports, especially possum. Aboriginal trappers were prominent in the industry, but Aboriginal hunting continued to be curtailed. From 1903, hunting dog numbers were restricted, and many dogs were destroyed. Two years later, Aboriginal people were prohibited from holding gun licenses, severely limiting their ability to hunt for both food and fur. In 1910, possum hunting was completely banned. However, hunting supplemented collapsing farm incomes during the 1930s Depression.

Commercial rock lobster fishing began in the Abrolhos in the 1920s, later expanding to Lancelin. A lobster cannery opened at Geraldton in 1931, facilitating exports, but the industry was tenuous until a decision to supply canned lobster to allied troops in 1941. Permanent camps were subsequently established on the lobster fields.

P24491 **Fishing Boat Harbour, Fremantle**

As the site of South Jetty, one of the first landing sites erected in 1829 in the newly founded Swan River Colony, the place has been the site of fishing activities and enterprises since that time, with fish markets first established in 1908. In 1921, work began on the construction of a stone breakwater to provide safe anchorage for fishing boats operating from Fremantle, and by 1930, swimming baths had been established at the end of Arundel Street.

This working fishing boat harbour is associated with the history of post-World War II migration to Western Australia, with many migrants from Southern Europe, particularly those from Italy, becoming pioneers of the fishing industry in Fremantle. It is the end point of the annual Blessing of the Fleet procession, a well-established religious and civic tradition that has been celebrated by the local Italian community for 70 years.

Fishing Boat Harbour is an iconic landmark in Fremantle that is a popular visitor destination for tourists and the local and wider community. It attracts more than 1.5 million visitors a year to its wide variety of waterside hospitality venues.

Pearling peaked in 1910 before entering a gradual decades-long decline. Attempts to restrict Asian labour had little impact as white divers refused the work. Cyclones and the Depression significantly damaged the industry through the 1930s. When World War II broke out, nearly half the pearling workforce was Japanese. They were subsequently interned or expelled. Pearling at Broome ceased until 1946, re-emerging slowly. Japanese labour was permitted again from 1952 but plastics in the 1950s reduced demand for pearl products, especially shell. From 1956, pearl farms were established. Larger players increasingly dominated, and the industry re-established, but it never regained its colonial or early 20th century prominence.

Wartime internment of Italians depleted Fremantle fishing fleets, but fish canneries were established at Perth (herring), Albany and Hopetoun (salmon) to supply the war effort. In the post-war years, commercial fishing boomed. From the 1950s, increased ownership of refrigerators created a market for frozen fish products, and local supply duly increased. Portuguese immigrants supplemented the Italian fishing community. From the 1960s, prawn and scallop fishing developed at Shark Bay, which became the State's main commercial fishery. In the 1970s, commercial fishing expanded to a new level, with deep sea tuna and prawn trawlers, factory ships, faster vessels, GPS and echo-location technology. Live lobster exports expanded the industry from the 1980s. Remote Southern Ocean fisheries began to be exploited in the 1990s, especially for toothfish. By the 2000s, Western Australia accounted for approximately 60 per cent of Australia's fish export industry.

Sporadic attempts to re-establish whaling had been made between 1914 and 1940, with no lasting success. In 1949, whaling began in the Pilbara, including quotas to limit whale kill. Through the 1950s, several south coast ventures were established. Internationally, pressure grew to ban whaling altogether. In 1978, Cheyne Beach Whaling Station at Albany closed, the last whaling station to operate in Australia, and off-shore whaling in Western Australian waters ceased in 1986.

Forestry became increasingly mechanised from the mid-20th century, especially through the introduction of chainsaws and bulldozers. By the 1960s, the limits of hardwood supply were becoming evident, leading the timber industry to explore softwood production more seriously. The Forests Department had already operated pine plantations for more than 40 years. In 1961, State Sawmills was privatised, and in 1970 became part of Bunnings. Bunnings had won the contract in 1968 to export woodchips to Japan, with the first shiploads leaving in 1976. From the outset, wood-chipping was accompanied by environmental protest. By the 1990s old growth logging was a significant political issue, contributing to a change of government in 2001 and bans on the practice from 2003. Extensive plantations were established in its place.

By the 21st century, harvesting of (living) natural resources represented only a small fraction of the State's economy. At census in 2016, only 2,000 people reported employment in fishing, hunting, trapping, aquaculture, forestry or logging, more than 80 per cent of whom were men. One of the few industries in the sector to show some similarity to its 19th century origins was sandalwood, where independent cutters supplied a small but steady export trade. Trials exploring options for sandalwood plantations had commenced. Industries such as fishing, timber and pearling are now dominated by large corporate operations. Sealing and whaling have ceased completely. Natural resources are now highly valued for their ecological and tourism values.

Mining and Mineral Resources

Mining has been key to significant Western Australian growth periods, especially the 1890s gold boom, 1960s-1970s Pilbara mining expansion, oil and gas developments from the 1980s, and the 2000s iron ore boom, and for more than 50 years has underpinned the State's economy.

Ochre was the only mineral extracted by Aboriginal people. The spiritual connection Aboriginal people have with their land does not encourage mining. Colonists, by contrast, were soon hunting for mining potential. The first colonial 'mining' was quarrying coastal limestone for construction. Within a decade, salt was mined at Wadjemup/Rottnest. Coal discovered on the Irwin River in 1846 proved uneconomic to mine, but the colony's first mining company was formed to encourage prospecting, with an experimental shaft at Kelmscott accessing small lead and copper deposits. Two years later, lead, copper and silver were discovered on the Murchison River, where the colony's first successful mines began in 1849. Mining in the Northampton district peaked in 1877, when base metals comprised 13 per cent of colonial exports. The colony's first government-run railway (1879) served the Northampton mines.

Other mining followed from the 1880s. Coal was discovered at Collie in 1883. However, the coalfield was not officially declared until 1896, with a government-funded mine opening in 1898. Collie quickly became the colony's coal mining centre. Tin was discovered at Greenbushes in 1888, followed by Marble Bar (1889), Shaw River (1893), Moolyella (1898) and Wodgina (1902). Copper mining began at Whim Creek in 1889, operating for more than 80 years, and a decade later copper mines opened at Ravensthorpe.

P1900 **Warribanno Smelter Complex Ruin**

Associated with the oldest identified European mining site in Western Australia, the Geraldine Lead Mine, the Warribanno Smelter is the oldest surviving smelter in Western Australia and one of the earliest in Australia. The derelict roasting furnace, reverberatory furnaces, blacksmith's shop, surface flue system, vertical flue shaft/chimney, and tunnel flue are important in demonstrating mid-19th century smelting processes and technology.

In 1848 Augustus and Charles Gregory discovered galena (lead sulphide) in the Murchison River. Acquired by the Geraldine Mining Company, operations to extract the ore commenced in 1849. The Geraldine Lead Mine was the first worked mine in what was to become the Northampton Mineral field.

Gold was the real prize, however. Rewards were offered for finding gold, but nothing substantial resulted. Finally, in 1885, discoveries at Halls Creek started the first gold rush. Conflict with Aboriginal people resulted, but colonists largely ignored miners' violence. Chinese prospectors were prevented from obtaining mining leases from 1886, and Aboriginal people from 1895. Women were also excluded, except those few working their husbands' claims. Goldfields were declared in the Yilgarn (1888), Pilbara (1888), Ashburton (1890) and Murchison (1891).

In 1892, the find that changed Western Australia was made at Coolgardie. A decade-long gold rush to the Eastern Goldfields began, and the colony boomed. By 1893, when gold was found at Kalgoorlie, gold was the colony's largest export. Auriferous (gold-containing) country was found stretching more than 400 kilometres north-south, fields so rich that they continue to sustain gold mining 125 years later. After an initial period of pioneering, exploration and prospecting, by 1894 alluvial panning largely gave way to reef mining. Dozens of mining companies formed, many listed on the London stock exchange. By 1904, when the investment bubble burst, around 1,235 Western Australian mining companies had been floated. London money was vital to the goldfields' success, but up to 80 per cent of companies paid no dividends.

By the mid-1890s, most miners were employed on underground company mines. Differences in legislating above- and below-ground mining leases caused tensions, generating some of the colony's earliest industrial activity. More than 30 per cent of the State's population in 1901 lived on the Goldfields – around 54,000 people. Gold exports peaked in 1903 at 83 per cent of the State's export value. Mines gradually consolidated into proven ventures run by large companies. Smaller gold finds continued elsewhere, including Wiluna and Gwalia (1896), Peak Hill (1897), Donnybrook (1898), Ravensthorpe (1899), Bullfinch (1909) and Payne's Find (1911).

Migrants underpinned the gold boom, but World War I saw many goldfields workers interned for cultural links to 'enemy' countries. Others, without such links, enlisted in large numbers, and a lack of labour reduced mining productivity during the war. Decline spurred a Royal Commission, which in 1925 accused the industry of neglecting development work and failing to address multiple problems. From 1928, Kalgoorlie mining companies began modernising operations. However, employment in mining continued to slump to the end of the decade.

At Collie, small collieries combined in 1920 to form Amalgamated Collieries. The town was particularly hard-hit by the Depression, as the price of coal plummeted during the 1930s.

Gold prices increased in response to the Depression, increasing 131 per cent through the decade. Gold was the only major industry to profit in this period, pulling Western Australia out of the Depression earlier than eastern states. A mining tax from 1934 to 1942 funded government Depression responses. Large-scale gold production began at Wiluna in 1931, using modern techniques to exploit lower grade ore. The gold resurgence led to the establishment of Western Mining Corporation (WMC) in 1933, later one of the State's largest mining companies. In 1934, WMC hired the first women to be professionally employed in Western Australian mining, but the industry remained male-biased. In 1933, of 11,000 people employed in mining, only 29 were women.

By the end of the 1930s, gold provided 46 per cent of the State's exports and 75 per cent of Australia's gold production. Claude de Bernales, whose Wiluna mines and other investments had underpinned this success,

fell into business ruin in 1939 under allegations of mismanagement. World War II cut gold-mining back as a 'non-essential industry'. Post-war government assistance attempted to boost the struggling sector, but it was decades before it boomed again.

Mining employment plunged during the war. In 1943, commercial potash production began at Lake Campion. The same year, open cut mining began at Collie, although it was another 60 years before all Collie's underground operations ceased.

Intermittent but unprofitable extraction of white asbestos was underway in the Pilbara by 1912. Despite a short rush in 1925, mining waned until Lang Hancock opened a blue asbestos crushing plant at Wittenoom (1939). Four years later, CSR took on the Wittenoom mine. State and Federal Governments supported development of large-scale operations, as Wittenoom was Australia's only source of blue asbestos. The mine closed in 1966 for economic reasons, although sporadic white asbestos mining continued until 1977. Asbestos dust caused health problems for thousands of former Wittenoom residents, killing hundreds over subsequent decades.

In the latter 1940s, other projects began, including numerous small-scale salt mines, manganese in the Murchison district (reviving failed 1920s mines) and talc at Three Springs. Mineral sands were discovered at Koombana Bay, and mining began in the mid-1950s. Aboriginal labourers on strike in the Pilbara from 1946 turned to panning for metals to raise an income. Women were central to this venture, which sustained the pastoral workers strike. Northern Development & Mining formed in 1949 – the first Aboriginal-owned company in the State, and profited from the mining of 'wolfram' (tungsten).

Iron ore was noted in the Pilbara in 1861 and the Murchison in 1871, with glowing government reports in 1889. In the 1930s, Japan invested in iron ore at Yampi Sound. However, as Japan became an aggressor in East Asia, an export embargo was imposed from 1938 to prevent its involvement. From 1944, BHP developed Koolan and Cockatoo Islands in Yampi Sound for the Australian market. The first Pilbara iron ore reached Australian steel mills in 1951.

In 1960, the iron ore export embargo was lifted. The following year, an export-oriented iron ore mine commenced development at Koolanooka (Midwest, closed 1974). In 1962, production began at Koolyanobbing to supply the new steel mill at Kwinana. The first iron ore export left Geraldton in 1966. Between 1965 and 1972, four major Pilbara iron ore projects were launched, establishing Western Australia as a major global iron ore trader. A boom resulted, unparalleled since the 1890s, that transitioned Western Australia's economy from rural to mining based and ended its claimant status under the Commonwealth Grants Commission. By 1971, iron ore provided one third of the State's income.

Australia's first significant oil deposit was discovered at Rough Range, near Exmouth, in 1953, but was not commercially viable. In 1964, oil was struck at Barrow Island, where production began in 1967. Gas reserves discovered near Dongara in 1966 led to production from 1971. However, federal incentives for oil and gas exploration were removed in 1972, after which expansion slowed.

P6561 **Lake Austin (The Island)**

Evidence of the resourcefulness of early prospectors, the abandoned mining landscape of Lake Austin, including a small collection of ironstone huts, is a window into life on the Murchison goldfields in the 1890s. The huts themselves are rare as an example of the types of *ad hoc* shelters built by the miners, whilst the workings surrounding them provide important information about the technology used to exploit the Murchison Goldfield.

In the early days of Western Australia's gold rush hundreds of prospectors flocked to the field, building camps alongside their workings with the most readily available material – being loose ironstone slabs. Lake Austin had some larger mining operations such as the Golconda mine. However, evidence suggests that this small collection of c.1899 miners' huts were constructed and occupied by Italian miners working the small-scale mines surrounding their homes.

Other mineral exploitation also began through the 1960s and 1970s. Open cut mining, which had waned through the 1950s, surged. ALCOA Australia formed in 1961, and the first bauxite was mined at Jarrahdale in 1963, supplying alumina refineries at Kwinana (1961), Pinjarra (1972), Worsley (1980) and Wagerup (1984). Commercial solar salt began production at Shark Bay in 1963, with several other sites following through the 1960s and 1970s, making Western Australia the world's largest exporter of solar salt. Western Australia's small-scale manganese mines all closed following the commencement in 1964 of large mines in the Northern Territory, and it was 1989 before improved export markets facilitated recommencement of manganese mining in the Pilbara. The first payable nickel deposits were discovered at Kambalda in 1964, and production began in 1967, amidst high international prices. From 1969 to 1970 a nickel investment boom resulted in soaring prices, linked to Perth entrepreneurs. Most famously, Poseidon shares rose from 33 cents to $280 in four months, before crashing as the nickel price spectacularly collapsed, although nickel mining continued. Heavy mineral sands were discovered at Eneabba in 1970, and mining commenced in 1974. Diamonds were discovered at Ellendale in the Kimberley in 1976, but determined to be uneconomic to extract. In 1979, commercial-quantity deposits were found at Argyle, and after careful negotiation with traditional owners an agreement to mine was signed in 1980.

The 1970s was an era of increased awareness of the ecological impact of mining. Environmental protestors became active, and rehabilitation of mine sites became more intentional. ALCOA received international recognition in the 1980s for efforts to revegetate bauxite excavations. Uranium was discovered in 1972 and a mine site developed at Yeelirrie, despite thousands protesting. Mining was still at an experimental stage in 1983 when the incoming federal Labor Government banned uranium mining in Western Australia.

In the Pilbara, Aboriginal interests were prominently ignored at Noonkanbah in 1980. The State Government pressed ahead with experimental oil drilling despite protests, supported by unions and Perth activists, that this would disrupt sacred sites at Unpampurru (Pea Hill). Oil was not found. However, the case was a turning point in recognising Aboriginal land rights in relation to mining development.

Gold regained ground from the mid-1970s, as global recession raised international prices. New technologies maintained production through the 1980s. In 1987, gold mining began at Boddington, until a downturn closed the mine for several years from 2001. Construction of the Super Pit mine began at Kalgoorlie in 1989. Gold production reached an all-time peak in 1997, before 10 years of gradual decline.

In 1980, the State Energy Commission contracted to purchase North West gas to supply the South West electricity grid. North Rankin off-shore gas platform opened in 1982, with gas piped ashore from 1984. The following year, Japan signed a 20-year contract to purchase liquid natural gas (LNG) to fuel utilities for 65 million customers. The first LNG shipment departed in 1989.

Iron ore slumped from 1983, leading to Pilbara job losses. Unions were increasingly in conflict with management. In 1986, over 1,100 workers at Robe River were sacked after prolonged industrial action, with a diminished workforce re-signed on reduced conditions. Union influence in Pilbara mining subsequently reduced. Koolyanobbing iron ore mine closed in 1983, as the blast furnace at Kwinana closed. Ten years later the mine reopened as a fly-in fly-out (FIFO) facility. The 1990s saw many remote mining operations move to FIFO operation, allowing workers to live in urban centres between swings.

While iron ore and gold were the State's headlining minerals, Western Australian mining continued to diversify. From 1989, zinc, copper, gold, silver and lead were all extracted through underground operations at Yalgoo. Tantalum mining began on the Eastern Goldfields in 2001 and Murchison in 2002. A second Kimberley diamond mine opened at Bow River in 1988, operating to 1995. In 2002, Ellendale diamond deposits began to be extracted. Lithium was mined at Greenbushes from 1983, expanding into the world's largest lithium mine by the 2000s as global demand for lithium sky-rocketed and two additional Western Australian mines opened. High international prices caused a nickel boom from 2003. By 2008, Western Australia was the world's third largest producer of nickel, but recent low prices have closed mines.

Entering the 21st century, mining accounted for 2.9 per cent of Western Australian employment but 21 per cent of its economic output. Women gradually entered the industry with the first woman to qualify as an underground mine manager in 2001. Two years later, the Western Australian Women in Mining Association formed to support the growing minority of female employees in both professional and labouring jobs.

Iron ore prices rose from the late 1990s, fuelling a state-wide boom. The Pilbara population increased by more than 41 per cent in 10 years, in addition to a substantial FIFO (fly-in, fly-out) workforce. Iron ore production trebled. Western Australia became the world's largest iron ore producer, accounting for 37 per cent of global production and 49 per cent of global exports by 2014, when global prices fell and the boom ended.

Plans for a natural gas hub at Barrow Island were implemented from 2009, with the Gorgon Project expected to operate for 40 years. The first shipment of Gorgon gas left Barrow Island in 2016.

Restrictions on uranium mining were lifted in 2008. Much exploration followed. Four proposals were approved, but none had progressed when bans were reinstated in 2017. The four approved projects were given five years to proceed, but low uranium prices dissuaded further investment.

Gold production increased through the 2010s. Boddington gold mine, reopened in 2009, expanded several times to become the largest gold mine in Australia.

In 2016-17, mining accounted for 29 per cent of Western Australia's gross state product, with a value of $71.8 billion. It employed 6.6 per cent of the State's workforce, including 13,513 women (17.6 per cent). Wider Australia often considers Western Australia a 'mining state'. Mining's economic dominance renders it significant social and political influence, particularly the iron ore and gold sectors. Increased environmental awareness and sensitivity to Aboriginal interests, however, oblige miners to consider more than just economic outcomes.

Manufacturing and Secondary Industry

Commercial manufacturing was slow to develop beyond cottage industries in Western Australia. Its story is one of absence more than presence.

Clothing, tools, weapons and watercraft were produced by Aboriginal communities for their own use and to trade. The first European 'product' constructed in Western Australia was the vessel built in 1727 by survivors of the shipwrecked *Zeewjick*. A registered boat builder was among the 1829 colonists, and boat building flourished due to the colony's early dependence on water transport. The first colonial-constructed ship set sail in 1836, with steam ships produced from 1854.

Flour milling began in 1831 at Fremantle, and burning of the 1833 mill at South Perth triggering a reprisal massacre of Noongars at Pinjarra in 1834. Flour mills tracked agricultural expansion. Most were horse-powered. Brewing began in Perth in 1837. Some 20 years later Swan Brewery began operations, and soon dominated the Western Australian market.

Western Australian-made products were first exported in 1840, but exports remained primarily raw materials through the 19th century. By the end of the 1840s, the colony had small industries in pit-sawing timber, milling flour, building boats, making bricks, tanning, brewing and wine making. The convict period did not substantially increase the range of manufacturing.

From the 1870s, factories commenced operation. Pearse Brothers established a tannery and boot factory in 1871. The business (running until 1962) was the first factory in North Fremantle, which later became an important industrial area. Fish canneries opened at Mandurah in 1879, with Japanese and Chinese labourers. Several aerated waters or cordial manufacturers were established. Sandovers began manufacturing furniture and household goods in 1882.

Swan Brewery opened its iconic factory at the base of Mt Eliza in 1879, despite the site (Goonininup) having been reserved in 1833 for its significance to Noongar people. In 1887, Swan Brewing company linked itself to Victorian company Carlton/Fosters.

The Bunning brothers arrived in the colony in 1886. They soon operated brickworks and, from 1897, sawmills. Bunnings was the first brick maker to initiate mass production of bricks, in 1900, prior to which bricks were hand made using shale. Railway workshops were established in 1887 (government) and 1901 (Millars, Yarloop), initially assembling imported parts and later fabricating parts on site.

Steel roller flour milling was introduced to the colony in 1889, superseding stone milling. The first purpose-built roller mill opened in Katanning in 1891, also generating the colony's first electricity. The first commercial dairy (Brownes) opened in 1886, followed by butter factories from 1898. However, even Brownes did not reach commercial-scale production until 1915.

The population boom of the 1890s allowed for substantial manufacturing development. Textiles, clothing and footwear production moved from part-time cottage industries to small-scale commercial manufacturing. Lasting brands were established, including Plaistowes confectionery, Watsonia smallgoods, Kalgoorlie Brewing Company and Mills & Wares baked goods. Soft drinks, manufactured on a small scale from the 1870s, became a flourishing industry, although few producers survived long-term. Weaver & Lock, the longest surviving local brand, was not established until 1919 (ceased 1991).

P2186 **Swan Brewery Precinct, Perth**

Brewing was one of the earliest manufacturing industries established in the colony, supplying the colonists' immense capacity for alcohol consumption. Swan Brewing Company formed in 1857 and quickly dominated the Western Australian market. In 1879, the company established a brewery at the foot of Mt Eliza, the site of early colonial boat building, and formerly an Aboriginal ration depot, Aboriginal school, convict hiring depot and old men's home, and also an important Noongar sacred site, Goonininup, resting place of the Wagyl creator-spirit.

Victorian company Carlton-Fosters bought into Swan Brewery in 1887, cementing its market domination. It was an early instance of corporations from eastern colonies investing in Western Australian businesses, which accelerated through the 20th century. The Swan Brewery was the most technologically advanced in the State. Booming on the back of gold miners' high rate of beer drinking as well as the general prosperity of the times, it considerably expanded its plant in 1897, including the extant Talbot-Hobbs-designed buildings. By 1945, when Swan took over its last major competitor, it was the second largest employer in the State, with monopoly control of Western Australian beer production. The place demonstrates the development of manufacturing from the 1870s to the 1980s, when the buildings were vacated, and production moved to Canning Vale. In 2013, the Canning Vale factory closed and production relocated to Adelaide.

After the brewery closed, conflict emerged about the site's future. A Noongar protest camp, lasting three years, called for Goonininup to be respected and buildings removed. The heritage movement, growing in strength by the 1980s, wanted the buildings protected as a significant aspect of the history of European occupation of Perth. Commercial developers had their own ideas of what the land could be used for, as expanding retail and tourism industries presented options for a river-front commercial precinct. In the 1990s, the buildings were conserved and redeveloped as apartments, shops and restaurants. The tensions regarding the site's reuse are important to stories of commerce, development of settlements and services, government and politics, colonisation and religion.

Department stores, established in the 1890s, were also manufacturers. Boans, Foy & Gibson and Brennans all produced 'in-house' lines, including clothing, furniture and homewares.

Construction of the Goldfields Water Supply Scheme (1898-1903) underpinned the establishment of two steel fabrication plants, which supplied pipes for nearly 600 kilometres of pipeline. From 1911, a concrete pipe factory also operated.

Imports of manufactured goods also increased through the 1890s, but tariffs protected local producers. After Federation, import tariffs on goods from the eastern states were removed gradually over five years, despite strong Western Australian opposition. Eastern colonies, where populations had expanded much earlier, already had solid manufacturing industries. Western Australian manufacturers, many in start-up phase, could not compete. The 1890s hopes that an industrial sector was about to boom were dashed. A 'Buy WA' campaign was launched in 1906, but manufacturers that succeeded into the 20th century were those processing local primary produce for export, or with high transport costs, such as building materials.

Despite setbacks, by 1904 approximately 13,000 people were employed in tanneries, soap and candle works, brick works, lime kilns, flour mills, soft drink factories, boot makers, leather shops, clothing factories, gas works and 38 breweries. Many factories employed women, especially in clothing production. The expanding manufacturing sector supported the emerging labour movement. Peter Michelides opened a tobacco manufacturing plant in Perth in 1904, using imported leaf, as it was the 1940s before tobacco was grown locally. Two superphosphate plants opened in 1910, with several more following through the inter-war years, using imported phosphate (including from Christmas Island, later an offshore territory of Australia).

After 1904, people of Asian descent were not permitted to establish new furniture factories and existing operators had to stamp products 'Asiatic Labour'. One-quarter of furniture and cabinet makers were Chinese. From 1920, they also had their trading hours restricted.

In 1912, the Government launched numerous State-run businesses. Many industries were dominated by one or two key players, hampering competition and keeping prices high. Expensive building materials exacerbated a housing shortage. The *Government Trading Concerns Act 1916* initiated State brickworks, quarries, sawmills, shipping, abattoirs, implement works, hotels, butcher shops, fish shops, ferries and tramways. Although some were short-lived, many survived more than 50 years. Direct government involvement shaped the development of many manufacturing industries.

By 1913, there were around 990 'factories' in the state, employing 19,000 industrial workers, although as the definition of 'factory' was four or more employees, many were little more than cottage operations. The range of products had changed little in 20 years. Woodworking accounted for 30 per cent of the State's manufacturing, followed by metals (16.5 per cent) and food and drink (15 per cent). Woodworking was declining, however, overtaken first by food and then metals as a proportion of the sector.

The only war industry that commenced during World War I was shell case manufacturing, on a small scale. Wartime conditions and a slump in gold mining dropped demand for beer, and the number of breweries by 1915 reduced to 14. In 1927, Swan bought out its largest competitor (Emu).

Manufacturing gradually increased through the 1920s, mostly processing raw materials for local markets. Tiles were manufactured locally from 1918 (Wunderlich). From 1920, cement was manufactured

P868 **Bristile Kilns (fmr), Belmont**

The location of the first specialised pottery works established in Western Australia in 1905, the place was later associated with Sir H.L. Brisbane, the Chairman of the Board of the company from 1929 to 1966. Brisbane developed the Bristile building empire, with this site a centre for the clay pipe and tile industry that played a significant role in the development of Western Australia's building industry from 1905 to 1982.

With eight circular downdraught kilns and five associated chimney stacks remaining, this is the largest cluster of circular downdraught kilns and stacks in Australia. Although a common kiln type in the c.1920s to 1950s, they are becoming an increasingly rare industrial structure in Australia. The remaining structures represent the 'firing' mode for the production of stoneware pipes and tiles.

at Rivervale (Portland). Porcelain works opened at Subiaco in 1921 (Calyx, later Australian Fine China). Woollen mills opened at Albany in 1925. Wescobee Honey was established in 1926 by a beekeeping cooperative. CSR opened a sugar refinery at Mosman Park in 1928, and Peters began producing snack ice-creams in 1929. Both CSR and Peters were New South Wales companies.

Assembly of cars from pre-made components began from 1917, to circumvent an import duty on whole cars. The first large-scale motor vehicle assembly plant was Ford (1925), then General Motors the following year, but full construction of cars was never implemented in Western Australia. Swansea Cycles from 1927 began producing bicycles, remaining an iconic Western Australian brand into the 1960s.

A rare instance of local manufacturing responding to indigenous plants was Plaimar's 1919 factory to produce sandalwood and boronia oils (to 1975). From 1932, Industrial Extracts began producing tannins for leather making from native plants.

The Depression hit manufacturing particularly hard, especially homewares, agricultural implements and other equipment. Many factory workers lost their jobs, and the industry did not recover until the end of the decade. In response to the Depression, Seventh Day Adventists in 1933 opened the Sanitarium Health Food factory at their Carmel school to employ its students, especially women. Sanitarium became a significant Australian brand.

Manufacturing of dairy products remained steady through the 1930s. Condensed milk factories were established at Harvey (1930) and Waroona (1932), and several new butter factories opened. From 1934, butter and cheese prices were no longer pegged to the London market, and from the 1940s the industry became increasingly mechanised.

During World War II, manufacturing was channelled into the war effort. Boots and clothing were produced for the armed forces, and rationing excluded local markets for these items. Some goods no longer available for import were produced locally, including potash fertilisers (Nungarin, from 1943). A charcoal pig iron plant at Wundowie was commenced, opening in 1948. Twice the national average of factory employees were women, particularly in previously male-dominated industries such as metalwork, machining and munitions.

Manufacture of ammunition commenced in 1941, producing smalls arms, fuses and shells. The Welshpool fuse factory (1942) had the first precision-engineering production line in Western Australia. State shipbuilding yards were established at North Fremantle to assist the war effort. After the war, the Welshpool munitions factory was used to found Chamberlain Industries, manufacturing tractors.

As rationing and price controls were lifted through the post-war years, local manufacturers responded to the backlog demand for goods. Clothing manufacturing moved towards ready-to-wear rather than tailored clothes and numbers peaked in 1951 at around 450 clothing factories. Piecework was increasingly utilised, shifting the clothing workforce from single women in factories to married women sewing in their own homes. Increased consumer spending through the 1950s was largely directed towards imported products, especially household goods, as the local product range remained limited.

The loss of imports during the war highlighted the State's vulnerability in not having local production. In the post-war decade, industrial employment increased and output doubled, but Western Australia remained the least industrialised of all Australian states. Post-war industry relied heavily on migrants, especially new arrivals from Britain and Europe. Many local firms were bought out in the post-war years by larger companies, often from interstate or overseas. In 1945, Swan Brewery took over its last major competitor (Kalgoorlie Brewing & Ice Co). Already linked to Victorian interests, Swan became the second largest employer in Western Australia, with monopoly control over beer production.

In 1952, the State Government agreed to supply infrastructure for a heavy industrial area at Kwinana to secure the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (later BP)'s Australian refinery. The refinery opened in 1954. BHP commenced rolling steel and manufacturing fence posts the same year, eventually expanding to a blast furnace and sinter plant in 1968. In 1955, Cockburn Cement moved to larger premises at Kwinana. An ALCOA alumina refinery opened in 1963, CSBP began producing superphosphate and industrial chemicals in 1967, and finally, in 1970, Western Mining Corporation launched a nickel refinery. Heavy industry, centred at Kwinana, facilitated the mining boom and was in turn boosted by it.

Regional manufacturing also developed. Superphosphate plants opened at Albany (1954) and Esperance (1962) to supply escalating post-war agricultural demand for fertiliser. La Porte began titanium oxide production at Bunbury in 1963. From the latter 1960s, synthetic rutile was manufactured at Capel, Geraldton and Muchea, using technology developed in Western Australia with government support, making Western Australia the world's largest producer. Alumina refineries opened at Pinjarra (1972), Worsley (1980) and Wagerup (1984).

From 1961, the government began selling its trading concerns, beginning with State Building Supplies (including sawmills and brickworks). Manufacturing reached its all-time peak in 1964 at 46 per cent of the

Western Australian economy. The subsequent mining boom shifted the balance to mineral extraction rather than secondary industry. Reduction of import duties in 1972, coupled with a high Australian dollar, increased imports and constricted local manufacturing.

Legislation in 1963 demanded improved health and safety measures for factory workers, and further advances were made in 1984. In 1972, the Environmental Protection Authority was formed, and began enforcing legislation to reduce pollution. Both environmental and health and safety obligations required manufacturing plants to upgrade practices.

From the 1960s, light industrial areas developed on Perth's urban fringe, sited away from rail links as road transport began to dominate. Kewdale industrial area developed in the 1970s in response to the Kewdale Freight Terminal. Canning Vale industrial area, also rail-linked, emerged in the 1980s, along with a second generation of road-based suburban industrial estates as the urban fringe expanded. In 1985, a second heavy industrial area was established, linked to Bunbury Port and centred at Australind (Kemerton).

From the 1980s, manufacturing plants began to close. As the economy globalised, many local businesses could not compete with low production and labour costs in other countries, especially the rapidly expanding industrial sectors of Asia. Other industries consolidated in response to technological advances and market changes, such as flour milling, which by 2008 had reduced to two large and two small mills serving the whole State. Wundowie's smelter ceased operations in 1981, following the mid-1970s closure of its refinery. BHP closed its Kwinana blast furnace in 1982 and steel rolling plant in 1995. Superphosphate works were wound back from the early 1990s as the fertiliser market collapsed. Midland Railway Workshops closed in 1994 (Millars' workshops at Yarloop had closed in 1978). Albany Woollen Mills closed in 1996. Chamberlain Tractors, acquired by John Deere in 1986, moved to Brisbane in 1993. Swan Brewery's parent company moved production to Adelaide in 2013. As large manufacturers had often underpinned local economies, factory closures had far-reaching social impact.

Shipbuilding expanded at Cockburn Sound in 2003 when the Australian Marine Complex opened at Henderson. It rapidly became a major employer and exporter. A large liquid ammonia fertiliser plant opened on the Burrup Peninsula in 2006, located to take advantage of natural gas, the main raw material in ammonia. Exploding global demand in response to technologies requiring lithium batteries in the 2010s led to a second lithium refinery being announced in 2018 for Kwinana, supplementing the 1985 plant at Greenbushes.

By the 2016 census, manufacturing employed 5.6 per cent of the Western Australian workforce, of whom nearly 75 per cent were men, and contributed less than five per cent of the gross state product. Food production, the largest sector, accounted for 17.3 per cent of manufacturing workers. Manufacturing had moved away from inner urban areas. Modern manufacturing is cleaner and safer than past iterations. Western Australia's economic production remains dominated by primary industry, however, while employment is weighted towards tertiary industries. Secondary industry remains, as it has been other than a brief post-war zenith, a marginal element of Western Australia's development. Imported products dominate.

Commerce

From the oldest profession in the world to exchanging electrical goods over the internet, Western Australians have traded whatever they had available by whatever means came to hand, becoming increasingly organised and integrated into wider economic networks.

Aboriginal people traded goods with each other. From the 1700s, they also traded with Macassan fishermen. However, in European terms, Western Australia was a British-dependant economic backwater from the 1820s to the 1880s.

Merchants arrived with the 1829 colonists but between ships shortages of basic goods were experienced. Fremantle, being off regular shipping routes, received few visitors. Albany enjoyed more passing trade. Importers and wholesalers profited, due to the lack of local manufacturing. They continued to dominate local commerce through the 19th century and many became very wealthy.

Wine and spirits were traded from 1829, but unlike other colonies, liquor was not used as currency. In 1839, Sunday alcohol sales were prohibited, a ban that lasted 130 years. Most early commerce used barter and promissory notes, due to lack of cash in the colony. Local banking began in 1837, with the Western Australia Bank from 1841 monopolising banking for 25 years. An insurance agent established in 1841. However, as the colony slumped from 1843 to the end of the decade, financial services did not expand. The Convict Establishment from 1850 lifted the economy, as increased population boosted demand for goods and services. More cash came into circulation, although barter persisted in country areas.

Commerce consolidated through the 1870s and 1880s. Specialised retail traders developed to supplement the general stores of earlier periods. Eastern banks established Western Australian branches, so that by 1883 there were four banks in the colony. From the 1870s, life insurance associations began offering their services. Property insurance companies followed in the 1880s. Perth Chamber of Commerce formed in 1890. By this time, a merchant elite dominated social, economic and political realms, particularly at Fremantle and Albany. The Weld Club was founded in 1871 to cater to the 'founding families' of the colony.

Existing traders were well-placed to take advantage of the 1890s goldrushes, using their established base to supply the booming population. Many colonial businesses expanded. Imports increased, especially agricultural and mining tools, equipment and machinery. As restrictions on Asian pearling, mining and migration were implemented in the mid-1880s, many Chinese immigrants moved into laundry work, furniture making and shopkeeping. New businesses flourished in the gold boom. Department stores developed and retail and wholesale companies from eastern colonies began establishing Western Australian branches. All population centres experienced commercial expansion, although much goldfields commerce was transitory.

Goldfields hotels boomed, as both alcohol and accommodation were in high demand. Prostitution flourished in response to the substantially male population, initially mostly French and Japanese sex workers. From 1902, prostitution was 'contained' to Hay Street in Kalgoorlie, a policy remaining in place until 1995. Perth adopted a similar policy in 1915.

Businessmen's clubs expanded, including the Exchange Club (1893, later Western Australia Club), Hannan's Club (1895), and the Celtic Club (1902, for Irish businessmen). These retained male-only membership for over 100 years. Professional bodies also formed, as formerly tiny professions reached the critical mass needed to associate.

The 1890s saw a flourishing of banks and financial services due to the large volume of money in circulation. Home loans remained difficult to obtain, however. Tax on company dividends was introduced in 1899 and raised gradually for 40 years. A Perth stock exchange was established in 1888, and goldfields communities soon started their own. It was the 1930s before exchanges were standardised across Australia and 1987 before Western Australia merged into the Australian Stock Exchange.

Completion of the Southwest Railway in 1893 birthed tourism in coastal towns, boosted by increased disposable income of the gold boom. From 1901, South West caves were protected and within a decade they were managed as government-run tourist attractions. International promotion of the caves was Western Australia's first attempt to attract overseas tourists.

P1961 **Phineas Seeligson's, Perth**

The gold rush prosperity and population boom of the 1890s saw the rapid development of Perth's commercial and financial sectors due to the large volume of money in circulation. Phineas Seeligson's on Barrack Street was the first purpose-built pawn brokers in Western Australia, constructed in 1894 for its namesake, a prominent leader of the Jewish community. Although historically associated with criminal activity, pawn broking was regulated in Western Australia from 1860, and became an essential service with the growing reliance on a cash-based economy and increased pressure on working class families.

Designed by Henry Stirling Trigg, the first architect to have been born and then trained in Western Australia, the Barrack Street building reflects the wealth of the period with commercial buildings exhibiting a high level of grandeur.

As the population became wealthier, shopping emerged as a leisure activity. Retail changed to more display-oriented stores, including arcades. Entertainment businesses such as theatres and picture gardens gained ground. A small number of cafes and restaurants opened, although dining out was a rare luxury. The Alhambra Café (1898), in the basement of the McNess Royal Arcade at the corner of Barrack and Hay streets was one of the earliest opportunities for colonists to experience continental European culture, followed in the 1900s by Greek-owned cafes.

Commerce expanded steadily into the 20th century, following the population as it moved into urban centres and Wheatbelt districts. Some long-standing local businesses merged with interstate interests, but a Western Australian flavour was retained. From 1912, the government established State hotels to address black-market alcohol sales. A change of government in 1916 ended the initiative, but the existing hotels remained government-run until the 1960s. The State's GDP peaked in 1913 at levels not repeated again for more than 30 years. The boom years began to waver during World War I.

The Federal Government-run Commonwealth Bank opened in Western Australia in 1913, improving the availability of home loans at a time of housing shortages. The State Government retained an interest in banking through its Rural & Industries Bank (R&I Bank), formed by mergers in 1916 and remaining government-owned until 1999. The only completely local commercial bank was absorbed into the Bank of NSW in 1927.

Efforts were made in the 1920s to curtail liquor licenses. Hotels began offering women's lounges, reflecting a cultural shift in drinking habits, but widespread acceptance of women patronising bars was slow to emerge. Despite an active temperance movement, prohibition was never implemented.

P1371 **Bank of New South Wales, Kellerberrin**

Constructed during a period of agricultural advancement, the Bank of New South Wales in Kelleberrin exemplifies the expansion of banking operations into regional Western Australia during a period of relative prosperity.

Soon after taking over the State's last locally owned commercial bank (Western Australia Bank, established in 1841), the Bank of New South Wales engaged the architectural firm of Cavanagh and Cavanagh to design a more substantial branch in Kellerberrin to replace its existing town branch, erected in 1911. The new bank opened in 1927, its construction reflecting the economic buoyancy of the 1920s, when building was booming and banks were expanding.

Surviving the commercial uncertainty of the Depression years, as well as government-led post-war economic rationalisation which saw many other branches close throughout the nation, the Kellerberrin branch remained in continuous operation until the 1990s. Reflecting the district's population decline and corresponding reduction in services and facilities to the town at the time, the bank was subsequently downgraded to a co-operative-run agency, before being sold into private ownership in 1994. The place has since been adapted for use as a residence.

Tearooms were common. Restaurants were mostly located within hotels and used by travellers. Several Italian and Greek grocery stores were established in the 1920s. Asian, African and Polynesian shop owners, however, had their business hours restricted from 1920.

In 1921, the Tourism and Publicity Board was formed. It promoted intrastate train and ship travel and produced an annual touring guide for the emerging market of driving holidays. Through the 1920s, Wadjemup/Rottnest Island became a major family holiday destination, epitomising the increasingly beach-oriented culture of recreation and tourism. From 1932, the government used sustenance labour to develop Yanchep as a tourist resort.

The economic crisis of the 1930s impacted all aspects of commerce. Retail struggled, especially in rural areas where cash flow dried up almost entirely. Several long-standing rural retailers folded. National budget department stores Coles and Woolworths opened outlets in 1932, further pressuring local businesses.

World War II rationing and price controls limited markets, and the economy focussed on the war effort. Businesses profited by supplying the armed forces or visiting (mostly American) servicemen, whose spending was less restricted. Cinemas, restaurants (including Chinese eateries), brothels, nightclubs and hotels flourished through the patronage of servicemen. Wadjemup/Rottnest Island closed to tourists until after the war. Hotel closing was brought forward to 6pm (rather than 9pm).

Aboriginal people had been largely excluded from the commercial realm since the beginning of colonisation. In 1946, the Coolbaroo League opened Perth's first Aboriginal-run dance club (East Perth, to mid-1960s), also a hub of social activism. Other Aboriginal-run businesses remained rare.

The 1950s were a revolution in retailing. Mass production, individual packaging and branding, preservatives to increase shelf life of food and creation of pre-packaged food products all transformed the industry. Advertising increasingly emphasised persuasion over information, particularly after the introduction of television in the 1960s. In 1956, discount 'cash and carry' supermarkets were introduced by two local grocery chains, with Coles and Woolworths soon following. Self-service retail became the norm.

In 1958, Boans opened Perth's first suburban shopping centre (Cannington). By the 1960s, central city stores were struggling to compete with suburban centres. Many long-standing businesses sold out to larger corporations. From the 1970s, suburban centres were upsized. Completely enclosed shopping centres flourished, moving retail away from high-street shopping strips. Drive-through bottle shops developed from the 1950s. State hotels were sold from 1960. From 1970, Sunday trading of alcohol was legalised. Prostitution in Perth largely went underground after 'approved' Roe Street brothels were closed in 1958. Perth city consolidated as a business district, housing the head offices of major companies in a growing number of high-rise office towers.

Western Australian tourism promotion increased through the 1960s. Domestic tourism remained largely family holidays in coastal areas. Car-based tourism dominated, as most families now owned their own vehicle. Extension of the sealed road network facilitated regional holidays. The Empire Games, hosted by Perth in 1962, boosted interstate and international tourism. Marketing became increasingly important. The first integrated advertising and public relations firm in the state, Market Communications Services, began in 1970.

Post-war migrants brought new perspectives to Western Australian commerce. European migrants largely sustained the development of a local fashion industry through the 1960s, and by the end of the 1970s, Liz Davenport, Ruth Tarvydas and Sunseeker swimwear were all established. Miss Maud Swedish restaurant and patisserie, launched in 1971, went on to become a chain of franchise stores. From the 1970s, Asian restaurants emerged. Internationally, economic ties moved away from Britain towards Asia. Japan in 1967 became Western Australia's largest trading partner, with China and India close behind.

Fast food arrived in 1969 when Kentucky Fried Chicken opened its first store, the first multinational retail corporation to operate in the State. Within three years Hungry Jacks and Red Rooster were also established, the latter locally owned. McDonalds took another decade to arrive, but quickly spread.

Fast food restaurants underpinned a cultural change towards increased dining-out, through the 1970s particularly among young people but soon also families. The number of eating houses expanded exponentially. Silver service dining declined, while mid-price and family-oriented restaurants became common. *Al fresco* dining began in Fremantle in 1979 and Northbridge in 1986, and through the 1990s café strips developed in many locations. Dome coffee shops began at Cottesloe in 1991. Alcohol was increasingly available at cafes and restaurants, in addition to stand-alone bottle shops. Craft beers were developed in the mid-1980s, challenging large brewers.

Wine tourism emerged in the 1980s, initially around Margaret River. Short stay accommodation, recreation and hospitality industries flourished. Wine tourism became a successful element of Western Australia's internationally marketed image. The Western

Australian Tourism Commission was formed in 1984 in preparation for the America's Cup. By the 1980s, Asian tourists contributed substantially to local tourism. Burswood casino and resort, opened in 1985, attracted international visitors. A sealed road around Australia, completed in 1986, saw a gradual increase in caravanning holidays, especially in the north.

Northbridge emerged as a night life precinct through the 1980s, building on an existing migrant-influenced restaurant and café presence. 'Containment' laws, reintroduced in 1982, created a sex-workers precinct, until they were abandoned at both Northbridge and Kalgoorlie in 1995. Northbridge was considered a hub for organised crime and drug trading in addition to its legal entertainment industry.

The 1980s were characterised by conspicuous consumption and lavish dealings by prominent commercial traders, with many risky investments made, until the global stock market crash of 1987. The Australian dollar was floated in 1983. Western Australia's Robert Holmes à Court became Australia's first billionaire. From 1990, Australia entered a severe two-year recession.

Until the 1970s, commerce relied on cash or cheque transactions. In 1974, Australian banks introduced Bankcard, the first widely-available credit card. Ten years later direct debit transactions began, but cash continued to dominate until the 1990s. By the 2000s, many people did not carry cash. In recent years, purchase by smartphone has been enabled, moving commerce even further from cash dependence. Through the 1990s, big banks withdrew from regional and suburban areas. Community banks developed to fill the void, with the first in Western Australia opened in 1999.

Internet shopping began slowly in the mid-1990s, initially as an alternate platform for established businesses. Within a decade, online retail was a thriving industry, with many traders operating exclusively through websites. From the 2010s, the 'gig economy' emerged, using digital platforms to sell task-based services such as ride sharing and handyman skills. Internet access to international retail markets, often enabling cheap imports and avoiding GST or import duties, now creates substantial competition to traditional retail forms.

By the end of the century, few uniquely Western Australian retail businesses of note remained. Boans sold to Myers in 1984. Aherns was the last local department store when David Jones purchased it in 2000. Bunnings Warehouses, initiated in 1994, spread across the country, making the former Western Australian timber and brickworks company one of Australia's retail giants, based in Sydney. Independent grocery stores were acquired by Metcash in 2005 and most Western Australian stores rebranded as IGA.

A referendum in 2005 voted against extending retail trading hours. Exemptions were subsequently implemented to allow late-night and Sunday trading by special permit, but Western Australia retains the most restricted trading hours in the country.

Western Australia rode out the Global Financial Crisis of 2008-2009 with relative ease, as it corresponded with peak years of the iron ore boom, although those already missing out during boom years suffered. However, the 2014 decline in the iron ore price caused a downturn across the whole State's economy.

Approximately one quarter of the Western Australian workforce is employed in retail, wholesale, business services, finance or insurance sectors, which generate around 20 per cent of the State's income. The State is integrated into a global market, relying heavily on imported goods. China overtook Japan as Australia's largest trading partner in 2007, largely on the back of Western Australian commodities. Companies and customers rely on the internet, and few businesses attempt to trade without a web presence.

Workers and Working

British-based master-servant work relationships dominated the colony until unions emerged in the 1890s. Through the 20th century, pay and conditions slowly improved. By century's end work culture was shifting towards contract and casual arrangements and union influence had declined.

Work in Aboriginal communities before colonisation was communal, without employment relationships. Roles and responsibilities were organised according to gender, age and kinship. Following colonisation, Aboriginal people worked as guides, trackers, shepherds, whalers, labourers and mail carriers. Colonists attempted to train Aboriginal children to be servants or farmhands, but were reluctant to pay them properly.

Colonial society was highly stratified but labour was limited. Even elites, male and female, rarely escaped hard work. Labour shortages caused high wages, but alcohol was not used for regular wage payment in Western Australia. Employment conditions favoured labourers so significantly that indentured migrants did not always complete their bonded service, but work hours were long, six days per week.

Strict workplace legislation favoured employers, penalising employees for 'breach of contract'. Child migrants, especially teenage boys from Parkhurst Prison, became servants of assigned 'guardians'. By 1849, Parkhurst had supplied approximately 10 per cent of the non-Aboriginal male workforce.

Colonial attitudes towards Aboriginal people defaulted to master-servant mindsets. From 1844, permission was required to remove Aboriginal 'girls' from work or education, which prevented many from getting married or starting families, as permission was often withheld. In 1849, many Aboriginal people simultaneously left European employment in an act of coordinated resistance, a significant loss at a time of labour shortages.

Convicts arrived in 1850 to be the colony's workforce. Some received their ticket-of-leave on arrival, others after completing a minimum prison term with good behaviour. Ticket-of-leave labourers became available through convict hiring depots, under parole-type conditions, but there was no 'assignment' system bonding convicts to private employers. Prisoners worked on many government infrastructure projects while completing their sentences.

Wages dropped as convicts flooded the labour market. Employers bypassed Aboriginal workers, except in the north, where convict labour was forbidden and treatment of Aboriginal workers abysmal. Convict transport ceased in 1868 and hiring depots closed in 1871, but ex-convicts remained. The first significant unemployment was in 1869, when drought diminished the rural workforce.

The first trade union in Western Australia formed in 1884, and others soon followed. Many were small or short-lived. The *Masters and Servants Act 1892* remained a powerful disincentive to strike action, despite amendments from its punitive 1840s form.

P3273 **Midland Railway Workshops, Midland**

For 90 years, Midland Railway Workshops was the largest government industrial complex in Western Australia. Relocated from Fremantle in 1904 to new premises at Midland, the workshops soon became the State's foremost trainer of apprentices. Construction of the workshops coincided with the introduction of the *Factories Act* (1904), the provisions of which ensured workers at Midland had better health and safety provisions than earlier generations of manufacturing workers. By later standards, however, conditions were still dangerous, and gradual improvements were made over subsequent decades. The place demonstrates changing work practices through the 20th century as external requirements to protect workers tightened.

The Workshops were a hub of union activity. Unions were relatively new in 1904, having only been legalised in 1900. The flagpole and associated open meeting space were used for union meetings, with management support. In the 1950s, members of the Communist Party were active at the Workshops, especially fitter and turner Jack Marks, whose lathe and surrounding area was colloquially known as 'Red Alley' or 'Red Square'. The factory was a 'closed shop' by this time, meaning all workers had to belong to a union, although many were not active in union activities. Union agitators, some linked with the Communist group, had much success in achieving better working conditions. However, most improvements were achieved through negotiation, and only three significant strikes are recorded in the place's 90-year operation.

Midland Railway Workshops is also significant to the story of manufacturing and industry, being one of the largest and longest-lasting 20th century industrial employers. During World War II, the place produced armaments and military equipment, employing significant numbers of women. Its closure in 1994 reflects trends that saw many factories close from the 1970s to the 1990s, as economic rationalism and competition from imported goods made them financially unviable.

Some industries began granting an eight-hour day from 1890. From 1892, both (male) masters and servants were equally subject to imprisonment for breach of contract. Aboriginal people, however, were excluded from legal protections for workers. Aboriginal child labour was widely used in the north. In 1886, the contract age for Aboriginal workers was proposed as 10 years, but set at 14 years. The non-Aboriginal equivalent was 21 years.

The Perth Trades and Labour Council first met in 1892, and a goldfields equivalent followed in 1898. Labour interests put forward political candidates (unsuccessfully) in 1893, and had one Legislative Council representative elected in 1897. The Labor Party formed in 1899. Unions were legalised in 1900 and 60 registered. Unions were predominantly British and male. The Labour movement campaigned against 'Asiatic labour'. Outside of pearling, Western Australians generally supported moves to curtail Asian workers and embraced the 1901 White Australia policy.

From 1898, workers had to be paid weekly, and shop hours were reduced to 5½ days per week. The following year, paying in goods rather than cash was outlawed. Building workers attempted the colony's first major strike in 1897, without success. Two years later, a lumpers' strike resulted in the first arbitrated industrial outcome. The Industrial Tribunal commenced in 1902 and, the same year, Western Australia introduced workers' compensation. Health and safety improvements for manufacturing workers were regulated in 1904, although factories remained hazardous environments.

The *Aborigines Act 1905* permitted the government to 'quarantine' up to 75 per cent of Aboriginal workers' wages. This practice continued until 1972, amounting to millions of dollars in 'stolen wages'. A token compensation scheme proposed in 2012 was largely rejected by Aboriginal communities.

From 1905, female union members began speaking out against workplace inequalities. From 1909, the Women's Service Guild campaigned for equal pay and women's access to all professions. Women accounted for 15 per cent of paid workers by this time.

Unions in the 1900s extended from goldfields and coastal labourers into rural areas, with timber workers and shearers mobilising. In 1908, the Commonwealth government set the first minimum wage, based on the requirements of a male breadwinner, wife and three children. Women and Aboriginal workers were excluded. A women's minimum wage was set in 1912 at 54 per cent the male equivalent. Western Australia saw the first journalists' strike in Australia the same year. By this time, the 166 registered unions covered 41 per cent of the male workforce. The following year, the Western Australian Employers Federation formed in response to union activity.

In 1912, the Labor government attempted to prevent employment of Aboriginal people and union-backed hindrance continued for many years. After World War I, many Aboriginal workers were laid off to preference returned servicemen.

Riots in Fremantle as the government attempted to break a port-workers strike in 1919 resulted in unionist Tom Edwards's death, the only Western Australian to date known to have died during industrial action. White-collar unionism emerged through the 1920s. In 1924, most government employees were granted a 40-hour week. In 1926, the State Government Insurance Office (SGIO) was established, focussing on workers' compensation for miners. The *Factory and Shops Act 1920* improved working conditions, especially for women and children. By 1928, most occupations mandated 44-hour weeks, with the remainder holding to 48-hours (six working days).

Unemployment rose in 1928, sparking demonstrations mid-year when it reached nine per cent. The Great Depression hit in force in 1930. Unemployment peaked at 30 per cent in 1932 and did not return to 1928 levels until 1937. Waged labourers were particularly hard-hit. Employment of Aboriginal workers was discouraged, causing a decade of crisis for Aboriginal people and forcing many into government institutions. The public service dismissed waged workers and many salaried employees, reduced pay and suspended long service leave. Many demonstrations resulted, most notably the violent 'Treasury Riot' of 1931.

From 1931, the government implemented a 'work for the dole' scheme for unemployed men. Sustenance labourers received higher payments while engaged on public works, but were often assigned to manual work without any experience. The minimum wage was reduced in 1931 to the amount required to support an individual worker, not their dependants. This did not revert after the Depression. Women were urged to leave the workforce and free up jobs for men, but by 1933 accounted for more than 19 per cent of the paid workforce. From 1934, the Public Service required married women to resign, a restriction retained until 1967.

Most Depression-related cuts were restored by the mid-1930s. Federal awards introduced paid sick and annual leave (1935) and a 44-hour week (1939). The 40-hour week was implemented in 1947.

Severe labour shortages were experienced during World War II. Essential industries were protected and their employees prevented from enlisting, and women took up jobs formerly considered male domains. Labour shortages opened more paid employment and higher wages for Aboriginal workers.

P2429 **Albany Bell Castle, Mt Lawley**

Peter Albany Bell was born in South Australia in April 1871, arriving in Western Australia in 1887. After doing a number of menial jobs, in 1894 he opened a small shop in Hay Street. The one shop expanded and developed into an established tea room business. By 1911 the business had expanded to have eleven tea room establishments in Perth and three in Kalgoorlie-Boulder.

With the developing tea room business, Mr Bell purchased a large landholding on the Swan River with the purpose of building a 'factory in the garden concept'. The principles on which the factory were based came from Cadbury's in England which had built a town called Bourneville to provide good conditions for employees and houses for them to live in. The resulting Albany Bell Castle was a factory that supplied cakes, pastries, chocolates and other confectionery for his numerous shops. He employed 400 workers in the shops and in the factory. All received two weeks annual leave on full pay before awards required it. In addition, Kalgoorlie employees received rail expenses and two weeks board at a seaside resort, while employees in Perth received a holiday allowance to travel up to 150 miles from the capital.

Albany Bell Castle was an extensive commercial venture that contributed to the lives of workers in the 1900s. The landscaped setting was an integral part of Bell's intention to establish a factory in pleasant surrounds, a reflection of his philanthropic concerns for the welfare of his workers.

In 1946, pastoral workers in the Pilbara began the first Aboriginal industrial action in Australia. The successful strike ran until 1949, drawing attention to the deplorable work conditions of Aboriginal people. In 1950, the Kimberley was the last region in Australia to outlaw paying Aboriginal workers in goods rather than cash.

Man-power controls ended in 1946. A post-war building and manufacturing boom saw wage increases and near full employment. From 1947, migrant workers began arriving, many bonded to work two years in government industries. Union membership in the 1950s reached approximately 60 per cent, where it remained for three decades.

New heavy industry, developed through the 1950s, expanded Western Australia's blue-collar workforce, with secondary industry peaking at around 18 per cent of the State's workers. However, by the 1960s technological advances were automating many jobs, requiring fewer workers and especially fewer skilled workers. Legislation in 1963 significantly improved health, safety and welfare of factory workers.

The industrial and political wings of the Labor Party formally separated in 1963, having been joined since 1907. It was considered progressive that the Trades and Labour Council represented both 'skilled' and 'unskilled' workers.

The Equal Pay for Equal Work Committee formed in 1941 to lobby for better pay for women. Some increases were adopted during the war and women's minimum wage in 1949 reached 75 per cent of the male equivalent. However, by 1952 State awards granted women only 65 per cent the pay of their male colleagues. Only bar staff and university employees had wage parity. 'Equal Pay Week' rallies were organised from 1960, from 1962 supported by the wider labour movement. Women accounted for 22 per cent of the paid workforce and were especially

prominent in teaching, nursing, clerical, commercial and service work. Gradually, more jobs received equal pay. Equal pay for equal work was legislated in 1972, five years after being adopted in principle. In 1980, a single minimum wage was set. Overall, however, women continue to earn less than men.

In 1968, the pastoral award mandated equal pay for Aboriginal people, and from 1972 it had to be paid directly to the workers. Social disruption through northwest communities ensued, as many pastoralists laid off their Aboriginal workforce, moving instead to seasonal hiring of contract labour.

From the 1970s, tertiary industries steadily increased their percentage of the Western Australian workforce, a trend that continues. By 2017, 73 per cent of the State's workforce was engaged in 'service' industries rather than primary or secondary production.

The 1973 international oil crisis ended three decades of low unemployment. Unemployment rose for 10 years, peaking at 10 per cent in 1984, and not stabilising until 1989. Aboriginal unemployment was estimated in 1985 at between 60 per cent and 90 per cent.

Strike activity increased through the 1970s. From 1976, Section 54B of the *Police Act 1892* controversially prevented assembly of more than three people without police permission. The provision was repealed in 1983. By the 1970s unions were increasingly perceived as hindering development, hamstringing business negotiations and threatening profits. Legislation in 1979 prohibited preferential employment of union members, and union membership subsequently dropped. Unions, formerly ascribed respect, came to be viewed with suspicion and antagonism. In some industries they obtained a thuggish reputation, and they remained dominated by men. From the 1970s, more women entered union leadership, but women took less industrial action than men, as the service industries that largely employed them were reluctant to strike.

Computer technology began impacting working class employment through the 1980s. Automated jobs required fewer workers. Typing pools, a significant employer of women, became obsolete. Government departments were amalgamated or closed after 1983, and Public Service culture shifted from independence to party-aligned ministerial advisers. In 1984, both the *Equal Opportunity Act 1984* and the *Occupational Health and Safety Act 1984* improved work conditions and opportunities, with women, migrants and minority groups particularly benefitting from the former.

The first 'industry schemes' for superannuation were introduced in 1984, prior to which around one third of men and 15 per cent of women had superannuation. From 1986, all awards included compulsory superannuation and in 1992 it was legislated nationally for all employees. By 2003, 90 per cent of Australian workers had superannuation, although many (especially women) had insufficient coverage to provide for their retirement.

The strongly unionised Pilbara mining workforce was shocked in 1986 when Robe River Iron Ore sacked over 1,110 workers and re-signed a smaller workforce with conditions more favourable to management. Union influence subsequently reduced and the sector moved towards contract-based arrangements.

Australia entered recession in 1990. Unemployment soared for three years, reaching 11 per cent, the highest levels since the 1930s, with youth unemployment up to 30 per cent. By the mid-1990s, a 20-year upswing unfolded. A decade later, at the peak of the Western Australian boom, unemployment dropped under three per cent. High wages for relatively low-skilled Pilbara jobs enticed workers north, causing labour shortages in the south.

Through the 1990s, workplace culture moved towards teamwork, collaborative processes and multiskilled workers. Contract labour began to replace large permanent workforces, particularly in government agencies. The 1993 McCarrey Report redirected government agencies to operate as profit-making businesses rather than protected services. The government closed Midland Railway Workshops in 1994. It had been the State's major industrial training facility and this role was not significantly replaced by private enterprise.

Legislation attempted to replace collective bargaining with individual agreements unlinked to awards. From 1990 to 2005, award-based employment dropped from 80 per cent to 20 per cent of the State's workforce. In 1997, despite extensive union protests, the State Government passed its 'third wave' of legislation limiting union rights and strengthening the position of employers. In 1998, national industrial action erupted when Patrick Stevedores sacked their workforce and aimed to replace it with non-unionised labour. The long-running strike, including clashes at Fremantle Port, led to a court case won by unions. Much of the 1990s State industrial legislation was repealed after 2001. However, the Federal Government in 2005 individualised employment relations and marginalised arbitration tribunals. The widely unpopular changes contributed to a change of government in 2007 and were repealed in 2009.

Occupational health and safety continued to be refined. From 2005, provisions were less prescriptive but established a duty of care for employers. Serious or fatal workplace accidents were so uncommon that they became headline news, where a century earlier they were taken for granted.

Women in the 2000s were represented across all employment sectors, although unevenly. A 'glass ceiling' effect kept the numbers of women in senior positions small. A 'bamboo ceiling' similarly impacted Asian workers. In recent years, cultures of workplace sexual harassment, long known to exist, have been widely condemned.

Permanent employment declined in the 2000s to around 60 per cent of the workforce, and self-employment increased. Union membership dropped to less than 20 per cent. Many jobs were outsourced to overseas providers, such as call centres in Asia. In the 2010s, the casual-contract 'gig economy' developed. Individuals increasingly looked to move between workplaces, companies or even careers, except in professions that required long training periods. The notion of 'employment for life' was fading away.

Infrastructure

Development of Settlements and Services

Western Australia is the most urbanised state in Australia. Services to support town populations were minimal before the 1890s, but 100 years later were so ubiquitous they became largely invisible.

Aboriginal groups used seasonal settlements. They understood land as the sovereign possession and responsibility of the whole community, unable to be traded. For colonists, distribution of land was a major social and political issue, without reference to its traditional owners. 'Ribbon grants' were allotted from 1829 to distribute river frontage widely. Buildings were often makeshift, and there were few early public amenities. Towns centred on commercial precincts and transport nodes. Lack of water prevented public parks developing. John Septimus Roe physically shaped the colony from his arrival in 1829 to his death in 1878, surveying key townsites (including Perth and Fremantle), drafting land laws and making 16 inland surveying journeys.

The convict period initiated large-scale public works. Construction facilitated transport, policing, courts, prisons, health, schooling, administration and official residences. Clerks, artisans and tradespeople increased in number. Buildings were largely simple one- and two-storey Victorian or Colonial structures, improving in quality and complexity through the period. Thatch was outlawed in Perth in 1861, although outlying areas continued to use it. By the 1870s, the colony boasted many civic amenities and an appearance of permanence, although utilities were basic and urban services limited.

Perth was declared a city in 1856 and a city council raised, with Perth Town Hall opened in 1870. The first street trees were planted in the 1850s. From 1871, multiple municipalities were declared. The Torrens system of land transfer was adopted in 1875.

As railways commenced through the 1880s, towns reoriented with stations at their heart, including central Perth. Buildings became more decorative, with stucco mouldings, iron lace and corrugated iron roofing. By the mid-1880s, residential estates were laid out along the Fremantle-Perth-Midland railway.

All colonists sourced their own water until Fremantle Prison's reservoirs began supplying water to the port in 1874, later expanding to provide the town. A reticulated supply commenced in 1888. Victoria Reservoir opened in 1891, providing low-quality water to Perth, with little improvement until the 1900s. Lack of water supply hampered the Eastern Goldfields, ultimately resulting in the construction of the Goldfields Water Supply Scheme (opened 1903).

Fremantle Gas Company (1883) was the first coal-based gas supplier in the colony. In 1885, Perth installed gas streetlamps (decades after the other colonial capitals), which were used until 1922. Small-scale electricity generation began in 1888. Katanning had the first public electricity supply (1892), with excess electricity from the flour mill supplying the town. Kalgoorlie and Perth followed by the end of the decade.

Expanding population and finances through the gold boom transformed the colony from sleepy villages to thriving towns, especially Perth, Fremantle and Albany. Georgian architecture was superseded by decorative Federation-era styles. For a decade, the facilities at Kalgoorlie and Coolgardie rivalled coastal centres. The government rapidly provided infrastructure to support the goldfields. It also expanded roads,

bridges and civic amenities in southern towns, and ports and communications infrastructure in the north. More elaborate civic and cultural facilities were erected, many designed by Public Works Department Chief Architect George Temple Poole (to 1897). In less than five years, C.Y. O'Connor's Public Works Department expanded from 10 staff members to 600. Private interests also erected new or improved commercial buildings.

Initially, new arrivals lived in tent camps, which soon became semi-permanent eyesores. Subdivision of suburbs along Perth's railways accelerated, generally grid-pattern affairs. Public parks were established and street trees planted. As Perth expanded, Noongar people were forcibly removed to reserves outside the city.

Volunteer fire brigades began to receive government assistance in 1895, after a particularly destructive fire at Coolgardie. The first full-time fire station opened at Perth in 1901. In 1909, the Western Australian Fire Brigades Board was created and 42 fire stations were constructed in eight years. Another burst of fire station construction was undertaken in the latter 1930s.

By 1904, public works were scaled back. There were 212 gazetted townsites in Western Australia (up from 36 in 1890), but Perth consolidated as the State's only major urban centre. For the next three decades, country towns were established to serve the expanding Wheatbelt, often a single main street backed by small residential areas. Most began with a general store and/or hotel by a railway siding, then an agricultural hall and school. Larger settlements added roads board offices, banks, diverse businesses, town halls, churches, medical facilities, police and post offices.

Utilities consolidated and improved through the 1910s. Sewer connections began in 1911. Branch mains were added to the Goldfields Water Supply Scheme to water agricultural areas, and irrigation schemes commenced at Harvey, Waroona and Collie in 1916. East Perth Power Station began operating the same year, remaining Perth's major power supply until the 1950s.

Government support for low-cost housing began in 1912 and expanded gradually through the inter-war years. Working class suburbs grew. Urban suburbs were influenced by City Beautiful planning, often characterised by low or no front fences, front gardens of lawn and roses, and garages accessed by side driveways. Some Garden City planning was also implemented, replacing grid patterns with geometrically curved streets and central open spaces. Children's playgrounds began appearing.

P24806 **Hunt's Wells Group, Cunderdin to Kalgoorlie**

Hunt's Wells demonstrate the critical importance of water supplies in colonial development, especially in a place as arid as Western Australia. Lack of water frequently prevented colonial expansion. Water infrastructure, once completed, facilitated colonisation.

Charles Hunt and his Aboriginal guides sought to establish a pastoral track into the colony's interior. Using Aboriginal knowledge, they accessed traditional water sources and adapted them for European use. Enhancing water catchments in remote locations was a significant technological achievement for the time. It used the labour of convicts, pensioner guards and volunteers. The resulting trail of wells, completed between 1865 and 1866, did not substantially expand inland pastoralism. However, it became the basis of the route taken by early prospectors to the Eastern Goldfields from the late 1880s, which later became Great Eastern Highway. The wells also influenced the location of subsequent infrastructure projects, particularly the Eastern Railway and Goldfields Water Supply Scheme. However, it should also be acknowledged that Hunt's Wells had a significant negative impact on traditional water sources for Aboriginal people.

From 1928, the *Town Planning and Development Act 1928* introduced zoning for built environments and was the first town planning act in Australia. The same year, Aboriginal people without a permit were banned from the Perth CBD. The centenary of colonisation roused some of the earliest attempts to preserve buildings for their historical value.

Major 1930s infrastructure was built through projects to utilise the unemployed, especially irrigation, roads, bridges, dams and sewerage. Canning Dam, completed in 1940, finally gave Perth a secure water supply. By the end of the 1930s, government infrastructure spending had shifted focus from rural to urban areas.

Many older houses were converted to flats during the Depression and soon condemned as slums. Renewed business confidence from mid-decade led to new styles of building, including Art Deco, purpose-built flats and commercial high-rise buildings (10-storey Colonial Mutual Building, in 1936, being the first). However, attempts to modernise townscapes were curtailed by World War II. From 1941, wartime restrictions only permitted construction for the war effort.

By 1943, a looming post-war housing crisis was identified, as construction had not kept up with demand since the 1920s. The State Housing Commission rolled out suburbs from 1945, filled with small, standard-plan workers' homes. Garden City planning characterised many post-war government subdivisions. Private construction was restricted until 1953, with building permits prioritising primary producers, industrial workers and returned servicemen. Through the 1950s, many homes were constructed by owner-builders.

The State Electricity Commission was established in 1945, combining gas and electricity. Ageing generators caused intermittent electricity supply, but post-war materials and labour shortages delayed completion of South Perth Power Station to 1951. The South West Electricity Grid followed through the 1950s, with Perth connected in 1956 and additional power stations added in the 1960s. From 1947, bonded European migrants boosted the labour pool for infrastructure works. Mundaring Weir was raised (completed 1951) to service the Comprehensive Agricultural Areas Water Supply Scheme, after which pipeline pump stations began conversion from steam to electricity.

The Stephenson-Hepburn Plan for Metropolitan Perth was released in 1955 and formally adopted as the Metropolitan Regional Town Planning Scheme in 1959. The freeway, opened in stages from 1959, facilitated suburban development. Single storey brick-and-tile bungalows dominated. New suburbs were connected to water, gas and electricity. Sewerage was linked slowly over many decades, with some suburbs not sewer-connected until the 1990s. Several dams were constructed through the 1960s to serve the State's urban areas, and the Ord River Dam irrigation scheme was established in the Kimberley in the same period.

Perth City Council from 1956 implemented a 'Post Verandah and Balcony' by-law, removing Federation-era frontages. From the latter-1950s, high rise was again constructed in the CBD and within a decade several approximately 10-storey buildings had replaced Federation-era streetscapes. A 22-storey tower (Chancery House, 1962) was the only significantly larger building until the 1970s. Concern at the loss of built heritage emerged in the 1950s, with a Western Australian branch of the National Trust formed in 1959. In 1966, one of the earliest notable heritage campaigns attempted to save the Pensioner Barracks, rescuing only Barracks Arch. The first legally binding non-Aboriginal heritage legislation passed in 1990.

From the mid-1960s into the 1970s, mining companies established Pilbara towns. The government provided only services such as police, schools and medical facilities, with mining companies constructing roads, rail, ports and much of the housing. Many North West towns used 'Radburn' town planning. The State Housing Commission also tried Radburn design for suburban estates of the period, but it became associated with social problems and was soon abandoned.

North West towns increasingly also had Aboriginal town camps. From the mid-1970s, some Aboriginal groups established their own townsites, especially in the Kimberley, with varying government assistance. Remote Aboriginal communities were often supplied with substandard buildings, few services and little infrastructure. Despite decades of programs to improve standards, these communities still do not receive support equivalent to gazetted towns.

Plans for Perth were amended in 1970 to allow for greater-than-anticipated car use, and again in 1990 to allow for a larger population. *Perth Corridor Plan* (1970) developed sub-regional centres at Rockingham, Armadale, Midland and Joondalup, with green spaces between the suburban corridors leading to each. *Metroplan* (1990) emphasised higher density inner-city areas, 'Green Streets' design for new suburbs, and regional centres focussed on public transport hubs.

East Perth gasworks closed in 1971 when gas flow began from Dongara. North West gas was piped to the Southwest from 1984 and to the Eastern Goldfields from 1996. Kwinana power station was converted to use natural gas, coal or oil. In 1989, the first major gas-fired power station opened at Pinjar, north of Perth.

Alternative energy sources were explored following the international oil crisis of the 1970s. Proposals in 1979 for a nuclear reactor were scrapped in 1983. Some small-scale renewable schemes were put in

place through the 1980s, including Australia's first wind farm at Esperance from 1987, but it was the 2000s before renewable energy was widely used. By 2017, there were 31 renewable energy generation facilities in the State, including solar, wind, wave (under development), landfill gas, sewerage gas and hydroelectricity, in addition to many domestic-scale roof-top solar installations.

Perth's CBD rose higher from the mid-1970s, reaching 28 to 33 storeys. Residential towers were also developed at South Perth and Crawley. A spate of high-rise in central Perth between 1988 and 1992 further raised the CBD to over 50 storeys. High-rise development was strongly resisted elsewhere, particularly along the coastline (besides a controversial high-rise hotel at Scarborough Beach in 1986). Regional centres retained low profiles, although a 12-storey tower constructed at Bunbury in 1986 was a notable exception, reflecting unfulfilled hopes of creating a second major city for Western Australia.

In 1989, a recycling plant opened in Perth, and local government recycling programs followed. In 1993, a State Recycling Blueprint was issued, as recycling levels remained low, and community interest gradually gained momentum.

From 1993, nine administrative regions were defined for Western Australia. Greater Perth, including the satellite city of Mandurah, remained the only substantial city in the State. Moderate-sized regional cities had developed at Bunbury (the largest), Kalgoorlie-Boulder, Geraldton and Albany.

In the 1990s, government utilities moved towards more competitive business models. In 1996, the Water Corporation was formed and the State Energy Commission divided into government-owned gas and electricity businesses. Gas was privatised in 2000. Potential privatisation of electricity was an election issue, but a change of government ended the idea.

P3830 **Canning Dam, Roleystone**

Canning Dam was a significant milestone in urban infrastructure and represents the substantial contribution made to public works by sustenance workers.

Following construction of Mundaring Weir (1902) and the opening of the Goldfields Water Supply Scheme (1903), the Eastern Goldfields had better water supply than the metropolitan area. Victoria Reservoir (1891) provided poor quality, unreliable water to Perth, and in some periods was so prone to pollution that residents disconnected from the scheme and resumed using private wells. A pipehead dam near Araluen provided some water for Perth from 1924, but shortages continued. The delay in establishing a metropolitan water supply demonstrates the rural and regional focus of government infrastructure spending up to the 1930s. Work began to build Canning Dam in 1933, partly using sustenance labour (work-for-the-dole scheme). Employing up to 500 men, the project was a much-needed stimulus during the Depression. The dam was completed in 1940, finally giving Perth a reliable, adequate water supply. It was the city's main water source until Serpentine Dam opened in 1961.

In the 2000s, both commercial and residential towers flourished in the CBD, along with multi-storey apartment blocks in riverfront and inner-city suburbs. Mandurah and Karratha also built residential buildings over 10 storeys. Despite some mid-rise apartment construction, however, regional centres remained predominantly three or fewer storeys in height.

Royalties for Regions funding, initiated in 2008, allowed many regional towns to improve amenities, update infrastructure and give themselves a facelift. However, services and infrastructure remained centralised in greater Perth and, to a lesser extent, the South West region.

Transport and Communications

Until the 20th century, transport and communications were entwined, as information had to be physically conveyed. By the 21st century, internet interconnectivity so dominated culture that the ongoing dependence on physical infrastructure and transport links was invisible to most people.

Walking was the basis of both transport and communication for Aboriginal people, with burning keeping major pedestrian routes passable. Some communities used watercraft, especially in northern areas. Oral communication was supplemented by smoke signals over longer distances.

Early colonists depended on water transport. International movements were by sea, under sail, requiring a month's journey to Sydney or four-to-six months to England. Domestic transport used the river.

Most early bridges were makeshift structures, often impassable in winter. By 1850, there were less than 10 recognised bridges. The overland route from Perth to Albany, vital for mail delivery, was a sand track. The postal service was one of the few socially accepted employment roles for women. Unsupervised Aboriginal prisoners were used to carry mail on foot between settlements. Horses were used for human transport but poor roads limited use of horse-drawn vehicles. Bullocks were used to haul loads in hard-to-access areas. Donkeys, in smaller number, were introduced from the mid-1860s.

Sandalwood traders lobbied for better roads, until a sandalwood license fee was introduced in 1847 to fund them. Lack of labour limited road works until convicts arrived in 1850. Convicts and their overseers accomplished exponential improvements in colonial transport infrastructure. Roads, jetties, sea walls, culverts and bridges were constructed in large number. Lighthouses were built from 1851 (the first at Fremantle and Wadjemup/Rottnest). By the end of the convict era, water and road transport were both used regularly.

Media communication began with a handwritten newspaper at Fremantle in 1830. In 1833, *Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal* was established, forerunner to the *West Australian*, followed in 1840 by the *Inquirer*, forerunner to the long-running *Daily News*. Newspapers, with a few short-lived exceptions, remained conservative and pro-establishment into the 1880s.

Ships were faster by mid-century. Steamships called regularly at Albany from 1852. Mail was transported overland to Perth, a four- to five-day coach journey on the convict-built road. Mail volume led to phasing out Aboriginal pedestrian mail couriers. An 1850s stock route became the North Road to Greenough from 1863. Roads boards, established from 1871, had too few constituents to fund significant local road development.

In 1869, a telegraph line opened between Perth and Fremantle. For the first time, information did not have to be physically relayed. Within three years, telegraph connected most southern towns. In 1877, the east-west telegraph opened, linking Western Australia both to eastern colonies and the wider world. Direct communication with London commenced.

Steamships began operating within the colony through the 1870s. As there were few lighthouses, shipwrecks were relatively common. From 1881, the Suez Canal cut journey times to London and a fortnightly England-Australia service called at Albany. Regular Fremantle-Singapore voyages included North West stops from 1889. Telegraph also improved North West communications from 1885.

A private timber line, opened near Busselton in 1871, was the colony's first railway. Government and passenger rail began between Northampton and Geraldton in 1879. From the 1880s, rail began to dominate colonial transport. Discovery of coal at Collie promised a cheap local fuel supply. From 1887, government railway workshops operated at Fremantle (moved to Midland 1904). In 1890, Railways became a government department independent of the Public Works Department.

The pneumatic tyre was invented in 1888. Bicycles subsequently replaced much horse transport. Bicycle messengers were essential in districts without telegraph connections, especially goldfields. Telegraph lines continued to extend through the 1890s. Telephone commenced in 1887 with a line between Fremantle and Perth.

P569 **Coolgardie Post Office and Associated Buildings, Coolgardie**

When the Coolgardie goldfield was initially declared in 1892, a post office was established in a tent, operated by the local butcher with an honour system of mail collection. As the population boomed, the volume of mail overwhelmed the two postal workers in their temporary building. Before the post office opened, communication with the goldfield depended on letters delivered by bicycle messengers, riding from Southern Cross.

Coolgardie Post Office was built in 1894 but was immediately too small. Extensions made in 1896, 1898 and 1907 demonstrate the rapid expansion of the district through the peak of the gold boom. The prominence and scale of the 1894 building, located centrally in Coolgardie's main street, reflects the social importance of postal services in the 1890s. The post office included telegraph facilities, linking the goldfields to London. It was two more years before the train arrived and the railway station, two blocks south, became a new focal point for the town. By 1896, the building also housed the mining registrar, surveyor, warden's court, police station and quarters.

As the boom passed, Coolgardie shrank, leaving the post office as one of the few prominent buildings in the town. It continues to function as a post office, demonstrating the ongoing relevance of postal services for remote communities even in the internet age.

During the 1890s, government loans expanded transport infrastructure. Rail networks connected most significant towns by the turn of the century. Fremantle Harbour was constructed, for decades Western Australia's only substantial land-backed wharf. Camels replaced bullocks as beasts of burden, except in the timber industry. 'Afghan' handlers dominated camel transport. Camel use tapered off as rail reached goldfields and southern towns. Newspapers flourished on the goldfields, many with adversarial, anti-establishment attitudes. Through the 1890s, most districts gained a newspaper. In the 1900s, suburban newspapers emerged. Trains and, from 1899, electric trams facilitated suburban expansion.

Fremantle superseded Albany in 1900 as the colony's official mail port. Steamships had largely replaced sail. By 1903, refrigerated ships operated, diversifying export possibilities. Improvements to navigational lights from 1900 to 1913 more than doubled the number of lighthouses. The first unmanned lighthouse opened in 1909, although it was the mid-1980s before the last onsite lighthouse staff stood down.

In the 1900s, government funding prioritised rail. Government railways more than doubled, mostly in the Wheatbelt. The transcontinental railway was completed in 1917. The government in 1912 also purchased and expanded Perth's tram network and Swan River ferries. Commercial bus services began in 1921, merging in 1926 to form Metropolitan Omnibus Company, which operated until the 1950s.

Canning Stock Route opened in 1910 to connect Kimberley pastoralists with southern markets, but was little used due to Aboriginal resistance. In 1912, the State Shipping Service was established, improving connections with the North West. Soon after, a cyclone sank *SS Koombana* near Port Hedland, killing approximately 150 people, Western Australia's worst civil maritime disaster (since colonisation).

Radio was established in 1913 at Wireless Hill in Ardross. The first radio station was 6WF, run by Westralian Farmers from 1924. Australian stamps were issued from 1913, ending 59 years of Western Australian stamps. An automatic-dial telephone exchange opened in 1914, but it was decades before all party lines and operator-assisted services ceased.

Motor vehicles were expensive, unreliable, and unsuited to available roads when they arrived in 1898. When the Royal Automobile Club (RAC) began in 1905, there were more than 1,000 cars in the metropolitan area. The RAC produced the State's first road map in 1911. Volunteers erected directional signs, especially in country areas, as the government declined to do so, and the RAC continued this task until 1975. In 1919, uniform traffic regulations, compulsory drivers' licenses and requirements for working brakes were introduced. RAC roadside assistance commenced in 1926.

Flight, achieved locally in 1911, was a novelty until after World War I. Aviation technology developed rapidly through the war. The first scheduled air service in Australia (1921) was a Geraldton-Derby route, with government subsidy to provide air mail. Airmail services extended to Perth in 1924 and England 10 years later. Maylands Aerodrome became the main airport for Perth. Interstate flights began in 1929 – a two-day journey from Perth to Adelaide.

Western Australians achieved many epic transport milestones, including the first trans-Australian crossings by bicycle (Francis Birtle, 1906) and motor vehicle (Birtle and Syd Ferguson, 1912) and the first land journeys around Australia by motorcycle (Arthur Grady, 1924), motor car (Neville Westwood, 1925) and a woman driving a car (Marion Bell, 1926).

The price of petrol nearly halved after an Australian oil refinery was established in 1921. Horse numbers declined, peaking at 183,000 in 1923. Trucks entered freight transport through the 1920s. Gascoyne Trading Company (1924) was the state's first long-distance trucking company, replacing camels for North West cartage. Further south, trucks challenged rail's dominance, but railway extensions continued through the 1920s. Main Roads separated from the Public Works Department in 1926 as road transport increased.

Telegraph remained essential, with the east-west line upgraded in 1927. The same year, beam wireless messaging was inaugurated, sending radio messages directly to England. In 1930, radio telephone connection was established to the eastern states, followed in 1932 by an Australia-London link.

Government rail expansion ceased through the Depression. Maintenance fell behind and income from passengers and freight dropped. Roads fared better, as sustenance labour was used for construction, including bridges. Larger metal American aircraft were imported from 1936, flying 80-90 miles faster than previous models and carrying up to fourteen passengers.

The ABC took over 6WF in 1929 and began national broadcasting from 1932, although ABC Western Australia continued to produce news locally. Through the 1930s, radio stations flourished, as radio was relatively easy to establish, and regional newspapers were abundant. World War II elevated radio over newspapers as favoured news medium. After the war, Western Australian was increasingly integrated into national media. The State Government Film Unit (1948-1967) produced State-based promotional material.

War disrupted international shipping, reinforcing Western Australian isolation, and German mines in the Great Australian Bight shifted much freight to rail. The Eyre Highway was built as a wartime defence measure in 1942, but was not sealed until 1976. Petrol rationing (1940-1950) restricted private and commercial transport and kept many farmers dependant on horse-drawn machinery.

Technologies improved through the war. By 1946, daily direct flights operated to both Melbourne and Sydney. International flights began in 1952 and Perth Airport moved to Guildford. Diesel engines superseded steamships, making Fremantle a significant refuelling port. Motorised vehicles eclipsed horse-drawn transport. Perth became the first Australian capital to run an all-automatic telephone system (1953), phasing out operators in regional areas into the 1970s, and from 1956 a radio telephone exchange expanded services between Perth to London.

The state's southern road network expanded in the 1950s, hastened by diesel-powered road building machinery. Road rather than rail served new agricultural areas, and bus services began replacing regional passenger rail except on a handful of routes. Many railways closed altogether, and those remaining converted from steam to diesel locomotives. The last tram ran in 1958 and the last steam train in 1971. The government began acquiring all private metropolitan bus services. Domestic car ownership became ubiquitous. Post-war Perth was planned as a car-based city, with the freeway opening in stages from 1959.

Ships continued to be the unheralded lifelines of the state. Cockburn Sound deepwater port opened in 1955 to support Kwinana industrial area and land-backed wharves were established at all major

ports from the 1960s. International non-bulk freight moved to containers, with Fremantle the State's main container port. Road and rail transport adapted for containers.

By the mid-1950s radio stations consolidated, especially in regional areas. Newspapers also reduced in number. In 1956, Rupert Murdoch purchased Western Press (newspaper publishers). Western Australian television broadcasts began in 1959, reaching regional areas from 1967. From 1970, the east-west microwave system linked Western Australian to national broadcasting. Consumer license fees, applied to both radio and television from their inception, were abolished in 1974. Colour broadcasts began in 1975.

Tracking stations were opened at Muchea (1961-1963) then Carnarvon (1963-1975) to support the USA space program, operating until superseded by satellites in the 1970s. From 1967, Exmouth naval base assisted American submarine communications globally.

Private heavy-haul mining railways opened from the 1960s in the Pilbara and Eastern Goldfields. The government purchased Midland Railway Line (Midland-Geraldton) in 1964 after almost 80 years of private operation. Government-funded works extended the Standard Gauge Railway from Kalgoorlie to Fremantle, opening in 1970, including a new Avon Valley route, and marshalling yards at Northam and Kewdale. Interstate rail freight increased in response.

Government road construction of the 1960s focussed on supporting Kimberley cattle transport and Pilbara mining. Motor vehicle numbers passed 250,000 and road deaths escalated. A surcharge on third-party insurance from 1963 to 1988 funded efforts to reduce the road toll. Seatbelts and motorcycle helmets became compulsory in 1971 and road casualty numbers dropped substantially. From 1988, random breath testing was introduced.

When the first computer in the State was installed by Main Roads in 1962 to design the freeway system, nobody foresaw that computers would become synonymous with communication by the end of the century. Computers were huge machines, some filling whole rooms. By 1973, there were 45 operating in the State, along with 17 remote stations linked to a time-sharing facility. IBM developed personal computers in 1981 and computer use accelerated.

Computer technology simplified newspaper production, allowing small-scale independent suburban publications to develop in the mid-1970s. By 1985, these had been purchased by Community Newspapers Group, bringing them into the same ownership as the *West Australian*, although several new independent local papers subsequently emerged to challenge the Group's dominance. In 1990, the *Daily News* ceased production, leaving Western Australia with only one daily newspaper.

In 1979, national satellite company AUSSAT formed, a tracking station near Dongara opened and Western Australia came to global attention when NASA's disintegrating Skylab space station crashed near Esperance. AUSSAT launched the first Australian communications satellite in 1985. Satellite-based television coverage extended to most of the State within a year. Satellite links to national television programming ended State television's regional focus and moved Western Australia towards a national cultural experience. Satellite technology was initially too expensive for interpersonal communications, so the Digital Radio Concentrator System was designed specifically for Australia's remote areas, greatly improving phone and fax services. The European Space Agency established a deep-space tracking station at New Norcia from 2002.

Closure of the Fremantle-Perth railway in 1979 was highly unpopular. The line reopened in 1983 after a change of government, and passenger numbers increased significantly over subsequent years. From 1986, metropolitan lines converted to electric trains. A new suburban railway opened between Perth and Joondalup in 1992, and 15 years later another line linked Perth to Mandurah.

Australia was first recognised as part of the internet in 1986, with intermittent internet access at some universities. Perth universities connected to a permanent internet circuit in 1990 and commercial providers began operating in 1992. The World Wide Web became widely available from 1994 and internet use exploded. Broadband (2000) and mobile internet (2006) further expanded usage and made all facets of life (potentially) internet-connected. Digital television began in the metropolitan area in 2001, expanding viewing options and enabling internet-based on-demand services. Regional access extended gradually.

Industrial action by Australian airline pilots in 1989 particularly impacted Western Australia, as alternate transport was often not viable, a situation repeated when Ansett airlines collapsed in 2001. As cheaper ticket prices allowed more people to access air travel, long-distance road and rail travel reduced.

Mobile phones, released in 1981, were initially clunky and saw little use until the 1990s. In 2007, Apple released its iPhone, and Android models followed the next year. Smartphone use rapidly expanded. Social media came to dominate communications, particularly via mobile devices. Online news challenged traditional sources, especially print newspapers.

Western Australia relies on instant internet-based global communication. Personal and public communications have blurred as social and traditional media operate through digital platforms. Movement of information, once completely dependent on transport, is now largely severed from it. Goods are mostly moved by sea internationally and by road within the State, with rail supporting mining, some interstate freight and seasonal wheat transport. Cars dominate human travel within the State, although metropolitan public transport sees relatively steady train and bus use. For longer distances, air travel dominates.

Social Services

General Social Services

Providing for the less fortunate has moved from volunteer-based charitable initiatives, often church-based, to a highly regulated, professional and market-driven operational model, with informal family and community support always a significant, often under-appreciated, aspect of the story.

Traditional owners provided for weaker members of their communities through communal economies and kin obligations, but colonists failed to observe thriving Aboriginal socio-economic systems. Rations were issued from 1833 to Noongar people whose land and food sources had been appropriated. Missions began in the mid-1830s, attempting to impart (often unwanted) European religion, work skills and culture. New Norcia (established 1846), the pre-eminent 19th-century mission, challenged assumptions of Aboriginal backwardness but controlled and westernised Aboriginal lives.

Organisations for mutual aid, social support and service work were initiated early, including a Temperance Society (1833, in response to widespread alcohol-fuelled social problems), Freemasons (1841), and the Swan River Mechanics Institute (1851). Perth Poorhouse opened in 1851, accommodating paupers, servants, immigrants and pregnant women. The few older people in the colony were mostly cared for by family. From 1869, ageing former convicts without family support populated a men's poorhouse at Mt Eliza. Aged care remained limited and institutional until the 1950s.

Colonists routinely separated Aboriginal children into institutional 'care', and many subsequently died before reaching adulthood. By the 1860s, New Norcia oriented itself as a safe-haven for Aboriginal populations decimated by disease and colonists' violence, but also retained children by force. Church orphanages accommodated poor or orphaned non-Aboriginal children from 1868 (boys) and 1871 (girls). The first child welfare legislation, passed in 1874, focussed on institutional care and permitted Aboriginal missions to detain children until they were 21 years old.

Gold-boom population increases created critical mass for numerous voluntary service organisations. Many focussed on women or children, from the high-society Karrakatta Club (1894), to refuges for needy women, along with more children's homes. Churches consolidated their role as an essential auxiliary to government social services, particularly boosted by many newly-arrived Catholic religious orders. Services for the blind, deaf or people with other disabilities were established by 1903. Community-based charitable organisations also formed, but large philanthropic trusts did not develop.

Despite British hesitation, the colony was granted full jurisdiction over Aboriginal affairs from 1898. Aboriginal rations were promptly halved, causing extensive malnutrition. From 1905, the *Aborigines Act* granted colonists extensive command over Aboriginal lives, including power to forcibly remove children to institutional care. The Act, arising from genuine concerns for children born of white men's sexual exploitation of Aboriginal women, epitomised the devastation of paternalistic good intentions, tearing apart families and destroying cultural connections. Over the next four decades, Aboriginal people were pushed into harsh, squalid institutions that cemented

them as second-class non-citizens. Many animals, protected from 1892 by the WA Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (WA-SPCA), received better treatment.

Commonwealth invalid and aged pensions were introduced from 1909 for non-Aboriginal Australians. Government assistance for workers to purchase low-cost standard-plan housing began in 1912 in response to high housing prices. Also in 1912, Kingsley and Ruby Fairbridge opened the first of a world-wide network of children's institutions, at Pinjarra. Although later associated with abusive child migration schemes, Fairbridge Farm School intended to give children from British 'slums' a new life. Girls Friendly Society (1914) and YWCA (1920) opened hostels in Perth to provide reputable housing for young single women working in the city, including wards of the State.

Social aid efforts during and after World War I focussed on service personnel. The Returned Services League (1916) assisted veterans with practical needs such as accommodation, employment and lobbying for services. The Ugly Men's Association (1917) initially focussed fundraising efforts on war widows and their children. By 1921, military pensioners and their dependants comprised almost seven per cent of the Western Australian population.

As governments increasingly took responsibility for veterans, charitable groups reoriented to more general social services, emphasising the 'deserving' poor. Various community service clubs also established Western Australian branches through the inter-war years, including the Country Women's Association, Rotary, Toc H and Apex. The long-established Freemasons by 1929 had 150 lodges and 10,000 members.

The Depression challenged notions of 'deserving' paupers, as many people found themselves needing aid. Charity and government sustenance payments supported thousands of families. Increased admissions and reduced foster placements crowded children's homes. Existing agencies expanded services and new organisations formed. The Lotteries Commission (1933) began as a fundraising mechanism allowing the government to support charitable causes.

Aboriginal people were ineligible for sustenance provisions and largely excluded from overstretched social services. Theoretically, the Aborigines Department assisted Aboriginal people, but many starved before risking approaching the Department, due to its reputation for mistreatment and propensity to exile people to Moore River settlement. Through the 1930s, Moore River became crowded and conditions deteriorated.

World War II again focussed social services on the war effort. Institutions received many children whose parents were lost or incapacitated through war service. The war was a major influence in family breakdown, linked to juvenile delinquency. The Police Boys Club (1940, later PCYC) provided social functions for youth at risk. Ex-servicemen's organisations formed after the war to support families of those killed. Government rental housing began in 1944, initially for low-income working families and a decade later expanding to elderly people. Inferior schemes provided limited government housing for Aboriginal families. Government support payments expanded through the 1940s. Although conditionally opened to Aboriginal people, few were actually eligible. Moore River settlement became a Methodist mission (Mogumber) from 1951, closing in 1965.

P14470 **Swanleigh Precinct, Middle Swan**

Swanleigh was one of the few institutions constructed in Western Australia prior to the gold boom to cater for destitute or orphaned children. It began as an Anglican mission for Aboriginal children in 1836, with very basic provisions. In 1874, the Anglican Boys Orphanage relocated to the site. An Aboriginal Boys Orphanage was established at the same time. Swanleigh's buildings demonstrate the measure of care considered appropriate for these children, as well as the disparity between standards for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal children. In the 1940s and 1950s, Swanleigh accepted British child migrants, sent through a troubled scheme later revealed to have abused children. The place closed as a residential care facility in 1960, as philosophies of care moved away from institutional models. It was subsequently used for 50 years as a boarding hostel for country students attending metropolitan high schools.

Social sciences began influencing community attitudes and government policy in the post-war years, superseding notions of 'deserving poor' with understandings of the social and structural causes of poverty. Social work, established with one practitioner in 1928, expanded slowly through the 1940s. Allied health professionals improved services for disadvantaged people. The Western Australian Council of Social Services (WACOSS) formed in 1956 as a peak body advocating for vulnerable community members and their support services.

As the State prospered through the 1950s, public concern developed for people missing out. Alternatives to asylum-style care were explored, especially for children and older people. Efforts from 1951 to separate intellectually handicapped children from institutionalised psychiatric patients were finally realised in 1966. Rehabilitation rather than incarceration began to guide services in mental health, intellectual disability and prisons, a trend that accelerated in the 1960s.

By the end of the 1950s the foundations of the modern Australian welfare state were laid. Government grants to not-for-profit organisations to deliver and coordinate services supplemented direct payments to individuals. Some funding, such as unregulated 1960s grants for nursing homes, introduced profit-making operators to social service delivery. Most Aboriginal people became eligible for Commonwealth welfare payments in 1959, with remaining exclusions removed in 1966. However, payments were often directed to the Department of Native Welfare (to 1972) and never reached their supposed beneficiaries. Aboriginal legal aid began in 1969.

Feminist activism in the 1970s generated a new range of social services, including rape crisis centres, family violence refuges, childcare and women's networking agencies. These services, together with income payments for single mothers and greater access to abortion, dramatically reduced the number of children relinquished for adoption or government care. Traditional, often conservative, women's organisations slowly declined as women's options expanded.

The Whitlam Federal Government (1972–1975) brought a greater national profile and funding to social services. Religious-based service agencies employed more trained social workers and worked more collaboratively with the wider not-for-profit sector. In 1975, the Henderson Report found disturbing levels of poverty in Australia, especially among Aboriginal people, women, those with disabilities or illness, rural labourers, renters and older people. A 'poverty line' was established, becoming a benchmark over subsequent decades. The 1970s recession increased demand for welfare support, but by the end of the decade governments were reining in welfare spending. Public opinion paralleled government welfare increases with increasingly negative attitudes to welfare recipients.

Social services through the 1970s increasingly targeted youth at risk. Alcohol and drug use, not only among the young, was a key concern. Through the 1980s, youth unemployment became a significant issue and youth homelessness also grew.

In 1980, 57 per cent of children in State care were Aboriginal, largely placed with non-Aboriginal carers, despite removal of Aboriginal children no longer being official policy. Sister Kate's Aboriginal children's home (1934–2002) appointed an Aboriginal director in 1987. A 1985 Senate inquiry into Children in Institutional Care led agencies to transition from institutional care to child, family and parenting services.

Social services became increasingly professionalised through the 1980s, including better training and coordination of volunteers. The sector expanded and became a major employer. Charity-based models gave way to empowering service recipients. Government grants demanded greater financial accountability and agencies improved their administration in response. Federal funding improved non-residential services for older people, supported crisis accommodation and expanded government rental housing eligibility to disability pensioners, single people and youth, cementing the 40-year transition of government housing from homes for working families to welfare housing. Deinstitutionalisation of psychiatric patients from 1986 created a growing mentally unwell homeless population. Meanwhile, intellectual disabilities became separately managed, with many individuals successfully moving from institutional care to supported group homes. Childcare options and funding expanded exponentially, with most childcare provided by not-for-profit agencies until government rebates were extended in 1990 to commercial centres.

A recession in the early 1990s increased demand for social services. Youth unemployment was particularly high, reaching 30 per cent in 1992, spurring services targeting young people. From 1992, it became illegal to discriminate in work, education, accommodation or services on the basis of disability. Although provision for people with disability remained inferior, the legislation was a turning point moving towards a culture of inclusion.

The State government in 1993 ended grants funding and moved to competitive tenders for service delivery. Service agencies restructured to survive. Volunteer-based service provision, already weakened by employment of professional staff and declining volunteer numbers, ended. Although a change

of government in 2001 restored some base-level funding, contract-based business models continue to dominate the social service sector.

From the 1990s into the 2000s, governments issued apologies for several failures in care for vulnerable people, including British child migrants, Aboriginal 'Stolen Generations', wards of the State and children forcibly removed from unmarried mothers. Social services increasingly targeted Aboriginal recipients, as awareness grew of the gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal social indicators. The 'Bringing Them Home' report (1997) highlighted the mistreatment and social dysfunction caused by multi-generational policies removing children from Aboriginal families. The Gordon Inquiry (2002) reported child abuse within Aboriginal communities, resulting in government-funded packages of social services, especially in remote communities. However, efforts from 2008 to 'Close the Gap' have seen little progress on key measures of Aboriginal wellbeing, and by 2015 Aboriginal children were 15 times more likely to be in care than non-Aboriginal children.

The 2000s mining boom expanded the gap between 'haves' and 'have-nots'. Costs of living escalated but welfare payments and low-income wages did not keep pace. Non-government welfare agencies, by this time numbering around 600 across the State, struggled to attract staff. A housing crisis developed, with homelessness spiralling. While the boom largely cushioned the economy as a whole during the Global Financial Crisis (2008-2009), those already missing out suffered, with a 20 per cent increase in people accessing welfare services.

From 2013, national hearings investigated institutional responses to child sexual abuse. The Royal Commission's report (2017) identified cultures of systemic abuse and formal cover-up, with religious organisations particularly implicated.

Government rhetoric in recent years has reflected hardening community attitudes to the underprivileged. Welfare recipients are frequently construed as lazy, drug-addled, exploitative or undeserving, reprising colonial language of the 'deserving poor'. Cuts to government social services and a problematic automated Centrelink debt recovery scheme have alarmed service providers and recipients alike, but received support from many politicians and voters. Welfare agencies, meanwhile, operate in increasingly commercial, competitive and highly regulated environments, offering professional services to over half a million less fortunate Western Australians, around 20 per cent of the population.

Education

Education in Western Australia has become gradually more professional and egalitarian. Options have broadened immensely, yet equity of access remains elusive.

Most early colonists educated their children in much the same manner as Aboriginal people: family and community mentoring, with some specific hands-on skills training. Aboriginal education also included ceremonial aspects.

Formal education developed slowly. Government funding supported a Perth school in temporary locations from 1829 and also assisted short-lived private schools in the 1830s. However, most colonial children were unschooled. Girls received little formal education, and by 1845 60 per cent of non-Aboriginal women could write only poorly or not at all.

Colonial schools for Aboriginal children opened between 1839 and 1846. However, opposition from colonists closed these schools, with the exception of New Norcia, where Aboriginal schools ran until 1974.

After convicts arrived in 1850, colonial education for Aboriginal children largely subsided, as their labour was no longer needed.

Catholic schooling began in 1843. From the arrival of the Sisters of Mercy (1846), Catholic education was largely run by religious orders. The government financially supported Catholic schooling, but a Board of Education was established (1847) to oversee provision of free education. Within a year, six government schools were operating in the colony, but by 1850, less than half the approximately 1,200 colonial children were enrolled at school. The Sisters of Mercy were the first to extend to secondary schooling (1849), with the sons of wealthier families largely sent back to England for further education. Bishop Hale established the first local secondary college (1858), which subsequently educated many of the colonial elite's sons. The free education system was reduced in 1856 to cover only elementary education for working class children, and financial assistance to Catholic schools ceased.

Teaching standards were low and teaching materials *ad hoc*. Many teachers were untrained former convicts. From 1862, a rudimentary system of teacher training was implemented, indenturing pupil-teachers for four-year apprenticeships. William Adkinson, one of two qualified teachers in the colony, was appointed Schools Inspector in 1868, and spent 20 years raising standards.

The first *Education Act* passed in 1871, making school attendance compulsory (for non-Aboriginal children aged 6-14 living within three miles of a school). Attendance was rarely enforced, and by the mid-1880s nearly 20 per cent of children were not enrolled and many enrolled students attended irregularly. Aboriginal children's attendance at colonial schools was discouraged. The 1871 legislation returned government funding to Catholic schools.

A prescribed syllabus was introduced in 1874 and teachers were subsequently paid on the basis of student results (to 1895). By 1885, there were 77 government schools in the colony. Literacy rates increased, but remained divided on class lines. Education for working class children was not a priority, with rural children attending school at half the rate of urban children. In larger towns, schooling was segregated, but at smaller schools boys and girls attended together.

The 1890s gold boom brought migrants from eastern colonies, where attitudes to school attendance were more favourable. Economic expansion created more jobs requiring literate employees. In a decade, school enrolment increased from around 5,000 to 25,000; in the peak year (1896), school enrolments doubled in twelve months. The existing education system struggled. Government funding for denominational schools was removed in 1895, and teachers began receiving fixed salaries. Catholic religious orders opened many schools, especially on the goldfields, and the government also constructed schools to meet the escalating demand. By 1902, the State had 245 often-overcrowded government schools. Wealth brought a greater demand for private secondary boarding schools. Many future 'establishment' schools originated during the gold boom, including Guildford Grammar, St Hilda's, Scotch College and Perth College.

Attitudes were changing. Innovations such as classroom singing were introduced (1892) and special needs' education began, with schools for the blind (1895) and deaf (1896). Cyril Jackson, Inspector General of Education (1897-1903), restructured the public education system. His methods were based on 'New Education' philosophies from Europe, including child-centred learning, and emphasised the significance of early childhood education. Infant schools were separated from elementary schools.

P4327 **Mercedes College Group, Perth**

Catholic schooling in Western Australia began on the site of future Mercedes College in 1843, and expanded after the arrival of the Sisters of Mercy in 1846. Religious orders were to become central to Catholic education, and the Sisters of Mercy school in Perth was the first in Australia run by a religious order. The presence of a permanent Catholic school spurred the State government to form a Board of Education in 1847 and formalise the somewhat *ad hoc* educational provisions that had been in place since colonisation. Given the dearth of schools, the government financially supported the Catholic school, which non-Catholic children also attended. Government funding to Catholic education continued until 1856, and then again from 1871 to 1895.

In 1849, the Sisters of Mercy extended their school to offer the first secondary education in the colony. Early buildings remain at Mercedes College, along with successive additions that demonstrate the evolution of education from colonial days to the internet age. Boarding facilities were added in 1896, as gold boom prosperity and population increases saw several long-standing Perth boarding schools open. As the number of Catholics entering religious orders declined through the latter 20th century, religious orders placed their schools into the hands of lay professionals.

Tertiary education began in 1900 when Perth Technical School opened, initially offering University of Adelaide courses. Claremont Teachers' College opened in 1902, arising from Cyril Jackson's reforms, and teaching became increasingly professionalised. Most teachers were men, until shortages during World War I brought women into classrooms. In 1913, the University of Western Australia (UWA) opened, the first free university in the British Empire. Technical colleges subsequently focussed on trades training.

Through the 1900s, construction of government schools concentrated on expanding agricultural areas. Most rural schools were single-teacher establishments with 10-20 students. More private boarding high schools were established in Perth, for both the expanding urban middle class and children of farming families. In 1907, Seventh Day Adventists opened the first major co-educational private school (Carmel College).

Until 1909, all government education was at elementary level, covering ages 6-14. Barely eight per cent of students continued beyond primary schooling. Perth Modern School (1911) was the first government secondary school in the State. It was co-educational, and so popular that entrance exams were introduced. For the first time, education to tertiary entrance level was available to academically-able working class children. Government high schools followed at Kalgoorlie (1914), Northam (1921), Bunbury (1923) and Albany (1925), reflecting rural political influence rather than the distribution of teenagers. End-of-high-school Public Examinations began in 1914, ending dependence on the University of Adelaide to accredit Western Australian students.

The Kindergarten Union (1911) opened its first kindergarten in 1912 and a Kindergarten Teachers' College in 1913, advocating free early childhood education as a tool of social reform. From 1916, the government handed all kindergarten education over to the Union.

Formal education was largely unavailable to Aboriginal children. A government Aboriginal primary school opened at Katanning in 1912, bringing many Aboriginal families into the district, but protests from local white residents ensued, leading to the establishment of Carrolup Reserve. Aboriginal missions offered only primitive education to resident children. By the 1920s, government schools actively excluded Aboriginal children.

P9823 **Hampton Senior High School, Morley**

The post-war years saw both a rapid increase in population, especially children, and growing social expectations of high school education. Much of this growth was in the metropolitan area, where until 1953 there was only one five-year government high school. Through a targeted program, a period of rapid high school construction was initiated, with nineteen new or expanded metropolitan high schools opening by 1967. Hampton Senior High School, constructed from 1966, was one of the last schools developed using linear plans, as from 1967 schools began to use cluster designs, reflecting changing educational philosophies. Many of Hampton's early students were children of post-war European migrants, who had settled in the Morley/Eden Hill area after fulfilling their period of bonded government labour. The area was outer suburbs at the time. From the 1980s, Vietnamese refugees arrived in the district and the school population to the end of the century reflected this cultural diversity.

Isolated children also struggled to access education. In 1918, Distance Education was initiated. By 1926, Distance Education students were able to study for Junior or Leaving Certificates, and unclassified teachers could complete teacher training by correspondence.

By the 1920s, approximately 85 per cent of children were in government schools. There were 117 non-government schools by 1924 (mostly Catholic). Classes had up to 40 students and leaving age was 14. Regulations in 1926 required apprentices to attend at least four weeks of technical training, overwhelming technical schools, with a Royal Commission resulting (1928) to address the crisis. During the peak years of the Depression (1931-1934), Claremont Teachers' College closed as an economy measure. It then offered only limited courses until after World War II.

Although government schools could not legally exclude Aboriginal children after 1933, segregation continued. Many Aboriginal families lived on reserves, without access to regular schools, and from 1936, teachers were permitted to suspend Aboriginal children if white families complained. Many Aboriginal children did not attempt to access schooling, as it was not compulsory.

World War II resulted in innovative uses of radio to continue education programs. From 1941, distance education extended to Australian children overseas. Kindergarten of the Air began through ABC radio in 1942, after fears of invasion closed kindergartens. Initially a Western Australian program, it later ran nationally (to 1960).

From 1945, the Education Department took over and upgraded Aboriginal schools. School became compulsory for Aboriginal children in 1948 and policies prevented their exclusion from government schools. Alvan House (1950) was established to enable Aboriginal students to study in Perth, and other boarding hostels followed. Assimilation policies gradually closed Aboriginal children's institutions, moving students into mainstream schools. The first qualified Aboriginal teacher was Len Hayward, a Noongar man (1951), with Aboriginal women following two years later. Decades later (1979) Hayward became the State's first Aboriginal school principal. Yamatji man Irwin Lewis was the first Aboriginal student accepted by UWA (1957).

The Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme (CRTS, 1947) assisted returned servicepersons to enter tertiary study. CRTS supported one third of UWA's enrolling students in 1947, in addition to many technical and teaching college students. From 1951 to the mid-1980s, a small number of university students from Asia arrived under the Colombo Plan. The Commonwealth Adult Migrant English Program (1947) was established to help assimilate thousands of post-war European migrants, but migrant children entered government schools without transition assistance until 1971.

The booming population of the post-war years and increasing social expectations of high school education pressured the school system. Before school leaving age was raised to 15 (1943), approximately 70 per cent of students had left earlier. From 1946, students were taught in age cohorts rather than achievement levels. High school entrance exams were abolished. From 1953, when Kent Street High School extended to become the second five-year metropolitan government high school, 15 years of rapid high school construction began. From 1958, all government schools were co-educational and by 1960 there were 27 government high schools, mostly post-war metropolitan facilities. Sixty-one per cent of government-school Year Eight students completed at least Year 10, twice the rate of 1950. Private school retention rates were higher, but the gap was closing. More teacher training institutions were established to meet the growing demand. In 1959, School of the Air was established to serve remote children, using the Royal Flying Doctor Service's two-way radio network and supplementing pre-war Correspondence Schools. (The various distance education bodies eventually came together in 1995.)

State funding for non-government schools recommenced in 1954. Carmel Jewish School (1959) was the first non-Christian religious school and Kingsley Montessori School (1962) the first 'alternative' school. An Association of Independent Schools formed (1962) to represent the diversifying non-government, non-Catholic school sector. Catholic schools increasingly used lay staff. From 1969, recurrent Commonwealth funding for non-government schools was introduced. Three years later, Commonwealth funding to all schools trebled.

UWA remained State-funded and free until the Federal Government took on university funding in 1960. The following year, UWA began charging student fees. Another future university began in 1966 when WA Institute of Technology (WAIT) opened, but Murdoch University (1974) was the State's second accredited university. From 1974, the Federal Government funded free tertiary education across Australia.

Cluster-designs were implemented for government schools from 1967, changing the physical landscape of education and reflecting changes in educational philosophy. Achievement Certificates showing cumulative school-based results replaced the Junior Certificate from 1972. The State's first Aboriginal-managed community school opened at Oombulgurri in 1973. Others followed, as governments through the 1970s developed remote Aboriginal communities. Kindergarten education, run for 60 years by the

Kindergarten Union, returned to the Education Department through the mid-1970s, as the Union dissolved. Annual school inspections ceased in 1975. From 1978, teachers were trained to support students from non-English speaking backgrounds and English as a Second Language (ESL) programs expanded, as government policy moved from assimilation to multiculturalism. From the 1980s, some high schools offered specialist subjects (eg. aviation, art, theatre), supplementing specialist music programs introduced from 1968.

Following the 1984 Beazley and McGaw reports, public school examinations moved from Year 10 to Year 12, with results determined by combined school-based and public-exam marks. The change both reflected and further facilitated increased school retention rates. Achievement Certificates were replaced with the Unit Curriculum.

From the 1980s, a three-decades-long trend began of establishing low-fee independent schools. The Muslim community opened Australian Islamic College (1986), various Christian churches opened schools for the first time and the Anglican Church supplemented its elite schools with low-fee alternatives. Low-fee independent schools were particularly popular in new outer-suburban areas, in both Perth and growing regional centres.

Universities proliferated nationally after the 1970s. In 1987, Curtin University formed out of WAIT and other technical training centres. In 1992, the WA Academy of Performing Arts (WAAPA) and former teachers' colleges (since 1982, WA College of Advanced Education – WACAE) became Edith Cowan University (ECU). Notre Dame University opened the same year, Australia's first Catholic university. By the 2000s, all five universities also had regional campuses and some operated overseas. The Commonwealth Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS) began in 1989, replacing free tertiary education with government student loans. Fee-paying international students, many from Asia, boosted university enrolments and finances.

Expanding university options and an employment culture favouring educational achievement increased school retention rates. Through the 1990s, apparent retention rates passed 80 per cent. Four government high schools in Perth's Western suburbs closed, as students moved into private education. However, by the 2010s the remaining high schools were so over-crowded that the government began plans to open another school. Changes in 2001 to the way year levels were determined increased the average age of school students by six months. However, Pre-Primary, which became compulsory from 2013, began teaching content formerly delivered in year one. Leaving age was raised from 15 to 17 from 2006. Retention rates rose to around 85 per cent. In 2015, Year Seven became part of high school.

In the 21st century, education had increasing federal influence. The national 'history wars' of the 2000s shaped teaching of Australian history, especially regarding Aboriginal people. In 2006 and 2007, Western Australia implemented Outcomes Based Education (OBE). After much controversy, OBE was scrapped, but its emphasis on skills rather than transmission of information influenced the long-discussed national curriculum. From 2008, standardised national numeracy and literacy testing was implemented (NAPLAN). Federal-funded buildings were erected at most schools from 2009 to 2013 in response to the Global Financial Crisis. The WA Certificate of Education (WACE) was introduced in 2010, linked to the national Australian Tertiary Admission Rank (ATAR). The National Curriculum was implemented in phases between 2015 and 2018, with Western Australian adaptations to all but English, Maths and Science.

Education was a key element of the 'Closing the Gap' campaign, which from 2008 set targets to improve outcomes for Aboriginal people. Over the next decade, only early childhood education saw significant improvements as a result. While many Aboriginal students were highly successful, on average great disparities remained between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal children's school experiences.

Information technology has changed education dramatically. The internet was first introduced to the Australian public through universities in the mid-1980s; by the 21st century it was a foundational tool of education at all levels. Online courses have proliferated. Computers have become basic classroom equipment.

Education remains controversial. The Gonski report (2011) identified alarming declines in Australian student outcomes, with low achievement linked to social disadvantage. National moves towards needs-based funding have been hampered by lack of bipartisan support. Children's educational options, although vastly expanded since the 19th century, continue to depend on their families' financial position and geographic location, much as they did for colonial children.

Health

Western Australians live longer, are healthier and have more health care options than ever before, but the phenomenal health advances have not been equally experienced.

At contact, the Aboriginal population was healthy and relatively long-lived. European colonists brought infectious diseases to which Aboriginal populations had no historical immunity. Disease spread rapidly and death rates were high, particularly among Aboriginal children. Colonists were mostly young, fit and healthy, with mortality rates less than half those in England. One quarter of colonist deaths were infants. Most adult deaths were due to childbirth, accidents, tuberculosis or unspecified 'fever'. Dysentry, scurvy and minor trauma were common. Epidemics periodically swept the colony, including cholera, whooping cough (pertussis), measles and influenza. Typhoid was endemic by the 1850s. Isolation and lack of roads hampered access to health services, but also reduced the spread of disease. Alcoholism was widespread. Medical services were limited and doctors of variable ability, with a makeshift hospital established from 1829. Colonists did not access Aboriginal medical knowledge. The first trained pharmacist arrived in 1833, but sale of medicines remained unregulated until 1894.

Health conditions changed little through the 19th century, although medical services improved in more established towns. The introduction of convicts pressured limited medical facilities but also brought funds and labour to improve them. The Colonial Hospital (Perth, 1855) and Asylum for the Criminally Insane (Fremantle, 1865) were both constructed by convicts. The smallpox vaccine was introduced from 1839 and by the 1870s, after several epidemics, most colonists and some Aboriginal people were vaccinated. Measles and whooping cough in the 1860s caused widespread deaths, with half the Noongar population estimated to have died. Quarantine stations were built at Albany (1875) and Woodman Point (1876). Neither prevented the measles epidemic of 1883-1884 killing several hundred colonists and even more Aboriginal people.

Gold in the 1890s lured people to remote areas with few services, inadequate sanitation and scant, often polluted, water supplies. The largest typhoid epidemic in Australian history resulted. Typhoid was the colony's biggest killer for over a decade, until construction of water supply systems curtailed it by 1910. Charitable nursing was also established, especially religious-based services.

Crowded populations saw smallpox re-emerge through the 1890s and bubonic plague in the 1900s. Victoria Hospital for Infectious Diseases (1893) opened and local governments moved to improve sanitation. The State Health Laboratory Service opened (1901) as the role of microbial bacteria in illness became recognised.

Gold-boom population increases provided critical mass for new health services, including introduction of alternative medical approaches. The number of hospitals trebled. A year after the properties of X-rays were discovered, William Hancock donated an X-ray machine (1896), and operated it as a voluntary service for over 30 years. Medical services became more structured through the 1890s. Dentists and pharmacists were regulated from 1894, although qualifications varied widely, and formal nursing training began in 1897. The British Medical Association formed a Western Australian branch in 1898. Roberta Jull, the colony's second female doctor, was the first woman to open a medical practice in Western Australia (1897) and a prominent advocate for women's and children's health concerns. Friendly societies formed branches from mid-decade, organising medical services, supplying medicines, paying funeral benefits and financially assisting bereaved families.

Only one in 10 infants survived their first year, with 30 per cent killed by gastroenteritis. A children's ward at Perth Hospital (1900) was soon overwhelmed, leading to the establishment of Perth Children's Hospital (later Princess Margaret/PMH) in 1909.

Leprosy developed amongst Kimberley Aboriginal people in the mid-1890s. It soon became endemic, often stigmatised and treated by isolation and detention. Venereal disease was also rife, with sufferers from 1908 incarcerated in government-run 'lock hospitals'. Aboriginal health services from 1917 to 1948 were under Native Affairs Department jurisdiction. They were substandard or non-existent, particularly in the north. By the 1930s, Aboriginal people were subject to forced medical examinations, and regular patrols through the Kimberley captured suspected leprosy sufferers.

In the wider population, tuberculosis increased. Many cases developed from silicosis, an often-fatal condition suffered by miners. Four Royal Commissions into silicosis between 1905 and 1925 failed to bring change, until better ventilation and moves to open cut mining improved matters from the 1950s.

Maternity care was mostly family-based, supplemented by dozens of small-scale, unregulated 'lying-in homes', until midwives' registration began in 1911. The first women's hospital opened in Victoria Park in 1913, replaced in 1916 by Kind Edward Memorial Hospital for Women. Childbirth was still often fatal, and last-resort abortion to save a mother's life was legalised in 1913.

World War I enlistments of medical personnel caused shortages in local health care. The Red Cross formed a Western Australian branch in 1914 to coordinate nurses and medical supplies for servicemen. Convalescent homes for returned soldiers soon followed. The post-war global influenza pandemic reached Western Australia with returning troops in 1918. The State's isolation enabled relatively successful quarantine measures, and death rates in Western Australia were much lower than other states. Returned service personnel frequently had tuberculosis or psychiatric ailments. Several new sanatoriums and psychiatric facilities opened. Psychiatric care remained institutional, although psychiatric wards had been established at some hospitals from 1908.

Infant mortality was rising, often due to diarrhoea, diphtheria, whooping cough or measles. From 1925, community-funded infant health centres were rolled out across the State, providing advice, health checks and basic medical care. They were credited with reducing infant deaths and were eventually government-funded (1945). In rural areas, the Bush Nursing Society's maternal and infant health services (from 1920) improved health outcomes.

St John Ambulance in 1922 took over from the many volunteer-run ambulance services, which had begun in 1901. Some consistency in dental care standards was finally achieved when dental training began (1922) and Perth Dental Hospital and College opened (1927). Alcoholism had long been a public health problem in Western Australia, but while legislation (1928) restricted use of morphine, heroin, cocaine and opium, alcohol prohibition was never introduced. Remote health services remained poor. In 1931, a flying doctor service began out of Kalgoorlie. It later amalgamated with the national Royal Flying Doctor Service, begun in Queensland in 1928.

P69 Vancouver Arts Centre Group, Albany (former Albany Cottage Hospital)

Constructed from 1887, Vancouver Arts Centre represents the medical facilities of the later colonial period. Twentieth century additions track the development of medical services as the place continued to be Albany's only hospital until 1962. It was designed as a typical 19th century cottage hospital, emphasising isolation to prevent contagion, although by the 1890s other hospitals were built with open-plan wards prioritising ventilation. The size of the facility indicates the importance of Albany in the latter colonial period. Nurses' quarters included in the complex demonstrate the practice of nurses living on-site, which continued across the State until the 1970s.

In the 1980s, the vacant buildings were restored by the community for use as an arts centre, opening in 1990.

World War II again saw the Red Cross provide medical services to both serving troops and returned service personnel. On the home-front, rubella outbreaks through 1940-1941 (and 1948-1949) sharply increased the number of deaf children. Fear of leprosy led to 1941 legislation preventing Aboriginal people travelling south of the 20th parallel (the 'leper line') without permission of the Chief Protector, a restriction not repealed until 1963. Hollywood Hospital opened in 1942 to provide acute care for veterans and their dependents. Increasing rates of venereal disease spurred a crack-down on amateur prostitution (1942). Occupational therapy was introduced for military rehabilitation from 1942, and other allied health services developed in the post-war years, including speech pathology (1945, at PMH) and physiotherapy training (1951).

Wartime saw the development of penicillin, which became available in Australia from 1945. Infection-related death rates plummeted. Decades of radical advances in medicine followed, improving both life expectancies and quality of life. As infectious diseases declined, coronary heart disease became the leading cause of death. Antibiotics to treat tuberculosis became available in 1948. Compulsory chest X-rays were introduced (1950) in a campaign to eradicate the disease. By the 1970s, tuberculosis was no longer endemic and compulsory chest X-rays ceased, although incidence within Aboriginal populations remained high.

Polio took hold as an epidemic from 1948. Schools, school buses and trams were sprayed with poison in attempts to stem infection. Many survivors were left permanently paralysed and, from 1954, a designated paraplegic rehabilitation unit opened (Shenton Park). After the polio vaccine became available (1955), mass immunisation programs curtailed the disease within a year. Success of the polio vaccination scheme created widespread acceptance for vaccination programs. Free childhood immunisations were offered from 1953. Diphtheria and tetanus were virtually eradicated and whooping cough incidence substantially declined, until most admissions at PMH were accident and emergency rather than infectious diseases.

From 1948, Aboriginal health services were gradually integrated into mainstream medical facilities. By the 1950s, up to 10 per cent of the Kimberley Aboriginal population had leprosy and more than half were infected with trachoma. Campaigns to eradicate the latter failed. Leprosy was largely eliminated after a cure became available in the 1970s. Western desert populations experienced malnutrition and disease, and later radiation-related ailments, following British nuclear tests at Maralinga in 1956.

Cruelty within psychiatric care was exposed by an undercover journalist in 1949, leading to a Royal Commission. From 1955, psychiatric care began moving towards out-patient services, although the chronically mentally ill remained institutionalised. From 1964, services for intellectually handicapped individuals were separated from psychiatric care.

UWA began training doctors from 1957. Nurses were trained through apprenticeships, which required trainees to live on-site at medical facilities. A tertiary nursing qualification was introduced from 1974, after which hospital accommodation for nurses was phased out. Major investment in hospital infrastructure in the post-war period saw large multi-storey hospital facilities constructed, often replacing colonial buildings. Regional health services were particularly improved. Concern at high rates of dental decay led in 1967 to establishment of a school dental service and adding fluoride to drinking water.

The link between smoking and lung cancer was formally recognised from 1957. Up to 75 per cent of Australian adult men were daily smokers and smoking rates for men and women increased through the 1960s. From 1973, health warnings were mandated on cigarette packaging. Cigarette advertising was prohibited on television and radio (1976) and bans on smoking in public facilities began (1978). The Institute of Radiotherapy treated its first cancer patient in 1961. A Tronado hyperthermia machine for cancer treatment was controversially purchased by the government in 1973, but its use was discontinued after negative reports. As more people survived into old age, geriatric medicine developed, focussing on rehabilitation for older people. Rates of coronary heart disease peaked in the 1960s.

Health services were predominantly government-run, with patient costs covered by health insurance. Charities and religious organisations also offered health services, especially for children and older people. In 1968, the first annual 'Telethon' began. From 1984, Medicare was implemented nationally, allowing access to free treatment in public hospitals, and membership of private health funds subsequently declined.

By the 1970s, infant mortality was low. Infant health clinic numbers had expanded through the post-war decades. The first women's health centre (1974) arose from concerns that health services were inherently patriarchal. Abortion became easier to access, although it was technically illegal until 1998.

After Aboriginal health services were critiqued as being paternalistic, Aboriginal Medical Services formed in Perth (1973) and Broome (1978). Helen Milroy graduated from UWA as the first Aboriginal doctor in Australia (1983). Through the 1980s, Aboriginal-run health education programs addressed community, health and lifestyle issues. Diabetes had become common and there were high rates of Aboriginal birth defects.

P9743 **Numbala Nunga, Derby**

The site of Numbala Nunga has a long association with health services, mostly to Aboriginal people. It demonstrates changes in Aboriginal health care from the 1880s to the present.

In the 1880s and 1890s, Aboriginal health care was minimal, and haphazard. In the latter 1880s, a tent hospital was erected around the Derby Government Residency, later upgraded to a shed. In the 1890s, a small purpose-built hospital was constructed. Medical care was offered on the fringe of mainstream services, treating Aboriginal people as paupers. Hospital beds were segregated. Introduced disease killed many. By the 1900s, leprosy and venereal disease were rife through Kimberley Aboriginal populations. In 1917, the Residency became a lock hospital and leprosarium for Aboriginal people, alongside the mainstream 1890s hospital building. It was under jurisdiction of the Department of Native Welfare, not the Health Department. In 1923, the place was declared an Aboriginal reserve so that Aboriginal patients could legally be detained there and visitors kept out. After a new Derby hospital opened on a separate site in 1924, the place became a 'native hospital'. The former Residency buildings, although condemned as unfit for habitation, were used for Aboriginal patients, while the hospital buildings accommodated the white supervisors. A purpose-built facility opened in 1929, with dirt floors and lattice walls. For more than 20 years, the place remained ill-equipped, under-staffed and unsanitary. No beds were provided until 1937 and it was the late 1940s before *all* patients had beds.

In the late 1930s, a second ward for 'half castes and better type patients' was added at a distance from the main hospital, although care was reintegrated into one facility in the 1940s. Poor standard buildings dogged the place, with some collapsing in the post-war years which were unable to be replaced due to post-war shortages. Buildings were not waterproof and in the wet season interiors were soaked. A 1946 cyclone demolished more buildings, after which meals were prepared and eaten in the open until 1948.

Aboriginal health care transferred from the Department of Native Affairs to the Health Department in 1948, at which time 'native hospitals' were described as 'disgraceful and shocking' and Derby as 'the worst of all the native hospitals in the North'. Improvements made in the early 1950s were substandard and buildings soon leaked, sagged or cracked. St John of God nursing sisters began working at the hospital in 1952. Conditions improved significantly through the 1950s, but the hospital was still considered 'dilapidated and inadequate' in 1961 and a new Aboriginal wing was added to the main Derby Hospital in 1966 to replace it. The vacated site was repurposed as an Aboriginal nursing home. Most buildings were demolished, and a purpose-built facility opened in 1969 as Numbala Nunga. Aged care in general was expanding in the 1960s, with geriatric medicine an emerging field. Federal government funding enabled construction of nursing homes and their numbers boomed across Australia. Most were operated by not-for-profit community groups, such as the Presbyterian Church at Numbala Nunga.

Although after its early years it was not specifically an Aboriginal facility, the demographics of the region meant most residents were Aboriginal. In 2014, Numbala Nunga management transferred to the large state-wide aged care provider Juniper, as increased government accreditation requirements left many community-run aged care services unable to survive in their own right.

A Voluntary Euthanasia Society formed in 1980. It had some early success in enabling passive euthanasia, but active euthanasia remained illegal. From 1982, palliative care services began.

The 1980s were characterised by successful public health campaigns addressing lifestyle causes of health issues and encouraging greater individual responsibility. These included 'Slip-Slop-Slap' (skin cancer, 1981), 'Quit' (smoking, 1982), men's health education in response to high suicide rates, and various healthy eating campaigns. A Health Advisory Network (1983) began moves towards consumer participation in health policy.

AIDS, at the time a disease of unknown cause, was first recorded in Western Australia in 1983. Misinformation and fear spread rapidly. The WA AIDS Council (1985) targeted education programs at high-risk groups. Needle exchange programs began in 1988. Within a decade, infection rates were contained. From 1996, antiretroviral medications lowered death rates. Safe sex education also reduced incidence of other sexually transmitted diseases.

Disability awareness grew through the 1980s. Legislation in 1986 emphasised deinstitutionalisation, rights and dignity for people with disability. Services improved gradually. In 2014, Western Australia was the last state to sign up, conditionally, for the National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS), which promoted client-centred care, funding individuals rather than service providers.

CSR in 1989 compensated former Wittenoom workers for asbestos exposure between 1943 and 1966. Lung disease due to asbestos dust at Wittenoom was raised as a concern as early as 1948, and observed in high rates by 1959, but complaints went unheeded. New cases of asbestos-related illness continue to be reported.

Through the 1990s, smoking was gradually banned in most public places, including taxis, TABs, trains, restaurants and hotels, following earlier bans in hospitals, libraries and domestic aircraft. Tobacco sponsorship of sport and arts events was banned in 1990, and the government established Healthway (1991) in its place. Governments by the 1990s were concerned at the financial burden of universal free health care. From 1997, Federal government financial incentives to take out private health insurance were implemented.

Western Australia remained susceptible to international disease. Outbreaks of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS, 2003), influenza (bird flu, 2005) and Ebola (2013-2016) caused fear but little infection, but the H1N1 virus (swine flu, 2009) infected many Australians and killed a small number in Western Australia.

By 2008, Aboriginal life expectancy was 18 years less than the wider population. Western Australia joined the National Indigenous Reform Agreement to 'close the gap' on a range of health measures. Folate was added to all bread (2009), reducing neural tube birth defects, which were particularly prevalent in Aboriginal communities. By 2015, maternal health and child mortality rates had improved, but other health milestones showed little change and Aboriginal suicides were increasing. Up to 20 per cent of the Aboriginal population had diabetes.

Illicit drug use has long been a community health problem, with cannabis and heroin bans implemented in the 1950s. The drug of most concern has varied (cocaine in the 1980s, heroin in the 1990s, ecstasy in the 2000s, methamphetamines more recently), although public alarm has not always matched use patterns. Increasing addiction to over-the-counter medication resulted in medicines containing codeine becoming prescription-only from 2018.

Ageing hospital infrastructure was significantly upgraded across the State in the 2000s, including a new tertiary hospital (Fiona Stanley, 2014) and replacement Perth Children's Hospital (2018). By the 2000s, coronary heart disease rates had plummeted, but it remained the leading cause of death. Dementia in 2016 became the most common killer for women. Cancer and respiratory diseases were also relatively common causes of death.

Western Australians have also contributed to international medical advances. The Research Institute for Child Health, founded by Fiona Stanley (1990), has been involved in significant medical research. Fiona Wood and Marie Stoner invented spray-on skin for treatment of burns (1992). Barry Marshall and Robin Warren received the 2005 Nobel Prize for Physiology or Medicine for research conducted at Royal Perth Hospital between 1979 and 1984.

Governing

Government and Politics

Western Australia's government has moved from a clique of independent, landed English men administering British reign to a mixed-gender, party-based parliament managing a state within the Federation of Australia.

Britain viewed the Swan River Colony as a private venture, providing minimal funding and administrative oversight, and ignoring Aboriginal authority. A group of British-appointed officials ran the colony, concentrating on finances, land policy, labour and, by the 1840s, education. In most settlements, a Resident Magistrate represented all colonial government authority. Small populations left town trusts (established 1838) struggling. In 1871 trusts were replaced by municipalities and roads boards.

When convicts arrived (1850), Britain decreed that the colony had insufficient revenue for self-government. For two decades, convict issues dominated politics. From 1863, other Australian colonies (all self-governing by 1859) pressured Western Australia to cease accepting convicts. Trial parliamentary elections were held in 1867, and representative government began in 1870. A secret ballot was adopted from 1877, although one third of Legislative Council members were appointed. The Governor retained power to over-rule Council decisions, and legislation required British approval, causing lags in implementation.

Tariff protection (one of the government's few income sources) and education policy were major issues of the 1870s and 1880s. In many towns, successful businessmen held unofficial power, some also entering the Legislative Council, but inherited local dynasties did not result. Although convict transport

P3715 **Geraldton Residency, Geraldton**

Geraldton Residency demonstrates the important governmental role of individual men appointed as resident magistrates in regional areas through the 1890s.

For much of the colonial period, all government authority in regional settlements was vested in a resident magistrate, who functioned as much more than simply a justice of the peace or judge for small offences, despite often having no particular training. Resident magistrates were often also involved in customs, licensing and postal services, especially in smaller or more remote towns. Sometimes they were also the local doctor. In the convict era, they were responsible for disciplining convicts. Resident magistrates distributed government rations to Aboriginal people and, from the 1880s, were also local 'Aboriginal protectors', meaning they exercised government control over Aboriginal people. As representatives of the Governor, they could over-rule actions of municipal councils.

At a time when three quarters of homes had four or fewer rooms, and a third were one or two-room cottages, the Geraldton Residency was a very substantial house, reflecting the social importance of resident magistrates and also the residence's functions as an office, meeting space and administrative centre. Convict labourers assisted with the construction, quarrying stone and making lime, with the building completed in 1862.

In 1925, Geraldton Residency was converted for use as a maternity home, and fulfilled this role until 1962, after which it became a community centre.

ceased in 1868, the convict establishment continued until 1886. The government desired public works, largely loan-funded, but Britain disagreed. From 1883 to 1889, Governor Broome and colonial officials were in conflict, which spurred calls for self-government.

Responsible Government was granted in 1890. A bicameral parliament met from 1891, with factions rather than political parties. Electoral boundaries favoured northern and country districts, with goldfields electorates added from 1893. Initially, only wealthy male property owners were eligible to vote, but from 1893 most white males could vote for the Legislative Assembly (lower house). Higher property thresholds were retained for the Legislative Council (upper house). Local hero John Forrest was the only premier of the independent colony, a generally conservative politician. Escalating revenue from the gold boom enabled the colonial government to spend according to local, rather than British, priorities, and to borrow extensively. Infrastructure funding soared, transforming the State.

Labour interests first contested an election (unsuccessfully) in 1893. As politicians were unpaid before 1900, it was difficult for workers to enter politics. The Australian Labor Federation (later Labor Party) formed in 1899. The Women's Christian Temperance Union (1892) was the first women's pressure group. Its social concerns led into political lobbying, including calling for women's suffrage. White women were granted the vote in 1899.

A Federal constitution was drafted in 1898, with Western Australia successfully arguing for a strong Senate to counterbalance its smaller population. Influenced by migrants from the eastern colonies, the colony voted 'yes' to Federation. Western Australia became a founding state of Australia in 1901. From 1902, white women were able to vote in and stand for Federal elections.

After Federation, Western Australia had six premiers from four parties in six years. Plural voting was abolished for the Legislative Assembly in 1904, along with all property requirements, and the first, short-lived, Labor government was subsequently elected. Plural voting was retained for the Legislative Council until 1964. Preferential voting was adopted in Western Australia in 1907 and federally in 1919.

Stable government was achieved under the Ministerial party from 1906. Politics for the next quarter century chiefly emphasised developing local income and industries, and mediating the impact of Federation's tariff removal. State land and income taxes were introduced in 1907, followed by Federal income tax in 1915. The first majority Labor government (1911) established extensive government industries, largely under executive oversight.

The Western Australian Country Party formed in 1913, the first Country party in Australia. It brought a final end to the 'non-aligned' political system, initiating a period of three-party politics. Rural issues dominated State politics until the 1960s. The third party, variously Ministerial, Nationalist or Liberal, re-formed several times up to the 1940s. Debate surrounding two unsuccessful conscription referendums (1916 and 1917) split the Labor party in Western Australia, which lost State government and all its Federal seats, remaining weak into the 1920s.

Women could stand for election to State Parliament from 1920. Edith Cowan (1921, Nationalist) and May Holman (1924, Labor) were the first women elected to any Australian parliament, but women parliamentarians remained a novelty in Western Australia, with only three other women elected in the next 50 years. Dorothy Tangney, representing Western Australia, was Australia's first female senator and one of the first two women elected to Australian Federal parliament (1943).

Compulsory voting was introduced for Federal elections in 1924 and Western Australian Legislative Assembly elections in 1936. A limited number of Asian citizens could vote from 1925. Labor took office in 1924, and retained power for over two decades except for one single-term Nationalist government (1930–1933). Parliamentary salaries were cut by 10 per cent during the Depression as an austerity measure. Depression, and then looming war, dominated 1930s politics. Peace activism developed in response.

In response to the Depression, periodic talk of secession reached a referendum (1933). Western Australians voted 2:1 to secede. Britain eventually determined it could not legally grant secession (1935) and the matter abated. Secessionist grievances led to establishment of the Commonwealth Grants Commission (1933), with Western Australia a recipient of financial aid. Depression conditions boosted the Communist Party (formed 1920). Membership peaked in 1944, but declined rapidly during the Cold War. A national referendum (1951) decided not to ban the Party, although Western Australia voted 'yes'.

Fremantle member John Curtin became Australian Labor Party leader in 1934. From 1941 to 1945 he served as Prime Minister. World War II dominated politics from 1939 to 1945. Government control increased, and Western Australia became more integrated into national politics and the economy. Income tax became an exclusively Federal domain. From 1942, the Federal government planned extensive measures to return the country to peacetime operation. Western Australia voted 'yes' in 1944, against a national trend, to extend Federal powers for post-war reconstruction.

The Liberal Party formed nationally in 1944. David Brand was the first Liberal party candidate in Australia to run for office, winning a State by-election in 1945. A coalition of Liberal, Country and independent members formed government in 1947,

P2239 **Parliament House and Grounds, West Perth**

Parliament House and Grounds symbolises the establishment of responsible government in Western Australia and provides a strong sense of historical continuity in its function.

Initially administered by a group of officials appointed by the British government, it was not until after 1870 that the colony was granted a Constitution providing for a Legislative Council, which essentially established a system of representative government. Responsible government was achieved following elections held in 1890. The modern-day political system commenced with Federation in 1901, when Australia as a nation was created, and Western Australia became a state within the new Federation.

Of course, a new Parliament House was quickly needed to embody this new parliamentary system. The design was entrusted to Chief Government Architect, J. H. Grainger, who conceived a classically derived building to proudly showcase the splendour of Western Australian materials, finishes and furnishings. The first stage, comprising the western wing and the two parliamentary chambers, opened in 1904. However, concerns over expenditure during subsequent periods of economic depression and war led to other services being prioritised over the completion of Parliament House. Grainger's grand eastern wing was never realised and it was not until 1963 that the final stage of the building, with its imposing eastern facade that is familiar to most Western Australians today, was completed, heralding an end to this intervening period of government austerity.

ending Labor's long rule. It was the all-time peak of Country Party power. Boundary changes removed electoral bias towards the goldfields and established a 2:1 rural:metropolitan ratio. The McLarty-Watts government presided over a post-war boom, facilitating industrial development, especially the establishment of Kwinana.

Aboriginal civil rights activism had begun in the mid-1920s, with Noongar man William Harris in 1928 unsuccessfully petitioning for repeal of the 1905 *Aborigines Act*. Middle class lobby groups formed in 1932 and 1939, pressing for Aboriginal policy reform, but little change ensued. Aboriginal political activism entered a new phase in the 1940s, with establishment of the Coolbaroo League (1946) and the Pilbara pastoral workers strike (1946-1949).

Western Australian women were Australia's first female Cabinet members (1949, Florence Cardell-Oliver) and Liberal senator (1949, Agnes Robertson, later Country Party). Ruby Hutchinson, the first woman elected to the Legislative Council (1954), served until 1971, mostly as the only woman in the Western Australian Parliament.

Queen Elizabeth II, the only reigning monarch to have visited Western Australia, toured four times from 1954 to 1966, after which her visits subsided to around once a decade.

The Democratic Labor Party directed preferences away from Labor in 1959, unseating the government without winning any seats itself. The election instigated over two decades of Liberal government, broken only by a single-term Labor administration in the early 1970s.

From 1959 to 1971, Premier David Brand and Minister for Industrial Development Charles Court pursued international investment to develop mineral resources. The booming economy allowed Western Australia to withdraw as a claimant state from Commonwealth Grants Commission distributions. Government industries were largely privatised, and the State's economic base transitioned from rural to mining. Rural political influence consequently declined. Every premier from 1905 to 1971 represented a non-metropolitan electorate; no premier since has done so.

Voting changes contributed to this shift. In 1962, franchise extended to Aboriginal and non-white citizens. From 1964, Legislative Council voting was made compulsory, with plural voting abolished and property requirements removed. Local government voting expanded in 1960 to occupants as well as owners. Minimum voting age was lowered from 21 to 18 (1970 for Western Australia, 1973 Federally). From 1974, the practice ceased of leaving seats uncontested at State elections.

Political activism expanded through the 1960s and 1970s, as increasing rates of school retention and university education raised the number of socially conscious young people. The Vietnam War dominated social activism, but feminism, environmental concerns, racial equality, gay-lesbian recognition and Aboriginal rights also advanced.

The first Aboriginal person to run (unsuccessfully) for Parliament in Western Australia was Francis Cameron (1965). Aboriginal people were recognised as Australian citizens following a national referendum in 1967. An Aboriginal consulate on the lawns of Parliament House (1972), followed nationally by the Aboriginal Tent Embassy in Canberra, drew attention to Aboriginal conditions.

Paul Hasluck was the first Western Australian appointed Governor General (1969-1974). The only other Western Australian to serve in the role to date (2018) was Michael Jeffery (1993-2000).

The Women's Electoral Lobby formed in 1973. Three women were elected to Parliament in 1974, ending 18 male-only years in the Legislative Assembly. Ten years later the parliament included seven women (six Labor, one Liberal). The first woman representing Western Australia in the House of Representatives (Federal) was Wendy Fatin (1983).

Expansionist policies of the Whitlam Federal government (1972-1975) revived secessionist rhetoric in Western Australia. In 1974, Lang Hancock launched the Western Australian Secession League and Charles Court won the State election with protectionist policies.

The Country Party's influence declined. Rebranded the National Country Party (1975), it lost all Federal representation by 1978, and subsequently split. Eventually, the National Party formed (1985), reuniting former Country Party factions.

Ernie Bridge was the first Western Australian Aboriginal parliamentarian (1979), after serving 18 years as the first Aboriginal member of a local council (Halls Creek). When he joined Cabinet (1986) he was Australia's first Aboriginal Cabinet minister. Twenty years later, Kimberley MLA Carol Martin became the first Aboriginal woman in any Australian parliament (2001). Ken Wyatt was the first Aboriginal person elected to the House of Representatives (2010), later the first Federal Cabinet minister (2016).

Aboriginal activism came up against the development-oriented Court government in the Noonkanbah dispute of 1978-1980. Noonkanbah's legacy reoriented public opinion regarding Aboriginal land rights. In 1981, Ngaanyatjarra Council formed, working towards full Aboriginal oversight of Western Desert lands. From the late-1980s, Noongar activists opposed construction on the Swan Brewery site at Matilda Bay, but were not heeded.

The Liberal dominance of State politics ended in 1983. The 1980s were a decade of excess, with large-scale private developments receiving government support and Labor politicians becoming embroiled in commercial dealings, colloquially referred to as 'WA Inc'. The 1987 stock market collapse took government-linked businesses with it and a Royal Commission into political corruption followed (1991). Some prominent politicians, including 1980s premiers Brian Burke (Labor) and Ray O'Connor (Liberal), ended up in prison. The *Australia Acts* of 1986 formally discontinued Western Australian governors being appointed by and reporting to the British monarch.

Social changes were also implemented through the 1980s, including ending capital punishment (1984), extending compulsory voting to Aboriginal people (1984), implementing the *Equal Opportunity Act 1984* (1985) and increasing participation in local government elections (1985). Labor elected Carmen Lawrence in 1990 as the State's first (to 2018, only) female premier, but lost government in 1993. Elections subsequently alternated in two-term blocks between the Liberal and Labor parties. Four-year fixed terms for Council positions were implemented in 1989, although the Assembly did not have fixed terms until 2011.

Minor parties began emerging. In 1983, the Australian Democrats won their first parliamentary seat when co-founder Jack Evans became a Western Australian senator. Democrat senators represented Western Australia for all but seven years until the party's 2008 demise. Cold war tensions reoriented peace movements to lobby on nuclear issues, and Jo Vallentine won a Senate seat in 1984 for the Nuclear Disarmament Party. From 1988, regional-based proportional representative for the Legislative Council gave small parties a chance. Greens WA formed in 1990 through an amalgamation of environmental and peace groups, and Jo Vallentine was re-elected to the Senate for the Greens. In 1993, Greens' Jim Scott won a Legislative Council seat. From 1997 to 2001, two Democrats members joined them. Greens MLC Giz Watson (1997-2013) was the first openly lesbian parliamentarian in Australia.

The Liberal Government of 1993 to 2001 implemented a business-oriented model of government, restructuring the public service and privatising government entities. Following the Commonwealth *Native Title Act 1993*, the State Government attempted to extinguish native title in Western Australia. The High Court disqualified its legislation (1995).

Western Australia echoed the national 'no' in the 1999 republic referendum, retaining national allegiance to the British monarch. From 2000, the Federal government introduced a Goods and Services Tax (GST). All GST revenue went to the states, but due to mining revenue, Western Australia received proportionally less than other states. Grudgingly accepted during the mining boom, low GST returns were bitterly protested by Western Australia after iron ore prices collapsed in 2014.

In 2001, right-wing minor party One Nation (formed 1997 nationally) won three Legislative Council seats, but all three members subsequently defected from the party. One Nation remained outside State Parliament until winning another three Legislative Council seats in 2017. As the Democrats waned, the Greens took their role as leading minor party in Federal politics. Greens WA joined the Australian Greens in 2003 and, from 2004 to the present, they have retained Western Australian Senate representation. In 2009, Adele Carles won Fremantle for the Greens in a State by-election, bringing the party into the Legislative Assembly, but she later became an Independent. At local government level, unlike other states, elections remain contested by candidates not publicly aligned with political parties.

Electoral boundaries changed in 2005 to enable 'one vote one value'. Although the proportion of rural seats declined, the new boundaries delivered the balance of power to the National Party (2008). The Nationals supported a minority Liberal government in exchange for implementing 'Royalties for Regions', committing 25 per cent of mining royalties to regional development. Despite later claims of mismanagement, Royalties for Regions by 2014 invested $5.6 billion where government spending had long been scant. The program began being wound back after Labor won government in 2017, as Australia's first Aboriginal treasurer, Ben Wyatt, sought budget cuts to reduce escalating State debt.

Kerry Sanderson (2014-2018) was the first woman appointed Governor of Western Australia. Although women remain under-represented in politics, there have been significant gains. Thirty women were elected to State Parliament in 2017 (22 Labor), bringing the total number of women ever in the parliament to 93, and the Nationals WA elected Mia Davies as leader.

The Federal Parliament in 2017 disqualified several sitting members for citizenship anomalies, beginning with Western Australian senator Scott Ludlam, and in 2018 also removing Fremantle MP Josh Wilson. Attention to origins highlighted the disproportionately British and European heritage of Australian parliaments. The 2017 Western Australian Parliament included only two members of Asian background, despite around eight per cent of the State's population being born in Asia. However, its three Aboriginal members reflected the proportion of Aboriginal people in the State.

Law, Order and Defence

Western Australia slowly developed an independent judicial system and an outward-focussed military, integrated from 1901 into a Federal system. Law enforcement since colonisation has been disproportionately entangled with Aboriginal communities, even after its initial loosely organised, amateur character was formalised into professional structures.

Aboriginal society observed complex customary law, which structured the balance, rights and responsibilities of interconnected relationships between people, ancestral spirits and land. Customary law was diverse across Aboriginal groups and there was periodic warfare between peoples. The British military presence at King George Sound (1826-1831) managed relatively peaceful coexistence with Minang locals, but organised attacks on Noongar people began at the Swan River soon after colonists arrived in 1829, accompanied by a single garrison. Decades of frontier conflict ensued as Aboriginal groups resisted colonisation. Military numbers doubled in 1833. After Whadjuk Noongar resistance leaders were publicly executed (1833), the focus of conflict and military presence moved to the Avon Valley, then subsequent settlement attempts.

British law was declared in 1829 to apply to the Swan River Colony, with untrained honorary magistrates appointed. The first purpose-built prison opened in 1831 (Round House, Fremantle). A civil court was established the following year, with male land-owning jurors. Police operated on a fee-for-service basis, and a short-lived mounted police corps formed in 1834. The first full-time police officer was appointed in 1840. From 1839, the 'Native Police' assisted colonial policemen. British law was decreed in 1836 to over-ride Aboriginal law, and Wadjemup/Rottnest Aboriginal Prison (1838) was used to incarcerate Aboriginal 'offenders'. The colony's first capital punishment saw the execution of two Aboriginal men for 'payback killing' of colonists (1840), as customary payback spearing became a murder charge. Capital punishment for colonists was first implemented in 1844.

The convict establishment, begun in 1850, was less extreme than in earlier Australian penal colonies, even during Governor Hampton's stricter regime (1862-1868). Transportees, by the 1860s, were men sentenced for more serious crimes. Convicts were accompanied by pensioner guards (former British soldiers). They formed a Duty Force from 1851 for military defence, alongside British troops.

P2268 **Police Station and Gaol Complex, Mount Barker**

The police complex at Mount Barker, constructed from 1867, is representative of policing facilities of the mid-19th century. Police officers and their families lived within the building, providing telegraph and postal services and government administration in addition to policing. The station was a community hub and staging post for the Perth-Albany mail coach, with the postal service retaining horses at the police stables. When the resident magistrate visited, it was used as a courthouse. Prisoners were also detained on site.

Mount Barker's police complex was constructed by convicts, as were many public facilities in the 1850s and 1860s. The convict era saw the gradual formalising of the *ad hoc* policing of earlier periods and provided much-needed policing infrastructure. The place's location on the colony's most significant road of the period, the Perth-Albany Road, reflects the importance of police in maintaining safe travel through sparsely settled districts.

Policing was relatively *ad hoc*. A Water Police unit formed in 1851. From 1853, separate police branches amalgamated and Irish aristocrat John Conroy was appointed the first Chief of Police. Such 'gentleman' appointments continued until a rank-and-file officer reached the top job in 1912. A Detective Branch was added in 1873.

Wadjemup/Rottnest Aboriginal Prison reopened in 1855 after being closed for six years, and Fremantle Prison also became operational. Constructed by convicts and completed in 1857, the latter remained the colony's main prison for over 100 years, closing in 1991.

Increased population pressured the fledgling legal system. Crime rates rose through the latter 1860s. The majority of convicts did not re-offend, although drunken and disorderly charges were common. Most ex-convict crimes were property offences. Bushrangers were uncommon in Western Australia, although a few operated in the 1860s, mostly escaped convicts on short-lived petty crime sprees. The best-known was Moondyne Joe, whose exploits of escape and recapture entered the State's folklore but did little harm.

In 1861, the Supreme Court was established, allowing decisions without reference to London. The first locally-trained lawyer was admitted to the bar in 1865. A Board to oversee the profession was established in 1881.

A Volunteer Military Force (1861) and Enrolled Pensioner Force (1862) formed in preparation for British troops withdrawing in 1863. When the final shipment of convicts arrived at Fremantle (1868), more than 3,000 convicts remained within the system. The 1868 arrivals included 62 Irish political prisoners (Fenians), some of whom subsequently escaped, with six dramatically rescued by the American vessel *Catalpa* in 1876.

Offences against Aboriginal people were rarely prosecuted but, in 1872, prominent pastoralist Lockier Burges received five years penal servitude for killing an Aboriginal man. However, public outcry reduced his sentence to 12 months.

Capital punishment moved inside prisons in the 1870s. From 1888, Fremantle Prison gallows became the only legal site of execution in Western Australia. Forty-four prisoners (including three women) were subsequently put to death there, the last in 1964. Aboriginal people, however, were still executed in public, and by the mid-1880s, evidence mounted of mistreatment of Aboriginal prisoners. Witnesses as well as suspects were frequently detained with neck-chains, convictions often relied on scant evidence and punishments were disproportionate to alleged crimes. Records at Wadjemup/Rottnest Aboriginal Prison detailed 369 Aboriginal custodial deaths over 20 years from 1883.

Convicted children were imprisoned with adults or at orphanages, until Wadjemup/Rottnest Reformatory opened (1881). By its closure (1901), 10 institutions catered for juvenile offenders, mostly together with neglected children. Children's Courts were established from 1907, after which industrial schools were exclusively for underage prisoners. A women's wing opened at Fremantle Prison in 1895, which was used until 1970.

Crime rates were low amongst the approximately 30,000 colonists. The police force comprised around 100 white constables and 40 Aboriginal assistants by 1885, a quarter of whom were stationed in the North, where Aboriginal resistance was strong. Death tolls (mostly Aboriginal) were high into the 20th century, as killing Aboriginal people was largely ignored, often encouraged and at times enacted by police. Police were also implicated in sexual abuse of Aboriginal women.

Crime rose along with population in the 1890s, especially drunkenness and prostitution on the goldfields. Gold stealing was common, but less violence was reported than in eastern colonies' gold rushes. Police numbers more than doubled in a decade. In 1892, the *Police Act* was passed, and it continues to govern policing, in amended form.

The colony's small, voluntary, military force expanded in the 1890s, as population and colonial income increased. A tiny permanent artillery unit was added (1894) and partial pay adopted (1896), focussing on colonial defence. From 1899 to 1902, more than 1,200 Western Australian volunteers joined British troops in the Boer War. It was the only time a Western Australian army fought overseas, commemorated in the State's first war memorial (1902). After Federation, the Australian army included a small permanent force in Western Australia. Voluntary military brigades were superseded, and rifle clubs reorganised as military reserves. Compulsory military training operated for 20 years from 1909. The Royal Australian Navy (RAN) and reserves were established in 1911.

A criminal code (1902) systematised accumulated colonial common law. From 1903, legislation improved prison conditions. At the time, 30 per cent of the State's 730 prisoners were Aboriginal, almost all convicted of cattle killing. Aboriginal prisoner numbers dropped once this 'offence' was redefined, with most subsequent convictions relating to offences against 'good order'.

A Royal Commission in 1904 criticised police treatment of Aboriginal people, including routine mass arrest of Aboriginal witnesses, but brought little improvement. Neck-chains were outlawed but remained in use for decades. The *Aborigines Act 1905* introduced sweeping controls over Aboriginal lives, often implemented by police.

More than 32,000 Western Australian volunteers joined Australian armed forces for World War I, up to 40 per cent of the 18-40-year-old male population. Aboriginal soldiers also enlisted. Attempts to introduce conscription failed. Over 6,000 Western Australians died, with up to 80 per cent of survivors injured. The Japanese navy defended Western Australia's coastline while Australian forces were away.

World War I established an Australian military identity and mythology of service in overseas conflict. After the war, most communities established war memorials. ANZAC day was commemorated as a public holiday from 1919, with dawn services and vigils initiated in 1927. The Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) was established in 1921, and former wartime pilots in Western Australia established an air force reserve.

A women's police unit began in 1917, receiving equal pay to male officers. Requiring nursing training, female constables provided rudimentary social work, and only unmarried women were eligible. Western Australia was the last state to permit (unmarried) women to practice as lawyers (1923).

Through the 1920s, sensationalised media coverage of serious crime became the norm. Although crime rates remained low, several 1920s murders received intense public attention. A Royal Commission into the 1926 Forrest River Massacre was held in 1927. It indicated that public opinion no longer supported extrajudicial killing of Aboriginal people. However, alleged police perpetrators were not charged, demonstrating the ongoing inequity of justice. From 1936, a 'Court of Native Affairs', a veneer of judicial process, began hearing cases where both parties were Aboriginal.

The first prison farm (Pardelup, Mount Barker) opened in 1927, reflecting growing awareness of prisoner rehabilitation to reduce criminal tendencies. Illicit gambling proliferated during the 1930s, and police made mild efforts to contain it. Crime rates overall were stable through the Depression, although unreported family violence probably increased.

Coastal artillery defences expanded in the 1930s as war loomed. Pearce RAAF base opened in 1938 and, from 1942, Fremantle became one of the world's largest submarine bases, supporting the British, Dutch and US navies. Conscription was introduced in 1939 for home service, and extended to the Southwest Pacific from 1943. Approximately two-thirds of men aged 18-40 (around 62,000) served. Over 2,000 were killed in action. Similar numbers became prisoners of war in Southeast Asia, where many died. Women's branches of the armed services opened, offering non-combat support roles, and around 6,500 Western Australian women signed up. Australian armed forces returned to peace-time standing in 1947, and wartime airfields closed in 1952.

World War II stimulated unparalleled home-front mobilisation. Around 70,000 Australian and Allied military personnel were stationed in Western Australia. A Voluntary Defence Corp (1940-1945) and Air Training Cadets (1941+) were established. Northern centres came under military control after Japanese air raids (1942) and most non-Aboriginal civilians were evacuated south. Prisoner of war camps received Axis soldiers from the Middle East. From 1943, air raids over Southeast Asia used secret Kimberley airfields.

Britain conducted nuclear tests on the Pilbara Monte Bello Islands in 1952 and 1956, and tests at Maralinga in South Australia (1956) also impacted Western Australian communities. Australia participated in conflicts in Korea, Malaya, and Vietnam in the post-war decades. A Citizen Military Force (later Army Reserve) formed in 1948 and navy cadets followed in 1952. National Service ran 1951 to 1959, and was controversially reintroduced in 1964, sparking outcry when expanded to send conscripts to the Vietnam War. Conscription ended in 1972.

Small progress was made in the 1950s towards greater equity. The Court of Native Affairs was abolished (1954), and Western Australia became the first Australian state to open juries equally to men and women (1957). Female police officers no longer required nursing training (1957). Ethel Scott, the first woman Sergeant (1947) went on to become the first female Inspector (1967).

Crime rates escalated in the 1950s. Property crimes more than doubled, and car theft became a major problem. Police community liaison work was given greater priority. From 1955, juvenile offenders were transferred to Stoneville Farm School, later a medium security facility. A maximum security boys' prison, recommended by a 1943 Royal Commission, opened at Riverbank (1960), and a mixed-gender youth remand centre followed at Longmore (1965). High security women's prisons opened at Bandyup (adults) and Nyandi (children) in 1970.

Eric Edgar Cooke, the first known serial killer in Western Australia, terrified Perth with a 1963 killing spree. Multiple murders remained uncommon and each gripped the community, especially the serial attacks of David and Catherine Birnie (1987), Kimberley shooting spree of Joseph Swab (1987) and Claremont serial killings (1996-1997).

From 1960 to 1980, the Western Australian police force more than doubled in number, with new stations built in expanding suburbs and Pilbara mining areas and many specialist police branches established. Full police training and duties were opened to women from 1976. The Women's Police Unit merged into the mainstream force, women began wearing police uniforms, and the ban on married female officers was removed. In 1989, Val Doherty became the first female Chief Superintendent in Australia.

Ronald Wilson was the first High Court Justice appointed from Western Australian (1979). He was followed by John Toohey (1989), Robert French (2008) and James Edelman (2017). An Aboriginal Legal Service was established in 1973 and Federal-funded Legal Aid began in 1974. The Family Court was established in 1976. Aboriginal women, however, struggled to access legal protection. By the 1980s, family violence was rife in Aboriginal communities, with little assistance from predominantly white male police.

By the 1970s, 40 per cent of prisoners were Aboriginal. Government-sanctioned destruction of family and community structures, disconnection from traditional land, social disadvantage and racist policing all contributed to the disproportionate representation. A 1975 Royal Commission investigating the arrest of Aboriginal men near Laverton was the first to include an Aboriginal Commissioner, consider Aboriginal cultural issues, and seriously challenge police practices.

A potentially corrupt police force leapt to public consciousness in 1975 when links were alleged between senior politicians, police and high-class prostitute Shirley Finn's murder. More police corruption was revealed through the 1980s and 1990s. A 2003 Royal Commission found an entrenched, although not universal, crooked culture, and the Corruption and Crime Commission was established in response. Under increased public scrutiny, WA Police launched the Delta Program in 1994 and moved towards more corporatised, accountable operations.

Military facilities in Western Australia expanded, reflecting the State's strategic importance for national defence. The Special Air Services Regiment (SAS, formed 1957) based itself in Perth. A RAAF airfield opened at Learmonth in 1973. HMAS Stirling naval base (Garden Island) commenced service in 1978. The Federal 'Two Oceans' policy (1986) saw over half the RAN fleet and all RAN submarines based at Garden Island by century's end. Military communications bases supporting both USA and Australian activities were established at Exmouth (1967) and Kojarena (1993).

A national campaign commemorating 50 years since World War II boosted perception of the ANZAC myth in Australian identity. Waning public interest in ANZAC day and military memorials was reignited. In 2002, a Vietnam War memorial was unveiled at Kings Park. Its 30-year delay reflected the disputed place of the war in community memory. Since Vietnam, Australia has deployed only professional military personnel overseas.

Port Hedland Detention Centre opened in 1991, to house Indochinese asylum seekers. From 1992, immigration detention for unauthorised boat arrivals was mandatory, which became increasingly controversial. A national network of federally-funded, privately-operated detention centres developed, including Perth, Derby, Northam and Christmas Island.

P3365 Cape Peron K Battery Complex, Cape Peron

World War II saw a massive increase in military defences in Western Australia, with unparalleled home front mobilisation, the stationing of USA, French and British forces and the armouring of significant ports with artillery. Defences were further bolstered with Japan's entry into the war in 1941.

Cape Peron K Battery Complex is representative of Western Australia's coastal defence system, forming part of a chain of gun emplacements referred to as the 'Fremantle Fortress'. The 'K' Australian Heavy Battery was formed in New South Wales and arrived in Fremantle in December 1942, with the site at Cape Peron selected because the 270° traverse of the guns covered the shipping range south of Rockingham and Safety Bay and west to Garden Island. The place demonstrates the military importance of Cockburn Sound during World War II and represents a form of coastal defence adapted to suit the local condition and requirements.

Privatisation of regular prisons was slower. Acacia (2001) was the first of two private prisons in the State. Private contractors also delivered services such as prison transport. The latter saw public scrutiny after the avoidable 2008 death of an Aboriginal elder in a private contractor's vehicle.

A national Royal Commission in 1991 reported high rates of Aboriginal deaths in custody, with one-third of the cases investigated being Western Australian. Much Aboriginal imprisonment was decried as unnecessary. Although the Commission received strong support, disproportionate Aboriginal imprisonment rates continued to rise, more than doubling over the next 15 years. Deaths in custody persisted. Police, recognising many vulnerable groups did not trust them, increased community liaison and crime prevention work, which had begun in the 1940s.

By the 1990s, parliament ventured into judicial matters, striving to appear 'tough on crime'. Mandatory sentencing (introduced in stages from 1992), 'truth in sentencing' legislation (2003) and reduced access to parole (2009) boosted prisoner numbers, with over 40 per cent of adult and nearly 80 per cent of juvenile prisoners Aboriginal. Prisons became overcrowded and understaffed, despite new facilities being built. Both staff and prisoners protested, the latter at times through riots.

In 2016, an Aboriginal teenager at Kalgoorlie was killed when a white man chased him in a car. Fierce protests broke out, and spread nationally in 2017 when the man was convicted only of dangerous driving, not manslaughter. For many, the case demonstrated that little progress towards an equitable legal system had been made since Lockier Burges had his manslaughter sentence reduced in 1872.

Cultural Life

Religion

From being central to society, politics and service provision, religious observance has moved to the margins of Western Australian public life. It has diversified from near-uniform allegiances to a plethora of spiritual practices.

Aboriginal people developed a deep sense of spirituality over their 50,000+ years occupation of future Western Australia, linked to the land and expressed holistically through law, social interaction and cultural expression. Sites linked with creator spirits were held to be particularly sacred. Aboriginal spirituality survives to the present, in some instances blended with ideas from more recent religious traditions, and has been a key to resilience and survival of First Peoples.

British colonists brought the Church of England in 1829, and with it the intertwining of religion, politics and social power. Wesleyans arrived the following year and Catholic services began to be held almost a decade later. From 1840 to 1895, the government provided an annual stipend to all churches, although the Congregationalists (established 1843) rejected State funding on principle.

The Church of England (later Anglicans) was the church of the establishment throughout the colonial period. Until 1871, its clergy were paid by the government. Being embedded with the political, social and economic elite caused tension when the church's missionaries and some lay members spoke out against the treatment of Aboriginal people.

This was demonstrated when missionary Louis Giustiniani was forced out of the colony in 1838 after advocating for Noongar rights, and in 1886 when Bishop Parry refused to support his own missionary, Joseph Gribble, after the latter accused establishment pastoralists of abhorrent acts towards traditional owners.

Although Catholics began worshipping from at least 1838, the arrival of Father Brady in 1843, followed in 1846 by members of Catholic religious orders he recruited, formally founded a Catholic presence. New Norcia, established 1846, was a significant social and religious establishment through the 19th century, led for over 50 years by the indomitable Dom Salvado. Spanish clergy in the early Catholic hierarchy possibly reduced sectarian conflict, which in other colonies ran on English–Irish lines. Acrimonious power struggles within the Catholic leadership, which resulted in Brady being removed as Bishop in 1852, were big news for the small colonial population.

Prior to the arrival of convicts in 1850 there were few churches, and even fewer priests. Much religious observance was in people's homes, with travelling clergy visiting on occasion. Some identified with faiths not formally represented in the colony, such as Presbyterians and Quakers. As settlements became more established, and the amount of available labour increased, communities built local churches. Some districts were characterised by particular faith communities, such as Wesleyan Methodists at Greenough or Presbyterians at Toodyay. All Christian denominations in the colony made missionary attempts with the Aboriginal populations, generally tied to paternalistic attitudes and attempts to 'Westernise' Aboriginal people. New Norcia was the longest-lasting of these missions.

P2622 **Benedictine Monastery Precinct, New Norcia**

New Norcia's journey from Aboriginal mission to mainstream (segregated) boarding school to tourist attraction and spiritual retreat centre reflects the transition in priorities for organised religion since colonisation. The monastery town particularly represents the extensive influence of Catholic religious orders in providing education and other social services.

Missions were a church priority from colonisation until the mid-20th century, and New Norcia was the pre-eminent mission within Western Australia. The Benedictines arrived in 1846 with the aim of Christianising Aboriginal people. They soon established a mission school for Aboriginal children at New Norcia, which in various forms continued to operate until 1974, while most early colonial Aboriginal schools were closed by the 1850s. Rosendo Salvado, who founded New Norcia and led it until his death in 1900, challenged colonial myths of Aboriginal backwardness and opposed frontier violence and decried dispossession, yet he oversaw a paternalistic regime and successfully lobbied for greater control over Aboriginal lives, especially children. New Norcia was a safe haven from violent pastoralists yet was complicit in forced removal and abuse of Aboriginal children, which continued into the 20th century. It sought to Westernise Aboriginal people as much as Christianise them, both teaching skills to survive within the white economy (especially farming) and separating people from Aboriginal culture, especially Aboriginal spirituality. More recently, New Norcia has been part of wider social acknowledgement of mistreatment of Aboriginal people and efforts towards reconciliation.

Before convicts arrived, two-thirds of the population identified as Church of England. Convicts increased Catholic numbers and brought a long-lasting Irish dominance to the Western Australian Catholic church. Strict church attendance was policy within the Convict Establishment, reflected in constructing a chapel in the centre of Fremantle Prison (1855). The Imperial government paid salaries for Church of England and Catholic chaplains.

Indian labourers brought Hinduism and possibly Sikhism to the colony in 1838. A handful of Jews and occasionally also Muslims were present in the 1830s. The dismissive attitude of the majority to non-Christian religion is reflected in the 1859 census category 'Jews, Mahometans and Pagans', of whom there were 51 in total. Malay pearlers at Broome introduced Islam in the 1870s, followed in the 1880s by Japanese pearlers of Shinto or Buddhist faith. In the south, Chinese Buddhists and Confucianists arrive from 1878. By 1891, there were more than 1,000 Buddhists (mostly Chinese) and 427 Muslims (mostly in the Kimberley), with both groups almost entirely men.

By the 1880s, many towns had church buildings, and religious observance was a more substantial aspect of community life than in earlier periods, although the number of clergy remained small. The influx of population brought by the 1890s gold rushes increased the scale and diversity of religious expression, and formalised faith communities that had not had an organisational presence. Migrants from eastern colonies also advocated secularism and brought sectarian divisiveness, which had been more significant in other parts of Australia. Many more Christian denominations founded churches, including Seventh Day Adventists, Baptists, Salvation Army, Christadelphians, Lutherans and Churches of Christ.

The more established denominations expanded their presence, building more and larger churches and schools. The gold boom also brought many new Catholic religious orders, which were instrumental in enabling the growing network of Catholic schools, particularly after government funding to these schools ceased in 1895. There was a marked increase in the Jewish population, the Theosophy Society established small branches, and Afghan cameleers diversified the Muslim population and brought Islam and Sikhism to the goldfields. By 1901, for the first time, the Church of England accounted for less than half the population (42 per cent).

For the first century of colonisation, churches held significant political influence. The Church of England bishop (Hale) in 1868 successfully appealed to Britain not to reappoint Governor Hampton, although ironically the subsequent governor (Weld) was the first Catholic in high office for the colony. Bishop Riley (1893-1929, Church of England) was close friends with both the Premier (John Forrest) and Editor of the *West Australian* (Winthrop Hackett). The first successful strike (Fremantle lumpers) was brought to an end in 1899 when senior Catholic, Church of England and Wesleyan Methodist clergy arbitrated a settlement. Bishop Riley went on to intervene in several industrial disputes over the next two decades.

Immigration restrictions initiated after Federation reduced the populations of non-Christian religions within the first decade of the 20th century. The religious life of the State stabilised. Church expansion followed new population centres, particularly through the growing agricultural areas. Over the next three decades Pentecostalists, Quakers, Greek Orthodox, Christian Scientists, Jehovah's Witnesses and Mormons established churches, and a Baha'i community formed. From the 1930s, as motorised transport became more common, church attendance became easier. However, in earlier periods when poor transport isolated rural families, church attendance was an important point of social contact in otherwise isolated lives.

Churches were instrumental in establishing many social services, beginning with education, health and orphanages and extending into diverse fields, often preceding government response to social needs. Many churches set up Aboriginal children's homes or missions in the early 20th century, and were complicit in the removal of children from Aboriginal families. Although some missions forbade use of Aboriginal languages, other Christians worked to translate the bible into language. In 1941, a Worrora translation of some sections of the bible was released, the first in an Aboriginal language from Western Australia.

Mainstream churches supported both World Wars, with Western Australian Catholics distancing themselves from the sectarian divisions of the conscription debate during World War I. Jehovah's Witnesses were banned during World War II due to their conscientious objector stance, but had the ban lifted in 1943 on constitutional grounds. Quakers, who had been active in peace organisations in the 1930s, anchored anti-nuclear activism from 1946.

In the second half of the 20th century, religious expression further diversified as the ethnic make-up of the population became less British. European migrants after World War II diversified the Catholic population and increased the presence of Orthodox churches. Vietnamese migration from the 1970s brought further changes to Western Australian Catholicism, and reintroduced a substantial Buddhist population. Lay-led church organisations became more common, even in the clergy-dominated Anglican and Catholic churches, particularly after the influence of Vatican II (1962-1965) and various

international Anglican renewal movements. Church youth activities proliferated as a substantial alternative to emerging secular teen culture.

However, religion was moving to the margins of public life. Church attendance declined. Institutional religious support for the Vietnam War angered and alienated many who were protesting against it. From the 1960s, the number of young Catholics entering religious orders dropped, as career options, especially for women, expanded. Religious orders gradually shrunk and aged. Many transferred their schools and social services to lay administration.

From the 1970s, Aboriginal spirituality was increasingly recognised. After community protests successfully ended mining on sacred land at Weebo (1969), legislation to protect Aboriginal sacred sites passed (1972), although it was often disregarded. Aboriginal missions were gradually closed or handed over to Aboriginal management.

Ecumenism increased through the latter 20th century, with expanded liaison between denominations, less rigid allegiance to denominational origins, and some moves to unite separate churches (most notably the creation nationally of the Uniting Church in 1977 from Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodist churches). Religious affiliation became less tied to ethnic background. The New Age movement gained a following. Civil marriage celebrants began services in 1974, and by century's end more civil than religious marriages were conducted. Women, who had long been involved in the practicalities of church life, became more prominent in church leadership and many denominations allowed full participation in all roles. Perth was the first Anglican Church in Australia to ordain women (1992). One of the women, Kay Goldsworthy, became Australia's first female Bishop (2008) and the world's first female Archbishop Metropolitan (2018).

In recent decades, increased migration from the Middle East and Asia has increased the Muslim, Buddhist and Hindu population of the State. South African migrants more than doubled the Jewish population over 20 years from the 1980s. Sikh numbers increased eight-fold in 10 years (2006-2016). Although Islam remains a very small presence, the media attention to Islamic terrorism in other parts of the world, especially after 2001 attacks in the USA, has put Muslims into the spotlight in Western Australia and brought attention, and sometimes public attack, to this long-established religious minority.

In the 2016 census, 49.8 per cent of Western Australia's population identified as Christian, mostly Catholic (21.4 per cent) and Anglican (14.3 per cent). Non-Christian religions accounted for a further 4.8 per cent (2.1 per cent Buddhist, 2.0 per cent Muslim, 1.6 per cent Hindu, 0.5 per cent Sikh, 0.2 per cent Jewish), and 32.5 per cent categorised themselves as 'no religion'.

P2156 **Perth Mosque, Perth**

While Christianity dominated the Western Australian religious landscape from colonial times into the 20th century, other religions were also present. The first known Muslim group in the colony were Malay pearlers in the 1870s, although occasional individual Muslims are recorded as early as 1833. In the south, Islam arrived with 'Afghan' cameleers serving the 1890s gold rush. 'Afghan' was a generic term used to describe several ethnic groups from central Asia, including Afghan, Indian, Syed, Baloch and Arab immigrants. As the gold boom waned and the population moved into coastal areas, Muslim numbers in Perth grew. Perth Mosque was built in 1906, following extensive fundraising. Its final completion was enabled by a loan from ex-premier Walter James, a remarkable move from a prominent Anglican politician at a time when non-Christians were often regarded as 'pagans'. Because of the White Australia policy, Muslim numbers declined over subsequent decades, although some European Muslims remained. Renewed Asian immigration from the 1970s saw the Mosque expand and new mosques constructed. At the 2016 census, two per cent of Western Australians identified as Muslim. There are over 20 mosques, prayer rooms or Muslim associations in Western Australia, mostly in the metropolitan area but also at Newman, Port Hedland, Katanning, Geraldton and Albany.

Overall, the latter 20th century saw religion lose much of its social and political influence. As fewer people identified with religion, public events generally shifted to operating without religious ritual or association. Revelations in the 2000s of extensive abuse within religious institutions, and cultures of cover-up, crystallised a crisis of public confidence in the value of organised religion. While the religious observance of birth, marriage and death remains stronger than other religious adherence, even here secular ceremonies are more common.

Recreation

Arts, Culture and Entertainment

Public cultural expression in Western Australia has transitioned from largely homogenous, community-based, amateur efforts, mixing popular culture with classical influences, to a diversity of perspectives, styles and mediums, often presented through professional arts organisations. International developments have been reflected locally, although at times with a time lag. Originally an outpost of (much diminished) British culture, Western Australia eventually developed its own cultural identity.

Aboriginal visual art, dance, ceremony, storytelling and song thrived, often ceremonial observance linked to land. Pre-contact artwork reflected four main stylistic regions, with surviving rock art at the Burrup Peninsular (Murujuga) among the oldest in the world. European explorers took visual representations of Western Australia to Europe in their maps and sketches, and records of their visits also entered Aboriginal culture.

Social life for early colonists included balls, regattas, picnics, kangaroo hunts, fishing trips, crabbing parties, horse races, cricket, amateur theatre and musical recitals. Long hours and arduous work conditions excluded most labourers from such activities. The first theatre productions (1839) caused uproar and women were not permitted back on stage for 30 years. Concerns that performances were held in hotels led to the first purpose-built venue being a temperance hall (1849). Shows were amateur presentations of imported material. Comic musicals, especially Gilbert and Sullivan, were fashionable. Pensioner guards also played and popularised brass band music.

The colony was slow to produce its own arts and culture. Early publications were diaries and memoirs. A convict transported for forgery (James Walsh, 1854) became the colony's first notable artist, but no art exhibition was held until 1889. Henry Clay published the first book of original colonial poetry (1873), although posthumously published 1860s work by Elizabeth Deborah Brockman (1915) received greater critical acclaim. An operetta composed by Governor Robinson premiered in 1894. Even folk tunes developed slowly, with convict-derived ballads mocking authorities among the earliest (1870s).

From the 1850s, mechanics' institutes opened in larger towns, supplying generally conservative reading rooms for workers. Some had museums attached, and many evolved into public libraries in the 20th century. Classical musical societies formed in the 1880s, although music lessons had been available since the arrival of the Sisters of Mercy in 1846. Genteel colonial women, few in number but upheld as an ideal, where expected to demonstrate talents such as singing and playing piano.

The gold boom was a watershed for cultural life. Increased wealth allowed greater leisure time, and migrants from eastern colonies inspired a wider range of artistic expression. Larger populations enabled special interest groups, and clubs and societies, which developed slowly in the 1880s, took off through the 1890s. Professional chorus dancers, locally-designed jewellery, newspaper photography, silent cinema, touring circuses and singing ensembles emerged.

Cultural infrastructure also increased. Perth Museum was established (1891), J.S. Battye began 60 years as Chief Librarian (1894) and the Jubilee Buildings to house Perth's museum, art gallery and library opened (1899). Elaborate purpose-built theatres were constructed, and Perth's zoological gardens, more entertainment than conservation, opened in 1898.

The first major history of Western Australia (1897, W.B. Kimberley) included entries paid for by the colonial elite. It was substantially repeated in J.S. Battye's 1912-1913 Cyclopedia of Western Australia. Subsequent key histories were produced in 1924 (Battye), 1960 (F.K. Crowley), 1981 (C.T. Stannage) and 2008 (G. Bolton). From mid-20th century they were more critical, with greater social focus, especially Aboriginal, environmental and women's perspectives.

The early 20th century was a period of international craft revival. Artisan work flourished as gold-boom migrants established themselves in more permanent settlements. The first trained sculptor to work in the colony, Pietro Porcelli, particularly contributed memorials, the predominant public artwork of the period. Art training reflected the Arts-and-Crafts Movement influences of long-serving first teacher James Linton (1902-1931).

Suburban development and the spread of small country towns shifted social focus to local activities such as sports clubs, youth groups, choirs, fetes and (for men) local hotel bars. Ethnic clubs formed. Over-arching associations began coordinating the activities of cultural groups. Youth movements began, including YMCA (1907), Scouts (1908), Young Australia League (YAL, 1908) and Guides (1911). Perth-based YAL spread across Australia, outnumbering Scouts by the 1920s.

Colonisation hindered Aboriginal cultural expression. Some groups were so decimated by colonial attacks that ancient cultural memory was lost, such as the Jaburara custodians of Burrup Peninsular rock art. Others struggled to express culture when removed from traditional land. Movement restrictions and devastation of community structures hampered capacity to pass on ceremonial culture. However, Aboriginal culture survived, often carrying the unwritten stories of dispossession and violence.

Theatre training began c.1907. From 1919, the Perth Repertory Club led a 'Little Theatre Movement' with many regional affiliates, which dominated Western Australian theatre until the 1950s. Professional theatre developed from the 1920s, a period when classical arts expanded. Ballet tuition became available (1926), an amateur opera company formed (1927) and Perth Symphony Orchestra (1928) displaced several amateur orchestras, although it was 1936 before orchestra members received a regular wage. Western Australians fundraised to send Goldfields teenager Eileen Joyce to train as a concert pianist in Europe (1927), launching their first international star. Radio (introduced 1924) opened a new forum for cultural expression. Studio orchestras were retained, and jazz and country music (largely American) became popular. Original ABC radio dramas were produced for around 30 years from 1936.

P1296 **Mechanics Institute (fmr), Kalgoorlie**

In most parts of Australia, early library services were provided by churches and Sunday schools, and through organisations variously referred to as mechanics' institutes, literary institutes and similar. The emergence of mechanics' institutes in Western Australia grew in a sporadic way, following the pattern of settlement and growth. The Kalgoorlie Miners' Institute was established in 1895 with its aim being 'the cultivation of Literature, Science and Art, the intellectual improvement, and the recreation of its members'.

The two-storey, Federation Filigree style, brick and iron building constructed in 1902 is a fine representative example of the purpose-built buildings erected by progressive social organisations, that played an important role in the early education and cultural development of communities in newly settled centres. It makes a strong contribution to the grand and imposing character of Hannan Street and is closely associated with the rapid population growth in the Eastern Goldfields. The style of the building is evidence of the wealth, civic pride and communal confidence generated by the goldfield's community at the turn of the century.

P293 **Sun Picture Gardens, Broome**

This purpose-built picture garden is one of the oldest operating picture gardens in Australia. The place reflects the way in which Western Australia, originally an outpost of British culture, developed its own cultural identity.

Since its construction in 1916, Sun Picture Gardens has formed an integral and distinctive part of Broome's social life, contributing greatly to the community's sense of place and identity. Broome had always had a multi-racial population and although most patrons were accepted, seating at Sun Picture Gardens was allocated strictly according to race. The segregated seating arrangements continued until 1967, when it became illegal to discriminate on the basis of race.

Owing to Western Australia's favourable climatic conditions, picture gardens were once numerous and very popular. In 1929 the ground-breaking introduction of 'talking pictures' was seen. The first talking movie to be played in Sun Picture Gardens in 1933 played to a packed house, heralding new interest in film and the establishment of other picture places across the state. However, by the 1960s most picture gardens had ceased regular screenings although Sun Picture Gardens continued to operate. While the viability of the business faltered in the face of the introduction of video rentals and other technological changes in the industry, in 2004 the place was officially recognised by the Guinness World Records as the 'World's Oldest Open Air Cinema in Operation'. Operating in conjunction with more modern cinemas nearby, the place has seen the introduction of new technologies in filmmaking, including the installation of digital projectors.

In the late 20th century, Broome developed as a northern cultural hub, celebrating its Asian heritage as a unique cultural feature and tourist drawcard as well as promoting Aboriginal art, writing, music and performance. Sun Picture Gardens remains a popular venue for movies, as well as for other events such as concerts, talent quests, cocktail parties and weddings.

Popular entertainment was often linked to fundraising activities. The Ugly Men's Association opened White City amusement park in 1922. Patronised by workers, youth and Aboriginal people (the latter banned from 1927), it was closed as an eyesore associated with gambling and social problems in preparation for the centenary of colonisation (1929). A government-sponsored centenary history uncritically described 100 years of 'progress', focussing on colonial heroes and distancing the State from its convict past.

Cinema was also very popular, but a local film industry did not develop. The introduction of 'talking pictures' (1929), although immensely popular, put many musicians out of work. After a lull during the Depression, construction of new 'picture palaces' escalated from the mid-1930s.

Western Australia emerged through the 1920s as the setting and theme for fiction, the relationship of characters to natural environment often key. Katharine Susannah Prichard was the State's pre-eminent inter-war author, along with Mollie Skinner, Henrietta Drake-Brockman and E.L. Grant Watson. Local publishing began in 1934. Several 1930s writers expressed Communist sympathies, and John Harcourt's *Upsurge* (1934), describing the Depression, was banned. The radical Workers Art Guild (1935-1942) became Perth's main theatre company, producing many locally-written plays.

Art was dominated by British exhibitions, expanding post-war to American and European shows. Aboriginal art, first exhibited in 1939, was curated as anthropology. In 1950, critically acclaimed artworks by Carrolup Noongar children toured internationally, but Australian recognition did not follow. Local contemporary artists emerged after World War II, including Howard Taylor, Guy Grey Smith and Robert Juniper. From the 1960s, non-memorial public artworks were commissioned, including many abstract representations. *The Critic* (1961) launched art criticism.

Walter Murdoch, Albert Kornweibel and Paul Hasluck were all prominent inter-war commentators of literature and theatre. Post-war criticism centred on *Westerly* (from 1956). Tom Hungerford, Mary Durack and Randolf Stow were notable post-war authors. Gerald Glaskin, under the pseudonym Neville Jackson, published the first Australian novel with an openly gay protagonist (1965). Jack Davis' poetry was the first Aboriginal writing to impact the wider community (1970). From 1976, government-sponsored Fremantle Arts Centre Press nurtured Western Australian writers, including non-English language publications. Its 1981 novel *A Fortunate Life* (A.B. Facey) became a national best-seller.

From 1951, the State Library Board worked towards a free, modernised, public library service, including interconnected regional libraries. Library, museum and art gallery separated in 1958, allowing greater investment and specialisation in each.

American cultural influences shaped the 1950s. Juke boxes, milk bars, rock-n-roll and public dancing became common, particularly for young people. Common entertainment included hotel beer gardens, dances, social sport and speedway. Hollywood movies dominated, and drive-in cinemas opened. New migrant groups founded ethnic clubs. Church and community groups operated budget campsites for group events, especially for teens. Outdoor cultural performances became popular.

Australian country music evolved in the 1950s, and was particularly popular in Aboriginal communities. The Vietnam War spawned folk music in the 1960s. A local rock music scene also emerged, nurturing musicians of national note by the 1980s.

P1681 Katharine Susannah Prichard's House, Greenmount

An important Australian literary figure and political activist, Katharine Susannah Prichard's works include *The Pioneers*, *Black Opal*, *Working Bullocks*, *Coonardoo* and *The Roaring Nineties*. Katharine and her husband H.V.H. Throssell (Jim) lived at the house from their marriage in 1919 until her husband's suicide in 1933, from which time Katharine spent more time in the eastern States. However, she returned to Perth and again took up residence in the house in 1946 until her death in 1969.

The c.1896 timber and iron house, with a separate workroom constructed in 1929 to provide Prichard with a retreat in which to concentrate on her writing, is representative of a writer's way of life and the need for isolation and solitude. The place is held in esteem by the local community and by particular literary groups for its association with the author.

Classical arts became more professional and diverse. A State ballet company and chamber orchestra both formed in 1952, eventually followed by opera in 1967. The Festival of Perth (1953) was the first international arts festival in Australia. Through the 1950s and 1960s, composer James Penberthy produced Western Australian-themed ballets, symphonies and operas, including exploration of Aboriginal-colonist relationships. National Theatre, the semi-professional 1956 precursor to Black Swan Theatre, was fully professional by 1960. Alternative theatre and music repertoire increasingly found performers and audiences.

Western Australia produced many talented performers, but nearly all had to relocate to advance professionally. Musical theatre star Jill Perryman, musician and television host Johnny Young, rock musician Bon Scott, punk rocker Kim Salmon and actor Judy Davis all had success after leaving the State through the 1960s and 1970s. Even writers, such as Dorothy Hewett, sometimes transferred interstate, and the trend of artists moving east to build a career continues to the present.

In the 1960s, huge crowds attended several large-scale Eastern European touring shows, brought to Perth by the Edgley family (eg. Bolshoi Ballet, Moscow Circus). Michael Edgley and TVW7 underpinned construction of Perth Entertainment Centre (1974). However, it never made a profit, finally closing in 2002.

A Film and Television Institute formed in 1972, assisting development of a local film industry. From 1980, the Western Australian Performing Arts Academy (WAAPA) offered professional training in music, dance and theatre. Many WAAPA graduates and other Western Australians achieved national and international recognition in the performing arts.

Rising interest in the State's history saw the WA Museum establish regional branches (from 1968) and support municipal museums (from 1972). Discovery and then looting of Dutch shipwrecks in the 1960s resulted in protective legislation (1973, 1976) and a maritime museum (1979). Oral History and Genealogical societies formed (1978 and 1979) and Hesperian Press (1979) began publishing 'Westraliana'. A year of sesquicentenary celebrations (1979) included publication of many histories.

Through the 1980s, cultural offerings diversified, with more options for children and teenagers, increased interest in non-Anglo-Australian perspectives, and expansion of alternative artistic expression. Sally Morgan and Jack Davis brought Aboriginal stories to wider audiences, and Ernie Dingo began a career that would make him one of Australia's best-known Aboriginal actors by century's end. By the 1990s, Asian voices were published in addition to continental European stories.

Broome developed as a northern cultural hub. Magabala Books (1984) and Goolarri Media Enterprises (1991) fostered Aboriginal art, writing, music and performance. The Pigram brothers anchored successful Aboriginal rock bands, including the first Aboriginal international recording contract (1988). Broome-based *Bran Nue Dae* (1990), the acclaimed first Aboriginal musical in Australia, was eventually made into an internationally-aired film (2009). Broome festivals also celebrated Japanese and Chinese culture.

Youth culture from the 1990s moved away from groups, camps and events. Scouts, YAL and YMCA all declined. By the 2000s, Scouts was the only youth organisation to retain substantial momentum and membership.

The first and only casino in the State opened at Burswood in 1985. Unlike other states, Western Australia did not allow poker machines anywhere else. Introduction of random breath testing in 1988 impacted live music, as attendance at pub gigs declined. From 1991, Healthway funded arts events in lieu of (banned) tobacco sponsorship.

Long-running music festivals emerged from the mid-1980s, some developing family-friendly cultures and others erring towards alcohol and drug abuse. By the mid-1990s, festivals of jazz, folk, world, blues, country and rock music were held at Boyup Brook, Bindoon, Bridgetown, Nannup, Fairbridge, York and metropolitan locations. Another round of festivals formed in the mid-2000s, but by 2015 the number of festivals had decreased.

Through the latter 20th century, nationally significant authors emerged from Western Australia, including Tim Winton (novels), Shaun Tan (picture books) and Greg Egan (science fiction). Kim Scott was the first Aboriginal person to win the Miles Franklin award (2000). Popular musicians Eurogliders, Hoodoo Gurus, Johnny Diesel and the Injectors, the Triffids, Ammonia, Eskimo Joe, Jebediah, John Butler Trio and the Waifs reached national or international acclaim, although often after leaving the State. Classical composer Roger Smalley and baritone opera singer Gregory Yurisich also achieved international recognition. Western Australian stories reached international audiences in movies *Shine* (1996) and *Rabbit Proof Fence* (2002).

The government legislated in 1989 that major developments must reserve a percentage of project costs for public artworks. Art commissions subsequently expanded. The Perth Institute for Contemporary Art (PICA, 1989) and mid-1990s efforts to channel graffiti into urban art initiatives reflected expanding understandings of legitimate artistic expression.

The Miss Western Australia and Miss Australia awards ceased in 1991 and 2000, as beauty pageants worldwide fell out of fashion. Western Australia had previously had seven national winners and one Miss Universe (1977), hosting the latter competition in 1979. Dance halls, previously central to social life, largely closed.

In 1999, Rod Moran published *Massacre Myth*, alleging the Forrest River Massacre never happened. The book fed into the national 'culture wars' of the 2000s, which attempted to discredit descriptions of frontier violence. Memories transmitted by Aboriginal art, storytelling, dance and song were dismissed by opponents as unreliable. Most academics, however, supported Aboriginal accounts.

As government arts funding tightened into the 2000s, cultural organisations looked to sponsorship to maintain output. Arts patronage, especially corporate donations, increased, but private philanthropy has not developed as much as in other states. From 2001, public liability insurance premiums rose sharply. Coupled with a decline in volunteering and community engagement, the changes caused some clubs, organisations and venues to close.

In the 2000s, Western Australia progressively integrated into national culture and global interaction. Internet forums opened new platforms for artistic expression and income generation. Locally-produced blogs, podcasts, video channels and other sites sky-rocketed. Despite changes to form and funding, Western Australia retained a vibrant and diverse cultural life.

Sport

Sport has long been central within Western Australian culture, occupying great quantities of leisure time, media coverage and social conversation, and generating State heroes.

Prior to colonisation, games were often linked to necessary survival skills such as coordination, hunting and battles. Wrestling, foot races and ball games were all known in Aboriginal communities. By the 20th century, Aboriginal people also proved adept at introduced sports, one of the earliest fields where they experienced some recognition alongside white peers.

Colonists initiated sports played in Britain, especially horseracing (1829), cricket (1835) and yachting (1841). Players were male, although spectating was a major mixed-gender social event. Horse racing was the colony's main organised sport. The first formal race meet (1833) used ponies. Thoroughbred racing began in 1836, with horses bred by prominent gentlemen, beginning a long-standing relationship between thoroughbred racing and social elites. The Western Australian Turf Club (WATC) formed in 1852. Regular country race meetings were also common. Competition cricket began in 1852. From 1879, a New Norcia Aboriginal team entered the Perth competition, with considerable success over eight years. The Western Australian Cricket Association (WACA) formed in 1885 and its East Perth ground opened in 1893. Cricket was more common with middle classes, especially public servants. There was only one rowing club (1868) until the latter 1880s. The first yacht club formed in 1876, although regattas were held earlier.

Competition football started with rugby-like rules (1878), but after much dispute over codes, a regular league of Victorian Rules (first played 1868) began in 1885 with three teams. By century's end, team numbers doubled, and the Victorian game, frequently characterised by both player and spectator violence, was established as the dominant football code and pre-eminent working class sport.

Tennis was a social sport for wealthier families from the 1870s, with sporadic competitions from 1878. It was one of few sports women played, with women's State championships from 1896. Other social sports by the 1880s included archery, foot racing, shooting, croquet and cricket. Rural log chopping competitions (introduced 1882) were popular. Occasional rowing, cycling and athletics competitions were also held. Foot racing was the first professional sport (1880s), but no sport offered a career.

Sport was a significant aspect of national identity, with teams representing 'Australia' decades before the political entity formed. Australia carved a place within the Commonwealth based on success as sportsmen and soldiers, and Western Australia shared the national image of young, fit, white male sportsmen-soldier-farmers.

Through the 1890s, migrants and rising wealth introduced new sports. Rugby union (1893, competition folded by 1905), golf (1895), lacrosse (1896), soccer (1896) and lawn bowls (1896) all established leagues, while existing sports expanded. Competitive cycling was popular on the goldfields, while pony club racing became a working class alternative to thoroughbred events, earning elite disdain until it was shut down under the guise of 'wartime austerity' (1917). Dave Strickland won the Stawell Gift in 1900, the first Western Australian victory in a national sporting event.

P2170 **Gloucester Park, East Perth**

The first trotting race in Western Australia was held in 1834 at Fremantle Racecourse, and further races were held at the Royal Agricultural Society's Shows. The Western Australian Trotting Association was subsequently established in 1910 after a meeting of a group interested in advancing the sport in the State. Gloucester Park (originally named Brennan Park) was founded in 1929. At the time of its opening, the Gloucester Park track was considered the best in the southern hemisphere and the equal of any in the world.

Gloucester Park is one of two purpose-built harness racing grounds established in the Perth metropolitan area and is the only one still in operation. The place is highly valued by the community as a landmark and social gathering place, and remains as Perth's principal trot racing venue since it was founded over ninety years ago.

Swimming flourished as public river- and sea-baths opened (1897). Kalgoorlie established the first public pool (1900) and swimming competition (1902), but from 1914 to 1961 most competitive events were held in the Swan River at Crawley Baths, including Australasian competitions.

As unpaid sporting endeavour was considered a virtue within British culture, most sport was amateur and social, although athletics was increasingly dominated by professional runners. In the 1900s, associations or regular competitions formed for rifle shooting (1901), swimming (1902), tennis (1903), yachting (1903), athletics (1905), hockey (1906) and golf (1908). Surf life saving began at Cottesloe in 1908, only a year after the world's first clubs formed in Sydney. Basketball arrived in the State in 1911.

Some sports began expanding options for women, but many remained male-only. Tennis, swimming (segregated), cycling and hockey included women, and sulky races often had women drivers. Women's sporting leagues formed in golf (1914) and hockey (1916), and a short-lived women's Victorian Rules football competition (1915) was the first women's football league in Australia. A charity women's billiards tournament (1915) supported the war effort. Women's sport expanded during World War I when most sporting men enlisted in the armed forces.

George Blurton was the first Aboriginal person to receive the Western Australian Football League (WAFL)'s annual 'most gentlemanly and fairest' medal (1915). Aboriginal footballers became a significant presence within the State football league. Aboriginal boxers also had success, although boxing was largely a 'sideshow' event at agricultural shows until after World War II.

Motor racing began in 1902, drawing interest to this novel new means of transport. Hill racing was particularly popular. Claremont Speedway (1927) operated for 70 years. Perth motorcycle racer Sig Schlam was acknowledged as one of the world's best riders before his death in 1930.

Sport increased its profile, participation and diversity through the inter-war years. Social prohibition against sport on Sundays began to relax a little, especially amongst workers who had only Sundays available for recreation. Tennis became a recreational choice across income levels, especially in country towns, with many community courts established. Despite many years of women playing tennis, the Lawn Tennis Australasian Open (hosted locally 1909, 1913 and 1921) included only men's events until 1922. Netball (originally 'women's basketball', introduced 1924) became a sport of choice for many women. Recreational beach swimming became popular, while surf life saving developed as a competitive sport, rowing boomed, Country Week multisport high school carnivals began (1924, still held in 2018) and Rugby Union (1928) was re-established. In the 1930s, golf became popular, especially among a growing middle class, and gymnastics competitions began.

Hockey emerged as one of the State's strongest sports. A men's team entered the national league in 1928 and won 48 per cent of titles over the next 65 years. Western Australian women entered the national competition in 1946 and won 83 per cent of titles until the league changed in 1993. Women's associations for lawn bowls (1935) and athletics (1936) were established, and Decima Norman won five athletics gold medals at the 1938 Empire Games, the first Western Australian to achieve at this level. As war loomed, the National Fitness Council formed a branch (1939) to ensure a fit wartime population. Many organised sports were curtailed or suspended during World War II.

In the post-war years, Western Australia participated in more national sporting leagues, including surf life saving (1945), Sheffield Shield cricket (1947, full membership 1956), softball (1952) and squash (1952). State identity and pride increasingly entwined with sporting prowess. The first Western Australian to win Olympic gold was John Winter (1948). Shirley Strickland (de la Hunty) won silver and bronze medals. She won gold at the next two Olympics, becoming a national hero, the most prominent of many Western Australian athletes to win medals for Australia into the 21st century.

Sporting variety expanded, especially influenced by post-war migrants. Soccer boomed, with many clubs linked to European migrant groups. Dutch gymnast Nelleck Jol began 40 years training women (1953), including nine Olympic gymnasts. Martial arts emerged, and water polo (1947), rugby league (1948), polocrosse (1949), softball (1949), sports for people with disability (1954) and clay target shooting (1954) all established competitions. Surf life saving and yacht clubs proliferated, and the introduction of light-weight fibreglass boards (1956) enabled surfing to develop.

In 1962, Perth hosted the British Empire and Commonwealth Games, the first to include sports for people with disability. World-class sporting facilities for swimming, basketball, athletics and cycling were constructed. The event brought world attention and boosted tourism. The international sporting world also keenly followed tennis star Margaret Court (nee Smith), who lived in Western Australia for most of her outstanding career (1960s-1975), and remains Australia's all-time most successful female player.

A government-owned Totalisator Agency Board (TAB) opened in 1961 to manage off-course betting, legalised in 1954. Greyhound racing began in 1974, after a 1927 ban was repealed. Many country horseracing clubs closed through the 1970s when required to license with the Perth-based WATC. Western Australian media provided extensive, though male-dominated, sports coverage. Thriving regional newspapers and radio stations promoted country sport, but television (1959) favoured city events, especially football. By the 1970s, television expanded professional sporting career opportunities. Prior to this, most professional athletes also maintained a day job.

The 1960s-1970s mining boom expanded sporting clubs in the Pilbara. In the same period, children's sporting competitions increased. Junior games such as tee-ball developed. Elite netball reached its peak, with the local team hosting world championships and dominating the national league. Swimming shifted from river- and sea-baths (demolished 1964 to 1978) to beaches and swimming pools. Many public and backyard swimming pools were installed through the 1970s.

Activ foundation hosted the first City to Surf run (1975), reflecting the rising popularity of recreational jogging and aerobic fitness classes. Participation by people with disability was specifically encouraged, in an era where sports by people with disability expanded to include opportunities for blind, deaf, amputee and athletes with intellectual disability.

From the 1950s to 1970s, Graham 'Polly' Farmer, Syd Jackson and Barry Cable had long football careers, becoming the State's most successful 20th-century Aboriginal footballers. By the 2000s, the Australian Football League (AFL) was beginning to acknowledge the extensive contribution of Aboriginal AFL players. Aboriginal women had fewer sporting options, although 1970s-1980s golf champion May Chalker was a notable exception.

The Department of Youth, Sport and Recreation formed in 1978 to integrate the State's sporting endeavours, improve facilities, enhance recognition of women in sport, coordinate coaching and support Aboriginal involvement. Much infrastructure and organisation followed through the 1980s. Sporting culture became increasingly professional. The Western Australian Institute of Sport (WAIS) was established to train athletes for Olympic sports (1984). Where earlier Olympic victories had mostly been in swimming or athletics, since the 1980s Western Australians have also won medals in hockey, rowing, canoeing, tennis, ice skating, water polo, sailing, cycling, equestrian, diving and archery, including several highly successful paralympians.

Australia's elite hockey program moved to Western Australia in 1984. From 1988 to century's end, Australia achieved hockey medals at every Olympics, with teams comprising up to half Western Australian members. Hockey victories continued into the 2010s, with fewer Western Australians in national teams.

In 1983, Western Australian yacht Australia II was the first non-American vessel to win the America's Cup since 1870, earning the right to hold the next triennial meet. Although Australia lost the 1986-87 defence of the Cup, the event brought Western Australia to international attention, boosting tourism and transforming Fremantle. International yachting visited again in 1993 and 1997 when the Whitbread Round-the-World Yacht Race called at Fremantle. Local sailors also achieved round-the-world feats, including Jon Sanders' multiple circumnavigations (from 1982), and David Dicks' 1996 voyage to be the youngest solo circumnavigator. The surfing World Championship Tour from 1985 included the Margaret River Pro, and from 1988, the Hopman Cup attracted world tennis stars. Western Australian world champions periodically emerged in various sports, including Rolly Tasker (yachting, 1958), Ian 'Kanga' Cairns

(surfing, world no. 2, 1976), Dean Williams (squash, world no. 2, 1982), Steel Bishop (cycling, 1983), Ross Dunkerton (rally driving, 1970s-1990s), Shelly Taylor Smith (marathon swimming, 1988-1994), Anna Coxon (yachting, 1995) and Danny Green (boxing, 2003).

The Perth Wildcats dominated the National Basketball League for over a decade from the late 1980s, and basketball briefly challenged the media attention to football, cricket, tennis and horse racing. American players were recruited, while Luc Longley became the first Australian in the prestigious American National Basketball Association (NBA, 1991).

In 1987, West Coast Eagles entered the Victorian Football League (VFL, from 1990 AFL). West Coast was the first non-Victorian team to win the premiership (1992), becoming State heroes and repeating the feat in 1994. Fremantle Dockers entered the League in 1995, splitting AFL football loyalties.

Tobacco advertising was banned in 1991, and the government established Healthways to sponsor sporting events in lieu of this income. Many sports, especially those with large followings such as AFL, reoriented to cater for sponsorship deals, corporate supporters and television audiences. Some long-standing sports, such as lawn bowls and harness racing, declined in popularity while newer ones flourished (eg. lacrosse, softball, dragon boat racing, Wadjemup/Rottnest Channel Swim).

Privately-owned Perth Glory soccer club (formed 1995) achieved national success. Although private club ownership had been unusual in Australia, by the 2000s it was increasing, particularly in non-AFL football codes. West Coast Eagles was owned by the Western Australian Football Commission, which also had majority ownership of the Fremantle Dockers.

Most sport continued to be played on gender lines (recreational netball and touch rugby being rare exceptions). Western Australian women's leagues emerged for soccer (1972) and AFL (1988), and women's State teams entered national competitions in soccer (1970s), basketball (1988), netball (1991) and cricket (1996). Fremantle Dockers entered the inaugural national women's AFL league (AFLW, 2017), but even at the highest levels, women's sport struggled to gain acknowledgement or funding. In 2015, the internationally acclaimed Australian women's soccer team (Matildas) went on strike to protest their meagre pay, which remained a fraction of their male colleagues' income even after a 2017 pay-rise. Matildas' star striker, Western Australian Samantha Kerr became one of the best female soccer players in the world, and was named the 2018 Young Australian of the Year.

A new Perth sporting stadium opened in 2018, replacing previous iconic grounds for cricket and all football codes. It was a prominent government investment in professional sport.

Balancing support for elite squads with recreational sport continues to challenge governments and stir public opinion. Despite increasing popularity of exercise classes and gyms, most Western Australians live largely sedentary lifestyles, content to cheer for televised sporting heroes.

Domestic Life

All facets of domestic life have diversified since colonisation, both the fabric of residences and the way people live within them. Western Australian houses have journeyed from makeshift, unadorned temporary structures to large permanent residences equipped with abundant modern conveniences. Family sizes have plummeted, with increasingly varied models of family becoming socially acceptable.

Aboriginal communities mostly built small homes of bush materials, sometimes as permanent as clay-plastered huts. Caves and other natural shelters were used where possible. Vegetable diets were supplemented by hunted meat or fish when available. Approximately 130 languages and dialects were spoken across the area later to become Western Australia.

Colonists arrived with women, children and resources to establish European-style houses and kitchen gardens. Initial makeshift shelters (mostly tents) were replaced with austere, often leaky, slab or mud-walled huts. Food, clothes and furniture were mostly home-grown, homemade or recycled, with rural homesteads very isolated. Aboriginal communities incorporated colonists' building materials into their shelters. Colonists' diet remained overwhelmingly British, with food rationed until 1833.

Women married young and had many children, often dying in childbirth. Divorce was extremely difficult for women to obtain, and low numbers of women meant few stayed single, while many men remained unmarried. Until 1865, homosexuality carried the death sentence. Aboriginal women and children were sought as domestic servants as there were so few single women colonists.

Tea was favoured, but colonists also consumed much alcohol, and public drunkenness was prevalent. By 1837, there was one licensed premise for every 75 colonists. Much entertainment was self-generated and domestically based, including card games, musical evenings, picnics and riding parties. There were few books in circulation, and these were mostly pragmatic texts.

British social stratification was imported but broke down somewhat as lack of labourers and the early uncertainty of food supply meant elites initially did more work than they expected. There were no luxuriant inherited estates and little abject, systemic poverty. From the arrival of convicts (1850), 'bond' and 'free' defined social status more than divisions of gentry and workers. Ticket-of-leave men endured a 10pm curfew, and most convicts spent more time in work camps than prison.

From the 1850s, standards of living improved, especially in larger towns. Brick and stone houses became common, although most remained small. By the 1880s, one third of houses were one- or two-room cottages, and 70 per cent of houses had four or fewer rooms.

Women managed child-raising and household work, with rural women also participating in farm labouring. Most families mid-century had at least six children, and 40 per cent had 10 or more, although many did not survive. From the 1870s, fertility rates gradually declined. By the 1870s, some families had acquired substantial fortunes and an elite culture developed. British-influenced social life adapted for colonial life and climate, with outdoor entertainments common.

The 1890s gold boom made society more complex and prosperous, and linked Western Australia to a wider Australian culture. A social divide emerged between 'sandgropers' (pre-gold boom colonists) and 't'othersiders' (migrants), lasting around a decade. Funds and building industry professionals increased the housing standards from long-standing basic levels. However, terrace housing did not develop, and double-storey residences were reserved for wealthy families.

Shanty towns dominated the goldfields, alongside cosmopolitan town centres. Many men lived in boarding houses, and there were few women or children. Domestic life was primitive, with unsanitary conditions, little fresh food or water, and rampant typhoid. However, goldfields inventors created the Coolgardie Safe (late 1890s) and the world's first patented electric stove (1905).

Beer consumption surpassed spirits in the 1890s. By 1900, Western Australia averaged twice the alcohol consumption of other Australian colonies. Social taboos around drinking alone, or women drinking at all, created strong cultures of male social drinking. Supplying alcohol to Aboriginal people, however, was banned from 1880 and in 1910 even their possessing alcohol was made illegal.

The government sought to control Aboriginal families' domestic life. Sexual contact between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people was outlawed without government consent, and removal of Aboriginal children broke the fabric of individual lives, families, communities and Aboriginal culture. From 1936, restrictions were further tightened. Cut off from traditional ways of life, excluded from the white economy and often left reliant on inferior government or charitable provision, Aboriginal people frequently ended up in squalid conditions.

For non-Aboriginal families, government policy from around 1906 focussed on facilitating healthy children in supportive family environments. The emerging women's movement emphasised domestic improvements. Initiatives such as child care (1906), children's court (1907), a department of child welfare (1907), a children's hospital (1909) and free kindergarten (1912) were established. From 1912, a Federal maternity allowance was introduced for all non-Aboriginal children.

World War I disrupted family life as men enlisted. Remnant Victorian-era mourning etiquette was largely abandoned due to the high death rate. Veterans frequently returned to their families physically or mentally incapacitated, and depleted male numbers left many women unable to marry. As women's economic options were limited, single women were vulnerable to poverty, especially as they aged. War also brought the State's first experiment with daylight saving, introduced nationally in 1917 as an energy savings measure. Western Australia never permanently adopted the practice, despite further wartime measures in 1942, several trials and four referendums (1975-2009).

Cinema became popular through the inter-war years, increasing American cultural influence. Beach culture developed from promenading (popular from the 1880s) to including ocean swimming. Motorised transport expanded rural social options, reducing households' isolation. Major events were weddings, 21st birthdays and, for some, debutante balls. Recorded music entered homes through gramophones (imported from 1898) and the introduction of radio (1924). Women's fashion began revealing more skin, including knee-length skirts, tennis shorts and one-piece bathing suits exposing arms. Australia's signature dessert, the pavlova, was 'invented' in Perth in 1935 (although remarkably similar to an earlier New Zealand dish).

Terracotta tiles replaced corrugated iron roofs through the inter-war years and many metropolitan councils banned timber housing. Bathrooms were increasingly included within the main body of the house. In regional settlements, however, corrugated iron, timber and ablutions in outbuildings remained common.

Inside private homes, the law gave women and children little protection from abusive men. Sexual assault of children was not outlawed until 1892, and few convictions resulted. Abused women required legal permission not to cohabit with their husband, and legal grounds for divorce remained narrow.

Standards of living plummeted through the 1930s Depression. Urban males were particularly hard-hit, suicide rates rose, and domestic violence is believed to have increased. Many survived on the kindness of family, friends and neighbours. Birth rates dropped for over a decade, and people became frugal and innovative in response to shortages, with an aversion to taking on debt. Food was limited in quantity and variety, and grown at home or hunted wherever possible. A 1938 survey found over 25 per cent of suburban children were undernourished, sparking campaigns to promote fruit, vegetables and milk. Flats became popular in the late 1930s. Some were purpose-built establishments aimed at middle-class tenants, while others were large residences converted into multiple dwellings, condemned as slums in a 1938 Royal Commission.

After a brief reprieve in the latter 1930s, World War II brought further belt-tightening. Construction virtually ceased, and blackouts, shortages and rationing characterised domestic life, the latter lasting until 1950. Air-raid shelters were dug, shops sand-bagged and windows taped. Domestic service largely ceased, and a culture of household servants was not reinstated after the war. War disrupted family

P26464 **Bob Hawke's House (fmr), West Leederville**

Constructed in a typical suburban street in 1929, this modest residence demonstrates the consolidation of metropolitan Perth throughout the interwar years, when single-storey brick-and-tile residences with moderately large gardens became the norm for most suburban families.

After World War I, Australia moved into a decade of optimism and positivity, fuelled by an economic boom and high birth-rates. Rapid urban development expanded Perth's metropolitan area, reaching a peak in 1928. Local production of terracotta roof tiles and a ban on timber housing by many local councils resulted in the preferential use of brick and tile over timber and corrugated iron for suburban residences from the 1920s.

Originally comprising five rooms, including an inside bathroom, Bob Hawke's House (fmr) in West Leederville is typical of many modest but well-built suburban houses of this era. It was the family home of Bob Hawke during his formative years and he continued to visit his parents there regularly until it was sold out of the family in 1981. The place helps tell of the story of the modest yet genteel domestic life of a lower middle class household during the interwar period, albeit one in which the surviving son went on to become one of Australia's most recognisable public figures.

structures, with rising youth delinquency attributed to family breakdown, fathers absent or incapacitated by war, and hasty wartime marriages.

American servicemen, on higher pay than Australians, influenced popular culture. Rivalry sparked with local men, and some local women married Americans. However, Western Australians continued to prefer tea to coffee, and beer to spirits. Around 75 per cent of men and 25 per cent of women were regular smokers.

Limited construction through both the 1930s and World War II created a significant post-war housing shortage, with much overcrowded or makeshift accommodation. Building materials and labour were in short supply. The State Housing Commission built 46 per cent of new homes between 1945 and 1950, and controlled permits for the remainder. Housing was small, simple and often austere. Ceilings heights lowered. Fibrous cement cladding was increasingly popular, especially in rural areas. As building restrictions eased in the 1950s, housing construction boomed. Most houses had electricity connected only for lights and one or two power outlets, and electrical supply was intermittent. Gas and wood remained common cooking fuels, and kerosene refrigerators were popular. Until the latter 1950s, adoption of domestic electrical appliances was hampered by lack of electrical supply.

Economic stability and diversified migration gradually transformed Western Australia's domestic culture. Mediterranean food, including pasta, tomatoes, olives, garlic and herbs, began moving diets away from rural-based staples such as mutton, flour, tea, golden syrup and jam. Migrants' gardens frequently included food-producing plants from their culture-of-origin. Marketing of processed and packaged foods reduced reliance on homemade cakes, biscuits and preserves. Consumer spending increased, especially on imported items, but also locally-made products such as iconic 'Wembley Ware' homewares (produced 1946 to 1961). The American concept of 'teenagers' took hold, expanding leisure options for young people.

American clothing styles became popular, particularly those suited to Western Australia's climate, and ready-to-wear clothing gradually superseded made-to-measure tailoring. Women's clothes became more revealing, with the modern bikini entering popular culture. Cheap fuel increased domestic use of motor vehicles, with most families owning a car by decade's end. Television, broadcast from 1959, rapidly became a domestic staple.

Through the 1960s, housing moved away from the cottage styles of previous decades towards open plan living. Picture windows, floor-to-ceiling aluminium-framed glass sliding doors, concrete slabs rather than suspended timber floors, lower pitched roofs and carports characterised homes, with space for television watching included in designs. Native garden plants were promoted. Flats were developed for lower income groups, especially government rental housing.

P26359 **Douglas/Moresby State Housing Group [incl. shops], Kensington**

Associated with the debate around the provision of appropriate public housing and higher density accommodation in the post-World War II period, this is an intact and cohesive post-World War II group with good representative examples of a range of elements constructed by the State Housing Commission including: single-storey residences, a park with a community hall, flats, shops, and a duplex.

By the end of World War II, severe housing shortages were being experienced due to an increase in population. The government responded with the Commonwealth-State Housing Agreement in 1944 which resulted in the initiation of a large-scale rental housing scheme. Increased pressure on housing was seen with returning soldiers establishing new families and households, and the influx of migrants from interstate and from overseas. This led to the establishment of the State Housing Commission under the *State Housing Commission Act 1946*. It is believed that over half of the houses built by the State Housing Commission between 1944 and 1956 were constructed under this scheme while between 1945 and 1950 over 46 per cent of all homes built in the State were constructed by the State Housing Commission.

Restrictions on Aboriginal domestic life were gradually lifted, including policy moves away from child removal (1960), permission to access alcohol (1963) and legalised mixed-race sexual relations (1963). Government housing for Aboriginal people, although substandard, was slowly developed. From the 1970s, governments began supporting remote Aboriginal communities, and long, slow, often counter-productive efforts to equalise opportunities for Aboriginal people across the State were initiated.

Birth rates gradually declined through the 1960s after a 1950s peak, as social norms changed, oral contraceptives became available and infant mortality dropped. From 1961, Federal law governed marriage, and divorce options expanded until no-fault divorce was finally introduced in 1975. From 1972, de facto relationships were formally recognised.

From the latter 1960s into the 1970s, Western Australia experienced a sexual and social revolution. Laws governing alcohol, gambling and sexual behaviour relaxed, illicit drug use rose and, despite the mid-1970s recession ending the long post-war economic boom, an increasingly cosmopolitan culture developed. Wine often replaced beer at meals and socialising at cafes or restaurants supplemented home-based entertaining. Women's independence expanded, as feminists raised issues such as domestic violence, sexual assault, contraception and abortion. Increasing paid employment for women saw fewer women as full-time homemakers, a trend escalating into the 21st century.

Homes in the 1970s were characterised by raked rooflines, vaulted ceilings, sunken lounge rooms, exposed interior brick, and rendered or bagged front facades. Double brick superseded all other building materials. Lawned gardens remained prominent. Outdoor entertainment areas developed, including patios, barbeques and rising numbers of backyard swimming pools. Water shortages and restrictions in the latter 1970s caused some adjustment in garden design, but many households sunk bores to circumvent metered water limits.

High 1970s oil prices saw solar hot water systems gain popularity into the 1980s. Houses began reflecting earlier motifs, including gables, face brick and Federation colouring. Through the 1980s, many families adjusted to a fly-in fly-out (FIFO) breadwinner. Access to divorce saw more non-nuclear families emerge. Debutante balls were largely replaced as a rite-of-passage by high school balls, and over subsequent decades, school balls became increasingly elaborate, expensive events. Western Australians by the 1990s ate a diverse diet, having adapted to include Asian influences. Year-round access to imported foods removed seasonal cycles from most menus. Gay sex was decriminalised in 1989, and society began slowly moving from discrimination towards acceptance of homosexuality, with sweeping reforms towards equality legislated in 2002. In 2017, same-sex marriage was legalised nationally.

Apartments regained popularity through the 1990s for middle-class housing, with river-view high rise emerging. By the 2000s, townhouses with small courtyards became more common, especially as inner-urban infill. Free-standing homes continued to be built in outer suburbs, with al fresco living areas connecting inside and outside living. Designs assumed air-conditioning, with small eaves, and lock-up garages within the main roof envelope became ubiquitous. Yards were smaller, productive gardens became uncommon and many suburbs outlawed keeping of poultry. Despite smaller blocks, houses grew larger, many double-storey. However, occupant numbers dropped, with 57.5 per cent of households by 2016 comprising only one or two persons. From 2000, financial incentives increased installation of domestic solar power systems. Homes were stocked with an expanding range of trimmings, conveniences and entertainment options, particularly encouraged by 'lifestyle' television programs, magazines and social media.

Wealth increased, but so did costs of living, and the gap between rich and poor slowly expanded. From 2000, a national goods and services tax (GST) increased the price of many household items. House prices and rents rose sharply, doubling in four years at the mining boom's peak (2006-2009). Home ownership increasingly required two incomes, reducing the number of stay-at-home parents.

Although many Aboriginal people had domestic lives indistinguishable from their non-Aboriginal peers, on average Aboriginal people missed the rise in consumer comforts. By the 1990s, many Aboriginal communities demonstrated significant social dysfunction, resulting from multi-generational fragmentation of social structures, often linked with alcohol abuse. Family violence and sexual abuse were particularly prevalent, highlighted by the 2002 Gordon Inquiry. Average life expectancy was 20 years less than the wider community.

By the 2000s, more than 20 per cent of households spoke a non-English language at home, with a diverse range of cultures represented. Many people did not know their neighbours and expressed concern at a perceived loss of suburban community. Family violence gained public attention, but concern did not translate into fewer incidents. Post-mining boom, Western Australians trimmed spending, including some adoption of measures to reduce domestic environmental impact. However, most households continued daily lives with more comfort and choice than any previous generation.

International Links

Always the spiritual centre for Aboriginal occupants, internationally Western Australia was first a myth, then a geographic and botanical curiosity, and finally a remote source of economic and political interest for Europe. For over 100 years after colonisation, Western Australia determinedly sought identity as a far-flung British outpost, before becoming increasingly integrated into an international web of diverse connections and recognising Asia as major trading partner.

It is not known if ancient Aboriginal people maintained contact with populations to the north after arriving in Australia or in what periods Asian populations recognised the presence of Australia. However, Western Australia first entered European consciousness in the 1500s as an imagined land hypothesised to exist. Its presence was confirmed by Dutch mariners after the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in 1616 rerouted its ships along Hendrik Brouwer's 1611 southern route to Java, bringing some voyages close to the Western Australian coast. Until the VOC collapsed in 1796, numerous Dutch vessels visited, several being wrecked on the coast. Dirk Hartog (1616) was the first European recorded as landing, naming the land 'Eendrachtsland' after his ship. Survivors of the shipwrecked Batavia (1629) were the first Europeans known to have lived (temporarily) in Australia. From the 1680s, English and French explorers also began visiting, recording the coastline, flora, fauna and people, but like the Dutch they generally gave negative assessments of the place and its inhabitants.

An expanding Chinese economy around 1700 created a market for trepang (beche-de-mer or sea cucumber), found in tropical waters. Macassan fishermen visited northern Australian waters, including the Kimberley, remaining for several months a year. Macassan trepanging visits (which may have begun much earlier) continued for around 200 years, the first international trade in Western Australian resources. Beeswax was also harvested.

Neither the Dutch nor the Macassan fishermen showed any interest in colonising Western Australia. In 1772, Louis Aleno de St Alouarn claimed the land for France, but as he died before reaching his homeland his claim was never recognised. Swedish King Gustav III in 1786 launched plans and funds for a Swedish colony of Nuytsland, along the Western Australian south coast, but events in Europe delayed the expedition and it did not eventuate.

After permanent British settlement was established on Australia's east coast in 1788, there was some anxiety about other European nations taking interest in the west. George Vancouver formally took possession of Western Australia for England at King George Sound in 1791. The legal fiction of *terra nullius* was presumed, with no attempt at treaty or recognition of the existing Aboriginal owners of the land. French explorers continued visiting, along with American whalers and sealers, leading to deployment of a military garrison to King George Sound (1826) to secure Western Australia as a British province.

James Stirling explored the Swan River in 1827 and recommended establishing a British free settlers' colony, boasting the attractions of its proximity for trade with British India and South East Asia. Stirling exaggerated the land's agricultural prospects, fuelling a 'Swan River Mania' in England. From 1829, Britain claimed the western third of Australia and colonisation began in earnest. Images sent home by explorers and early colonists romanticised the colony, emphasising the land's beauty and potential, turning bushland into park-like vistas and stereotyping Aboriginal people as 'noble savages', with no hint of their resistance to colonisation. However, rumours as early as 1830 of hardship in the colony quelled the rush to migrate by 1831. Free settlements in Victoria (1834) and South Australia (1836) soon competed for migrants.

Until the 1877 telegraph connection, the desert barrier to the eastern colonies made Western Australia wholly dependent on the ocean for contact with the wider world, keeping ties with Britain stronger than Australian links. The last British exploratory journey was in 1840, after which colonial exploration and expansion took over from international visitors. By 1879, British knowledge covered (at least broadly) all of Western Australia. Aboriginal people's ownership of the land was disregarded.

While Western Australia was fiercely loyal to its mother-country, Britain regarded the colony as an isolated, insignificant outpost. Lacking the resources to offer assisted passage, Western Australia largely missed out on receiving Irish migrants fleeing the potato famine (1844-1852). Instead, convicts were imported. Both Britain and the other Australian colonies, which had ceased receiving convicts by 1855, held Western Australia in low esteem on account of its 'decline' into convictism. Although Western Australia established international exports, including horses, wool, sandalwood, jarrah, pearls and guano, and engaged in self-promotion such as displays at the 1862 International Exhibition in London, it struggled to change perception of itself as a penal colony. Colonists' treatment of Aboriginal people was also disdained, with allegations of violence delaying granting of self-government.

The 1890s were Western Australia's international 'coming of age'. Granted self-government from 1890, the colony soon attracted migrants and international investment on the back of gold, expanding and diversifying its population. International markets crashed in 1890, with eastern Australian economies

soon following, and by 1893 South African goldmining was in a lull, leaving speculators seeking new investment opportunities. Western Australia benefitted. The boom in Western Australia relied heavily on loans and investment funds raised in London.

As a state of Australia from 1901, Western Australia participated in a developing national identity. However, it continued to perceive itself very strongly in relation to Britain. It launched its first military force to support British troops in the Boer War (1899-1902) and automatically joined Britain in World War I. Asia, although closer, was considered the 'far' east.

Western Australia's physical isolation largely saved it from the ravages of Spanish Influenza (1918-1919) but was no buffer against the economic catastrophe of the 1930s Depression. One hundred years after colonisation, the State was deeply entwined with global markets and joined the global suffering of economic slump.

In 1939, Australia again automatically joined Britain immediately when war was declared, even though it was made a nation autonomous from Britain in 1926. World War II, however, brought new allegiance with America. Japanese air raids on Western Australia in 1942 and 1943 caused widespread fear of invasion, and the presence of American military personnel provided more reassurance than Federal promises of defence. American popular culture had already impacted Western Australia through the inter-war years, and this influence boomed from the 1940s. In the second half of the 20th century, it was American rather than British military engagements that Australia supported, sending forces to Korea (1950-1953), Vietnam (1962-1973) and the Persian Gulf (1990-1991), a trend continuing in recent years with involvement in Afghanistan (since 2001) and Iraq (since 2003).

Dutch maritime history, trade with Dutch Indonesia, evacuation of Dutch wartime refugees, the presence of Dutch naval forces during World War II and post-war migration of Dutch displaced persons all built links with the Netherlands, but these never developed into strong cultural connections. Western Australia banned Dutch shipping from 1946 to 1949 in support of the Indonesian independence movement, indicative of growing ties with Asia. However, Australian troops supported Britain through the Malayan insurgency (1950-1960).

Continental European migrants of the post-war years strengthened personal links with non-British Europe, especially Mediterranean countries. Western Australia increasingly celebrated its own Mediterranean climate, with clothes, food, architecture and popular culture shifting emphasis away from cool-climate British influences.

In the 1960s, as Western Australia's economy shifted from a rural to mining base, Asian markets became more important. From 1967, Britain ceased to be the State's major trading partner, with Japan, India and China all prominent. From the 1970s, Asian migrants were accepted, diversifying local culture and creating personal links into Asia. 'Sister city' relationships were established with several Japanese cities, the first being a link between Perth and Kagoshima (1974). Asian tertiary students came in increasing number, becoming a crucial source of university funding. Asian tourists also underpinned an emergent tourist industry. Despite these expanding connections, and targeted policies encouraging multiculturalism, popular culture continued to perceive Western Australia as a white community linked historically to Britain and culturally to the USA, which by the 1980s no longer accurately reflected the diverse population.

As locally-produced Western Australian arts and culture emerged, the State often construed itself internationally as a provincial outsider. Aboriginal art and culture at times received more international attention than non-Aboriginal, although some considered this interest more anthropological than artistic. Western Australians contributed to global research in many fields, even winning a Nobel prize, but sporting achievements were more likely to be celebrated as contributing to the State's identity. Successful Western Australian sportspersons were viewed as representatives of the State. International sporting events, especially the 1962 Empire Games and 1986-1987 America's Cup, were important moments in self-promotion and overseas attention. The largely Caucasian presentation of most sports stars contributed to both internal and external perception of Western Australia.

Unlike eastern states, Western Australia has not developed strong Pacific links. Attempts have been made to orient Western Australia towards its place as an Indian Ocean nation, including arts festivals in the 1970s and 1980s and establishment of an Indian Ocean tertiary studies centre (1985). Increased South African migration from the 1980s forged personal and cultural links, but these were more associated with shared British colonial heritage than connections with a shared ocean.

South East Asia has been a stronger focus, emerging from the 1980s as a major holiday destination for Western Australians, often cheaper and easier to access than Australia's eastern seaboard. Bali became such a significant part of the State's holiday culture that terrorist bombings there in 2002 were perceived as an attack on Western Australians (sixteen of whom died).

Relatively cheap travel and the ease of organising overseas holidays via the internet saw a rapid increase in Western Australians taking international holidays, especially in the 2000s. Many young adults continued to pursue overseas working holidays, a rite-of-passage long practised by those able to afford a sojourn in Britain but by the 2000s diversifying to include many other countries. Vacation travel also expanded its reach beyond the traditional British and European options and latter 20th century South East Asian destinations to see Western Australians regularly visiting all continents.

Western Australia in the 2000s was significantly integrated into a national culture, but retained an often parochial self-identity. Fear of global terrorism influenced politics, popular culture and an increasing suspicion of outsiders. The unfolding revolution in information technology drew the State into global webs, allowing communication, personal relationships, political influence and economic interactions to spread internationally.

P25872 **Perry Lakes Scoreboard**

The first of its kind in Australia, the Perry Lakes electronic scoreboard was originally designed for the 1956 Melbourne Olympics where it was first used. It is the only infrastructure remaining from the former Perry Lakes Stadium, which was designed and purpose-built for the Seventh British Empire and Commonwealth Games, held in Perth in November 1962. The Games was one of the most significant events in Western Australia in the immediate post-World War II period, and as the first international competition held in Perth, heralded the City's 'coming of age'.

Designed by E.T. Both, the scoreboard featured the latest display technology, with letters and numbers depicted in lights, which was a vast improvement on previous techniques that used either chalked boards or a series of numeric cards, flipped by the scorer.

ABORIGINAL WORKERS BUILDING A NEW WELL, 1913-1923 – Courtesy of State Library of Western Australia

INTEGRATED STORIES

Aboriginal People

The oldest continuing cultures in the world have survived the ravages of colonisation. Diverse and complex, they integrate spirituality, economy, social structures and cultural life with a deep connection to land.

Traditional cultures responded to their environment and were skilled at adapting. Aboriginal people were quick to incorporate aspects of European culture that made their lives easier, such as using imported building materials, adopting guns for hunting, taking jobs in the colonial economy and accessing western medicine where possible. However, colonisation was devastating for Indigenous people. Imported diseases decimated Aboriginal populations through the 19th century. Restrictions on movement cut people off from food sources and travel routes, and policing disproportionately targeted Aboriginal people, often for actions traditional owners did not consider to be offences. Forced labour was common, especially in the northern pearling industry. Children were often removed to institutions, and attempts to Christianise and westernise, especially aimed at children, disrupted culture and left many Aboriginal people vulnerable, disconnected or dead.

Although there were instances of early contact characterised by curiosity, welcome or attempts at mutual understanding, colonists were prone to violence, abuse and control. Aboriginal people soon began resisting colonisation. Aboriginal death tolls were high, especially as resistance by traditional owners often brought disproportionate retaliatory raids on Aboriginal communities. Despite numerous campaigns to fight the encroaching colony, colonists' guns dominated and most resistance efforts were subdued within about five years of a district being colonised. Victories were few, although communities in the Kimberley held out longer. Western Australia's most organised and sustained military resistance to colonial invasion was the Bunuba war (1894–1897), led by Jandamarra, but the Kimberley pastoralists ultimately won the conflict. Surviving resistance leaders were detained along with other Aboriginal prisoners at Wadjemup/Rottnest Aboriginal Prison (1838–1849, 1855–1904), removing elders from fragmenting communities and further breaking connections to land and culture. Sexual activities (often predatory) of male colonists spread venereal disease through northern Aboriginal communities.

Aboriginal people were consistently placed at the bottom of the social and economic hierarchy. When labour was in short supply, such as in the 1840s, during each World War, or in remote pastoral areas, Aboriginal workers were sought after. When conditions changed, such as the introduction of convicts in the 1850s, drought of the early 1910s, return of soldiers after war, economic collapse of the 1930s or pastoral industry downturn and mandated equal pay for pastoral workers (1968), Aboriginal workers were the first to be laid off. For colonists coming out of the British class system, Aboriginal people were automatically considered to be servant class or lower, and treated accordingly.

Aboriginal affairs came under British jurisdiction through the 19th century, in later periods largely because the Imperial government did not trust Western Australians to provide appropriate care and oversight. Through this period, conditions for Aboriginal people gradually declined, as their access to land diminished. However, they achieved some degree of co-existence on pastoral lands.

From the 1890s, as agriculture began replacing pastoralism in the south, a new phase of discrimination emerged. Non-Aboriginal rural populations increased, fences partitioned the country, and competition for labouring work intensified. The emerging union movement saw Aboriginal workers as a threat to its constituents and lobbied to exclude them wherever possible.

Britain withdrew from managing Aboriginal affairs in 1898, although it had had little influence for some years. Western Australia promptly halved rations to Aboriginal people, indicative of its harsh attitude. The *Aborigines Act 1905* introduced strict controls that governed Aboriginal lives until the 1950s, intensified by additional legislation in 1936. Probably the most personally heart-breaking and socially destructive aspects of these laws were their provisions for forced removal of children from Aboriginal families, implemented extensively for decades. For over half a century, Aboriginal people were further and further marginalised in their own country, and what few services were provided were substandard and segregated. Excluded from citizenship, increasingly dependent on government handouts and corralled into institutions, the population declined.

In 1905, townsites were declared 'prohibited areas', restricting Aboriginal access and accelerating removal to reserves. Government services such as schools and medical facilities rejected Aboriginal people, especially in rural areas. After 1919, town ration depots closed. Overcrowding at existing Aboriginal institutions led to the creation of 'town reserves' through the Wheatbelt, with few or no amenities.

P9818 **Cooinda House, Mount Lawley**

From 1950 until 1972, Aboriginal Education and Employment Hostels were established and operated by the Western Australian Department of Native Welfare, to provide accommodation for young Aboriginal people studying, training or working in the metropolitan area or large regional towns.

Established in a post-World War II suburban bungalow in 1966, Cooinda House was the first employment hostel in the Perth metropolitan area. It was set up specifically to accommodate Aboriginal girls in work, demonstrating changes in legislation and State policy towards Aboriginal people at this time. The later use of the place to accommodate regional Aboriginal senior secondary school students, continued to illustrate a shift in government policy in the late 1980s to assisting students to reach their academic potential by progression towards tertiary education and independent living.

Explicit frontier violence towards traditional owners had largely ceased by the 1920s, as mainstream public opinion no longer condoned it, although less obvious forms of violence continued. Aboriginal resistance correspondingly shifted towards civil rights activism, initially mostly quiet political lobbying. From the 1940s, activism became more direct, including strike action and demonstrations. The post-war economic boom brought greater attention to social services in general, and provisions for Aboriginal people slowly improved. Birth rates increased from the 1950s and, from the 1960s, official policy no longer condoned removing Aboriginal children (although it often continued). Access to education improved, and Aboriginal people began to obtain tertiary qualifications.

Aboriginal activism was one of many protest voices of the 1960s and 1970s that led to widespread social change. In 1972, Aboriginal affairs transferred to Federal jurisdiction, shifting policy from assimilation to self-determination. Remote Aboriginal communities were supported, substandard provisions for Aboriginal people were integrated into mainstream services and a slow process of equalisation of access evolved. Once opportunities were available, especially after the *Equal Opportunity Act 1984* prevented race-based discrimination, Aboriginal people pursued a diverse range of careers. Aboriginal arts and culture gained mainstream recognition and also strengthened within Aboriginal communities. Aboriginal spirituality was recognised and sacred sites obtained protection, although mining and other interests frequently over-rode Aboriginal concerns.

Policing from colonisation to the present has been disproportionately entangled with Aboriginal people. The Western Australian justice system has been characterised by offences aligned to colonist rather than Aboriginal concerns, imprisonment and neck chains for both suspects and witnesses (well into the

20th century), unequal sentencing, racist policing, explicit police violence and extensive custodial neglect.

By the 2000s, concern emerged that some parts of the Aboriginal community were significantly behind the non-Aboriginal population on indicators such as life expectancy, infant mortality, maternal health, suicide rates, school attendance, educational outcomes, incarceration rates and government removal of children. Incidence of domestic violence and sexual abuse was high, and deaths in custody continued to be common. Government programs to target the 'gap' had little impact within their first decade. While headlines portrayed the entire Aboriginal population as living in sub-standard conditions, the 'gap' also existed within Aboriginal communities.

At the same time, Aboriginal culture increasingly gained recognition and respect. Generations taught to revile and reject their Aboriginality instead embraced and celebrated it. Aboriginal people became routinely acknowledged as the traditional owners of the land in ceremonies and public events, Aboriginal consultation was included in many official processes, and Aboriginal history and culture was included in school curriculums. Effective change to reduce Aboriginal disadvantage and strengthen Aboriginal culture, although supported to varying degrees by government and mainstream services, is now largely driven from within Aboriginal communities.

Women

The story of women in Western Australia has echoed women's stories in the western world over the past two centuries. Despite a surprising number of 'firsts' for women, the State has, overall, not been more progressive than similar places.

Aboriginal kinship structures had an inherent understanding of gender complementarity, which manifested in different groups as differing degrees of gender equality. Older women were respected as community elders, and some groups followed matrilineal descent. Contact with Europeans impacted Aboriginal women first and most severely, as they were frequently targets of sexual assault and raised children fathered through these encounters. Most European visitors were male, although women were among Dutch shipwreck survivors and Rose Freycinet accompanied her explorer husband on his 1818 voyage along the Northwest coast, the only woman involved in exploratory journeys.

The first European women to live permanently in Western Australia arrived in 1829 at the Swan River. They were substantially outnumbered by men, a balance which did not improve significantly for almost 100 years. Being few in number, they were rarely single. High rates of public drunkenness and a male-dominated population bred conditions for harassment, especially for poorer women.

Colonial life was hard work for women. Most had large numbers of children, spending decades perpetually pregnant or breastfeeding infants, and frequently mourning their death. Few amenities and poor standard housing meant much physical labour was involved in domestic tasks. Many women also assisted with the family business, and women's labour was essential to establishing viable farms. Household servants and postmistresses were among the few socially acceptable paid jobs for women, nuns arrived from 1846, and prostitutes were also active. Until 1892, married women were not permitted to own property in their own right.

Lack of single women meant fewer household servants for wealthier women, making the Victorian ideal of genteel ladies difficult to establish. Attempts to assist migration of single women from the 1850s did little to change the gender balance but provided servants and allow a small group of elite women to emerge. Polite society was entwined with entertainments at Government House, hosted by the governor's wife. By 1870, 674 women and 381 men worked as domestic servants for a total population of 24,785, a far lower proportion than Britain in the same period.

Education rates, low across the whole population, were particularly poor for women. However, by the 1890s educated women formed lobby groups and supported social causes, including appealing for women's suffrage. 'First wave' feminism emerged, focussed on increasing women's participation in public affairs and improving domestic conditions, especially support for children. In 1899, Western Australia was one of the earliest places in the world to allow women to vote. From around 1905, women activists also lobbied for equal pay and increased access to professions, with the first minimum wage for women established in 1912 at 54 per cent the male equivalent. More than 28 per cent of women aged 15 to 65 were in paid employment in this period. When women were admitted to the police force (1917) it was one of the few jobs to offer equal pay, but women had to resign if they married. Until the 1950s, police, university employees and barmaids were among the only occupations receiving wage parity. Equal pay for equal work was not legislated until 1972, and an equivalent basic wage set by State legislation in 1980, but a 'glass ceiling' ensured much inequality remained.

P3847 **Edith Cowan's House and Skinner Gallery (fmr), West Perth**

This residence at 31 Malcolm Street in West Perth is associated with two prominent and influential Western Australian women. It was constructed in 1893 for Edith Cowan and her husband James and occupied by them at various times until 1919. Edith Cowan is best known as the first woman elected to any Australian parliament (1921-1924). She was also heavily involved in social causes to support women and children, including serving as secretary, vice-president and president of the Karrakatta Club, Western Australia's pre-eminent women's lobby group, social club and philanthropic society. She was appointed to the bench of the Children's Court (1915) and was one of the first women appointed as a Justice of the Peace (1920). From 1911 to 1919, when the Cowans were permanently resident at 31 Malcolm Street, the house was the base for Edith's social work, particularly her efforts during World War I, for which she was awarded an OBE (1920).

Rose Skinner and her husband Josiah purchased the residence in 1955 and three years later constructed additions to serve as a commercial art gallery. Skinner Gallery, which Rose managed, was the first commercial art gallery in Western Australia and possibly the first in Australia. It operated until 1976, exhibiting national and international artists and boosting the fledgling local art industry. Rose Skinner promoted Western Australian artists and supported the careers of several Western Australians who achieved wide success. She was awarded an MBE in 1972 for her contributions to Australian art, and on her death bequeathed her substantial, important art collection to the University of Western Australia.

Colonisation changed gender dynamics in Aboriginal communities. Children and the elderly were more susceptible to introduced diseases and died in great numbers. Many men were killed in conflict with colonists or imprisoned for killing colonists' stock. British patriarchy gradually influenced Aboriginal community structures, as colonists recognised only male Aboriginal leadership, treated their own women as subservient citizens, and gendered their employment of Aboriginal people. Sexual exploitation of Aboriginal women by colonists continued well into the 20th century. The *Aborigines Act 1905* particularly impacted women, as the government took over control of aspects of Aboriginal lives traditionally managed by women, especially child rearing.

The Western Australian economy has rested on agriculture and mining, both fields dominated by men, with manufacturing, often a large employer of women, never developing as a strong sector. The 20th century saw women's access to white collar employment gradually expand, although until the latter 1960s married women were often obliged to resign from their jobs. Access to male-dominated trades was slower. Women took up a diverse range of occupations during World War II in the absence of male employees, but mostly left these jobs after the war. From mid-century, few household servants were retained, ending a significant source of women's employment, but access to other jobs slowly expanded. By the 1960s, women comprised around one quarter of the paid workforce and were especially prominent in teaching, nursing, clerical, commercial and service work.

Women were pivotal in establishing many charitable enterprises, often linked with religious observance. Peace movements, initiated through the inter-war years and escalating during the Cold War, were particularly linked to women's activism. The expansion of social services from the 1950s benefited women both as employees in emerging professions and as recipients of services.

Western Australian women achieved many Australian political firsts, including the first two women in any parliament (Edith Cowan, 1921-1924, Nationalist Party; May Holman, 1924-1939, Labor Party), first female senator (Dorothy Tangney, 1943-1968, also equal first women in Federal parliament), first woman in a parliamentary cabinet (Florence Cardell-Oliver, 1949), first female Liberal, and later Country Party, senator (Agnes Robertson, 1949 and 1956), first woman to serve as a state premier (Carmen Lawrence, 1990-1993), first female Attorney General (Cheryl Edwardes, 1993), first Aboriginal woman in Parliament (Carol Martin, 2001-2013) and first female National Party leader (Mia Davies, 2017). However, women were a novelty in Western Australian politics until the 1970s, and remain a minority. Their parliamentary achievements possibly owe more to a common Western Australian story of women fighting for recognition in male-dominated contexts than any enlightened culture towards women.

From the 1960s, 'second wave' feminism raised issues such as domestic violence, sexual assault, contraception and abortion. Social restrictions on women's behaviour relaxed and women enjoyed greater independence. By the 1970s, community attitudes were shifting, women's paid employment and education rates increased and services such as family violence refuges, rape crisis centres and women's health centres were established.

Substantial achievements were made in moving towards equity through the remainder of the century. Arts, sport and religion increasingly celebrated women's contributions, albeit often as a minority perspective. Improved access to childcare through

P9173 **Kensington Private Maternity Hospital (fmr), Subiaco**

Childbirth was a leading cause of death for colonial women, and infant mortality remained high into the inter-war years. Maternity care was considered a domestic affair and was practiced by private midwives. By the 1930s, however, maternity care was transitioning towards a more professional medical arena. Kensington Private Maternity Hospital, opened in 1937, was part of this shift. It is a significant women's history site as it was constructed for, owned by and operated by three women at its inception, employed substantial numbers of women (due to the predominance of women in maternity nursing) and, until it closed in 1981, provided medical services specifically for women. By the time the facility closed, childbirth was rarely fatal and infant mortality was low.

the 1990s allowed more women to remain in the paid workforce, and double-income families became common. Legalisation of divorce (1975) followed by expanded services for single mothers facilitated greater independence.

Women had long been more vulnerable to poverty than men, and this vulnerability was reduced by improved services, employment and welfare options. However, most women had substantially less superannuation than men, leaving them exposed to poverty later in life. Family violence by the 2000s was alarmingly common, with many women trapped in relationships they did not have the financial means or social support to leave. Women's average income remained lower than men's, partly due to lack of promotion and partly because careers commonly pursued by women attracted lower salaries. Popular culture portrayed women within narrow stereotypes and contributed to widespread sexual harassment.

From the 1990s, a 'third wave' of feminism emerged internationally, drawing attention to differences in the experience of women from diverse ethnic or economic backgrounds. In Western Australia, the impact of colonisation in Aboriginal women's stories was highlighted, along with migrant women's experiences. Personal choice became a feature of women's activism, gender diversity was recognised and sexuality was vibrantly celebrated.

Gender equality remains remote, with some subcultures holding particularly tightly to inequitable arrangements. However, the level of independence, opportunity and legal protection enjoyed by Western Australian women today would have been beyond imagining for colonial women.

Non-British Migrants

Although Western Australia has long portrayed itself as a British ethnic enclave, a substantial minority story is the experience of non-British migrants, whose population has diversified since colonisation and particularly in the last 50 years.

The first migrants to Western Australia were Macassan fishermen, from at least 1700. Like most Asian migrants until the mid-20th century, they were sojourners rather than permanent residents, residing in camps along the north Kimberley coast for around four months each year. Through the 19th century, Asian workers were welcomed in periods of labour shortages but socially marginalised. Few brought families, resulting in predominantly male communities that sent money home to families elsewhere and departed when work dried up. Asian migrants were particularly crucial to the pearling industry of the Northwest, with Broome by the 1880s becoming Australia's most multicultural town. Many died, either due to harsh work conditions or when cyclones decimated pearling fleets. Legislation ensured that Asian migrants had limited economic options in southern regions, especially Chinese people, whose influence was feared after racial conflict on Victorian and New South Wales goldfields from the 1850s. Although granted religious freedom they were considered pagans, and white colonists showed no interest in learning from or adopting aspects of their cultures. Aboriginal people were more open to exchange, and mixed Asian-Aboriginal couples were not uncommon. After Federation, however, the White Australia Policy saw almost all Asian migrants leave the State, except for

P291 Chinatown Conservation Area, Broome

Broome was unique in Australia through the 1880s and 1890s for its ethnic diversity, particularly for its high proportion of persons of Asian descent. By comparison, across the whole Colony Asian-born persons only made up 4 per cent of the total non-Aboriginal population in 1891 (2,009 individuals), a percentage not reached again for the next 100 years. Chinatown began as a tent camp as Broome became the centre of northern pearling in the 1880s before developing more established structures. After the White Australia policy was introduced at Federation, exemptions ensured the vital Chinese, Malay, Koepanger, Filipino and Japanese pearling workforce was maintained at Broome. Although the Asian population declined through the mid-20th century, particularly during periods of wartime internment and deportation, by the 1970s Broome had begun celebrating its Asian heritage as a unique cultural feature and tourist drawcard.

those protected by involvement in pearling, where they did jobs white workers were not prepared to take on. Those that remained had opportunities further curtailed, such as restrictions on Chinese factories or laundries (1904), requirements for all Asian residents to register as 'aliens' during World War I, and curtailed trading hours for Asian, African or Polynesian businesses (1920).

Continental European migrants in the 19th century were small in number but generally absorbed into mainstream society, including European Jews. The Spanish monastery town at New Norcia was a cultural anomaly. Spanish monks comprised almost the entire Spanish-born population of the colony, the largest continental European migrant group until Germans began arriving in greater numbers in the 1880s. Often second-generation migrants from the eastern colonies, Germans particularly took up farming along the Great Southern Railway, where many of their descendants remain.

The 1890s gold boom brought larger numbers of all migrant groups, including diversifying continental European populations. Southern Europeans arrived in greater number. Although many initial migrants were men, unlike 19th-century Asian arrivals they came to stay, and sent for their families once they were established. By 1911 Italians surpassed both Germans and Chinese to become the largest non-English speaking migrant group, a status retained for 100 years. Greater migration also increased anti-migrant sentiment. From the 1900s to 1930s, the Eastern Goldfields saw several race riots, with Anglo-Australian men targeting southern Europeans. Race riots in Broome in the same period were between Japanese boat-owners and their Malay or Koepanger labourers.

Continental European culture existed alongside Anglo-Australian culture, with little cross-over, although Alhambra Café (opened 1898) was remembered as Perth's finest eating house of the early 20th century. In the inter-war years, continental grocery stores were established by both Greek and Italian families, but patronised mostly be migrants. A Greek Orthodox Church opened (1936) to serve the Greek community, offering services in Greek language. Southern Europeans moving off the goldfields particularly worked in fishing, horticulture, fruit and vegetable stores and cafes.

For two decades after World War II, continental European migrants arrived in large numbers through Commonwealth migration programs, and were a significant element of the State's post-war expansion. Most initially worked a period of bonded labour for government agencies, but they were soon involved in a wide range of occupations, although under-represented in farming or pastoralism and more likely to settle in urban than rural communities.

Asian migration, gradually enabled from the mid-1950s, restarted in earnest in the 1970s, particularly as Indochinese refugees arrived. By the 1980s, Asia was the main source of migrants to Western Australia. Although some resided temporarily, especially tertiary students, most brought families and, unlike Asian migration of earlier periods, established permanent populations. Refugees from Chile (1973), Iran (1981) and Sudan (after 1997) created significant minorities from other continents, and by the 21st century the State's population, though still dominated by Anglo-Australian origins, reflected a wide range cultural backgrounds, particularly in the Perth metropolitan area.

P4760 **Main Roads Migrant Camp (fmr), Narrogin**

Federal government immigration programs after World War II brought 58,000 migrants to Western Australia between 1947 and 1954, about half of whom were from continental Europe. Many came on assisted passage schemes that bonded them to two years labour on government projects. They were sent all over the State to work. The Migrant Camp at Narrogin was constructed in 1948 to house these migrants, also referred to as displaced persons (DPs), New Australians or 'Balts'. Life was hard. Men often lived in work camps such as this while their wives and children remained at larger migrant camps in other towns. Migrant labour was crucial for many government infrastructure projects of the 1950s. The influx of continental Europeans began changing Western Australia's culture, especially as they settled into more permanent occupations after discharging their bonded work commitments.

Successive migrant groups established religious communities, cultural associations and networks of support within language groups. Unlike earlier periods, post-war migrants also influenced mainstream culture. Western Australian food became a fusion of influences, beginning in the 1950s with Mediterranean cuisine, then 1970s Asian elements and by the 1990s global menus. Sport, religion and culture diversified, especially after explicit policies of multiculturalism were implemented from the 1980s. Domestic architecture reflected some migrant influences, although gardens were more likely than buildings to represent cultural variation.

Legislation of 1975 and 1984 protected against explicit discrimination. First-generation migrants experienced some social ostracism, and children in particular often attempted to blend in and distance themselves from migrant origins. Many children functioned as translators for their parents, in doing so being exposed to information not usually shared with children. Second and third generations developed unique hybrid subcultures and often married outside their ethnic origins. Many first-generation migrants worked in low-paid labouring or service jobs, regardless of their qualifications, but their children were rarely restricted to similar industries.

By the 21st century, many Western Australians were unable to distinguish others' ethnic backgrounds beyond broad categories such as 'European', 'Asian' or 'Polynesian', and cared little to try. Nevertheless, migrants continued to experience discrimination, especially those with a strikingly non-European appearance. Asia's importance as a trading partner and investor was crucial to Western Australia's economy, yet also fuelled anxiety about potential political influence or economic take-over. A 'bamboo ceiling' kept many Asian workers from promotion, and the Asian population was particularly under-represented in politics. Both government policy and majority public opinion towards refugees (mostly from the Middle East or sub-continental Asia) also hardened through the 2000s, and suspicion or even antagonism towards Muslims increased.

At the same time, celebrating cultural heritage became popular, and pride in migrant origins was encouraged. Harmony Week rose in prominence as an annual event, especially observed in schools. Western Australia promoted an explicit identity of egalitarian inclusion regardless of cultural heritage, while in practice ethnic origin continued to define experiences and opportunities for many outside the Anglo-Australian mainstream.

Isolation

Key to the identity and development of Western Australia is its isolation, both real and perceived.

Undeniably, Western Australia was and remains thousands of kilometres from the nearest British colonies, even further from the nearest established cities, and half a world away from Britain. However, Western Australia's sense of isolation was also exacerbated by the colonists' perception that the people of the land they had come to were socially and culturally inferior to themselves, nor did they identify with neighbouring Asian cultures.The identity of Western Australia was therefore largely defined by its relationship with and distance from Britain.

The distances within Western Australia are vast, ensuring places and people within the State are a long way from each other. To the present, Perth is referred to as 'the most isolated city in the world' (often with a sense of parochial pride), meaning it is a long way from the next city. The colonial connection to Britain and this sense of 'isolation' contributed to an alienation from the natural environment, reflected in the State's long history of attempts to conquer and subdue the land. By contrast, Aboriginal peoples of Western Australia do not appear to have felt 'isolated' in the preceding 50,000 years. Perhaps the perception of isolation supported the legal fiction of terra nullius.

Until the overland telegraph was completed in 1877, all communication to and from the colony was by sea. As Albany was the main international port, prior to the Albany-Perth telegraph in 1872 this also meant an overland coach journey of approximately 4-5 days. Sailing ships took about three to four months to reach Australia; steam ships, although more comfortable, were not much faster. Mail came by ship, all news was

well out of date before it arrived, and correspondence was interminably slow. Many of the key milestones for Western Australian history were subsequently related to breaking down isolation. John Forrest, who in 1870 took months to trek through wilderness charting a telegraph route from Western Australia to South Australia, must have marvelled to be on the first transcontinental rail journey in 1917, when the rail link promised at Federation finally opened. When he died at sea in 1918, making his way slowly to England to take up a seat in the House of Lords, he could not have imagined that 100 years later people could fly to Adelaide for the day, or that the internet would allow people to video-chat in real time not only across Australia but all the way to London as well.

The colony had to develop its own identity, and to learn self-sufficiency, innovation and adaptability. Sometimes it did so admirably, other times it was defiantly British against its best interests. For example, it was quickly apparent that English styles of farming were inappropriate, and methods were adapted accordingly with numerous home-grown inventions to enable agricultural development. However, indigenous food sources were never seriously investigated, and neither were more climate-appropriate Mediterranean approaches to food, resulting in a solidly British bread-and-mutton diet dominating Western Australian culture until at least the 1950s. The Western Australian environment required considerable modification to support this insistence on being a remote British outpost. It also required innovation to enable remote survival.

Adaptations and inventions to overcome the challenges of an isolating environment, while often less dramatic than milestones in transport and communication, have also been crucial to the evolving history of the State. Miners devised dry panning ore extraction methods for the water-scarce Eastern Goldfields, and invented the Coolgardie

P16522 **Eyre Bird Observatory (former Eyre Telegraph Station), Cocklebiddy**

Until the east-west telegraph opened in 1877, Western Australia depended entirely on the ocean for communications, which ensured the physical distance from cultural, political, economic and personal reference points characterised all interactions. During the gold boom, telegraph stations were upgraded, including new buildings at Eyre in 1898, demonstrating the ongoing importance of the telegraph system as large populations flooded into the remote Eastern Goldfields. Telegraph workers lived a characteristically resourceful life far from colonial settlements, offering a wide range of government services to the scattered pastoralists in the district and epitomising the 'isolated life' that became core to Western Australian identity. Since 1978, the Eyre Bird Observatory has been home to ornithologists, continuing to embody 'isolated living' into the 21st century, although now linked to global telecommunications networks.

The site of Eyre Bird Observatory was also a camp of Edward Eyre and his party in 1841 on his journey to become the first European to cross overland from Western Australia to Adelaide, a feat not repeated until 1870 surveys for the telegraph route. The desert barrier ensured the western colony developed in isolation.

safe for food cooling. Government-run experimental farms developed approaches suitable for Western Australian soils and climates, especially dryland agriculture. Perhaps the most striking project to 'conquer' the environment was the internationally-acclaimed Goldfields Water Supply Scheme, opened in 1903.

Isolation also defined Western Australia on the scale of individuals, families and communities, especially in the colonial period. For many colonists, social interactions were few, and family became the forum for nearly all human contact. Some, such as the shepherds on pastoral outstations, were basically alone for long stretches of time. Schooling was difficult and many 19th-century children did not receive an education. Politics was hard to engage in, and social clubs, sporting teams, cultural life and religious organisations struggled as sheer distance made it difficult for sufficient people to gather to make such things viable. Inventiveness and home-grown solutions were necessities. Medical treatment was hard to obtain, although on the upside the distance between people meant disease did not spread easily. It has been suggested that Western Australia has been less impacted by divisions such as class, gender or ethnicity, as isolated communities have a strong sense of all sticking together, but this is difficult to prove. While there are some instances of colonists responding to isolation by befriending and trying to understand Aboriginal people, more often they responded to Aboriginal people with fear and violence. Beginning with sealers (and, to a lesser extent, whalers) in the decades preceding colonisation, and continuing well into the 20th century, especially in northern pastoral areas, isolated men abused Aboriginal women with impunity. The distances between the frontier colonists and administrative or judicial posts meant little fear of punishment by perpetrators of atrocities. It appears the isolated frontier life 'warped the moral codes' (Bolton 2008: p.40) of remote colonists, even by the racist standards of the time.

Western Australian culture developed a mystique around living with isolation, making heroes of those who endured or triumphed over it. Nineteenth-century British explorers where lionised as the celebrities of their day, however assistance from Aboriginal people went largely unrecognised; the Forrest brothers in particular (miller's sons from Bunbury) managed to gain much social power out of their renown as valiant explorers pushing back the frontiers of the unknown. Prospectors, pastoralists and the wives of early colonists, all lauded for their resilience in harsh, isolated conditions, have become intrinsic to the State's sense of self, feeding a foundational myth of 'human-vs-land' conquest (mostly constructed in masculine terms). Through the 20th century, the State's population increasingly consolidated into the expanding Perth metropolitan area, with most people never experiencing even the Wheatbelt, let alone truly remote areas of the State, yet the sense of Western Australia as an 'outback' state persisted.

Isolation and distance continued to be crucial elements of Western Australia's development through the 20th century, even as they were progressively overcome. Railways and roads were large, vital government budget items, essential to enable most other aspects of life. When events such as fire, flood or accident cut either the Eyre Highway or the Transcontinental Railway it was quickly apparent that Western Australia remained highly dependent on these links for supplies, if no longer for communication. The airline strikes of 1989 and collapse of Ansett in 2001 had their greatest impact in Western Australia, where alternatives to air travel were often untenable. Post, telegraph, telephone and in more recent years internet have been fundamental services, with the extension of each transforming the communities they connect. While this is the case all over the world, Western Australia's distance from other population centres makes these communication forms more crucial and more impactful on the local culture. Both health and education saw 20th-century innovations to address isolation, in the Royal Flying Doctor Service and the various forms of 'school of the air'. Western Australians signed up for both World Wars at higher rates than recruits in other states, reinforcing the connection with a distant 'homeland'. As Japanese raids bombed the Kimberley during World War II, Western Australians were genuinely afraid that the rest of Australia was too far away to help them and not that interested anyway, despite a Western Australian prime minister through the war years.

Cultural life and sports have also been impacted by isolation. Those at the top of their fields in dance, theatre, art and literature have generally had to leave Western Australia to find an audience, extend their training or expand their influences. Conversely, international-standard artists have rarely travelled to Western Australia. To the end of the 20th century, Western Australians travelled to eastern Australian cities to attend events such as musicals, art exhibitions and rock concerts where international-standard touring events did not include Western Australia on their itinerary. When such events have come to the State, it has usually been to Perth, thousands of kilometres from the Kimberley and an over-night trip for people through much of the rest of the State. Sport also struggled for decades, as Western Australian teams and fans could not attend regular games in other states, but telecommunications and cheap air travel had largely overcome the isolation barrier for sport by the 1980s.

Isolation has bred both innovation and parochialism. Perth Festival, founded in 1953, was the first arts festival of its kind in Australia, arising out of the need for Western Australia to create a forum that fostered local talent and brought international acts to the State. Isolation also permits the perception of Western Australian independence by creating a buffer against incidental exposure to the experiences of Australians in other states. The recurrent secession movement, peaking at the 1933 secession referendum but emerging in political rhetoric whenever Western Australia feels aggrieved in a national context, is in many ways a factor of isolation.

Even if 'isolation' is a mental construct, Western Australians have lived as 'isolated' since 1826, and as such it is a dominating reality of the State's culture and historical development.

P26460 **AA Dam No 190 James, Lake Grace**

Originally constructed in 1914, with improvements in 1949, AA Dam No 190 James, Lake Grace became the first experimental roaded catchment dam in the State. Originally part of a State Government program to provide an adequate water supply to regional areas during the early 20th century, the square dam with a wave-like roaded catchment situated in the eastern Wheatbelt was particularly suited to isolated areas where arid conditions were the norm.

In 1949 when the dam was expanded and improved, it used new technologies and materials to develop a more efficient method of water collection and storage for agricultural areas. The roaded catchment is a sloped area with a corrugated surface. The compacted soil produced a surface that was more impervious to water absorption. Together with a relatively steep fall, it resulted in efficient water run-off which reduced the time that the rainwater would be exposed to evaporation or could be absorbed into the soil, and instead channelled the water quickly into a dam. Considered one of the greatest single advances in water conservation for the State, this method of construction increased the capacity of AA Dam No 190 from 1.4 million litres to 9.1 million litres.

BLACKSMITH, FREMANTLE 1905 – Courtesy of State Library of Western Australia

CHRONOLOGICAL PERIODS

4.4 billion BP–50,000BP

Western Australia formed over more than four billion years, for most of that time as part of the Gondwana super-continent. Physical traces of the ancient formation processes remain, including the oldest known minerals on earth and the earliest signs of life on the planet. By the time humans arrived, varied and intricate ecosystems had emerged.

50,000BP–1829

Archaeologists over the past 40 years have found evidence to push the date of Aboriginal occupancy of the State earlier and earlier, with 50,000 years now widely accepted and 70,000 considered possible. Aboriginal people lived in response to their environment, developing diverse and complex cultures centred on land, kin, spirituality and community. Their story continues to the present.

From the 1600s, some Aboriginal people had contact with European or Macassan visitors. By the 1800s, this included violent visits from sealers and whalers, and children born of non-Aboriginal fathers. From Europe, the 1600s to 1800s were a period of exploration and discovery, with associated shipwrecks. Reports about Western Australia were largely negative until James Stirling's over-enthusiastic 1827 review of the Swan River, which led to British colonisation.

1829–1849

The first 20 years of European colonisation saw isolated and under-resourced colonists, predominantly young English men, live austere lives, often barely subsisting. Western Australia's climate challenged colonists, particular the shortage of water. Little infrastructure was developed, healthcare was poor, social services were virtually non-existent and most children had no access to education. Migration slowed to a crawl, labour was in short supply and the rural-dominated economy developed few export goods, mostly wool, sandalwood and horses. The government was a small, male elite, administering British affairs in a colony of little interest to Britain.

The story of Aboriginal occupation and culture did not end with colonisation, but it rapidly became a story of resistance and oppression, dispossession and adaptation, decimation and survival. Although colonists struggled to establish viable settlements, they were very successful at dispossessing traditional owners, through direct violence and introduced disease.

P17171 **Lake Clifton, Peel Region**

Lake Clifton, Peel Region is a 21 kilometre-long coastal lake just south of Mandurah that is home to rare early remnants of cement production, as well as the internationally rare living thrombolite colony. Thrombolites are communities of microbes that have existed for at least 570 million years. Groups of micro-organisms slowly produce layers of calcium carbonate which, over hundreds of years, produce the distinctive mushroom-shaped thrombolite structures. However, despite their rarity and antiquity, the mineral content of the lakebed was also highly valued by the State's building industry. Between 1921-1923 the WA Portland Cement Company attempted to dredge the lakebed and process the calcium lime onshore. Today, the lake is an internationally regarded scientific site and popular tourist destination.

1850–1869

The floundering colony was relieved to receive British convicts and associated administrative structures and Imperial funds. From the first ship in 1850 to the last in 1868, around 10,000 male convicts arrived, along with accompanying guards, families and officials. Convicts became the labour force to advance the colony, both as hired agricultural hands and as government work teams on public works projects. Increased cash and population boosted commerce and generally increased standards of living, although for most people domestic life remained simple. The distinction of 'bond' or 'free' became a fundamental social determinant. An education system developed, although standards were low. Mining and pearling industries were established and timber became a significant export. Pastoralists moved into much of the Southwest and from 1863 also the Pilbara, with frontier violence accompanying each phase of expansion.

Although transportation ended in 1868, the convict establishment was not officially wound up until 1886. Convict influence in the colony declined, however, from the 1870s.

1870–1889

A limited form of representative government was granted to the Swan River Colony in 1870, which allowed public spending priorities to reorient towards colonial rather than Imperial interests. Transport and communications infrastructure was subsequently expanded. The 1877 overland telegraph link ended dependence on shipping for contact with the outside world, and made possible near-immediate communication with England and eastern Australia. Rail, established privately from 1871 and by the government from 1879, transformed the colony, as road quality even on major thoroughfares was poor. A timber industry flourished, and agriculture expanded along railways, including German migrant farmers. Pearling became dominated by Asian migrants. Some merchant and pastoralist families were sufficiently established to form a social elite. Education was made compulsory and standards improved, although the colony retained a provincial culture and low literacy rates, especially among women. Social services began to emerge, mostly church-based and predominantly institutional. Religion continued to be enmeshed with colonial power and politics, especially the Church of England. Municipal councils and road boards, established from 1871, allowed local communities to establish services and infrastructure. The small colony consolidated and developed gradually.

Colonisation reached the Kimberley in the 1880s, after several failed attempts. Kimberley Aboriginal populations, already victims of blackbirding raids by pearlers, resisted strongly. Kimberley frontier violence lasted longer than in other regions, even into the 1920s.

1890–1900

Soon after Western Australia was granted responsible government (1890), the small gold finds of the latter 1880s exploded into a massive gold rush, centred on the Eastern Goldfields. Within a decade, the colony was transformed.

Migrants flooded the colony, bringing a fourfold population increase across the 1890s. Ethnic and religious diversity flourished, education levels increased and community interest developed in a wider range of sports and cultural pursuits. Special interest groups, professional organisations and arts societies formed. Diversification also brought greater tension between groups, including legislation to restrict Asian and Aboriginal involvement in the boom and social movements promoting Anglo-Australian heritage.

Rapid population expansion brought both enormous pressure on limited resources, and labour and finance to expand services and infrastructure in response. Wealth stimulated economic growth such as the colony had never known, including substantial speculative investment via the London Stock Exchange. Secondary industry expanded. Building boomed, as many families, businesses and community groups had new levels of disposable income. Standards of living rose dramatically, reflected in larger, more decorated houses and the development of metropolitan middle-class suburbs, although on the goldfields many lived in transitory tent camps, where typhoid was epidemic. Church construction surged, particularly as many new religious orders arrived to provide health and education services.

The government, led throughout the period of independent government by the indomitable John Forrest, raised loans on the back of gold finds to expand public spending. Public works included huge projects such as Fremantle Harbour and the Goldfields Pipeline, as well as cultural institutions and general expansion. Funds were also directed into government support for expanding agriculture.

Social divides emerged between the goldfields, where populations had strong links to eastern colonies, and longer-established coastal districts. Federation was hotly debated through the decade before being adopted following a 1900 referendum, the first opportunity for women to vote. The increasing number of workers birthed the labour movement, which over subsequent decades eroded the power of the colonial elites.

Expanding population and a ready labour supply further disadvantaged Aboriginal people, still fighting for their land in the Kimberley and elsewhere increasingly unable to practice traditional lifestyles.

P25225 **West End, Fremantle**

West End demonstrates the way the gold boom period transformed all areas of the State. Prior to the 1890s, Fremantle was already an important commercial district of importers and exporters, but the gold boom lifted it to become the State's pre-eminent port town, with buildings of scale and quality that displayed its new-found wealth. For many of the tens of thousands of migrants attracted by the gold boom, West End hotels were their first experience of Western Australia. Fremantle Harbour, opened in 1897, was one of the most substantial government infrastructure undertakings of the decade, reflecting the priorities of the self-governing parliament and its gold-enabled capacity to invest in large projects. West End flourished in response to the harbour development.

1901–1929

Western Australia joined Federated Australia as a founding state in 1901. Within two years the gold boom had passed its peak and those who chose to stay in the State were moving off the goldfields into urban or agricultural districts. Expanding agriculture, which the government had sponsored in various ways since the early 1890s, became the dominant theme of the State for 30 years. Financial incentives to take up farms, a government agricultural bank, agricultural research and a government department dedicated to agriculture combined with infrastructure investment to see agricultural lands expand enormously. Railways were laid to link new farming districts to ports and urban markets. Assisted migration programs brought British families in large number, many of whom took up farms.

In the middle of the period, Western Australian men in large number, and some women, enlisted for World War I. Coming on the back of drought years through new farming districts, war service appealed to many young men. After the war, soldier settlement programs further expanded agricultural lands. Group settlement also ran through the 1920s, mostly initiating dairy farms in the Southwest. Both schemes launched participants into lives of extreme hardship and had high failure rates.

Agricultural expansion cemented the dispossession of Aboriginal people through southern districts. From 1905, the *Aborigines Act* gave the State Government unprecedented control over Aboriginal lives, causing social disruption, personal heartache and cultural damage, especially through forced removal of Aboriginal children. Strengthening unions marginalised both Aboriginal and migrant workers. Many Aboriginal people were coerced onto reserves, where conditions were extremely poor.

1930–1946

Parallel to Aboriginal communities having fewer opportunities or services, white society expanded its options. A variety of services for children were initiated. Housing assistance for low income families, old age and invalid pensions, and improved pay and conditions for workers were all introduced. Social service groups such as the Red Cross, CWA and Rotary formed branches. Expanding suburbia and the spread of small country towns saw many local social activities emerge, including sports clubs, youth groups and choirs. Both classical and popular cultural offerings increased, with development of professional music options, cinema and radio. Sport increased its profile, participation and diversity.

From the collapse of global financial markets late in 1929 to the latter 1940s, Western Australia experienced more than 15 years of mostly hard times.

The global depression of the early 1930s caused high unemployment, birthing a culture of innovative resourcefulness in the midst of affliction. Demand for social services increased, especially institutional care for needy children. Government sustenance payments and public works projects supported thousands of unemployed men. As the State pulled out of the Depression, assisted by renewed gold mining, drought struck. Northwest pastoral areas were impacted from 1935 to 1940, while most wheat growing districts suffered from 1938 to 1945. With an economy pinned to rural fortunes, drought affected everyone. Through the 1930s, standards of living dropped, food supply was limited and birth rates declined. Aboriginal people, pushed out the bottom of the social strata, suffered particularly badly through 1930s.

Although arts and culture continued to expand, including development of communist literary voices and notable local authors presenting Western Australian stories, the gathering clouds of war dampened enthusiasm for bold new directions.

World War II impacted at home far more than any other conflict, with widespread rationing and restrictions for the war effort. Northern communities were bombed by the Japanese and fear of invasion was high for several years. Dutch, British, Australian and particularly American service personnel stationed in Western Australia impacted local culture and relationships. As war conditions eased, labour and materials were in short supply and wartime austerity continued for several years after hostilities ceased.

P108 Margaret River Hotel, Margaret River

Constructed in 1936 as the state continued to recover from the Great Depression, Margaret River Hotel has been associated with major developments in the South West region since that time. The region initially saw an increase in visitation when tourism to the caves commenced after they were opened to the public in 1901. Further increases were seen with Group Settlement (c.1924), and the subsequent development of viticulture that followed in the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

An impressive two-storey rendered brick and tile hotel with elements of the Inter-War Old English, Inter-War Art Deco and Arts and Crafts styles, it was the work of architect F.G.B. Hawkins and builder C.W. Arnott, and was built for Bernard McKeown whose family became significant local identities and continued to own and operate the hotel for 36 years.

Margaret River Hotel has been an integral part of the Margaret River district, both physically and socially since the 1930s, and has seen the town develop into a regional centre and popular tourist destination.

1947–1959

Post-war reconstruction had begun from 1943, but it was the latter 1940s before shortages eased and standards of living increased. When it came, however, it was a sustained boom period, riding on the back of high international wool prices benefitting both established and expanding agricultural districts.

Government incentives sponsored development of manufacturing and industry, which had long struggled in Western Australia. Kwinana industrial area, based around the 1954 BP oil refinery, enabled widespread industrial development. Cheap, locally refined petrol also fuelled increasing domestic car ownership, leading to increased car-based entertainment and tourism, changes to shopping practices, reduced isolation for rural families and new settlement patterns as employees no longer needed to live near their workplaces.

Cultural influences shifted from British to American. Adolescence became a recognised life stage, with youth services and social activities expanding. School leaving age was increased to 15 and new high schools were built to cater for increased numbers of students continuing to senior years. Domestic electrical appliances became widely available, and self-service shopping, discount supermarkets and persuasive advertising changed retail and domestic life. Diets began to diversify from standard British meat-and-veg options, including continental European migrant influences.

Government-sponsored migration brought thousands of displaced persons from continental Europe, along with British migrants, to settle in Western Australia, the most rapid population increase since the 1890s. Assimilation policies saw non-British post-war migrants integrated into Australian society more comprehensively than earlier migration waves, although prejudice and difference were not eliminated. Low-paid migrant workers, especially bonded labourers on government projects, were crucial to the post-war boom. Many took contracts at Wittenoom asbestos mine, with long-lasting health impacts.

An increase in public sentiment to assist those less well-off emerged through the post-war years, possibly as the memory of difficult years was still fresh when 1950s prosperity settled. More organised and diverse social services emerged, with professional employees in developing fields such as social work and occupational therapy. Gross lack of housing was addressed by a huge Commonwealth program to provide low-income government rental accommodation, and charitable groups began providing residential aged care. Government support payments expanded, including for the first time to some Aboriginal people. The successful Aboriginal pastoral workers strike (1946-1949) raised awareness of Aboriginal conditions and, in the context of a growing public social conscience, sowed seeds for the gradual relaxation over the next two decades of oppressive measures controlling Aboriginal people.

1960–1972

Restrictions on exporting iron ore were lifted in 1960, paving the way for a mining boom based around Pilbara iron ore deposits. New towns were established, heavy railways constructed and ports improved. Migrants, many from elsewhere in Australia, boosted the population. By the early 1970s, with four major Pilbara projects opened, Western Australia was on track to become one of the world's largest iron ore exporters and the mineral provided a third of the State's income. Mining was increasingly open-cut, with greater environmental impact, and extraction of oil, gas, nickel, manganese, bauxite, solar salt and mineral sands also commenced.

The economic boom that resulted was so comprehensive that Western Australia ceased to be a claimant state in Commonwealth funding distribution. Japan, China and India superseded Britain as the State's main trading partners. International companies were encouraged into the State, and many long-standing local businesses sold out to multinational corporations. Perth developed a (modest) high-rise CBD, and suburban shopping centres flourished, with the capital's expansion guided by car-oriented 1950s town planning. Government services, such as education, health and policing, expanded dramatically.

Rural industries declined in influence as mining ascended and increased mechanisation reduced rural workforces. Rail closures, begun in the mid-1950s, picked up pace, moving rural transport to roads and seeing some rail-based settlements dwindle. A pastoral-industry downturn in the late 1960s saw many workers laid off or moved to seasonal contract employment, especially Aboriginal station hands after the Pastoral Award (1968) mandated they must receive equal pay. Town camps developed around expanding Pilbara mining towns.

1973–1993

Culture became more permissive. Religion no longer had significant political influence, and its social relevance also waned. Education levels rose, computers slowly came into use and television, introduced from 1959, quickly became a domestic staple. Social activism developed, especially after conscripts began to be sent to the Vietnam War (1964), with Aboriginal, feminist, environmental, heritage and peace movements emerging. The White Australia policy was formally ended (1966) and Aboriginal people were finally acknowledged as citizens (1967).

Western Australia was increasingly culturally integrated into wider Australia. Social changes that 1960s protestors had called for began to be implemented in the 1970s, particularly after the Federal Whitlam government came to power (1972). Minority groups were recognised, and gay rights activism emerged. Women gained greater independence, equal pay for equal work was legislated (1972), and no-fault divorce became legal (1975). Aboriginal affairs came under Federal jurisdiction, and conditions slowly improved. Policy moved from assimilation to multiculturalism and Aboriginal self-determination. Asian migration increased, especially as refugees fled Indochina (from mid-1970s) and Asian students accessed the increasing number of tertiary institutions (1980s). Western Australian food, sport and entertainment diversified. Local cultural expression was increasingly celebrated, although most successful artists still needed to leave the State to pursue a career.

P9917 **Marsala House, Dianella**

Marsala House, constructed in 1976 in the late 20th century Brutalist style, was designed by highly regarded Bulgarian-born modernist architect, Iwan Iwanoff.

Highly regarded in architectural circles, this iconic Dianella residence still retains many of its original interior features including a functioning disco room, and remains one of the finest examples of Iwanoff's residential work.

Nearly nine decades after Federation, Western Australia entered a team in the AFL (1987) and finally felt fully part of the nation.

The international oil crisis of 1973 ended three decades of low unemployment and ushered in approximately 20 years of variable economic fortune. Oil and gas reserves were developed through the 1980s, but iron ore prices slumped. Imports increased and local manufacturing declined, with many plants closing from the 1980s. Multinational retailers opened branches, beginning with fast food chains through the 1970s. By the 1980s, tourism and hospitality had emerged as major industries, as cultural shifts saw more dining out. High-flying politics of the 1980s encouraged a culture of conspicuous consumption, but the divide between rich and poor widened, and homelessness increased, particularly as psychiatric institutions moved residents into the wider community.

Social services received greater funding and recognition, professionalised, and expanded to become a significant employing sector. Institutional facilities were largely superseded by non-residential care, and disability services improved. Successful public health campaigns addressed a range of lifestyle causes of poor health. Computers became ubiquitous, transforming workplaces.

Human impacts on the Western Australian environment entered public consciousness, particularly as land degradation threatened farming areas. Logging of old growth forests for woodchip exports was controversial throughout the period. Legislation to recognise environmental, heritage and Aboriginal interests increased red tape for developers but curtailed the culture of the strongest or wealthiest interest automatically getting its way.

1994–[present]

P1972 **Albany Snake Run Skateboard Park, Albany**

The origin of skateboarding can be traced back to the 1950s in the USA, where it was developed as an alternative activity for times when the surf was poor. Although the popularity of the new sport grew in the early 1960s, by the mid-1960s it had all but faded, considered an extremely dangerous activity as the boards were hard to control. This changed in the early 1970s, following the invention of polyurethane wheels and skateboarding rapidly became a worldwide phenomenon. Skateboarding became popular in Australia in the early 1970s, and as the sport became more mainstream, the demand for purpose-built skateboarding facilities grew. Australia's first purpose-built skate park was constructed in January 1976 in Albany. Albany Snake Run Skateboard Park, is thought to be the second oldest surviving skate park in the world.

The World Wide Web became broadly available in Western Australia in 1994, and internet use exploded. By the 2000s, digital connection dominated social and business culture and brought change to all aspects of life. Smartphones (2007) put the internet in every pocket and made social media dominant.

After a recession in the early 1990s, Western Australia experienced two decades of boom, largely due to soaring iron ore prices. Consumption increased, although rising prices pushed some people into greater poverty. Many Aboriginal communities experienced extreme disadvantage. Awareness grew of the 'gap' in measures of quality of life, and government policies attempted to 'close' this gap. Individualism began to surpass community sentiment, and many volunteer-dependant clubs, activities and services struggled, while economic rationalism dominated political policy.

Work culture shifted from lifetime employment to multiple jobs, even multiple careers. Union influence declined and many workplaces moved to part time, casual or contract employment. The public service, already experiencing change through the 1980s, was significantly restructured from the mid-1990s to competitive commercial operations, with many former government services put out to private contractors.

Western Australia became part of global culture, economy and social movements. Environmental concern became global and alarm at human-induced climate change rose. Fear of global terrorism influenced politics, popular culture and an increasing suspicion of outsiders. Cheap air travel facilitated greater overseas travel, encouraged by the internet, and also brought more touring arts and culture to the State.

Although physically as far as ever from external reference points, the era of global connectivity changed the nature of being isolated and some even suggested the State may finally have overcome isolation.

LOCOMOTIVE STEAMING, FORREST STREET, PERTH, 1912 – Courtesy of State Library of Western Australia

TIME LINES

Environment

4.4 billion –5,000 BP	Western Australia's physical form and ecology develops to approximately pre-colonial form
4.4 billion BP	Oldest known minerals on earth (Jack Hills zircon)
3.5 billion BP	First signs of life on earth (stromatolite fossils)
300 million BP	Permian glaciers level much of future Western Australia
150 million BP	Gondwanaland supercontinent begins to break up
70,000 BP –1800s	Environment develops in relation to Aboriginal occupation, with highly integrated relationship of humans with natural world
70,000 BP	Humans begin contact with environment (Kimberley coast)
50,000 BP	Humans settled into the ecosystem
40,000 BP	Extinction of megafauna
5,000 BP	Sea levels reach approximately present levels
1600s–1800s	Europeans observe and report on Western Australia landscape; repelled by harshness, fascinated by flora and fauna
c.1800	Europeans exploiting the Western Australian environment for economic gain (whaling, sealing)
1829–1892	Colonists live in delicate balance with environment, learning to live in a foreign land but largely viewing environment as a foe to be conquered; footprint limited by small numbers of colonists, lack of funds, relatively primitive technology; hunting of native animals and introduction of feral livestock most widespread environmental impact
1890s	Large-scale schemes to capture and transport water change dependence on local water sources, allowing new expansion and alteration of landscape; increased population escalates environmental impact especially mining; deliberate introduction of many pest species; development of scientific societies to observe and record natural world
1893–1930s	Emphasis on expanding agriculture clears much of Western Australia woodlands, causes soil erosion and salinity on a large scale, although largely ignored in this period.
1920s	Group and Soldier Settlement schemes clear vast areas of southern forests; driving holidays begin to expand suburban residents' access to the wider environment
1920s–1930s	Community nature appreciation groups form
1930s	Depression slows agricultural expansion, increases irrigation schemes, sees day labour used to improve visitor access to parks/ reserves
1946–1960s	Agricultural clearing and loss/ degradation of remnant habitat on a grander scale than pre-WWII due to improved technology and targeted government programs; water scheme substantially expanded; nature appreciation groups increasingly have conservation rather than observation as chief purpose; legislation to protect natural environment gradually introduced
1950s	Development of heavy industry introduces new level of pollutants; increasingly industrialised Western Australian culture increases human footprint
1960s	Rapid expansion in mining, including moves to open pit, with greater environmental impact
1970s	Environmental activism develops, including some confrontational protest groups; agricultural awareness of land degradation develops, with land clearing slowed and farmers innovating to address salinity; Environmental Protection Authority formed (1972)
1980s	Landcare groups develop as rural communities attempt to rescue their land; eco-tourism gradually emerges; environmental activists elected to State parliament; Australia joins global ban on CFCs (1987)
1990s–2000s	Western Australia becomes increasingly aware of itself as part of a global environment, especially in relation to climate change, while at the same time increasing wealth sees resource use escalate rapidly

Peopling WA

Colonisation

50,000 BP + Aboriginal peoples the oldest continuing cultures in the world

1600s–1700s European explorers, little interest in colonisation

1700s–1800s Macassan fishermen visit north coast and live in seasonal camps, but no interest in colonisation

1826–1831 British military garrison at King George Sound (Albany) has relatively peaceful co-existence with local Minang people

1829 Permanent British colonisation begins at Swan River; small settlements along coastal plain, also Augusta (1830); dependent on Noongar knowledge for survival

1830 Documented militia attacks on Noongar people begin; Noongar resistance in Swan River area largely subdued by 1833

1831 Colonisation and frontier violence expands into the Avon Valley

1830s Pastoral expansion through Avon, Plantagenet, Williams, Murray and Vasse districts, often following paths of colonial surveyor John Septimus Roe

1838 Prison for Aboriginal men established at Wadjemup/Rottnest Island; operates until 1904, with high death rate

1840s Second generation of colonists expand colony, often with more disparaging view of Aboriginal occupants than original colonists; colonisation of Amangu land (Greenough) begins, despite fierce resistance

1850s–1860s Remote pastoralists move inland in southern districts, especially along Perth-Albany route

1854 Police-led attack subdues Aboriginal resistance sufficiently to allow colony at Greenough to establish

1830s–1870s Era of European exploratory journeys inland, expanding colonial knowledge and opening the way for colonial power to follow

1860s Mining settlement established on Nhanta land at Northampton

1863 Colonisation of the north begins at Cossack; frontier violence particularly extreme in the north and lasts into the 1920s; Aboriginal slave labour underpins pearling industry and also used in pastoralism

1860s–1870s Aboriginal resistance fends off several attempts to colonise the Kimberley, although 'blackbirding' raids captured slaves throughout the region

1870s Handful of pastoralists establish east towards the Nullabor; Gascoyne region colonised; scattered timber settlements establish through South West forests

1880s Colonisation of the Kimberley; establishment of railways through southern districts facilitate expansion of agriculture, which escalates dislocation of Aboriginal people from traditional land

1880s–1920s Period known to Kimberley Aboriginal people as 'The Killing Times', characterised by excessive frontier violence, both direct attacks and actions such as poisoning water sources or handing out poisoned rations

P3957 **Pinjarra Massacre Site, Pinjarra**

Pinjarra Massacre Site is representative of many sites, where armed conflict occurred between Noongars and European settlers in the early years of the Swan River Colony, as a result of the displacement of Aboriginal peoples from their traditional lands.

On 28 October 1834, a number of Bindjareb Noongars were killed in an attack led by a group of prominent members of the Colony, including Governor James Stirling, J.S. Roe, and Thomas Peel. Today, through a recognition of its history, the place has significant potential to contribute to the process of reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians.

1888–1890s	Gold finds stretch the colony east, including Yilgarn (1888), Ashburton (1890) Murchison (1891) Coolgardie (1892) and Kalgoorlie (1893), with many transitory towns; other urban centres also flourish; Fremantle port and Perth city solidify as colonial hubs and suburban expansion of Perth begins
1900	Eastern Goldfields the premier gold district; transitory towns mostly consolidated into regional centres, especially Kalgoorlie and Coolgardie; approximately one-third of the population in the metropolitan area, one-third in the Eastern Goldfields and most of the remainder spread through the south
1904	Roth Royal Commission highly critical of mistreatment of Aboriginal people, especially in the north
1905	*Aborigines Act 1905* implemented – brutal, paternalistic legislation, operating for over 60 years
1910	Kimberley Aboriginal people begin being herded onto reserves
1920s	Group and soldier settlement schemes expand agricultural settlement of southwest, clearing forests for dairy farms and increasing farming communities on the swampy coastal plain south of Perth; however, many farms were subsequently abandoned 1890s–1920s Intense, government-sponsored agricultural expansion of the Wheatbelt
1926	Forrest River Massacre sparks Royal Commission; although police involved escape conviction, public opinion is shifting and extrajudicial killings of Aboriginal people largely end
1930s–1946	European expansion slows during Depression and halts during World War II; Wheatbelt continues slow growth, but some precarious settlements fold during hard times
1937	Government policy officially recognises Aboriginal people are not dying out, and moves, in principle, towards assimilation (little impact until 1950s)
1941–1945	White residents of the north evacuated during World War II
1946–1963	War Service Land Settlement Scheme expands Wheatbelt, supports orchardists and revitalises former Group Settlement areas; water schemes also boost farming areas
1946–1950s	Perth metropolitan area substantially expands, particularly through government estates guided by the State Housing Commission
1960s	Ord River irrigation scheme creates government-sponsored agricultural settlement around Kununurra
Mid-1960s–1970s	Pilbara mining towns established in response to minerals boom; many Aboriginal people move into towns as they are evicted from pastoral stations, especially following legislated equal pay (1968)
1970s	Aboriginal policy moves from assimilation to self-determination; government supports establishment of remote Aboriginal settlements; activists increasingly call for recognition of the dispossession of traditional owners and violence of colonial history
1980s	End to agricultural expansion
1984	Christmas and Cocos (Keeling) Islands integrated into Australia, under Western Australian law
1992	High Court *Mabo* case rejects legal fiction of *terra nullius*, paving way for 1993 *Native Title Act*
1993–1995	Western Australia attempts to extinguish native title, but State legislation ruled invalid in the High Court
2000s	Native title agreements successfully negotiated for several groups; government apologies for Stolen Generations, but 'Close the Gap' campaign identifies ongoing major social disadvantage among Aboriginal communities, the long-lasting impact of colonisation
2018	Western Australia the most urbanised state in Australia, with densely populated southwest corner on the edge of sparsely populated large land area

P2915 **Guildford Historic Town, Guildford**

Established in 1829 on the confluence of the Swan and Helena rivers on Whadjuk Noongar land, Guildford Historic Town comprises a central church square, mature street trees, a core of civic and commercial buildings with surrounding residential areas. Developed in the Colonial, Convict, Gold Boom and Federation eras through to the inter-war period, the town is encircled by openly wooded undeveloped riverine floodplain.

Illustrating five key periods in the State's history, Guildford includes simple Georgian buildings from the foundation of the Colony, brick buildings from the Convict era, opulent buildings of the Gold Boom, and fine examples of buildings of the Federation and Inter-war periods, all of which form a cohesive precinct. As one of three towns established in 1829, Guildford was central to the development of the Colony, as the first (and only) inland port in Western Australia.

Demographic development

70,000 BP	Ancestors of Australian Aboriginal peoples reach South East Asia and begin contact with Australia's north coast
50,000 BP	Aboriginal people living across future Western Australia
1600s–1800s	Europeans sporadically visiting future Western Australia, with some shipwreck survivors possibly integrating into Aboriginal populations
1800s	Sealers and whalers fathered Aboriginal children, especially along south coast; approximately 130 Aboriginal languages and dialects spoken amongst Aboriginal population of up to 200,000 people
1826	British soldiers posted at King George Sound
1829–1849	Colonists predominantly young English men of urban background; numbers small but impact on Aboriginal populations extreme
1842–1849	Teenage boys brought from Parkhurst Prison as bonded labourers
1850–1868	Approximately 10,000 male convicts imported, maintaining male gender bias of colonist population; mostly young, urban, English labourers, often illiterate
1870s–1890s	Diverse, mostly male, Asian and Islander population arrive to work in northwest pearling; Chinese labourers establish in south; Indian workers also present in small number (from 1838); by 1891, four per cent of non-Aboriginal population is of Asian birth
1880s	Germans become the largest non-English speaking European group, especially establishing in rural areas along the Great Southern Railway
1829–1920s	Frontier violence between colonists and Aboriginal people
1890s	Four-fold increase in population due to gold boom; migrants mostly arrive via eastern colonies or New Zealand; most are of British or Irish ancestry, but significant communities also continental Europeans and smaller groups from Asia or the Middle East, including Afghan cameleers; gender balance again skewed towards men; organised opposition to non-white migration begins
1897	Asian migration restricted (precursor to 1901 Federal White Australia policy, which remains until the 1960s)
1900s–1930s	Sporadic race-based violence between Anglo-Australians and southern Europeans on the goldfields, and between Japanese pearling bosses and Malay or Koepanger labourers
1910s	Italians become the largest non-English speaking migrant group, remaining thus for around 100 years

1900s–1920s	Assisted migration schemes for British migrants
1905	*Aborigines Act 1905* cements dispossession of Aboriginal people
1913	British child migration schemes begin (Fairbridge); continue to 1965
1914–1918	Immigration virtually ceases during World War I; residents ancestrally linked to 'enemy' countries (mostly Germans) interned; all Asian peoples designated 'aliens' and required to register with police
1919–mid-1920s	Migration restrictions retained for various southern and eastern Europeans
1930s	Assisted migration ceases; self-funded migration also slows to a trickle
1936–1938	Brief period where migration restarts, including some assisted migration
1939–1945	Migration halts completely during World War II; Italian, German and Japanese residents interned; refugees arrive from Dutch and British colonies in Asia taken over by the Japanese army; Dutch, United States and British armed forces stationed in Western Australia in significant number
1947–1954	Commonwealth scheme of assisted migration brings thousands of British and continental Europeans, many displaced by war; continental European population trebles as a percentage of the State; majority Italian, with substantial populations of Dutch, German, Polish and Yugoslav also
1954	Australia signs United Nations refugee convention and subsequently accepts small numbers of refugees from crises in Hungary (1956), (former) Czechoslovakia (1968), Chile (1973), Lebanon (1976), East Timor (1976), Poland (1981), Iran (1981), Romania (1986), China (1989) and (former) Yugoslavia (1992)
1950s–1960s	Multiple ethnic backgrounds gradually becomes normal for urban Western Australian society; policy of assimilation for both migrants and Aboriginal people; population overall remains strongly Anglo-Australian; White Australia policy gradually unwound (final legislation passed 1973)
1950s–1970s	British assisted migration continues ('Ten Pound Poms'); Western Australia continues to the present to have a higher percentage of British-born residents than other parts of Australia
1967	Referendum acknowledges Aboriginal people as citizens
Mid-1960s–1970s	Population boosted by migrants, especially from eastern states, in response to mineral boom
1976–1982	Large numbers of refugees accepted from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, the first refugee population to establish in sufficient number to have a cultural impact (including small percentage arriving by boat)
1970s	Public opinion gradually begins accepting minority groups and policy moves from assimilation to multiculturalism
1980s	Assisted migration schemes from Britain cease (1982); Asia becomes dominant source of migrants, including many tertiary students; South Africa becomes a significant source of migrants; skilled migration prioritising families replaces long-standing emphasis on 'unskilled' labourers, often male
1990s–2010s	Public unease at accepting refugees increases, with increasingly restrictive immigration regimes and long-term detention of unauthorised arrivals seeking asylum
2016	Census shows population of 2,474,410, close to equal male-female; almost 40 per cent born in other countries, predominantly England, followed by New Zealand, India, South Africa and the Philippines (all higher than national averages); Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders make up 3.1 per cent of the population

Economy

Rural Occupations

50,000BP –1800s	Aboriginal people in some areas practised early modes of agriculture
1829–1849	Colony a subsistence agricultural community, focussed on the Avon Valley; food largely imported; rural life physically demanding; family farms dominate; poisonous native plants cause severe stock losses; labourers in short supply and expensive
1832	Wool exports begin (to Britain); wool leads to colonial economy until the 1890s
1850s	Pastoral leases granted near Geraldton, followed by agricultural settlement of Greenough and Irwin districts; by the end of the decade, this area is the chief wheat-producing district for the colony
1850s–1860s	Convict establishment brought cheap labour and demand for food, boosting agricultural production; improved technology especially fencing wire (mid-1850s) and threshing machine (1860s) assist agricultural expansion
1863	North West pastoralism begins (sheep), relying on exploitative use of Aboriginal labour (no convicts north of Murchison River)
1870	Representative government restricts vote to (male) landholders, establishing a rural political bias that remained unitl the 1950s
1870s	Remote pastoralism continues its gradual expansion
1880s	Pastoralism expands into Kimberley region (cattle), accompanied by largely unchecked frontier mindset resulting in much violence and exploitation of Aboriginal people; Swan Valley viticulture expands and commercial wineries established
1887	Government sponsorship of agricultural settlement begins (deferred payments for land grants)
1889	Great Southern Railway facilitates agriculture along its length
1890s	Gold boom population increased demand for food and fodder; gold wealth boosts economy and allows many farmers to invest in ploughing, seeding, harvesting and shearing machinery; government measures to boost agriculture increase, including Agricultural Commission (1891), conditional free land grants (1893), Department of Agriculture (1894), Agricultural Bank (1895) and rail construction; Mediterranean fruit fly arrives, becoming long-lasting orchard pest
1900s	Gold boom migrants move off the goldfields and many take up agriculture; southern European migrants in particular move into viticulture, orchards and market gardens; new wheat strains thrive in Western Australian conditions and allow further agricultural expansion
1905–1910s	Rapid expansion of rural railways, along with other government support, sees agricultural areas expand, especially Wheatbelt; water from Goldfields Water Supply Scheme also piped to agricultural areas
1912–1919	Government trading concerns established, including State Shipping Service and government meatworks, attempting to improve access to North West pastoral areas and reduce cartel behaviour of Kimberley beef suppliers
1910s	Racial tension increases in Wheatbelt towns, as expanding agriculture dispossesses Aboriginal people and *Aborigines Act 1905* is enforced to remove them from their traditional lands
1911–1914	Three of four years are drought, creating a rural recession out of which many young men are available to enlist for war service
1914	Wesfarmers founded as a cooperative to improve the wheat market; wool process protected by compulsory wartime purchase scheme to supply Britain
1919–mid-1920s	Post-war food shortages create high prices and boost farm incomes

1920s	Group and soldier settlement schemes expand agricultural settlement of South West, especially dairy, but result in widespread failure; wheat and dairy production increase, but many individual settlers soon abandon their properties; improved technologies increase yields, including subterranean clover, tractors, irrigation, and artificial fertilisers; tropical plantations established at Carnarvon; tomato industry established at Geraldton (mostly Mediterranean migrants); metropolitan water schemes see market gardens move away from swampy areas, largely ending Chinese involvement
1930s	Depression hits farmers particularly hard as international prices collapse and many carry substantial debt from setting up farms; subsistence farming allows those not in debt to survive; move to larger holdings with more even balance of wheat and wool
1933	Cooperative Bulk Handling (CBH) established to reduce time and cost of grain handling; dominates wheat industry to the present
Mid-1930s to 1945	Drought across the state; ends in the north from 1940 but impacts Wheatbelt to 1945; the South West less affected and exports of fresh fruit increase as refrigeration and packaging improve
1939–1945	World War II dominates agriculture; Britain purchases entire wool clip; Australian Wheat Board forms to purchase all wheat (retains monopoly for 60 years); women move into farm labour, although some rural men also prevented from enlisting as farming designated a 'protected industry'; rationing, lack of labour and limited fuel hamper agriculture; internment of people of Italian heritage impacts horticultural workforce; access to export markets restricted (particularly impacts fruit growers); flax developed to supply British military requirements
1946–1963	War Service Land Settlement Scheme expands Wheatbelt, supports orchardists and revitalises former Group Settlement areas
1946–1974	Comprehensive Agricultural Areas Water Scheme provides reliable water to most of the Wheatbelt
1946–1949	Pilbara Aboriginal pastoral workers strike, winning wage increases; Kimberley subsequently the last Australian region to abolish paying Aboriginal employees in goods such as tobacco, clothes and food;
1950s	Rural boom as international wool prices soar and wheat prices also rise; Asia becomes main export market for wheat; many farmers become financially stable or even prosperous for the first time; rural railways begin to close and cartage moves to road freight; increased mechanisation reduces rural workforce and settlements shrink as population declines
1960s	Rural dominance of Western Australian politics and economy wanes as mining booms and metropolitan population soars
1968	Pastoral Award mandates equal pay for Aboriginal workers; corresponds with pastoral industry downturn and sees many Aboriginal families evicted from pastoral properties; pastoral work becomes seasonal and contract-based, using helicopters and motorcycles to replace horse-back mustering
1960s–1970s	Ord River irrigation scheme established and becomes important centre for tropical horticulture
1970s	Margaret River region begins attracting national attention for its wines (vines planted mid-1960s); large farm machinery becomes the norm; farm sizes increase and rural populations decline most farms still family-run but corporations begin moving into the sector
1980s	Salinity and erosion recognised as a threat to Western Australia agriculture; landcare movement established nationally in response; Crown land no longer granted for farming and clearing restrictions of private land tightened
1983	Price controls and supply quotas introduced to the dairy industry
1990s	Global wool price drops and farmers move towards cropping; remote pastoralists largely convert to cattle; wine making booms; farm forestry established (plantations)

2000 Deregulation of dairy industry sees many farmers leave and remaining farms move towards larger herds

2000s Boutique wine makers and wine tourism boost the industry; recurrent drought through Wheatbelt, increasingly acknowledged as an impact of climate change

2016 24,000 Western Australians employed in agriculture, approximately one-third of whom are women

Natural Resources

50,000BP –1800s Harvesting natural resources core to Aboriginal survival; Aboriginal people skilled hunters, gatherers and fishers

1700s–1800s Macassan fishermen visit north coast seeking trepang and trochus shells

1800s European sealers and whalers operate along south coast, often accompanied by violence and sexual exploitation of Noongar women

1830 WA-based whaling begins, continuing into the 1880s; significant employer of Noongar men

Timber exports begin with unsawn jarrah

1829–1849 Early colonists require bush skills to avoid privation, becoming adept at hunting and fishing, but generally not exploring native plants as food sources

1840s Dried fish exports begin, from Fremantle and the Abrolhos, sandalwood harvested, exported to Singapore and China from 1845 and becoming a significant income source through the 19th century; guano exported from the Abrolhos

1847 Export of kangaroo skins and meat begins, rapidly depleting kangaroo population until restrictions were introduced (1853, 1872, 1892)

1848 Export begins of timber to India for railway sleepers

1850s Building programs associated with convict establishment brings unprecedented demand for timber, creating a local timber industry; sawn timber exports begin

1860s Pilbara pearling industry established, relying on forced, unpaid Aboriginal labour, often women and children; pearling becomes one of the colony's major income earners and brings substantial Asian migration

1870s Larger-scale fish canning operations commence, employing Chinese and Japanese labourers

Southwest timber industry expands, especially as rail links laid; timber became the colony's second largest export by decade's end

P25362 **Little Wilgie Ochre Mine, Cue**

Little Wilgie Ochre Mine, Cue, is an exceptionally rare example of a Western Australian red ochre mine site demonstrating both Aboriginal and 20th century non-Indigenous mining techniques. The place is significant to the Aboriginal groups of the region both as an industrial site where red ochre was mined for trade and ceremonial use, and as part of a sacred story of the Marlu Dreaming ancestor that culturally links the place to the larger landscape. Little Wilgie is associated with nearby Wilgie Mia which is another ore source of impressive size and quality which was also mined by Aboriginal people. Studies of the early trade networks between Aboriginal groups in Western Australia suggest that red ochre from Wilgie Mia, and possibly Little Wilgie, travelled great distances across the state prior to and after the period of early contact between European settlers and Aboriginal people in Australia.

Permission to use the image has been provided by the Traditional Owners, Wajarri Yamatji.

1880s	Guano exports increase, including from islands off West Kimberley (begun 1878) and expanded Abrolhos operations; rail construction fuels demand for timber; pearling moves to Broome; apparatus diving (from 1885) brings Japanese pearlers into the industry
1892	Seal hunting restricted to limited season, and kangaroo skin exports virtually abolished
1894	Blasting rock bar across Swan River mouth destroys traditional Noongar shallow-water fishing areas
1890s	Rivers and estuaries reserved for anglers; commercial (ocean-based) fisheries established at Albany, Fremantle and Geraldton, accompanied by iceworks to allow fish supply to the goldfields; many continental Europeans worked in commercial fishing Timber industry booms as rapid infrastructure development, mining construction and a general building boom fuels demand for timber; Bunbury prospers as administrative and transport hub for timber industry
1900s	Small timber operators amalgamate into a few powerful companies, by 1910 dominated by Millars and Bunnings; operations remain mostly unmechanised, relying on horses, axes, crosscut saws and individual milling of logs; brief boom in export of possum fur in response to international fashion trend, largely employing Aboriginal trappers, until possum hunting banned in 1910
1910	Pearling peaks, followed by long slow decline
1913	State Saw Mills established to break the Millars-Bunnings duopoly in the timber industry and provide low-priced building materials for government projects
1914–1940	Sporadic attempts to re-establish whaling, with little success
1920s	Commercial rock lobster fishing begins at the Abrolhos, later expanding to Lancelin
1930s	Farmers turn to hunting and sandalwood cutting for food and income as agricultural prices collapse; sandalwood exports decline
1939–1945	World War II sees pearling workforce largely interned or expelled (mostly Japanese) and industry halts until 1946; wartime internment of Italians depletes fishing fleets; fish canneries established to support war effort
1941	Contract to supply canned lobster to armed forces secures rock lobster industry, boosting Geraldton cannery (opened 1931) and leading to permanent camps in rock lobster fields
1950s	Introduction of plastics prevent pearl industry from re-establishing post-war as a major sector; commercial fishing booms, especially as widespread ownership of domestic refrigerators creates demand for frozen fish products; whaling re-established, despite mounting international pressure to ban whaling altogether
1961	State Saw Mills privatised (later part of Bunnings)
1960s	Shark Bay becomes Western Australia's main commercial fishery, including prawns and scallops; forestry becomes more mechanised, including chainsaws and bulldozers; hardwood supply begins to show limits, and softwood production expands
1970s	Commercial fishing expands, with deep sea trawlers, factory ships, faster vessels, GPS and echo-location technology [by 2000s, Western Australia accounts for approximately 60 per cent of Australia's fish exports]
1976	Woodchips exports begin (to Japan), accompanied by environmental protest
1978	Cheyne Beach (Albany) the last whaling station in Australia to close (off-shore whaling ceases 1986)
1980s	Live lobster exports begin
1990s	Remote Southern Ocean fisheries begin to be exploited Environmental activism turns public opinion against old growth logging
2001	Old growth logging banned
2000s	Harvesting natural resources a tiny fraction of Western Australia's economy, dominated by large corporate operations; sandalwood cutting one of the few industries continuing much as in the 19th century

Mining and Mineral Resources

50,000 BP +	Spiritual connection between Aboriginal people and their land does not encourage mining, although some ochre is extracted
1829–1849	Colonial mining limited to quarrying, although extensive exploration sought mineral deposits
1846	Coal discovered on Irwin River begins first mining company, but proves uneconomic
1849	First commercially successful mines: lead, copper and silver on the Murchison River (Northampton)
1850s–1880s	Northampton the chief mining district for the colony, peaking in the mid-1870s; first government railway (1879) serves Northampton mines
1883	Coal discovered at Collie, but not mined for another 15 years
1885	First gold rush follows discoveries at Halls Creek (short-lived, but sufficient to ensure violence against Aboriginal occupants)
1886	Legislation bans Chinese miners from obtaining mining permits
1888	Tin discovered at Greenbushes, followed by several other sites around the State, with important, small-scale operations ensuing
1889	Copper mining begins at Whim Creek, continuing for more than 80 years
1888–1891	Yilgarn, Pilbara, Ashburton and Murchison goldfields open
1892	Gold discovery at Coolgardie begins Eastern Goldfields, where mines operate to the present; massive gold rush ensues, boosted by further finds at Kalgoorlie (1893)
1892–1903	Gold boom, focussed on Eastern Goldfields; by 1893, gold was the colony's largest export; alluvial panning gives way by mid-1890s to reef mining; independent prospectors largely replaced by underground mining companies; investment on London stock exchange supports hundreds of new mining companies, many speculative and some fraudulent, until investment bubble bursts in 1904 and goldfields decline; by 1901, more than 30 per cent of the state's population lived on the goldfields, many of them new migrants; gold boom period transforms all aspects of Western Australian life
1896	Coalfield officially declared at Collie, and government-funded coal mine opens in 1898
1914–1920s	Gold mining declines due to lack of labour during wartime, with slump continuing post-war as companies fail to invest to address problems
1920s	Small collieries at Collie combine into Amalgamated Collieries
1930s	Coal particularly hard-hit by Depression; Collie has one of the State's highest unemployment rates; gold prices increase in response to Depression; resurgence of gold pulls Western Australia from Depression earlier than other states, especially with operations at Wiluna (from 1931) using new technology to exploit lower-grade ore; by 1939, gold provides 46 per cent of Western Australia's exports
1933	Western Mining Corporation (WMC) forms
1934–1942	Mining tax funds government Depression responses
1938	Export embargo placed on iron ore, preventing ongoing Japanese interest in Pilbara iron ore (due to Japan's increasing role as an aggressor in East Asia)
1939–1945	Mining declines during wartime, as a 'non-essential industry', with many miners enlisting; gold in particular struggles for some decades after
1944	BHP begins iron ore operations at Yampi Sound to serve Australian market (first reaches steel mills in 1951)

1943–1966	Wittenoom blue asbestos mine operated by CSR, expanding small inter-war plant into major, government-sponsored operation supported by significant proportion of migrant labour; health warnings are not heeded and many who lived or worked at Wittenoom later suffered or died from asbestos-related disease
1946–1949	Striking Aboriginal pastoral workers turn to panning for metals, especially women, launching (1949) the first Aboriginal-owned company in the State, mining wolfram (tungsten)
Latter 1940s	Small-scale projects begin mining other metals including salt, manganese and talc
1950s	Mineral sands mining commences (Koombana Bay)
1953	Australia's first significant oil deposit discovered at Rough Range near Exmouth, but not commercially viable
1960s–1970s	Mineral boom, mostly based on iron ore but including many other metals (nickel, bauxite, salt, mineral sands), oil and gas; new mines mostly open-cut
1960	Iron ore export embargo lifted, sparking investment in iron ore mining
1962	Mines at Koolyanobbing begin supplying iron ore to steel mill at Kwinana
1963	Bauxite production begins (Jarrahdale) Commercial solar salt begins production (Shark Bay)
1964	Oil struck at Barrow Island (production begins 1967)
1965–1972	Four major Pilbara iron ore projects launched, establishing Western Australia as a major global iron ore trader; economic boom results; Western Australian economy transitions from rural to mining base
1966	First iron ore export (Geraldton, from mines at Koolanooka) Gas reserves discovered near Dongara (production begins 1971)
1969–1970	Nickel investment boom before spectacular collapse
1970s	Increasing environmental awareness sees protests about mining expansion and attention to rehabilitation of mine sites; uranium mining sees particular protest and does not get off the ground; increased Aboriginal activism draws attention to impact of mining on Aboriginal sacred sites, although little change at the time to mining practices
1972	Uranium discovered
1974	Heavy mineral sands mining commences at Eneabba
Mid–1970s	Global recession sees gold price resurge, with new technologies to utilise lower-grade ore
1980	Government presses ahead with experimental oil drilling at Noonkanbah (Pea Hill), despite protest at impact on registered Aboriginal sacred site; no oil found; brings Aboriginal mining-related issues into public awareness; mining company negotiates with traditional owners to secure diamond mine at Argyle
1980s	Investment in offshore gas reserves for export and local use; gas piped ashore from 1984; LNG exported to Japan from 1989
1983	Incoming Federal government bans uranium mining in Western Australia Iron ore price slump causes Pilbara job losses; Koolyanobbing mine closes, along with Kwinana blast furnace
1986	Prolonged industrial dispute at Robe River ends with diminished workforce resigning on reduced conditions, after which union influence in Pilbara mining reduces
1989	Mining leases of Kalgoorlie's 'Golden Mile' amalgamated and work begins on the 'Super Pit' goldmine
1990s	Many mines move to fly-in fly-out operation (FIFO), reducing populations of mining towns

2000s Iron ore boom, based on high international prices; Western Australia becomes world's largest iron ore producer; nickel also booms through the same period

2008 Ban on uranium mining lifted; exploration commences but no projects commence before ban is reinstated (2017)

2009 Work begins on Barrow Island gas hub (Gorgon Project), anticipated to operate for 40 years

2014 Iron ore price slumps (also nickel) bringing end to a near-20-year mining boom

2016 First gas export from Barrow Island

2010s Gold production increases, including significant expansion at Boddington; booming global demand for lithium boosts Western Australian industry, including new mines; Western Australia produces over half the world's lithium; mining's economic dominance (29 per cent of gross State product) grants it significant social and political influence, although mining is increasingly obliged to consider environmental and Aboriginal concerns

Manufacturing and Secondary Industry

50,000 BP + Clothing, tools, weapons and watercraft were produced by Aboriginal communities for their own use and to trade

1829–1860s Manufacturing mostly cottage industries; exports mostly primary produce; small industries develop in boat building (1829), flour milling (1831), brewing (1837), pit-sawn timbers (1840s), brick making (1840s), tanning (1840s) and wine making (1830s); the convict period did not substantially increase the range of manufacturing

1857 Swan Brewery established, soon dominating the Western Australian market and a century later gaining monopoly

1870s Some factory operations commence, including tanning, boot making, brewing, aerated waters and fish canning

1880s Brickworks and sawmills commenced, although commercial mass-production took longer to establish

1890s Boom in manufacturing development, both new industries and existing industries moving from cottage production to commercial manufacturing, including textiles, clothing, footwear, furniture, flour milling; lasting brands of the 1890s were Plaistowes (confectionary), Watsonia (smallgoods), Kalgoorlie Brewing Company and Mills & Wares (baked goods); department stores also manufactured in-house lines such as clothing, furniture and homewares, especially large suppliers such as Boans, Foy & Gibson and Brennans; railway workshops established; steel fabrication (but not steel production) commenced to supply the Goldfields Water Supply Scheme; imports also increased, but tariffs protected local producers

1901–1906 Federation removes tariff protection over five years, allowing more established manufacturers in eastern states to undercut Western Australian producers, resulting in local industrial sector not developing; successful manufacturers subsequently mostly processing local primary produce for export, or producing materials with high transport costs (especially building materials); manufacturing employs many women and supports emerging labour movement

1904 People of Asian descent forbidden to establish new furniture factories and required to stamp products 'Asiatic labour'; approximately one quarter of furniture and cabinet makers Chinese at the time

1910 Superphosphate plants open, with more in inter-war years

1912 Government launches wide suite of State-run businesses, including brickworks, quarries, sawmills, shipping, abattoirs, implement works, hotels, butcher shops, fish shops, ferries and tramways; many industries dominated by one or two key players, keeping prices high and exacerbating a housing shortage; some government trading concerns short-lived but many last more than 50 years

1914–1918 Small-scale shell-case manufacturing initiated to supply war effort; demand for beer drops and number of breweries halves

1917 Local assembly of pre-made cars commences, circumventing import duty on whole cars

1920s Manufacturing gradually increases, although still mostly processing raw materials for local markets; new endeavours include tiles (Wunderlich, 1918), cement (Portland, 1920), porcelain (Calyx, later Australian Fine China, 1921), woollen mills (at Albany, 1925), honey (Wescobee, 1926), sugar (CSR, 1928) and snack icecreams (Peters, 1929)

1925 First large-scale motor-vehicle assembly plant (Ford, followed 1926 by General Motors)

1927 Iconic Western Australian brand Swansea Cycles commences bicycle manufacture, lasting into the 1960s

1930s Depression hits manufacturing particularly hard, especially homewares, agricultural implements and other equipment; industry takes the full decade to recover; impact of Federation on manufacturing feeds into secession debate (1933 referendum); dairy product manufacture continued steady expansions, with new condensed milk and butter factories opening

1939–1945 Manufacturing channels into the war effort, including fuses, shells, small arms, shipbuilding, boots and clothing for armed forces; Western Australia's first precision-engineering production line opens to produce fuses (Welshpool, 1942); rationing reduces local markets; war restricts imports, resulting in establishment of potash fertiliser production (1943) and a charcoal pig iron plant (commenced 1943, opened 1948); many women work in wartime factories; wartime highlights vulnerability of Western Australia in not having local production

1945 Swan Brewery takes over last major competitor, becoming second largest employer in Western Australia with monopoly control of beer production

1946–1950s Local manufacture expands to meet backlog demand for goods, as rationing and price controls lift; clothing moves from tailored to ready-to-wear items, with 450 clothing factories by 1951; manufacturing and industry relies heavily on migrants

1950s Increased consumer spending largely benefits imported products, especially household goods, as local product range limited

1950s–1960s Ascendance of manufacturing, spurred by wartime awareness of dangerous dependence on imports and targeted government policy; government develops heavy industrial area at Kwinana, anchored by BP refinery (1954), later including BHP steel mill (1954, from 1968 also blast furnace), Cockburn Cement plant (1955), ALCOA alumina refinery (1963), CSBP superphosphate and industrial chemicals (1967), WMC nickel refinery (1970); State Housing Commission provides dormitory town to support Kwinana; government supports regional manufacturing, including superphosphate (Albany, 1954; Esperance, 1962), titanium oxide (Bunbury, 1963) and synthetic rutile (Capel, Geraldton, Muchea, latter 1960s)

1960s Light industrial areas develop on Perth's urban fringe, linked to road rather than rail transport

1963 Legislation requires increased health and safety measures for factory workers, with subsequent upgrades to manufacturing plants

1964 Manufacturing reaches all-time peak as 46 per cent of Western Australia's economy, before mining boom overtakes it as a proportion

1970s Kewdale industrial area developed in response to Kewdale freight terminal

1972 Reduction of import duties and high Australian dollar increase imports and local manufacturing declines; Environmental Protection Authority forms and begins enforcing legislation to reduce industrial pollution and requiring changes at factories

1980s Canning Vale industrial area developed, along with second-generation light industrial estates on the expanding urban fringe

1985 Second heavy industrial area established, linked to Bunbury Port (Kemerton)

1980s–1990s Many manufacturing plants close, including Wundowie smelter (1981, following mid-1970s refinery closure), BHP Kwinana blast furnace (1982), various superphosphate works and flour mills (1990s), Chamberlain Tractors' Welshpool factory (1993), Midland Railway Workshops (1994, following Yarloop's closure in 1978), BHP Kwinana steel rolling plant (1995) and Albany Woollen Mills (1996); technological advances cause some closures (eg. consolidation of flour milling) but cheap imports, high labour costs or prohibitive expense of required upgrades mostly responsible for closures; closure of large manufacturers has significant social impact in surrounding communities

2003 Australian Marine Complex opens at Henderson, expanding shipbuilding

2006 Liquid ammonia plant opens at Burrup Peninsular

2016 Census shows 5.6 per cent of Western Australian workforce employed in manufacturing (75 per cent male)

2018 New lithium processing plant announced for Kwinana (supplementing 1985 plant at Greenbushes) in response to escalating global demand for lithium

P1344 **Katanning Roller Flour Mill, Katanning**

Katanning Roller Flour Mill is a purpose-built three storey roller flour mill. Constructed in 1891 as the Premier Flour Mill for F & C Piesse, the mill occupies a central location within the town at the highest point.
A landmark in Katanning, the mill contributed to the development and growth of the town, the prosperity of which was built upon the growing of wheat and grain, with Katanning Roller Flour Mill giving the town industrial capabilities that other towns did not have. The place provides a link to Katanning's role in the commercial development of agricultural exports in Western Australia. Highly valued by the community the place was used as a museum telling the story of Katanning's history and development after it ceased its use as a mill, and in 2018 was converted into a hotel and Dome Café.

Image provided by Dome Coffees

Commerce

50,000 BP + Aboriginal groups trade with each other

1700s Aboriginal groups of the north trade with Macassan fishermen

1820s–1880s Western Australia a British-dependent economic backwater

1829–1849 Economy struggles; barter and promissory notes used (although alcohol does not become a currency, unlike other colonies); liquor widely sold and consumed; limited financial services; importers and wholesalers profit (due to lack of local manufacturing), mostly linked to Albany or Fremantle ports

1850s–1860s Convict Establishment (Fremantle Prison) boosts economy; cash begins circulating, although barter remains common in country areas

1871 Weld Club formed to cater to 'founding families' of the colony

1870s–1880s Commerce consolidates; specialised retail traders develop to supplement general stores; eastern banks establish branches (four banks in the colony by 1883); insurance companies begin operating; merchant elite dominates social, economic and political realms, particularly at Fremantle and Albany

Mid–1880s Restrictions to keep Chinese migrants from mining see many become shopkeepers, laundry operators or furniture makers

1888 Perth stock exchange established, followed by exchanges in the goldfields

1890s Existing traders make their fortunes supplying the gold boom population; new business also flourish; department stores develop, both local traders and branches of retail and wholesale companies from eastern colonies; all population centres experience commercial expansion, although on the goldfields themselves many commercial districts were transitory; hotels boom, especially on the goldfields, where both alcohol and accommodation were in high demand; prostitution flourished, including French and Japanese sex workers, and from 1902 was 'contained' in Kalgoorlie to Hay Street; new businessmen's clubs were established and professional bodies formed; financial services flourish, but home loans difficult to obtain; shopping emerges as a leisure activity and retail changes to more display-oriented stores

1893 Gold boom cushions Western Australia from impact of severe recession and banking collapse in eastern colonies, which also drives migrants to the state; South West railway opens, birthing coastal tourism in response to increased gold boom disposable income

1900s–1920s Commerce expands steadily, following the population as it moves from goldfields to urban and Wheatbelt centres; many established local companies give Western Australian flavour to commercial realm

1912 State hotels established to address black market alcohol sales, particularly in new Wheatbelt areas

1913 Western Australia's GDP peaks at levels not repeated until post-World War II; Commonwealth Bank opens Western Australian branches, improving availability of home loans

1920s Italian and Greek grocery stores open but Asian, African and Polynesian shop owners have trading hours restricted; liquor licenses curtailed but despite an active temperance movement, prohibition never introduced; tearooms common but restaurants mostly located within hotels and frequented by travellers; Tourism Board promotes Western Australia for driving, train and ship holidays and Wadjemup/Rottnest Island evolves as major family holiday destination; prosperity built on easy credit, most of which collapses in the 1930s

1927 Last completely Western Australian-owned commercial bank absorbed into Bank of NSW (R&I continues as Western Australian government-owned bank to 1999)

1929 International stock markets plummet, launching Great Depression

1930s Retail struggles during Depression as cash flow dries up, especially in rural areas; several long-standing rural retailers fold; budget department stores Coles and Woolworths open in Western Australia (1932), pressuring local businesses; sustenance labour used to build tourist resort at Yanchep

1939–1945 World War II rationing and price controls limit markets; economy focuses on war effort; businesses supplying armed forces or visiting servicemen profit, especially those catering to American personnel with more disposable income, such as cinemas, restaurants, brothels, nightclubs and hotels

1946 Coolbaroo League opens first Aboriginal-run dance club (East Perth, to mid-1960s) but Aboriginal people largely excluded from commercial realm

1950s Revolution in retailing; mass production, individual packaging and branding, preservatives to increase shelf life of food and creation of pre-packaged food products all transform the industry; advertising increasingly emphasised persuasion over information, particularly after the introduction of television (1959); drive-through bottle shops emerge

1956 Discount 'cash and carry' supermarkets introduced by two local grocery chains; Coles and Woolworths soon follow; self-service retail became the norm

1958 Boans opens first suburban shopping centre, beginning move away from central city retail

1960s Rapid development of many suburban shopping centres, mostly relatively small scale, but central city retail struggles; care-based domestic tourism expands, especially family holidays to coastal areas; post-war European migrants bring new perspectives to Western Australian commerce, especially in food and clothing, establishing many widely-recognised Western Australian brands; international trade moves away from Britain towards Asia, with Japan, China and India becoming major trading partners

1962 Empire Games boost interstate and international tourism

1970s Suburban shopping centres upsized

Professional marketing develops as an industry, especially as television becomes ubiquitous and advertising options expand; international fast-food restaurants begin franchises in Western Australia linked with cultural change towards dining out; middle class eating houses flourish, but silver-service dining declines

1970 Sunday trading of alcohol legalised

1973–1975 Global recession caused by oil crisis

1974 Bankcard launched (first widely available credit card)

1980s Culture of conspicuous consumption and lavish commercial trading; al fresco dining areas established at Fremantle (from 1979) and Northbridge (1986), the latter developing as a hub for both legal nightlife and organised crime; alcohol increasingly available at cafés and restaurants as well as stand-alone bottle shops; wine tourism emerges, initially around Margaret River; short-stay accommodation, recreation and hospitality industries flourish; Asian tourists increasingly important for Western Australian tourism; Western Australian businesses increasingly sell to national or international companies, especially in retail

1983 Australian dollar floated

1985 Burswood Casino opens, the only legal poker machines in Western Australia (to the present)

1987 Stock market crash causes many businesses to fail

1990s Suburban café strips develop in many locations; Big banks withdraw from many regional and suburban areas, with community banks eventually filling the void (from 1999)

1990–1992 Severe recession

1991	Dome coffee shops established at Cottesloe
2000s	Internet shopping, begun slowly from mid-1990s as an alternate platform for established businesses, develops as a thriving online industry; internet also used to access task-based services ('gig economy') and international markets, allowing cheap independent operators or imported goods to undercut traditional commercial forms; internet banking also widely used and many people never enter a bank branch after opening an account; many people no longer carry cash, as credit cards, direct debit and purchase by smartphone have moved away from cash transactions
2008–2009	Global Financial Crisis (GFC) impacts international commerce but ongoing Western Australian mining boom largely cushions Western Australia's economy from GFC impacts
2018	Western Australia integrated into a global market, relying heavily on imported goods and functioning extensively in an online sphere

Workers and Working

50,000 BP +	Work in Aboriginal communities communal, without employment relationships; roles and responsibilities organised according to gender, age and kinship
1829–1901	British-based master-servant work relationships dominate
1829–1849	Colonisation brings Aboriginal people into British economy as guides, trackers, shepherds, mail carriers, servants, and farmhands, but they were not paid equivalent to white workers; highly stratified colonial society, but labour shortages bring 'higher' classes into manual labour; employment conditions favour labourers and some indentured migrants do no complete bonded service; workplace legislation favours employers and penalises employees for 'breach of contract'
1850s–1860s	Convicts boost colony's workforce, both on ticket-of-leave and as government work gangs; wages and conditions drop as convicts flood labour market; Aboriginal workers subsequently bypassed, except north of the Murchison River where convicts were forbidden
1868	Convict transport ceases
1869	First incidence of significant unemployment, as drought diminishes rural workforce
1871	Ticket-of-leave hiring depots close
1884	First trade-union formed; most unions small and short lived as *Masters and Servants Act 1892* powerful disincentive to industrial action
1886	Minimum age for Aboriginal contract labour set at 14 (non-Aboriginal equivalent 21); Aboriginal people excluded from legal protections for workers; many (especially in the north) exploited as forced labour, including women and children
1890	Some industries move to an eight-hour day
1890s	Union movement gathers strength, especially among port workers and miners
1892	Both (male) masters and servants equally subject to imprisonment for breach of contract; Perth Trades & Labour Council meets for the first time
1893	Labour interests put forward first political candidate (unsuccessful)
1897	Labour interests have one representative elected to the Legislative Council; first major strike attempt (building workers, unsuccessful)
1899	Labor Party formed
1900	Unions legalised and 60 register

1900s Unions predominantly British and male; labour movement campaigns against 'Asiatic' labour and supports White Australia policy; unions expand from goldfields and coastal labourers to rural areas, including timber workers and shearers, and by the 1910s into some 'white collar' professions

1902 Workers' compensation introduced

1904 Improved health and safety standards legislated for manufacturing workers, but factories remain hazardous environments

1905 *Aborigines Act 1905* allows government to 'quarantine' Aboriginal workers' wages, a practice continued to 1972, resulting in millions of dollars of 'stolen wages' that were never returned to Aboriginal people

1908 Commonwealth government sets first minimum wage, based on requirements of male breadwinner, wife and three children; women and Aboriginal workers excluded

1909 Women begin campaigning for equal pay and access to all professions; women account for 15 per cent of paid workers by this time

1912 Women's minimum wage set at 54 per cent male equivalent; Labor government attempts to prevent employment of Aboriginal workers, and unions continue for some years to hinder Aboriginal employment

1914–1918 Labour shortages as high numbers of men enlist, with many Aboriginal people filling the gap

1919 Aboriginal people laid off in preference to returned servicemen; riots at Fremantle as government attempts to break port workers' strike result in death of unionist Tom Edwards, the only known death in Western Australia as a result of industrial action; Edwards becomes a folk hero of the union movement

1920s White collar unionism develops, especially within the public service; work conditions improve, especially for women and children; work hours limited to 40 hours for most government employees, 44 hours in most occupations and 48 hours (six days) in the remainder

1928 Unemployment begins to rise, sparking demonstrations as it reaches nine per cent

1930s Depression sees widespread unemployment, peaking at 30 per cent in 1932 and remaining about 1928 levels until 1937; waged labourers particularly hard hit; employment of Aboriginal people discouraged and many become destitute or are forced into government institutions; Public Service dismisses waged workers and many salaried employees, with remainder on reduced pay with long service leave suspended; many protests and demonstrations (most notably the 'Treasury Riot' of 1931); scheme implemented (1931) to pay men higher sustenance payments if employed as day labourers on public works projects, including many with no previous training or experience in manual labour; women urged to leave the workforce and free up jobs for men, but few did; most Depression-related cuts were restored by mid-decade

1931 Minimum wage reduced to amount to support individual worker, not dependants; did not revert after the Depression

1934 Public Service begins requiring women to resign when they marry (restriction retained to 1967)

1935 Federal awards introduce paid sick and annual leave

1939 Federal awards introduce 44-hour week

1939–1946 Severe labour shortages as large numbers of men, and many women, enlist for World War II; essential industries protected ('man powered') to stop employees enlisting; women take up jobs formerly considered male domains; labour shortages open more employment options for Aboriginal workers

1941 Equal Pay for Equal Work Committee forms to lobby for better pay for women

1946–1949 Pilbara pastoral workers undertake first Aboriginal industrial action in Australia; ultimately successful, and draws attention to deplorable conditions for Aboriginal workers

1946 End of man-power controls; post-war building and manufacturing boom sees near full employment

1946–1972 Economic stability and high employment rates, with many advances for workers legislated during the boom times

1947 40-hour week legislated; migrant workers begin arriving from Europe, many bonded for two years to government industries

1949 Minimum wage for women reaches 75 per cent of male equivalent, but many State awards grant only 65 per cent (except bar staff and university employees, who have wage parity)

1950 Kimberley region outlaws paying Aboriginal workers in goods rather than cash, the last place in Australia to do so, although in practice, wages often went to the government and disappeared

1950s Union membership reaches approximately 60 per cent, where it remains for three decades; expansion of manufacturing, especially heavy industry, increases Western Australia's blue-collar workforce, with secondary industry peaking at around 18 per cent of the workforce

1960s Increasing automation reduces manual labouring positions; union movement begins support for equal pay for women, with lobbying throughout the 1960s

1963 Legislation significantly improves health, safety and welfare of factory workers

1968 Pastoral Award mandates equal pay for Aboriginal workers; many pastoralists lay off Aboriginal workers and move to seasonal, contract labour

1970s Tertiary industries begin steady increase as a percentage of the Western Australian workforce; strike activity increased; unions increasingly seen as a hindrance to development

1972 Federal legislation introduces equal pay for equal work, although women continue to earn less than men; Aboriginal wages must now be paid direct to the employee

1973–1975 International recession ends boom time of high employment

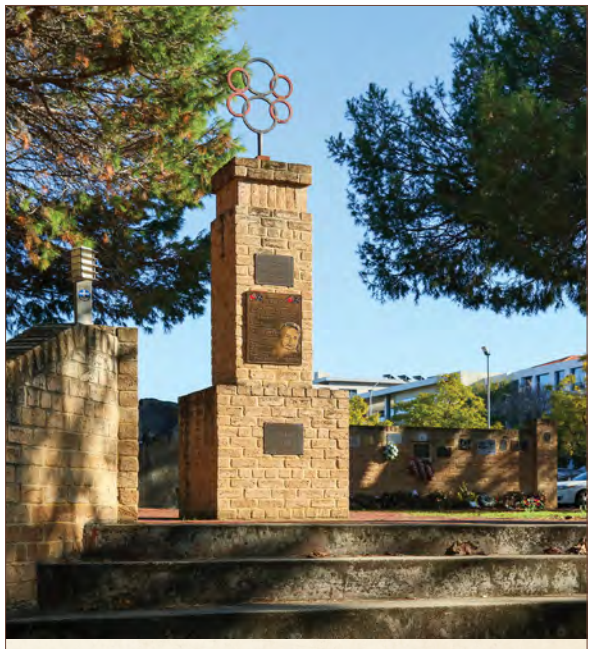
1975–1989 Unemployment remains relatively high, peaking at 10 per cent in 1984; Aboriginal unemployment estimated to reach between 60 per cent and 90 per cent

1979 Preferential employment of union members banned; union membership subsequently declines

1980s Unions increasingly viewed with suspicion and antagonism and, in some industries, gain a thuggish reputation; computer technology begins impacting working class employment, as automated jobs replace workers; typing pools, a significant employer of women, become obsolete; Public Service begins move away from independence to party-aligned ministerial advisers; several long-standing departments amalgamated or closed

1984 *Equal Opportunity Act 1984* and *Occupational Health and Safety Act 1984* improve work conditions and opportunities, with women, migrants and minority groups particularly benefitting from the former; first 'industry schemes' introduced for superannuation, as few workers set aside voluntary superannuation

1986 All awards include compulsory superannuation; prolonged industrial action at Robe River fails to arrest changes in mining management approach, with union influence subsequently declining and the sector moving towards contract-based arrangements



P15850 **Solidarity Park, West Perth**

Solidarity Park was created in 1997 as part of the 'Third Wave Campaign', a union protest against extensive change to Industrial Relations legislation in Western Australia, and was occupied continually for over six months during these protests. This landscaped park, located in the vicinity of Parliament House in West Perth, is highly valued by the union movement as one of only two labour monument sites in Western Australia; the other being the Tom Edwards Memorial in Fremantle. Containing five memorial structures, the largest concentration of labour monuments in the State, the place is both a commemorative and protest site.

1990–1992	Recession causes high unemployment (up to 11 per cent, highest since 1930s); youth unemployment particularly high (30 per cent)
1992	Compulsory superannuation legislated nationally for all employees
1990s	Workplace practices moving towards teamwork, collaborative processes and multiskilled workers; contract labour begins replacing permanent workforce, especially in government agencies
1993	McCarrey Report redirects government agencies to operate as profit-making businesses rather than protected services
1994	Midland Railway Workshops close, formerly State's main industrial training facility, a role not substantially taken up by private enterprise
1997	'Third Wave' industrial legislation limits union rights, strengthens position of employers, and moves from collective bargaining towards individual work contracts; most controversial aspects repealed after 2001, but trend towards contract employment continues
2005	Federal industrial legislation individualises employment relations and marginalises arbitration tribunals; widely unpopular and repealed by incoming Labor government in 2009
Mid-1990s–2014	Unemployment as low as three per cent during 20-year mining boom; high-paid Pilbara mining jobs attract workers, creating labour shortages in the south
2000s	Occupational health and safety provisions continually improved; serious or fatal workplace accidents, once commonplace, become rare
2010s	Women represented across all employment sectors, although unevenly; 'glass ceiling' keeps numbers of women in senior positions small; 'bamboo ceiling' similarly impacts Asian workers; cultures of workplace sexual harassment, long known to exist, begin to be widely condemned; permanent employment declines, replaced by contracting (often self-employment), casual and part time work; many jobs outsourced overseas; casual 'gig economy' develops, with individual operators trading services through internet platforms; individuals increasingly move between workplaces, companies or even careers, except in professions that require long training periods; 'service' industries (tertiary industries) account for 73 per cent of Western Australia's workforce

Infrastructure

Development of Settlements and Services

50,000 BP + Aboriginal communities use seasonal settlements, understanding land as the sovereign possession and responsibility of the whole community, unable to be traded

1829–1849 Land distribution a major social and political issue for colonists; 'ribbon grants' allot land to share river frontage between many properties; John Septimus Roe surveys key townsites, drafts land laws and surveys inland areas; few public amenities; towns centred on commercial precincts at transport nodes, often with makeshift buildings; lack of water prevents public parks developing

1850s–1860s Convict period initiates large-scale public works to facilitate transport, policing, courts, prisons, health, schooling, administration and official residences; clerks, artisans and tradespeople increase in number; buildings become more permanent, although generally simple design

1856 Perth declared a city and a city council raised

1870s Multiple municipalities declared (from 1871), town halls and shire offices built

1875 Torrens system of land transfer adopted

1880s Railways cause towns to reorient with railway station at the heart; buildings become more decorative; residential estates laid along the Fremantle-Perth railway; early beginnings of town utility services in some larger settlements

1883 Fremantle Gas Company first coal-based gas supplier in the colony

1885 Perth installs gas streetlamps

1888 Reticulated water supply commences at Fremantle, using prison reservoirs – first reticulated supply in Western Australia (most places rely on private wells and tanks); small-scale private electricity generation begins

1890s Gold boom transforms settlements from sleepy villages to thriving towns; decorative architectural styles become prominent; huge government investment in infrastructure and civic amenities; Public Works Department expands exponentially from 10 to 600 staff in less than five years; lack of water hampers development of Eastern Goldfields, leading to construction of Goldfields Water Supply Scheme; new migrants lived in tent camps; subdivision of suburbs along Perth railways accelerated; public parks and street trees established; Noongar people forcibly removed to reserves as metropolitan area expanded

1891 Victoria Reservoir opens, providing low-quality water to Perth; little improvement through 1890s and many opt not to use the piped water supply

1892 First public electricity supply – Katanning, using excess electricity from flour mill; Perth and Kalgoorlie follow by end of the decade

1895 Volunteer fire brigades begin receiving government assistance, but remain *ad hoc*

1901 First full-time fire station at Perth

1903 Goldfields Water Supply Scheme opens, giving the Eastern Goldfields a better quality water supply than the metropolitan area

1904 Public works begin to be scaled back from boom levels

1900s–1920s Perth consolidates as Western Australia's only major urban centre; country towns established to serve expanding Wheatbelt – often a single main street backed by small residential areas, usually initially a general store and/or hotel by a railway siding, then an agricultural hall and school, with larger settlements adding roads board offices, banks, diverse businesses, town halls, churches, medical facilities, police and post offices

1910s	Utilities consolidated and improved, including metropolitan sewerage and electricity supply, agricultural water supply and rural irrigation schemes; many fire stations constructed (42 in eight years) following 1909 formation of WA Fire Brigades Board
1912	Government support commences for low cost workers' housing; working class suburbs grow
1916	East Perth Power Station opens, remaining Perth's main electricity supply until the 1950s
1920s–1930s	Suburbs often designed using City Beautiful planning, sometimes Garden City; children's playgrounds begin appearing
1928	*Town Planning and Development Act 1928* (first town planning act in Australia) introduces zoning for Western Australia's built environment; Aboriginal people without a permit banned from Perth CBD
1929	Centenary of colonisation rouses some of the earliest attempts to preserve buildings for historic value
1930s	Sustenance labour utilised for government infrastructure projects, including bridges, roads, dams, irrigation, sewerage; shift of focus through the decade from long-standing government emphasis on rural infrastructure to urban; some urban areas condemned as slums during Depression, as large older houses are converted into low-quality flats
latter 1930s	Renewed business confidence leads to new styles of building, especially Art Deco, purpose-built flats and high-rise buildings; flurry of construction of new fire stations
1940	Canning Dam completed; first secure water supply for Perth
1939–1946	War halts attempts to modernise townscapes; only building to support war effort permitted; infrastructure and housing fall behind requirements
1943	Looming post-war housing crisis identified, leading to establishment of Commonwealth government rental housing scheme (1945) and WA State Housing Commission (1947)
1945	State Electricity Commission (SEC) formed, combining gas and electricity
1945–1951	Ageing generators at East Perth cause intermittent metropolitan electricity supply; post-war materials and labour shortages delay completion of replacement power station (South Fremantle, opens 1951)
1945–1950s	State Housing Commission constructs suburbs of small, standard-plan workers' homes, often with Garden City town planning; Commission controls all building permits until 1953 due to post-war building materials and labour shortages, restricting private construction and dominating residential development
1947–1950s	Bonded European migrant labourers used for much infrastructure work, including raising Mundaring Weir (completed 1951) to service the Comprehensive Agricultural Areas Water Supply Scheme
1950s	Many homes constructed by owner-builders; South West electricity grid developed; concern at loss of built heritage begins to be expressed
1955	Stephenson-Hepburn Plan for Metropolitan Perth released (formally adopted as Metropolitan Regional Town Planning Scheme in 1959)
1959	Western Australian branch of the National Trust forms
1960s	Additional power stations open to supply the South West grid; suburban development of Perth follows Freeway (first stage opened 1959); single storey brick-and-tile bungalows dominate; new suburbs connected to water, gas and electricity but sewerage slower to be provided; CBD develops high rise (approximately 10-storeys) character; several additional dams constructed to serve Western Australia's urban development; Ord River dam and irrigation scheme established

Mid-1960s –1970s Mining companies develop Pilbara towns, often using 'Radburn' town planning; government provides services while mining companies provide infrastructure and utilities; Aboriginal town camps develop outside Northwest towns; suburban government housing estates also use Radburn design, but it is soon associated with social problems and abandoned

1970 Perth Corridor Plan amends 1950s schemes to allow for greater-than-anticipated car use

1970s Residential high-rise developed at South Perth and Crawley, the first (and for many years only) high rise apartments in Western Australia

1971 East Perth gasworks close as gas flow from Dongara begins

1973 International oil crisis raises prices and begins interest in alternative energy sources

1976–1977 Several high-rise towers completed, raising Perth's CBD by approximately 10 storeys to around 30 storeys

Mid-1970s –1980s Government-supported remote Aboriginal communities established, often with very poor service provision or infrastructure

1980s Small-scale renewable energy projects initiative

1984 North West gas begins to be piped to the South West; proposals for nuclear reactor (approved 1979) scrapped by following change of government

1986 Twelve-storey office town constructed at Bunbury in effort to create second major city, but building generally remains low-rise outside Perth CBD

1988–1992 Spate of construction in Perth CBD creates additional high-rise at new level (above 50 storeys)

1989 First major gas-fired power station opens (Pinjar), although Kwinana had been converted earlier for a combination of gas, coal or oil; recycling plant opens in Perth, with local government recycling programs following

1990 First legally binding non-Aboriginal heritage legislation adopted; Metroplan amends Perth's town planning for larger projected population, with higher-density inner-city areas, 'Green Streets' design for new outer suburbs and regional centres focussed on public transport hubs

1990s Last metropolitan suburbs move away from septic tanks as deep sewerage is connected; government utilities move towards competitive business models, including water, electricity and gas

1996 Eastern Goldfields connected to North West gas supply

2000 Government gas company privatised

2000s Escalating interest in renewable energy in response to growing awareness of climate change and rising costs of coal-fired power stations; by 2017, government utilises solar, wind, wave (under development), landfill gas, sewerage gas and hydroelectric energy generation, in addition to many domestic-scale roof-top solar installations; commercial and residential towers flourish in CBD, along with multi-storey apartment blocks in riverfront and inner-city suburbs; Royalties for Regions funding (initiated 2008) allows many regional towns to improve amenities, update infrastructure and give themselves a facelift, however, services and infrastructure remained centralised in greater Perth and, to a lesser extent, the South West region

Transport and Communications

50,000 BP +	Walking the basis of Aboriginal transport and communication; some communities (mostly northern) use watercraft
1600s–1840s	Sailing vessels bring Europeans to Western Australia
1829–1849	Early colonists depend on water transport both within (river) and beyond (ocean) the colony; bridges limited; over-land route to Albany (mail port) a sand track; horses used for human transport but poor roads limit use of horse-drawn vehicles; bullocks used for haulage in hard-to-access areas
1830s	Early newspapers establish, including Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal (forerunner to the West Australian) in 1833 and Inquirer (forerunner to the long-running Daily News) in 1840. Newspapers conservative and support the government
1847	Sandalwood license fee introduced to fund construction of roads, but lack of labour sees little road development
1850s–1860s	Convicts and their overseers accomplish exponential improvements in colonial transport infrastructure, including large numbers of roads, jetties, sea walls, culverts, bridges and lighthouses; by the end of the 1860s, road and water transport both used regularly
1851	First lighthouses completed (Fremantle and Wadjemup/ Rottnest)
1850s	Stock route established north to Greenough; steam ships begin visiting the colony
1854	First Western Australian postage stamps
1869	First telegraph, connecting Perth and Fremantle
1870s	Era of telegraph connections, with most southern towns linked to each other and links to the eastern colonies, and therefore London, from 1877; steamships begin operating within the colony; private timber railways develop
1871	First railway (near Busselton) to serve timber industry
1877	Opening of the east-west telegraph allows direct communication with London, ending dependence on messages carried by sea
1879	First government railway opens, connecting Northampton mines to port at Geraldton
1880s	Rail begins to dominate colonial transport, especially once discovery of coal at Collie ensured an ongoing fuel supply
1881	Suez Canal opens, cutting journey times to London
1887	First telephone connection (Perth–Fremantle)
1888	Introduction of pneumatic tyres sees much personal transport transfer from horses to bicycles
1890s	Government raises loans to expand transport infrastructure, especially rail and Fremantle harbour; most significant towns rail-linked by 1900; telephone and telegraph connections expanded; bicycles used for messenger service on goldfields and other districts prior to telegraph connection; camels replace bullocks as beasts of burden, except in the timber industry; camel use tapered off as rail connections were established; goldfields newspapers flourished, often adversarial, anti-establishment publications; most districts begin local newspapers, although mostly less polemic than goldfields papers; railways facilitate expanding suburban development around Perth
1897	Fremantle Harbour opens – first substantial land-backed wharf in Western Australia
1898	First motor vehicle arrives in Western Australia
1899	Electric trams begin operating
1900	Fremantle replaces Albany as colony's mail port
1900s	Government funding prioritises rail, especially for Wheatbelt, with government track length more than doubling

1900–1913 Building program more than doubles number of lighthouses, including the first unmanned lighthouse (1909)

1903 Refrigerated ships operating, diversifying export options

1905 Royal Automobile Club (RAC) forms; around 1,000 motor vehicles in the metropolitan area

1910 Canning Stock Route completed, connecting Kimberley pastoralists to southern markets, but little used due to Aboriginal resistance

1910s Government rail construction continues to expand Wheatbelt lines

1911 RAC produces Western Australia's first road map

1912 State Shipping Service established, especially to improve connections with North West; government purchases and expands Perth's tram network and Swan River ferries; SS Koombana lost in a cyclone off Port Hedland, killing approximately 150 people – State's worst civil maritime disaster (since colonisation)

1913 Radio communication established at Wireless Hill (Ardross); Australian postage stamps supersede Western Australian stamps

1914 Automatic dial telephone exchange opens, but party lines and operator-assisted services continue for decades

1917 Transcontinental railway completed

1919 Drivers' licenses, traffic regulations and minimum standards for vehicles adopted, as car ownership climbs

1920s Aviation introduced by returning World War I pilots, initially for mail service but soon including passengers; trucks enter freight transport, replacing camels and challenging rail's dominance; extension of government rail network continues, although at a slower pace than previous decades

1921 Commercial bus services begin (metropolitan area); first scheduled air service in Australia (Geraldton-Derby mail route); car ownership increases rapidly after Australian oil refinery (1921) drops the price of fuel; horse numbers decline

P79 Taxi Rank and Women's Rest Room, Albany

As the State's first settlement, Albany played an important role in the development of the region, with Stirling Terrace forming the original commercial heart of the town. Constructed in 1909, the Taxi Rank and Women's Rest Room is located at the intersection of York Street and Stirling Terrace close to the town centre and the former railway station. Born out of a concern for cabmen and their horses, the single storey Federation Arts and Craft building provided much needed shelter for cab drivers.

With the growing capacity for travel across the State, the need for public facilities for women and mothers visiting from out of town or travelling on the railway increased. It was decided the cabmen's shelter would be extended to serve this purpose and after many years of fund raising by the local Albany ladies' societies, the Women's Rest Room was officially opened in 1926.

The building has undergone alterations over the years to facilitate the changing needs of travellers and the people of Albany, shifting from horse drawn carriages to taxis as well as offering a baby feeding area and public convenience for both sexes. The place continues to be used as a Women's Rest Centre.

1924 First long-distance trucking company begins service (Gascoyne Trading Co); first radio station begins broadcasting (6WF, run by Westralian Farmers)

1927 East-west telegraph upgraded, as telegraph remains essential; beam wireless inaugurated, relaying radio messages directly to England

1929 Interstate flights begin – two-day journey from Perth to Adelaide

1930 Telephone connection to eastern states established

1930s Government rail construction ceases during Depression; income from freight and passengers drops and maintenance falls behind; sustenance labour used; radio stations flourish; regional newspapers abundant

1932 Telephone connection to London established; ABC begins national broadcasting, including 6WF in Western Australia (purchased 1929)

1936 Large metal American aircraft imported, flying 80-90 miles faster than previous models and carrying up to 14 passengers

1939–1945 War disrupts international shipping, reinforcing Western Australia's isolation; German mines in Great Australian Bight shift much freight to rail; Eyre Highway built as a defence measure (opened 1942, not sealed until 1976); radio becomes favoured over newspapers as preferred news medium

1940–1950 Petrol rationing restricts private and commercial transport and keeps many farmers dependant on horse-drawn machinery; post-war-1950s Western Australia increasingly integrated into national radio broadcasting; technologies developed or improved during wartime introduced to WA, including improved aviation, diesel engines superseding steam and motorised vehicles eclipsing horse-drawn transport; Fremantle becomes a significant diesel refuelling port; radio stations consolidated and number of newspapers declines

1946 Direct flights operating to Melbourne and Sydney

1950s Diesel-powered road building equipment allows faster road construction; road network expanded through southern areas, with road rather than rail serving new agricultural areas; bus services begin to replace rural railways and some agricultural railways close; car ownership becomes ubiquitous, with post-war Perth planned as a car-based city

1952 International commercial flights begin, with Perth airport moving from Maylands to Guildford

1953 Perth the first Australian capital with a fully automatic telephone system (regional operators phased out into the 1970s)

1956 Radio telephone exchange links Perth to London; Rupert Murdoch buys into Western Australian newspapers 1958

Last electric tram service closes in metropolitan Perth

1959 Television broadcasts begin (black and white)

1960s Rail network converts from steam to diesel locomotives; ten-year construction of Standard Gauge Railway; international bulk freight moves to containers; land-backed wharves constructed at all major ports; road and rail transport adapted for container transport, with Fremantle the main container port; private heavy-haul railways established in the Pilbara and Eastern Goldfields to support mines; government road construction focuses on supporting Kimberley cattle transport and Pilbara mining

1961–1975 Tracking stations support USA space program (Muchea, then Carnarvon from 1963), until superseded by satellites

1962 First computer in Western Australia, introduced to design freeway system

1964 Midland Railway Line (Perth-Geraldton) purchased by the government after nearly 80 years operated by a private company

1967 Regional television broadcasts commence; Exmouth naval communications station opens, assisting global American submarine communications

1970	East-west microwave system links Western Australian television to national broadcasting
1970s	Interstate rail freight increases following opening of Standard Gauge Railway (1970)
1971	Last regular steam train runs; seat belts and motorcycle helmets become compulsory, and road fatalities subsequently reduce
1975	Colour television broadcasts begin
Mid-1970s –mid-1980s	Small-scale independent community newspapers flourish, aided by computer technology that simplifies production (bought out by Community Newspapers Group mid-1980s, bringing all under same ownership as West Australian)
1979	Fremantle-Perth railway closed, but after fierce protest reopens in 1983
1981	IBM develops personal computers, and computer use escalates
1985	First Australian satellite launched, extending satellite-based television coverage to most of the state and linking to national programming
1986	Metropolitan railways convert to electric trains
1989	National pilots' strike significantly impacts Western Australia due to lack of viable alternate travel options
1990	Daily News ceases production, leaving Western Australia with only one daily newspaper; Perth universities connected to permanent internet circuit
1990s	Mobile phones come into common use
1992	New suburban railway opens (Joondalup line); commercial internet providers begin operating
1994	World Wide Web becomes widely available and internet use skyrockets
2001	Collapse of Ansett airlines impacts Western Australia's travel and tourism until alternate second carrier emerges; digital television begins (metropolitan area)
2006	Mobile internet service becomes available
2007	Suburban rail link opens to Mandurah; Apple iPhone released; Smartphone use accelerates rapidly
2000s	Cheaper ticket prices allow more people access to air travel; social media increasingly dominates communications, particularly via mobile devices, with online news challenging traditional sources; Western Australia integrated into internet-based global communications network, with personal and public communications blurred; goods mostly moved internationally by sea and domestically by road, with rail supporting mining, some interstate freight and seasonal wheat transport; cars dominate human transport, supplementing public transport networks of bus and train in the metropolitan area; air travel dominates long distances

P3363 Port of Fremantle Passenger Terminal, Fremantle

The Port of Fremantle Passenger Terminal was the port of entry for tens of thousands of migrants arriving in Western Australia in the post-WWII period, as a result of the Federal Government's immigration policies. Designed by architectural firm, Hobbs, Winning and Leighton in association with the Fremantle Harbour Trust, the terminal was constructed in two stages in 1960 and 1962, in the Post-War International style, and was said to be the largest terminal building in Australia designed to handle both passengers and cargo. By the mid-1960s, at its peak, the terminal was servicing some 200,000 passengers a year.

By the 1980s, with air travel becoming more affordable, the era of passenger liners came to an end but with continued growth in the popularity of cruising, the Fremantle Passenger Terminal continues to welcome holiday makers to Western Australia.

Social Services

General Social Services

50,000 BP + Aboriginal communities provide for weaker members through communal economies and kin obligations

1829–1849 As Aboriginal people are dislocated, colonists offer handouts such as food and clothing rations, along with missionary attempts to Christianise and westernise traditional owners; organisations for mutual aid, social support and service work initiated by colonists, especially in response to widespread alcohol abuse and limited education levels; few older people in the colony cared for by family

1846 New Norcia founded, pre-eminent mission of the 19th century

1850s–1860s Aboriginal children routinely separated into institutional colonial 'care'

1851 Perth poorhouse opens

1870s Development of institutional care for colonial children (boys' orphanage founded 1868, girls 1871, child welfare legislation 1874); Aboriginal missions permitted to detain children until 21 years old

1890s Population boom creates critical mass for voluntary service organisations, many focussed on women, children or disabilities; churches consolidate role as essential auxiliary to government social services, especially Catholic religious orders; community-based charitable organisations develop, but large philanthropic trusts do not

1905 *Aborigines Act 1905* denies basic human rights to Aboriginal people, including forced removal of children, mostly into institutions

1909 Commonwealth introduces invalid and aged pensions (Aboriginal people excluded)

1912 Workers' Homes Board begins government assistance to house low-income workers; Fairbridge child migration scheme begins

1914–1920 Social aid efforts focus on service personnel

1916 Returned Services League (RSL) forms to assist veterans with practical needs

1920s Government takes responsibility for veterans and charitable groups reorient to more general social services, emphasising the 'deserving poor'; community service clubs establish Western Australian branches

1930s Depression challenges notions of 'deserving poor' as many former working families find themselves in need of aid; charity and government sustenance payments support thousands; childrens' institutions become crowded; existing agencies expand and new organisations form to meet growing needs; Aboriginal people excluded from payments and support services, many ending up crowded onto squalid, under-resourced missions and reserves, especially Moore River Settlement

1933 Lotteries Commission forms as a fundraising mechanism to allow the government to support charitable causes

1939–1945 Social services focus on war effort; institutions receive many children with parents lost or incapacitated through war services; war a major influence in family breakdown, linked to juvenile delinquency

1940 Police Boys Club (later PCYC) forms to provide social functions for youth at risk

1940s Government support payments expanded, although most Aboriginal people still ineligible

1944 Government rental housing begins, initially only for low-income working families

Latter 1940s Ex-servicemens' organisations form to support families of those killed

Latter 1940s–1950s

Foundations of Australia's modern welfare state laid; notions of 'deserving poor' gradually replaced with understanding of social and structural causes of poverty; social work evolves; allied health professions begin offering services to disadvantaged people; general prosperity accompanied by increased public concern for those missing out; alternatives to institutional care were explored, including for older people, children, and intellectually handicapped persons; rehabilitation rather than incarceration began to guide services in mental health, intellectual disability and prisons (trend increases into 1960s)

1956

Western Australian Council of Social Service (WACOSS) formed as peak body advocating for vulnerable community members and their support services

1959

Many Aboriginal people become eligible for Commonwealth welfare payments (final exclusions removed 1966), although many payments went to the Department of Native Welfare and never reached individuals

1960s

Service delivery model established as government grants to not-for-profit organisations to deliver and coordinate services, supplemented direct payments to individuals

1970s

Feminist activism generates new range of social services including rape crisis centres, family violence refuges, childcare and women's networking agencies, resulting in significant reduction in number of children relinquished for adoption or government care; religious-based service agencies employ more trained social workers and work more collaboratively with the wider not-for-profit sector; by the end of the decade governments were reining in welfare spending; community attitudes were increasingly negative to welfare recipients; increased services focussed on targeting youth at risk

1972–1975

Whitlam Federal government brings greater national profile and funding to social services

1973–1975

Recession increases demand for welfare support

1975

Henderson Report finds disturbing levels of poverty across Australia especially among Aboriginal people, women, those with disabilities or illness, rural labourers, renters and older people

1980s

Youth unemployment becomes a concern; youth homelessness grows; social services increasingly professionalised, including better training and coordination of volunteers, as government grants demand greater accountability; sector becomes a major employer; charity-based models give way to services empowering recipients; Federal funding improves non-residential services for older people, supports crisis accommodation and expands eligibility for government rental housing to pensioners, single people and youth; deinstitutionalisation of psychiatric patients creates growing mentally unwell homeless population; parallel move for intellectually handicapped adults sees many successfully move to supported group homes; childcare options and funding increase, mostly provided by not-for-profit agencies

1985

Senate inquiry into Children in Institutional Care leads agencies to transition from institutional care to child, family and parenting services

1990

Government rebates extend to commercial childcare operators, which subsequently become a substantial share of the sector

1990–1992

Recession increases demand for social services, especially youth services as youth unemployment reaches 30 per cent

1992	Legislation outlawing discrimination on the basis of disability a turning point towards culture of inclusion, although progress is slow
1993	State government grants funding ends, replaced by competitive tenders for service delivery; service agencies restructure to survive; most volunteer-based service provision ends
1990s–2000s	Social services increasingly target Aboriginal recipients, as awareness grows of the gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal social indicators; governments issue apologies for several failures in care for vulnerable people, including British child migrants, Aboriginal 'Stolen Generations', wards of the State and children forcibly removed from unmarried mothers
1997	Bringing Them Home report highlights mistreatment and social dysfunction caused by multi-generational policies removing children from Aboriginal families
Latter-1990s–2014	Mining boom exacerbates gap between 'haves' and 'have-nots', as costs of living escalate but welfare payments and low-income wages do not keep pace; non-government welfare agencies struggle to attract staff; housing crisis develops
2002	Gordon Inquiry reports child abuse within Aboriginal communities, sparking government-funded packages of social services, especially in remote communities
2008–2009	Global Financial Crisis creates 20 per cent increase in people accessing welfare services, as those already missing out on the mining boom suffer
2013–2017	Royal Commission investigates institutional responses to child sexual abuse, identifying cultures of systemic abuse and formal cover-up, particularly within religious organisations
2010s	Government rhetoric increasingly reflects hardening community attitudes to the underprivileged, reprising colonial language of the 'deserving poor'; welfare agencies offer professional services in increasingly commercial, competitive, highly regulated environments, catering for around 20 per cent of State's population

Education

50,000 BP +	Aboriginal children educated through family and community mentoring, with some specific hands-on skills training and ceremonial aspects
1829–1845	Schooling limited; government funds support a Perth school in temporary locations and various short-lived private schools, but most colonial children unschooled
1839–1846	Colonial schools operate for Aboriginal children, but opposition from colonists closes them
1843	Catholic education begins
1846	Sisters of Mercy arrive; Benedictines found New Norcia; Catholic education subsequently largely run by religious orders, including Aboriginal school at New Norcia; government funds Catholic schooling
1847	Board of Education established to oversee provision of free government education; six schools open within a year
1847–1868	Teaching standards low and teaching materials ad hoc; many teachers (after 1850) were untrained former convicts
1849	Sisters of Mercy extend to secondary schooling (first to do so); sons of wealthier families mostly sent to England for further education

1850 Less than half the approximately 1,200 colonial children enrolled in school, and even fewer attend regularly

1856 Free education reduced to only elementary education for working class children; financial assistance to Catholic schools ceases

1858 Bishop Hale opens Western Australia's first secondary college, subsequently educating many of the colonial elite's sons

1868 William Adkinson, one of two trained teachers in the colony, appointed Schools Inspector and begins 20 years raising standards

1870s–1880s Number of schools in the colony gradually increases, teaching standards improve, literacy rates rise, but education often not considered a priority, especially among working class or rural children

1871 *Education Act* makes school attendance compulsory for non-Aboriginal 6-14-year-olds living within three miles of a school, but attendance rarely enforced; funding resumes to Catholic schools; Aboriginal children discouraged from attending colonial schools

1874 Prescribed syllabus introduced; teachers subsequently paid on the basis of student results (to 1895)

1890s Gold boom brings migrants from eastern colonies with higher literacy rates and more favourable attitudes to school attendance; more jobs require literate employees; school enrolment increases from around 5,000 to 25,000; existing education system struggles; Catholic religious orders, many newly arrived, open schools, especially on the goldfields; government school construction escalates, but schools mostly over-crowded; broader approaches to education introduced, along with special schools for blind and deaf children; private secondary boarding schools founded, many future 'establishment' institutions

1895 Government funding removed from denominational schools (mostly impacts Catholic education); teachers begin receiving fixed salaries

1897–1903 Cyril Jackson restructures public education system based on 'New Education' philosophies from Europe, including child-centred learning and emphasis on early childhood education

1900 Perth Technical School opens, offering University of Adelaide courses – first tertiary education in Western Australia

1900s Construction of new government schools concentrated on expanding Wheatbelt and suburban areas; most rural schools single-teacher with 10-20 students; more private boarding schools establish in Perth for expanding urban middle class and children of farming families; tertiary education, public high schools and kindergarten all begin

1902 Claremont Teachers' College opens out of Cyril Jackson's reforms; teaching becomes more professionalised; most teachers are male

1907 First major co-educational private school (Carmel College)

1911 Perth Modern School opens – first government secondary school in Western Australia, allowing tertiary entrance level education for academically able working-class children; Kindergarten Union (KU) forms, advocating free early childhood education as a tool of social reform; from 1916, KU responsible for all government kindergarten education

1913 University of Western Australia (UWA) opens, first free university in the British Empire; technical colleges subsequently focus on trades training

1918 Distance Education established, relying on postal correspondence

1920s	Government high schools open in major regional centres (Northam 1921, Bunbury 1923, Albany 1925, Kalgoorlie 1914), reflecting rural bias in political influence; government schools actively exclude Aboriginal children; education options at missions and reserves primitive; approximately 85 per cent of children in government schools; classes of approximately 40 students, grouped by ability rather than age; leaving age set at 14 years
1926	Regulations requiring apprentices to attend at least four weeks technical training overwhelm technical schools, leading to 1928 Royal Commission
1930s	Claremont Teachers College closes during Depression (to 1934) then offers only limited courses through the rest of the decade; Aboriginal children continue to be excluded from government education, despite attempts to prevent schools refusing to teach them; most did not attempt to access school as it was not compulsory
1939–1945	World War II results in innovative use of radio to continue education programs (Distance Education from 1941, Kindergarten of the Air from 1942); fears of invasion close kindergartens
1943	School leaving age raised to 15 years
1945–1950s	Gradual improvements in access to and quality of education for Aboriginal children, moving towards full assimilation into government schools
1945	Education Department takes over and upgrades Aboriginal schools
1946	Students moved into age rather than ability cohorts; high school entrance exams abolished
1947	Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme assist returned servicepersons to enter tertiary study
1947–1950s	Increased social expectation of high school education pressures school system, especially due to post-war migration and population increase; increasing numbers of students complete five years of high school
1948	Education becomes compulsory for Aboriginal children
1951	First qualified Aboriginal teacher (Len Hayward)
1951–mid-1980s	Colombo Plan sponsors small number of Asian tertiary students to Western Australia
1954	Government funding for non-government schools recommences
1956–1967	Rapid program of high school construction, especially in metropolitan area
1957	First Aboriginal student accepted at UWA
1960s	Number and variety of non-government schools expands, including 'alternative' schools such as Montessori
1961	UWA begins charging student fees
1966	Western Australian Institute of Technology (WAIT) forms, precursor to future Curtin University
1969	Recurrent Commonwealth funding for non-government schools introduced
1972–1979	Government support for Aboriginal remote communities includes enabling Aboriginal-managed schools (Oombulguri the first, 1973)
1973	Kindergarten Union dissolves; early childhood education subsequently transferred to the Education Department over several years
1974	Federal government begins funding free tertiary education across Australia; Murdoch University opens
1978	Teachers trained to support students from non-English speaking backgrounds, as policy shifts from assimilation to multiculturalism
1980s	Some high schools begin introducing specialist programs (eg. aviation, art, theatre)
1980s–2010s	Trend of establishing low-fee independent schools, including Australian Islamic College (1986), church schools from several Christian denominations not previously offering education in Western Australia, and low-fee Anglican schools; especially popular in new outer-suburban areas; fee-paying international students, many from Asia, boost university enrolments and finances

1987	Curtin University forms out of WAIT and other technical training centres
1989	Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS) replaces free tertiary education with Commonwealth loans scheme
1990s	High school retention rates (to Year 12) plateau at around 80 per cent
1992	Edith Cowan University forms out of former teachers' colleges and Western Australian Academy of Performing Arts (WAAPA); Notre Dame University opens, Australia's first Catholic university
2000s	Western Australia increasingly integrated into national education policies, planning and assessment; internet becomes foundational tool in education at all levels
2001	Changes to year levels increase average age of school students by six months
2006	School leaving age increased to 17 years, raising retention rates to around 85 per cent
2006–2007	Outcomes Based Education adopted, but abandoned after much controversy
2008	NAPLAN commences; 'Closing the Gap' initiatives target Aboriginal students, as social indicators recorded significant disadvantage; over next decade, little progress besides enrolment in early childhood education, where parity is achieved
2009–2013	Many schools receive Federally-funded buildings as part of Global Financial Crisis economic stimulus program
2010	Western Australian Certificate of Education introduced, linked to national tertiary admission ranking system
2011	Gonski report (national), recommending needs-based funding and identifying widespread low achievement linked to social disadvantage
2013	Pre-primary becomes compulsory
2015	Year 7 becomes part of high school
2015–2018	National curriculum phased in, with some adaptations for Western Australia; trend of establishing low-fee independent schools, including Australian Islamic College (1986), church schools from several Christian denominations not previously offering education in Western Australia, and low-fee Anglican schools; especially popular in new outer-suburban areas; fee-paying international students, many from Asia, boost university enrolments and finances

Health

50,000 BP +	Relatively healthy and long-living Aboriginal population
1829–1849	Colonists mostly young, fit and healthy, with mortality rates less than half those in England; most deaths infant (25 per cent), childbirth, accidents, tuberculosis or 'fever', with periodic epidemics of cholera, whooping cough (pertusis), measles and influenza; isolation and lack of roads hamper access to health services but reduce spread of disease; medical services limited; Aboriginal medical knowledge not accessed by colonists; alcoholism widespread; introduced infectious diseases decimate Aboriginal population, which has no historic immunity; these health conditions change little through the 19th century, although medical services improve in established towns
1839	Smallpox vaccine introduced
1850s–1860s	Introduction of convicts pressures medical services but provides funds and labour to improve them; typhoid becomes endemic
1855	Perth Colonial Hospital opens (convict built)
1860s	Measles and whooping cough epidemics kill many, including up to half the Noongar population
1865	Fremantle psychiatric asylum opens (convict built)

1875–1876	Quarantine stations built at Albany and Woodman Point
1883–1884	Severe measles outbreak kills many, especially Aboriginal people
1890s	Gold lures people to remote areas with few services, inadequate sanitation and scant, often polluted, water supplies; largest typhoid epidemic in Australian history kills many; local governments move to improve sanitation; charitable nursing established, especially religious-based services; smallpox re-emerges amongst crowded populations; larger population and greater wealth introduces new and improved medical services, including alternative medicine; medical services become more structured and regulated; infant mortality remains high, with around 30 per cent of infant deaths due to gastroenteritis
Mid-1890s	Friendly societies establish branches; leprosy develops among Kimberley Aboriginal people, soon becoming endemic and stigmatised
1897	Dr Roberta Jull the first woman to open a medical practice in Western Australia
1900s	Tuberculosis increases, especially linked to underground mining
1901	Volunteer-run ambulance services commence
1908	Kimberley Aboriginal people suffering leprosy or venereal disease incarcerated in lock hospitals
1909	Children's Hospital opens in Subiaco
1911	Midwives required to be registered
1913	Last-resort abortion to save a mother's life legalised
1914–1918	World War I enlistments deplete local medical personnel; Red Cross forms Western Australian branch (1914) to coordinate nurses and medical supplies for the war; convalescent homes for returned soldiers founded
1916	King Edward Memorial Hospital for Women opens, in period of attention to services for women and children
1917–1948	Aboriginal health services under Native Affairs jurisdiction: substandard or non-existent
1918–1919	Global Influenza pandemic causes fewer deaths in Western Australia than other parts of Australia, largely due to strict quarantine measures and general isolation
1920s	Sanatoriums and psychiatric facilities open to cater for large numbers of returned service personnel with tuberculosis or psychiatric ailments; infant mortality rises, resulting in initiatives in community-funded infant health centres, which are credited with reducing infant death rates; dental training begins
1922	St Johns Ambulance takes over from many separate volunteer-run services
1925	First Infant Health Clinic opens (Subiaco)
1928	Legislation restricts use of various drugs (heroin, cocaine, opium)
1930s	Aboriginal people subject to forced medical examinations; regular patrols through the Kimberley capture suspected leprosy sufferers
1931	Flying doctor service begins from Kalgoorlie, later amalgamated with Royal Flying Doctor Service
1939–1945	Red Cross again active providing medical services to serving troops and returned service personnel; penicillin developed internationally for wartime use
1940–1941	Rubella outbreak increases number of deaf children
1941	'Leper line' established to prevent northern Aboriginal people travelling south (retained to 1963)
1945	Government begins funding infant health clinics, due to acknowledged success of the initiative in reducing infant mortality; penicillin introduced to Australia; infection-related deaths plummet
1945–1950s	Medical advances reduce rates of fatal infectious disease, largely due to introduction of antibiotics and vaccines; child mortality improves dramatically, with most hospital admissions subsequently accident and emergency rather than infectious diseases; allied health services develop
1948–1950s	Aboriginal medical services gradually integrated into mainstream medical facilities

1948	Antibiotics become available to treat tuberculosis, incidence of which subsequently drops significantly
1948–1949	Second major Rubella outbreak adds to number of deaf children
1948–1955	Polio epidemic, ending within a year of the polio vaccine being introduced (1955)
1950s–1960s	Compulsory chest X-rays adopted in campaign to eradicate tuberculosis with significant success
1954	Paraplegic unit opens at Shenton Park to rehabilitate polio survivors
1955	Out-patient psychiatric services become available, although chronically mentally ill remain institutionalised
1957	UWA begins training doctors; link between smoking and lung cancer formally recognised
1960s	Several large, multi-storey regional hospitals open, often replacing Colonial or Federation-era facilities; geriatric medicine develops as a specialised field, in response to increasing numbers living into old age
1964	Services for intellectual disability separated from psychiatric care
1967	High rates of dental decay lead to adding fluoride to drinking water and establishing a school dental service
1970s	Tuberculosis no longer endemic, and chest X-rays cease, although still common within Aboriginal populations; cure for leprosy becomes available and disease largely eliminated; health campaigns to reduce smoking begin; complaints of patriarchal and paternalistic medical care lead to specialised women's and Aboriginal health services
1974	Tertiary qualification for nurses introduced, after which on-site hospital accommodation for nurses is phased out (due to move away from live-in apprenticeships)
1980s	Numerous successful public health campaigns addressing lifestyle causes of health issues and encouraging greater individual responsibility; palliative care services develop; passive euthanasia legalised; disability awareness grows and services improve
1983	AIDS first recorded in Western Australia; several years of misinformation and fear follow, along with public education campaigns that contain infection rates within a decade
1984	Medicare begins, offering free treatment in public hospitals; membership in private health funds subsequently declines
1989	First compensation for workers suffering lung disease through exposure to asbestos at Wittenoom (1943–1966)
1990s	Smoking gradually banned in most public places
1997	Federal incentives introduced to encourage more people to take up private health insurance, as cost of universal free health care increases
2000s	Several outbreaks of infectious disease in the region cause fears of pandemics, although only the 2009 H1Ni virus (swine flu) causes any deaths in Western Australia
2005	Barry Marshall and Robin Warren receive Nobel Prize for Physiology or Medicine for research conducted at Royal Perth Hospital between 1979 and 1984
2008	Aboriginal life expectancy 18 years less than wider population, leading to government programs to 'close the gap'; maternal health and child mortality subsequently improve, but other milestones show little progress and Aboriginal suicide rates increase
2010s	Significant upgrades to ageing hospital infrastructure, including new tertiary hospital (Fiona Stanley, 2014) and children's hospital (Perth, 2018); rates of heart disease declining, but still leading cause of death; dementia increasing, becoming most common cause of death for women; cancer and respiratory diseases also relatively common causes of death
2014	Western Australia the last state to sign up to the National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS), although with some conditions; implementation is slow

Governing

Government and Politics

50,000 BP +	Varying forms of Aboriginal leadership across different groups
1829–1849	Britain views Swan River Colony as a private venture, providing minimal funding and administrative oversight; Aboriginal authority ignored; British-appointed officials run the colony; finances, land policy, labour and (1840s) education are key political issues
1850–1869	Convict issues dominate politics; Britain declares the colony to have insufficient revenue for self-government; administrators continue to be appointed by Britain
1870	Representative government granted
1871	Legislation enables the formation of Municipal Councils and Roads Boards
1870s–1880s	Representative Government (although one third of Legislative Council continue to be appointed and Governor retains power to over-rule Council decisions); legislation requires British approval, resulting in time lag in implementation; vote restricted to property-owning men of considerable means; tariff protection and education major political issues; tariffs main source of government income; Britain largely declines to approve large loans requested by colonial government for public works; many towns have a successful local businessmen as unofficial power, but inherited dynasties do not result
1883–1889	Governor Broome in conflict with colonial officials, spurring calls for self-government
1886	Convict establishment ends
1890	Responsible Government granted
1890s	John Forrest is Premier for entire period of Responsible Government; bicameral parliament established (first meets 1891); Governor's power reduced; electoral boundaries favour northern and country districts; factions rather than political parties; infrastructure a priority for government spending, funded by escalating revenue and large loans raised by the government
1892	Women's Christian Temperance Union forms; first women's pressure group, including lobbying for women's suffrage
1893	Goldfields electorates added; Legislative Assembly franchise extended to most white males but property threshold retained for Legislative Council; labour interests enter politics as Progressive Political League and field first political candidate (unsuccessful)
1898	Federal constitution drafted; Western Australia successfully argues for strong Senate to counterbalance small population
1899	White women granted the vote, partly in attempt to add numbers to the vote against Federation; Australian Labor Federation forms (later the Labor Party)
1900	Politicians begin receiving salaries, increasing options for working-class candidates; Western Australia votes 'yes' in Federation referendum, influenced by migrants from eastern colonies
1901	Western Australia a founding state of Australia
1901–1929	Main political issues: developing local income and industries, and mediating the impact Federation's tariff removal; rural interests dominate politics (continues to 1960s)
1901–1906	Political instability after John Forrest moves to Federal parliament; six premiers from four parties
1904	Plural voting and property requirements removed for Legislative Assembly elections, but retained for Legislative Council
1907	State land and income taxes introduced (Federal follows in 1915); preferential voting introduced (delivers Labor government)
1911	First majority Labor government; extensive government industries subsequently established, largely under executive oversight
1913	Western Australian Country Party formed, first Country party in Australia; formally ends period of 'non-aligned' politics and introduces extended period of three-party politics

1916–1917	Two unsuccessful conscription referendums split the Labor party and it loses support
1920	Women permitted to stand for State Parliament
1921	Edith Cowan first women elected to any parliament in Australia; women remain a novelty in Western Australian Parliament for the next 50 years
1924	Compulsory voting introduced for Federal elections
1924–1947	Labor holds government for more than 20 years (except for 1930-1933), but frequently cannot get legislation through a conservative Legislative Council
1925	Limited number of Asian citizens granted the vote
1930s	Depression unseats Labor government for one term; parliamentary salaries cut by 10 per cent; Depression and war dominate politics; middle class lobby groups form advocating Aboriginal policy reform, but little change ensues; support for Communism rises
1933	Western Australia votes 2:1 to secede from Australia, but Britain eventually determines (1935) it could not legally grant secession and, as other Australian states were unlikely to grant secession and public interest in secession had abated, the matter died away; Commonwealth Grants Commission established, in response to secessionist grievances, with Western Australia as a recipient of financial aid
1934	Federal member for Fremantle, John Curtin becomes leader of the Australian Labor Party, eventually serving as Prime Minister 1941-1945
1936	Compulsory voting introduced for Western Australia's Legislative Council elections
1939–1945	War dominates politics; government control increases; Western Australia becomes more integrated into national politics and the economy; income tax becomes exclusively a Federal domain; from 1942, plans underway for extensive post-war reconstruction
1943	Dorothy Tangney one of the first two women elected to Australian Federal parliament, and Australia's first female senator
1944	Liberal Party forms nationally, with Western Australia's David Brand the first Liberal Party candidate in Australia to win office (at a 1945 by-election)
1946–1949	Aboriginal activism enters new phase, including Pilbara pastoral workers strike and establishment of Coolbaroo League
1947–1953	Coalition of Liberal, Country and independent members forms government, ending Labor's long rule; all-time peak of Country Party power; boundary changes remove electoral bias towards Goldfields but retain 2:1 ration of rural/metropolitan representation; Government presides over post-war boom, facilitating industrial development, especially the establishment of Kwinana
1959–1971	Liberal government under David Brand (Premier) and Charles Court (Minister for Industrial Development) pursue international investment to develop mineral resources; government industries largely privatised; booming economy allows Western Australia to cease being a claimant state within Commonwealth Grants Commission; economy transitions from rural to mining base; Brand last premier to represent non-metropolitan electorate (all premiers 1905-1971 non-metropolitan)
1960	Local government franchise expanded to include occupants as well as owners
1960s	Increased political activism, particularly in response to Vietnam War
1962	Franchise extended to Aboriginal and non-white citizens
1964	Voting in Legislative Council made compulsory, with property requirements removed and plural voting abolished
1967	Aboriginal persons recognised as citizens following national referendum
1970	Voting age lowered from 21 to 18 years (federally, from 1973)

1970s	Activism further increases, with multiple causes gaining traction, including feminism, environmental concerns, racial equality, gay-lesbian recognition and Aboriginal rights; number of women in Western Australian Parliament slowly increases; Country Party's influence declines
1972–1975	Expansionist policies of Federal Whitlam government revive secessionist rhetoric
1974	Practice of leaving seats uncontested at State elections ceases
1974–1982	Sir Charles Court is Premier (Liberal), continuing emphasis on mining and development, increasingly in conflict with activists
1979	Ernie Bridge Western Australia's first Aboriginal parliamentarian
1980s	Decade of political and business excess, often intermingled; large-scale private developments receive governments support; Labor politicians (in government from 1983) embroiled with commercial dealings, colloquially known as 'WA Inc'; social changes implemented including ending capital punishment (1984) and the *Equal Opportunity Act 1984* (1985); Australian Democrats emerge as a significant minor party, representing Western Australia in the Senate for most terms 1983-2008; peace activism formalises as Nuclear Disarmament Party and wins Senate seat (from 1984)
1984	Compulsory voting extended to Aboriginal people
1985	National Party forms, reuniting former Country Party factions
1987	Stock market collapse takes government-linked businesses with it
1988	Regional-based proportional representation for the Legislative Council increases small parties' chance of winning office
1990	Carmen Lawrence Western Australia's first women Premier; Greens WA forms through amalgamation of environmental and peace groups
1990s	Minor parties begin to be represented in the Legislative Council
1991	Royal Commission investigates alleged political corruption of the 1980s; two former premiers end up in prison (Brian Burke [Labor] and Ray O'Connor [Liberal])
1993	Greens enter Legislative Council
1993–1995	Western Australia attempts to extinguish native title, but State legislation ruled invalid in the High Court
1993–2001	Liberal government implements a business-oriented model of government, restructuring the public service and privatising government entities
1993–2018	Government alternates in two-term blocks between Labor and Liberal parties
2000	Federal Goods and Services Tax (GST) introduced, with revenue distributed to the states; Western Australia receives proportionally less than other states due to high mining revenue, which through the 2000s becomes increasingly controversial in Federal-State relations
2000s	Greens supersede Democrats as leading minor party, especially in Senate representation
2001	One Nation wins Legislative Council seats, lasting one term
2005	Electoral boundaries change to enable 'one vote one value'
2008	Nationals support minority Liberal Party government in return for extensive 'Royalties for Regions' scheme
2014	Kerry Sanderson first woman appointed Governor General of Western Australia
2017	One Nation returns to Legislative Council; women achieve highest ever number of seats in Western Australian Parliament (30)

Law, Order and Defence

50,000 BP +	Aboriginal society observes complex customary law, differing between people groups, structuring the balance, rights and responsibilities of interconnected relationships between people, ancestral spirits and land; periodic warfare between peoples
1826–1831	British military post at Albany; relatively peaceful coexistence with Minang locals
1829	Single garrison appointed to support Swan River colonists; organised attacks on Noongar people soon begin, ushering in decades of frontier violence as Aboriginal groups resist colonisation; British law declared to apply to the Swan River Colony; untrained honorary magistrates appointed
1829–1839	Police (minimal) operate on fee-for-service basis
1831	First purpose-built prison (Round House, Fremantle)
1833	Military numbers doubled; Whadjuk Noongar leaders publicly executed; focus of conflict and military presence moves to Avon Valley, and subsequent settlement attempts
1836	British law decreed to over-ride Aboriginal law
1838	Wadjemup/Rottnest Island Aboriginal prison established
1840	First full-time police officer appointed, but policing ad hoc; first capital punishment (two Aboriginal men, although Aboriginal people had been summarily executed without trial earlier)
1844	First capital punishment for a colonist
1850–1868	Convicts transported to Western Australia; less extreme than in earlier Australian penal colonies; convicts accompanied by pensioner guards, forming Duty Force for military defence alongside British troops
1855	Fremantle Prison becomes operational (completed 1857, used until 1991)
1860s	Convicts no longer sentence for petty crime; transportees sentenced for more serious offences; crime rates rise; few bushrangers, most notably Moondyne Joe, a folk hero for his exploits of escape and recapture but not a significant criminal element
1861	Supreme Court forms, allowing decisions without reference to London
1862–1868	Governor Hampton institutes harsher convict regime
1863	British troops withdrawn replaced by Voluntary Military Force (1861) and Enrolled Pensioner Force (1862)
1868	More than 3,000 convicts remain within the system working out their sentences after transportation ceases
1870s	Capital punishment taken out of public view (moved inside prison), except Aboriginal people; offences against Aboriginal people rarely prosecuted (Lockier Burges 1872 conviction for manslaughter a rare exception); convict establishment continues, tapering off as convicts complete sentences; convicted children detained at orphanages or with adults; policing gradually consolidates
1880s	Evidence mounts of police and judicial mistreatment of Aboriginal people, including witnesses and suspects detained with neck chains, convictions relying on scant evidence and punishments disproportionate to alleged crimes; crime rates low; police force of approximately 100 substantially involved in policing Aboriginal people, many for actions viewed as 'offences' by colonists only (eg. cattle killing); around one-quarter of Western Australia's police force stationed in the north by mid-decade, where Aboriginal resistance is strong and the colonial population very small
1881	Wadjemup/Rottnest Island Reformatory opens to imprison male juvenile offenders; other institutions follow, mostly accommodating child prisoners alongside neglected or orphaned children

1890s	Small voluntary military force expands, with permanent artillery unit added (1894) and partial pay adopted (1896); focussed on colonial defence; increased population results in rising crime, especially drunkenness and prostitution on goldfields; gold stealing common; less violence reported than in earlier gold rushes in eastern colonies; police numbers more than double in a decade
1892	*Police Act 1892* brings cohesion to policing
1895	Women's wing opens at Fremantle Prison – first dedicated women's prison (used until 1970)
1899–1902	Western Australia military force joins British troops in the Boer War
1901	Federation brings Western Australia into national defences, with small permanent deployment of Australian Army in State; voluntary military brigades superseded and rifle clubs reorganised as military reserve
1902	Criminal code systematises accumulated colonial common law
1904	Royal Commission criticises police treatment of Aboriginal people, but little improvement results; Wadjemup/Rottnest Aboriginal prison closes
1905	*Aborigines Act 1905* introduces sweeping control over Aboriginal lives, often implemented by police
1907	Children's court established; industrial schools separate from orphanages to cater exclusively for underage prisoners
1909	Compulsory military training introduced (to 1929)
1911	Royal Australian Navy (RAN) and reserves established
1914–1918	More than 32,000 Western Australian volunteers enlist for World War I, up to 45 per cent of 18-40-year-old population; attempts to introduce conscription fail; more than 6,000 Western Australians die, and up to 80 per cent of survivors are injured; World War I establishes Australian military identity and mythology of service in overseas conflict
1917	Women's police unit forms (unmarried women only), paid equally with men but mostly providing rudimentary social work
1919	ANZAC Day begins to be commemorated as a public holiday
1920s	Most communities establish war memorials; sensationalist media coverage of serious crime becomes the norm, including several murders that grip public attention
1921	Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) forms
1926	Forrest River Massacre a turning point in public opinion towards frontier violence; police involved escape charge, but clear message that extra-judicial killing no longer has public support
1927	First prison farm opens (Pardelup, Mount Barker), reflecting growing awareness of prisoner rehabilitation to reduce criminal tendencies
1930s	Illicit gambling proliferates during Depression but crime rates overall remain stable; unreported family violence probably increased; coastal artillery defences expanded as war looms
1938	Pearce RAAF base opens
1939	Conscription introduced for home service, extended 1943 to enable conscripts to serve in the South West Pacific Zone
1939–1945	Large numbers of Western Australian men and some women enlist for World War II services (around 62,000); more than 2,000 killed in action and more die as prisoners of war, especially in South East Asia; women's branches of armed services open, offering non-combat roles; unparalleled home-front mobilisation, including Voluntary Defence Corp and Air Training Cadets; conscription introduced for home service, extended 1943 to enable conscripts to serve in the South West Pacific Zone; around 70,000 Australian and Allied troops (Dutch, British, American) stationed in Western Australia, including major submarine base at Fremantle, several additional airfields, and secret heavy bomber airfield at Corunna Downs; prisoner of war camps receive Axis soldiers from the Middle East; northern centres under military control following 1942 Japanese air-raids

1947	Australian armed forces return to peace-time standing
1948	Army Reserves form
1950s	Gradual move towards greater racial and gender equity in policing and judiciary, although inequalities remain entrenched; crime rates escalate, especially property crimes; car theft becomes a major problem
1950–1960	Australian forces support British response to Malayan Emergency
1950–1953	Australian forces participate in Korean War
1951–1959	National service in place
1952	British nuclear tests on the Pilbara Monte Bello Islands
1956	British nuclear tests on Monte Bello Islands and Maralinga (South Australia, but impacts Western Australia's Aboriginal communities)
1957	Special Air Service (SAS) forms, based in Perth
1955–1970	Several new prisons open, purpose built to cater for children or women
1960–1980	Police numbers more than double in 20 years; many specialist branches formed
1962–1973	Australian military involvement in Vietnam War, despite considerable opposition within Australia
1963	Edgar Cooke killing spree shocks Perth
1964	Last death by capital punishment in Western Australia (Edgar Cooke); national service controversially reintroduced and expanded to send conscripts to Vietnam War
1967	Communications base established at Exmouth to support US Navy
1970s	Legal support services expand, including Aboriginal Legal Services, Legal Aid and Family Court; however, Aboriginal people continue to be disproportionately imprisoned; growing awareness of potential police corruption
1975	Royal Commission investigates arrest of Aboriginal men near Laverton the first to seriously challenge police practices
1976	Full police training and duties opened up to women; Women's Police Unit merges into mainstream force
1978	HMAS Stirling naval base opens at Garden Island, reflecting strategic importance of Western Australia for national defence
1979	Ronald Wilson first High Court Judge from Western Australia
1986	Federal 'Two Oceans' policy moves half of the Royal Australian Navy (RAN) fleet and all RAN submarines to Garden Island over next 15 years
1987	David and Catherine Birnie serial killings
1990s	Parliament begins venturing into judicial matters, striving to appear 'tough on crime'
1991	Port Hedland Detention Centre opens, first in national network of federally-funded, privately operated immigration detention centres, several of which are in Western Australia; Royal Commission (national) reports high rates of Aboriginal deaths in custody, mostly due to unnecessarily high incarceration rates; however, disproportionate Aboriginal imprisonment rates more than double over next 15 years and deaths in custody continue
1993	Communications base established at Kojarena to support US and Australian military activities
1994	Western Australian Police launch Delta Program in response to increased public scrutiny, moving towards more corporatised, accountable operations
1995	National campaign boosts perception of ANZAC myth within Australian identity
1996–1997	Claremont serial killings
2000s	'Tough on crime' policies result in overcrowded prisons, despite new facilities being constructed; prisons often understaffed; staff and prisoners protest, the latter sometimes through riots; increasing efforts at police community liaison and crime prevention work

2001	Acacia prison opens, first (of two, to date) private prison in Western Australia; private contractors increasingly used for prison services
2002	Vietnam War memorial unveiled at Kings Park; long delay reflects disputed place of that war in community memory
2003	Royal Commission reveals entrenched (though not universal) culture of police corruption through 1980s and 1990s and establishes the Corruption and Crime Commission
2010s	Aboriginal people, especially children, exponentially more likely to be imprisoned than non-Aboriginal, particularly for minor offences; more than 40 per cent of adult and 80 per cent of juvenile prisoners Aboriginal; perception of racist policing as a cause for this imbalance; also consequence of fractured society resulting from decades of government-sanctioned destruction of family and community structures, disconnection from traditional land and social disadvantage

P1014 **Fremantle Prison, Fremantle**

The first convict transport arrived in Fremantle in 1850, along with Captain E. Y. W. Henderson of the Royal Engineers, the first Comptroller-General of Convicts in Western Australia. The Convict Establishment, as the prison was first known, was built by convict labour between 1852 and 1859 using limestone quarried on the site. Construction of the first buildings began in 1852, with four two-storey residences to house senior officers. By November of the same year, building of the Main Cell Block had commenced and the first prisoners moved into the cell block in 1855. The Establishment was renamed Fremantle Prison in 1867.

At first only imperial convicts were confined at Fremantle Prison, but by 1886 less than 60 convicts remained inside a prison built to hold 1,000 men. Transportation of convicts to Western Australia officially ceased in 1868, and by this time, nearly 10,000 convicts had passed through the 'establishment'. In 1876, the Colonial Convict Department was disbanded and the Prison was handed over to the colonial authorities. With the closure of Perth Gaol in 1888, Fremantle Prison became the Colony's primary place of confinement. The Female Division was added in 1889. As the Prison's population burgeoned, more space had to be found and New Division opened in 1907.

In November 1991, following a series of prisoner riots and growing concerns with prison conditions, Fremantle Prison was decommissioned and the remaining prisoners transferred to Casuarina Prison, which replaced Fremantle Prison as the State's main maximum-security prison.

In August 2010, Fremantle Prison was inscribed on to the World Heritage List along with 10 other Australian Convict sites. It is presently the only World Heritage listed building in Western Australia.

Cultural Life

Religion

50,000 BP + Aboriginal spirituality linked to land and expressed holistically through law, social interaction and cultural expression; sites linked with creator spirits particularly sacred

1829 Church of England arrives with British colonists; linked with the establishment throughout the 19th century, entwined with social, political and economic power; government pays Church of England clergy for more than 40 years

1829–1849 Few church buildings; most religious observance in people's homes, with occasional visits from travelling clergy; all denominations make attempts to Christianise and Westernise Aboriginal people

1830 Wesleyans arrive as a second, far smaller Christian denomination

1838 Catholic worship services initiated; handful of Jewish people in Western Australia; Indian labourers bring Hinduism and possibly Sikhism; majority of the population dismisses non-Christian religion as 'paganism'

1840–1895 Government provides annual stipend to all churches (rejected by Congregationalists on principle)

1843 Catholic Church formally founded with arrival of priest John Brady; Congregational Church established

1846 Catholic religious orders arrive (Sisters of Mercy, Benedictines), founding Catholic education and New Norcia mission

1850–1868 Importation of convicts shifts balance from two thirds Church of England to more Catholics and minority denominations; Irish Catholic convicts bring long-lasting Irish dominance to Western Australia's Catholic Church (after initial Spanish influence via New Norcia); convict system enforces strict church attendance for prisoners and Imperial government pays salaries to Church of England and Catholic chaplains to the Convict Establishment; increased labour and more established settlements see communities build local churches

1852 Acrimonious power struggles result in Catholic Bishop (Brady) being removed

1870s Malay pearlers introduce Islam; Chinese bring Buddhism and Confucianism; all observed privately, without development or religious organisations or worship centres

1871 Government ceases paying salaries of Church of England clergymen

1880s Many towns have church buildings and religious observance has become a more substantial aspect of community life than earlier periods

1886 Church of England Bishop Parry refuses to support his missionary, Joseph Gribble, after the latter accused establishment pastoralists of abhorrent acts towards Aboriginal people; Gribble run out of the colony

1887 First Jewish congregation begins meeting (Fremantle)

1890s Gold boom increases scale and diversity of religious expression and formalises faith communities previously without an organisational presence; migrants from eastern colonies advocate secularism and bring sectarian divisions that had not been strongly evident in Western Australia, especially English-Irish/ Protestant-Catholic tension; many more Christian denominations found churches; established denominations expand presence, building more and larger churches and schools; several new Catholic religious orders arrive, particularly to support Catholic education; marked increase in Jewish population; Afghan cameleers diversify Muslim population and bring Islam and Sikhism to goldfields; churches consolidate role as social service providers, an essential auxiliary to government provisions

1901 First census to record Church of England as less than half the population (42 per cent); immigration restrictions cause decline in non-Christian religions

1901–1929	Religious life stabilises, although some new groups continue to establish small communities; churches expand to follow new population centres, especially in growing agricultural areas; church attendance an important point of social contact in otherwise isolated lives; churches establish Aboriginal missions or children's homes, often complicit in removal of children from Aboriginal families
1914–1918	Churches support World War I, but distance themselves from sectarian divisions regarding the conscription debate that rage in eastern states
1930s	Increased motorised transport makes church attendance easier but reduces its importance as a social contact point
1939–1945	Churches support World War II
1947–1959	Post-war migrants diversify churches, especially Catholic population; church youth activities proliferate as substantial alternative to emerging secular teen culture
1960s	Religion moves to the margins of public life; church attendance declines; institutional religious support for Vietnam War alienates many; fewer young Catholics enter religious orders, and these subsequently shrink and age
1970s–1980s	Ecumenism increases, with less rigid denominational allegiance; Vietnamese migration reintroduces substantial Buddhist population and diversifies Western Australia's Catholic Church; lay-led church organisations become more common; Aboriginal spirituality increasingly recognised and sacred sites protected; last Aboriginal missions closed or handed over to Aboriginal management; New Age movements develop a following; women increasingly involved in church leadership
1974	Civil marriage celebrants begin offering services, and by century's end civil ceremonies outnumber religious ceremonies
1980s	South African migration increases Jewish population
1980s–2010s	Increased Asian and middle Eastern migration expands Muslim, Buddhist and Hindu populations
1992	Anglican Church in Perth the first (Anglican) to ordain women, controversially
2000–2010s	Media attention to Islamic terrorism (not in Western Australia) brings Western Australian Muslims into the spotlight, despite small numbers and generally quiet presence; revelations of extensive abuse within religious institutions, and cultures of cover-up, crystallise crisis of public confidence in value of organised religion; approximately one-third of the population identifies for the census as having no religion (2016)
2006–2016	Rapid increase in Sikh population

Recreation

Arts, Culture and Entertainment

50,000 BP +	Aboriginal visual art, dance, ceremony, storytelling and song thrives, often ceremonial observance linked to land; pre-contact artwork reflects four main stylistic regions; rock art at the Burrup Peninsular (Murujuga) is among the oldest in the world
1600s–1800s	European explorers take visual representations of Western Australia to Europe in maps and sketches; records of European visits enter Aboriginal cultural expression
1829–1870s	Social life for early colonists includes balls, regattas, picnics, kangaroo hunts, fishing trips, crabbing parties, horse races, cricket, amateur theatre and musical recitals; long hours and arduous work conditions exclude most labourers from such activities; colony slow to produce original arts and culture; amateur presentations of imported material dominate, especially comic musicals; early publications mostly diaries, memoirs and newspapers
1850s–1860s	Pensioner guards popularise brass band music; mechanics institutes established in larger towns, supplying (generally conservative) reading material for workers
1869	Women permitted on stage after 30 years banned from performance

1880s Gilbert and Sullivan musicals particularly popular; classical musical societies form; clubs and societies begin slowly developing

1889 First organised art exhibition

1890s Watershed for cultural life; increased wealth allows greater leisure time; migrants bring wider range of artistic expression; larger population allows special interest groups; professional chorus dancers, locally-designed jewellery, newspaper photography, silent cinema, touring circuses and singing ensembles emerged; formation of clubs and societies accelerates; cultural infrastructure expands, including central art gallery, museum and library, zoological gardens and many elaborate theatres

1900–1914 International craft revival reflected in much artisan work in Western Australia; suburban development and spread of small country towns shifts social focus to local activities such as sports clubs, youth groups, choirs, fetes and (for men) local hotel bars; ethnic clubs form; over-arching associations begin coordinating activities of cultural groups

1907–1911 Several youth movements begin (YMCA, Scouts, Guides, Young Australia League)

1920s Professional theatre develops; classical arts expand, including ballet, opera and orchestras; popular entertainment often linked to fundraising activities, including White City amusement park (1922-1929, closed as an eyesore associated with gambling and social problems but popular with working classes); cinema very popular, but local film industry does not develop; Western Australia emerges as setting and theme for fiction, the relationship of characters to natural environment often key

1924 Radio introduced, initiating studio orchestras and spreading popularity of jazz and country music

1929 Introduction of 'talking pictures' puts many cinema musicians out of work

1930s Several notable writers express Communist sympathies, including Western Australia's pre-eminent inter-war author, Katharine Susannah Prichard; Radical Workers Art Guild becomes Perth's main theatre company, producing many locally written plays; art dominated by British exhibitions and influences

1934 Local publishing begins

1947–1950s Touring exhibitions expand from British to include American and European shows; local contemporary artists emerge, including Howard Taylor, Guy Grey Smith and Robert Juniper; Western Australian authors of note include Tom Hungerford, Mary Durack and Randolf Stow; American cultural influences shape popular culture, especially for young people, including juke boxes, milk bars, rock-n-roll and public dancing; common entertainment included hotel beer gardens, dances, social sport and speedway; Hollywood movies dominate; drive-in cinemas open; new migrant groups found ethnic clubs; church and community groups operate budget campsites for group events, especially for teens; outdoor cultural performances become popular; Australian country music evolves and becomes particularly popular among Aboriginal communities

1950 Acclaimed artworks by Carrolup Noongar children tour internationally but receive scant attention in Australia

1951 State Library Board begins working towards a free, modernised public library service, including interconnected regional libraries; local libraries (many evolved from earlier mechanics' or railway institutes) gradually integrated into State library network over subsequent years

1953 Festival of Perth begins, first international arts festival in Australia

1950s–1960s Classical arts become more professional and diverse; State ballet company, chamber orchestra and opera formed; composer James Penberthy produces Western Australian-themed ballets, symphonies and operas, including exploration of Aboriginal-colonist relationships; talented performers mostly have to relocate to advance professionally

1960s Non-memorial public artworks begin to be commissioned, including many abstract representations; Vietnam War spawns folk music following; local rock music scene also emerges; huge crowds attend several Eastern European travelling shows toured by Edgeley family (eg. Bolshoi Ballet, Moscow Circus)

1965 Gerald Glaskin, under the pseudonym Neville Jackson, publishes the first Australian novel with an openly gay protagonist

1970 Jack Davis' poetry the first Aboriginal writing to impact the wider community

1970s Local film industry gradually emerges, supported by Film and Television Institute (from 1972); rising interest in Western Australian history; regional and municipal museums developed; oral history and genealogical societies form; local histories published, particularly in relation to the sesquicentenary of colonisation (1979); protection introduced for shipwrecks, following 1960s discovery (and looting) of several Dutch wrecks; maritime museum established (1979)

1976 Fremantle Arts Centre Press established to nurture Western Australian writers, including non-English language publications

1980 Western Australian Academy of Performing Arts (WAAPA) established, subsequently training many national stars in music, dance and theatre

1980s Western Australian rock music scene increasingly produces performers of national note, but most leave to pursue a music career elsewhere due to limited options in their home state; cultural offerings diversify, with more options for children and teenagers, increased interest in non-Anglo-Australian perspectives and expansion of alternative artistic expression; Sally Morgan and Jack Davis bring Aboriginal stories to wider audiences; Ernie Dingo begins acclaimed acting career; Broome develops as northern cultural hub, particularly for Aboriginal art, writing, music and performance, but also celebrating links with Asian cultures; long-running music festivals emerge (into 1990s)

1980s–2000s Nationally significant Western Australian authors emerge (eg. Tim Winton, Greg Egan, Shaun Tan); also many popular musicians of national note (eg. Eurogliders, Hoodoo Gurus, Johnny Diesel and the Injectors, the Triffids, Ammonia, Eskimo Joe, Jebediah, John Butler Trio, the Waifs); classical composer Roger Smalley and baritone opera singer Gregory Yurisich achieve international recognition

1990s Asian and continental European stories increasingly published; Youth culture moves away from groups, camps and events; Scouts, Young Australia League and YMCA decline; public art commissions expand following legislation to mandate art within major developments; understandings of 'legitimate' artistic expression expand

1991 Healthway formed to provide government funding to the arts in lieu of banned tobacco sponsorship

2000s National 'culture wars' attempt to discredit descriptions of frontier violence, launched by Rob Moran's allegations the Forrest River Massacre did not occur (1999); memories transmitted by Aboriginal art, storytelling, dance and song dismissed by opponents as unreliable

2000s–2010s Government funding for the arts tightens; arts patronage increases, but mostly corporate rather than private philanthropy; declining volunteering and increased insurance premiums cause some clubs, organisations and venues to close; Western Australia progressively integrated into national culture and global interaction; internet opens new platforms for artistic expressions and allows widespread 'self-publishing' across all art forms

Sport

50,000 BP +	Games often linked to necessary survival skills such as coordination, hunting and battles, including wrestling, foot races and ball games
1829–1869	Colonists introduce British sports, especially horseracing (1829), cricket (1835) and yachting (1841); players male, but spectating a significant mixed-gender social event; horseracing the main organised sport; yachting regattas also held as population expands
1836	Thoroughbred racing begins, establishing long-standing relationship between racing and social elites
1852	Competition cricket begins; Western Australian Turf Club (WATC) forms
1868	Rowing club forms; first game of Victorian Rules Football (later Australian Football League [AFL])
1870s–1880s	Small expansion in organised sports, including founding of rowing and yacht clubs and Western Australian Cricket Association, beginnings of AFL football, introduction of social tennis (especially for wealthier women), archery, foot racing, shooting, croquet and cricket; occasional log chop, rowing, cycling and athletics competitions also held, increasing through 1880s, with foot racing the first 'professional' sport (1880s)
1876	Yacht club forms
1878	Competition football begins with rugby-like rules
1879	New Norcia enters Aboriginal cricket team in Perth competition, with considerable success over ensuing eight years
1885	Regular football league commences, using Victorian Rules; becomes dominant football code and pre-eminent working class sport for Western Australia; Western Australian Cricket Association forms; cricket particularly popular among middle classes, especially public servants
1890s	Migrants and increased wealth and leisure time introduces new sports, along with formal leagues, including rugby union (1893, competition folded by 1905), golf (1895), lacrosse (1896), soccer (1896) and lawn bowls (1896); competitive cycling popular on goldfields; pony club racing becomes working class alternative to thoroughbred events, earning elite disdain; swimming in river- and sea-baths becomes popular; British culture of unpaid sporting endeavour as a gentlemanly virtue keeps most sport amateur
1900	Dave Strickland wins Stawell Gift, first Western Australian victory in major national sporting event; first public pool (Kalgoorlie)
1900s	More sports form associations or regular competitions, including rifle shooting (1901), swimming (1902), tennis (1903), yachting (1903), athletics (1905), hockey (1906) and golf (1908); athletics increasingly dominated by professional runners, although no athletes can make a career out of sport; most sport male-only; tennis, swimming (segregated), cycling and hockey include women, and sulky races often have women drivers
1902	First swimming competitions (Kalgoorlie); motor racing begins as a novelty, with hill climb races particularly popular
1908	Surf life saving begins (Cottlesloe)
1911	Basketball arrives in Western Australia
1914–1918	Women's sport expands, as most sporting men enlist in armed forces; women's leagues form in golf (1914), hockey (1916) and Victorian Rules football (1915), the latter short-lived
1914	Crawley Baths open in the Swan River and host most competitive swimming events until 1961
1915	George Blurton first Aboriginal footballer to receive Western Australian Football League's (WAFL) annual 'most gentlemanly and fairest' medal
1917	Pony club racing shut down as 'wartime austerity'

1920s–1930s Sport increases profile, participation and diversity; Aboriginal footballers increasingly significant; Aboriginal boxers also experience some success (boxing largely sideshow event in this period); tennis becomes recreational choice across income levels, especially in country towns, and many community courts established; rowing booms; rubgy union re-established; golf becomes particularly popular (especially 1930s), particularly among growing middle class; gymnastics competitions begin; recreational beach swimming becomes popular and surf life saving develops as a competitive sport; women's participation in sport increases gradually; hockey emerges as one of State's strongest sports (in terms of national competition success)

1922 Lawn Tennis Australasian Open begins including women's events

1924 Netball introduced (originally 'women's basketball') and soon becomes sport of choice for many women

1927 Claremont Speedway opens; operates for 70 years; greyhound racing banned (to 1974)

1938 Decima Norman wins five gold medals at Empire Games, first Western Australian athlete to achieve at this level

1939 National Fitness Council forms Western Australian branch to ensure fit wartime population

1939–1945 Many organised sports curtailed or suspended during World War II

1945–1950s Western Australia participates in more national sporting leagues, including surf life saving (1945), Sheffield Shield cricket (1947, full membership 1956), softball (1952) and squash (1952); state identity and pride entwined with sporting prowess; Shirley Strickland (de la Hunty) emerges as internationally successful athlete, winning Olympic medals in 1948, 1952 and 1956; variety of sports expands, especially influenced by post-war migrants; soccer, gymnastics, martial arts, water polo, rugby league, polocrosse, softball, sports for people with disability, clay target shooting, surf life saving, and yachting all either establish leagues or expand considerably; fibreglass boards (1956) enable surfing to gain popularity

1954 Off-course betting legalised

1950s–1970s Several notable Aboriginal footballers have long, distinguished careers, especially Graham 'Polly' Farmer, Syd Jackson and Barry Cable

1960s Television focuses sports media on city events, especially football

1966–1975 Margaret Court (nee Smith) based in Western Australia for most of her outstanding international tennis career; remains [2018] Australia's all-time most successful woman tennis player

1961 Totalisator Agency Board (TAB) opens to manage off-course betting

1962 Perth hosts British Empire and Commonwealth Games, the first to include sports for people with disability; brings world attention, boosts tourism, and results in world-class sporting facilities for swimming, basketball, athletics and cycling

1960s–1970s Mining boom expands sporting clubs in the Pilbara; children's sporting competitions increase; elite netball reaches its peaks, including hosting world championships; Western Australia dominates national league; swimming moves from river and sea-baths to pools (competition) and beaches

1970s Many country race clubs close when required to license with Perth-based Western Australian Turf Club; sponsorship, often linked to television promotion, allows professional sporting career opportunities for the first time, allowing many athletes to give up their 'day jobs'; backyard swimming pools proliferate in metropolitan area; recreational jogging and aerobic fitness classes become popular; sports for people with disability expand beyond original wheelchair sports origins of 1950s

1974 Greyhound racing recommences

1978	Department of Youth, Sport and Recreation forms to integrate the State's sporting endeavours, improve facilities, enhance recognition of women in sport, coordinate coaching and support Aboriginal involvement
1970s–1980s	May Chalker emerges as golf champion, a notable exception to the lack of sporting opportunities for Aboriginal women; increasing numbers of women's sporting leagues at competitive level; most sports played on gender lines
1980s	Much sporting infrastructure and organisation developed; sporting culture increasingly professional; international sporting events and attention begin to come to Western Australia
1983	Australia II wins America's cup
1984	Western Australian Institute of Sport (WAIS) established to train athletes for Olympic sports; range of sports in which Western Australian athletes achieve Olympic success subsequently expands from traditional success in athletics and swimming to medals in hockey, rowing, canoeing, tennis, ice skating, water polo, sailing, cycling, equestrian, diving and archery, including several highly successful paralympians; Australia's elite hockey program moves to Western Australia; Australia wins hockey medals at every subsequent Olympics, with teams including large numbers of Western Australians through the 1980s and 1990s
1985	Margaret River Pro began to be included in the Word Surfing championship circuit
1986–1987	America's Cup defence at Fremantle brings international attention, boosts tourism, transforms Fremantle
1987	West Coast Eagles enter Victorian Football League (from 1990, AFL)
1988	Hopman Cup begins, attracting international tennis stars
1980s–1990s	Local sailors achieve round-the-world feats, including Jon Sanders and David Dicks
1990s	Perth Wildcats dominate national basketball league, with unprecedented large Western Australian following and media coverage for a sport outside traditional British origins; many sports reorient to cater for sponsorship deals, corporate supporters and television audiences; some long-standing sports (eg. lawn bowls, harness racing) decline in popularity while newer ones flourish (eg. lacrosse, softball, dragon boat racing, Wadjemup/Rottnest Channel Swim)
1991	Tobacco advertising banned from sport; Healthways established to provide government sponsorship in lieu
1992	West Coast Eagles become State heroes as first non-Victorian team to win AFL premiership (repeated 1994)
1995	Fremantle Dockers enter AFL, splitting Western Australia's football loyalties
2000s	AFL begins acknowledging extensive contribution of Aboriginal players; Perth Glory achieves considerable success in National Soccer League; private club ownership increasing, having long been unusual in Australia
2010s	Women's sport under-recognised and poorly paid; exercise classes and gyms increasingly popular, but most Western Australians live largely sedentary lifestyles, despite sport being intrinsic to cultural identity
2017	Women's AFL competition begins, including Fremantle Dockers
2018	Western Australian soccer star Samantha Kerr named Young Australian of the Year; Perth Stadium opens, replacing iconic grounds for cricket and all football codes and representing a prominent government investment in professional sport

Domestic Life

50,000 BP +

Aboriginal communities mostly build small homes of bush materials, sometimes as permanent as clay-plastered huts, in addition to using caves and other natural shelters; vegetable diets supplemented by hunted meat or fish where available; approximately 130 languages and dialects across future Western Australia

1829–1849

Colonists establish makeshift shelters (mostly tents), then austere huts, often leaky, mostly slab or mud-walled; simple European styles with kitchen gardens nearby; homesteads very isolated; food, clothes and furniture home-grown, home-made or recycled; diet overwhelmingly British (Indigenous foods not explored); tea favoured; much alcohol consumed, with public drunkenness prevalent; entertainment mostly self-generated and domestically based, including card games, musical evenings, picnics and riding parties; few books in circulation, mostly pragmatic texts

Women marry young, have many children, often die in childbirth; infant mortality high; divorce nearly impossible to obtain; gender imbalance results in few single women but many single men; homosexuality illegal; women manage child-raising and household work, and participate in farm labour (ongoing to 20th century); British social stratification imported but soon adapts to colonial conditions, especially absence of inherited estates, uncertain food supply in early years, labour shortages, lack of systemic abject poverty; Aboriginal women and children sought as domestic servants due to small numbers of female colonists

1829–1833

Food rationed as supply not guaranteed

1850s–1860s

Standards of living improve, especially in larger towns; brick and stone houses become common, although mostly small; 'Bond' or 'Free' become more significant social determinants than gentry or worker; ticket-of-leave men endure 10pm curfew; convicts mostly in work camps rather than prison; fertility rates peak; most families have at least six children; 40 per cent have 10 or more (although few families have all survive childhood)

1865

Death sentence for homosexuality converted to life in prison

1870s

Elite culture develops as some families amass substantial fortunes; British-influenced social life adapted for colonial life and climate, with outdoor entertainments common; fertility rates decline gradually, but still high

1880

Supply of alcohol to Aboriginal people made illegal

1880s

70 per cent of houses have four or fewer rooms; styles remain mostly simple, even for wealthier residents building larger homes

1890s

Gold boom makes society more complex and prosperous, linking Western Australia to wider Australian culture; social divide emerges between 'sandgropers' (pre-gold boom colonists) and 't'othersiders' (migrants), lasting around a decade; available building industry professionals and finance increase housing standards; terrace housing largely does not develop and double-storey residences remain reserved for wealthy families; goldfields dominated by shanty towns, despite cosmopolitan town centres; boarding houses accommodate many, with comparatively few women and children in new towns; domestic life primitive, little fresh food or water, conditions unsanitary, typhoid rampant

Beer consumption surpasses spirits; Western Australia's alcohol consumption twice average of other Australian colonies; strong culture of male social drinking, with taboo on women drinking

1892

Sexual assault of children outlawed, but few convictions result; little legal protection for women or children from abusive husbands/fathers

1905–1940s

Extreme government control of Aboriginal domestic and family lives; many Aboriginal children removed from families; Aboriginal people cut off from traditional ways of life, excluded from the white economy and often left reliant on inferior government or charitable provision, with structures of family, community and culture damaged; many subsequently end up in squalid conditions (often on under-resourced government reserves)

1906–1914

Government policy focuses on facilitating healthy (non-Aboriginal) children in supportive family environments; emerging women's movement emphasises domestic improvements; initiatives include child care (1906), children's court (1907), a department of child welfare (1907), a children's hospital (1909), free kindergarten (1912); also groundwork for women's hospital (1916) and (Federal) maternity allowance (1912)

1910

Aboriginal possession of alcohol outlawed

1914–1918

Disruption to family life as high numbers of men enlist; remnant Victorian mourning etiquette (already modified for colonial context) abandoned due to high death rate; first experiments with daylight savings (introduced nationally 1917 as wartime energy savings measure) but Western Australia never permanently adopts the practice [to 2018]

1919–1920s

Veterans frequently return to families physically or mentally incapacitated; many women unable to marry due to high death rate among single men, leaving them vulnerable to long-term poverty due to lack of options for single women

1920s–1930s

Cinema becomes popular, increasing American cultural influence; beach culture develops from promenading to widespread ocean swimming; motorised transport increasingly common, expanding rural social options and reducing households' isolation; major social events are weddings, 21st birthdays and (for some) debutante balls; recorded music increasingly available within homes, through radio (from 1924) and gramophones; women's fashion begins revealing more skin, including knee-length skirts, tennis shorts and one-piece bathing suits exposing arms

Terracotta tiles replace corrugated iron roofs; many metropolitan councils ban timber housing; bathrooms increasingly within main body of houses; rural housing continues to often use corrugated iron, timber and ablutions in outbuildings

1929

Australia's signature dessert, the pavlova, invented in Perth (although remarkably similar to an earlier New Zealand dish)

1930s

Standard of living plummets during Depression; urban males particularly hard-hit; suicide rates rise and domestic violence also believed to increase; personal and organisational charity supports many; frugality and innovation develop in response to shortages; food limited in quantity and variety, home-grown or hunted where possible; birth rates drop; flats become popular, particularly later in the decade when purpose-built complexes attract middle-class tenants; converted large older residences condemned as slums, but little change until 1950s

1938

Survey finds 25 per cent of suburban children undernourished, sparking campaigns to promote fruit, vegetables and milk

1939–1946

Further belt-tightening in response to war; construction virtually ceases; blackout, shortages and rationing characterise domestic life; air-raid shelters dug, shops sand-bagged, windows taped

American servicemen, on higher pay than Australians, influence popular culture and spark rivalry with local men; Western Australians continue to prefer tea to coffee, beer to spirits; approximately 75 per cent men/25 per cent women regular smokers; domestic service largely ceases; culture of household servants not reinstated after the war; family structures disrupted by war; youth delinquency rises, often attributed to family breakdown, fathers absent or incapacitated by war, or hasty wartime marriages

1945–1950

Wartime rationing and shortages gradually ease; electrical supply intermittent; State Housing Commission controls all residential development and builds large portions of new housing; building materials and labour in short supply; housing simple, small, often austere; ceiling heights lowered; fibrous cement cladding increasingly popular, especially in rural areas; birth rates begin to climb

1950s

State Housing Commission continues strong influence in housing construction, rolling out suburbs of simple, low-cost homes; private construction increases as building restrictions ease, with construction boom through the decade; most houses have electricity connected for only lights and one or two power outlets; gas and wood remain common cooking fuels; kerosene refrigerators popular; adoption of domestic electrical appliances, available in greater variety, hampered by lack of electrical supply

Migration and economic stability gradually transform Western Australia's domestic culture; Mediterranean food moves diet away from long-standing rural-based British standards; marketing of processed and packaged foods reduces reliance on home-made products; consumer spending increased, especially on imported domestic goods; cheap fuel increases domestic use of motor vehicles; American concept of 'teenagers' takes hold, expanding leisure options for young people; American-style clothing increasingly common; ready-to-wear clothing begins superseding made-to-measure tailoring; women's clothes become more revealing, including introduction of modern bikinis

Aboriginal policy moves from 'protection' to 'assimilation', resulting in small improvements in domestic options; birth rates reach peak; medical advances (especially antibiotics and vaccinations) reduce child mortality rates, compounding 'baby boom'

1959	Television first broadcast, rapidly becoming a domestic staple
1960s	Housing moves away from cottage styles to open plan living, including space for watching television; picture windows, floor-to-ceiling aluminium-framed glass sliding doors, concrete slabs rather than suspended timber floors, lower pitched roofs and carports characterise homes; native garden plants promoted; flats developed for lower income groups, especially government rental housing Restrictions on Aboriginal domestic life gradually lifted, including (official) end to policy of child removal (1960, although practice continues), permission to access alcohol (1963), legalised mixed-race sexual relations (1963); government housing for Aboriginal people, although substandard, becomes available; birth rates decline after 1950s peak
1960s–1970s	Sexual and social revolution; laws governing alcohol, gambling and sexual behaviour relax; illicit drug use rises; increasingly cosmopolitan culture develops; wine replaces beer at meals and socialising at cafes and restaurants supplements home-based entertainment; women's independence expands, as feminists raise issues such as domestic violence, sexual assault, contraception and abortion; increased paid employment options see fewer women as full-time home makers (trend escalates into 20th century)
1970s	Government support for remote Aboriginal communities; long, slow, often counter-productive efforts to equalise opportunities for Aboriginal people initiated; housing characterised by raked rooflines, vaulted ceilings, sunken lounge rooms, exposed interior brick, and rendered or bagged front facades; brick surpasses all other building materials; outdoor entertainment areas develop
1975	No-fault divorce legalised
1980s	Solar hot water systems gain popularity, developed following 1970s high oil prices; houses begin reflecting earlier motifs including gables, face brick and Federation colouring; many families adjust to a fly-in fly-out (FIFO) breadwinner; access to divorce results in more non-nuclear families; debutante balls largely replaced as rite-of-passage by high school balls; Asian food increasingly common
1989	Gay sex decriminalised; society begins slow move towards acceptance of homosexuality
1990s	Western Australians eat diverse diet; year-round access to imported foods removes seasonal cycles from most menus; apartments regain popularity for middle-class housing, with river-view high-rise emerging; many Aboriginal communities demonstrate significant social dysfunction, resulting from multi-generational fragmentation of social structures, often linked with alcohol abuse; family violence and sexual abuse particularly prevalent (highlighted by the 2002 Gordon Inquiry); life expectancy 20 years less than wider community (1991) and improves little through decade (approximately 18 years by 2000)
2000	GST (national) increases price of many household items

2000s–2010s

Townhouses with small courtyards increasingly common, especially as inner-urban infill; free-standing homes continue to be built in outer suburbs, with al fresco living areas connecting inside and outside living; designs assume air-conditioning, with small eaves; lock-up garages within the main roof envelope become ubiquitous; smaller yards see productive gardens become uncommon; despite smaller blocks, house sizes increase, many double storey, but occupant numbers drop

Financial incentives increase installation of domestic solar power systems; homes stocked with expanding range of trimmings, conveniences and entertainment options, particularly encouraged by 'lifestyle' television programs, magazines and social media; gap between rich and poor expands; house prices and rents increase sharply, pricing many out; diverse range of languages spoken in Western Australian homes; many people do not know neighbours and perceive loss of suburban community; family violence gains public attention but concern does not translate to fewer incidents

2002

Sweeping State reforms legislate equality for homosexual people

2015–2018

End of mining boom sees domestic spending trimmed, including adoption of some measures to reduce domestic environmental impact

2017

Same-sex marriage legalised nationally

P9187 **Attunga Flats, Subiaco**

While apartment living had long been accepted overseas, Australia had resisted shared living until the 1930s when a demand for cheaper housing close the city centre was seen. This led to the introduction of flats in these areas as an attractive alternative for middle-class single professionals and young married couples who could not afford to buy or rent a house.

Attunga Flats, Subiaco (1937) is a three-storey building comprising six individual residences and is a fine example of the Inter-War Art Deco style. The building is believed to have been designed by notable Architect Marshall Clifton and is a local landmark along the western side of Thomas Street in Subiaco.

When flats were first introduced to Perth in the 1930s, the vast majority were constructed to look like large houses. Attunga Flats were among the first purpose-built flats designed to be clearly articulated as a multi-storey apartment building. The prominent Art Deco entry facade demonstrates the new acceptance of flats as a modern and stylish way of living in the late 1930s.

International Links

70,000 BP	Humans begin contact with future Western Australia (Kimberley coast)
50,000 BP +	Land that later becomes Western Australia is the grounding centre for Aboriginal occupants; unknown what contact or knowledge exists between Aboriginal people and populations of Asia
1500s	Western Australia enters European consciousness as an imagined land hypothesised to exist
1616–1796	Use of Hendrik Brouwer's southern route to Java brings ships of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) along Western Australia's west coast, resulting in several shipwrecks; reports back to Europe generally negative; Dutch express no interest in colonising Western Australia
1616	Dirk Hartog first recorded European landing
1629	Survivors of wrecked Batavia first Europeans known to have lived (temporarily) in Australia, although on off-shore islands (Abrolhos)
1680s–1840	European explorers visit Western Australia, especially British and French explorers
1700s–1800s	Expanding Chinese economy creates market for trepang; Macassan fishermen visit northern Australian waters seasonally, living several months at a time in fishing camps; beeswax also harvested, and some trade with Aboriginal people
1786	Swedish King launches plan for colony along south coast (Nuytsland) but events in Europe delay expedition, which then does not eventuate
1788	Permanent British settlement on Australia's east coast; some anxiety results about other European nations taking interest in the west
1789	American whalers operate along south coast, with British soon following
1791	George Vancouver formally takes possession of Western Australia for England at King George Sound; legal fiction of *terra nullius* presumed, with no attempt at treaty or recognition of the existing Aboriginal owners of the land
1803	Sealers begin visiting south coast
1826	British military garrison deployed to King George Sound to secure Western Australia as a British province, as American sealing and whaling and French exploration increase
1827	James Stirling explores Swan River and recommends establishing British free settlers' colony; land's agricultural prospects exaggerated, fuelling a 'Swan River Mania' in England; proximity for trade with British India and South-East Asia boasted as a selling point
1829	Colonisation begins; Britain claims Australia's western third as Swan River Colony
1830s	Images sent home romanticise the colony, emphasising land's beauty and potential, depicting bushland as park-like vistas and stereotyping Aboriginal people as 'noble savages'; strong resistance to colonisation left out of imagery
1831	Rumours of hardship in the colony quell rush to migrate
1829–1877	Desert barrier to eastern colonies makes Western Australia wholly dependent on sea for contact with wider world, keeping ties with Britain stronger than Australian links
1829–1879	Colonial-based exploratory journeys expand British knowledge to cover (at least broadly) all of Western Australia
1829–1889	Britain considers Western Australia an isolated, insignificant outpost; internationally an economic and social backwater; Western Australia, however, remains fiercely loyal to 'mother country'
1850–1868	Convict transportation; Western Australia is the last British convict colony in the Empire, earning the disdain of Britain and other colonies, especially Australian colonies that had ceased receiving convicts by 1855; efforts at self-promotion and establishment of export trade largely fail to shake image as a penal colony

1890s International 'coming of age', following granting of Self-Government (1890); migrants and international investment attracted by gold, as international markets suffer several years recession in early 1890s, including eastern Australian colonies, and South African goldmining reaches a lull (1893) corresponding with gold discoveries on the Eastern Goldfields; boom period in Western Australia relies heavily on loans and investment funds raised in London (which largely end 1903)

1901 Western Australia is a founding state of Australia and participates in developing national identity; however, continues to perceive itself very strongly in relation to Britain; Asia, although closer, is considered the 'Far East'

1899–1902 First Western Australian military force for overseas conflict sent to support Britain during Boer War

1914–1918 Western Australia automatically joins Britain in World War I as part of Australian forces; strong British links influence higher-than-average enlistment in Western Australia

1918–1919 Geographic isolation largely buffers Western Australia from global Spanish influenza pandemic

1920s Cultural links with the USA begin to develop, although still inferior to British influence

1926 Australia decreed a nation autonomous from Britain

1930s International Depression has severe impacts, especially as wool and wheat exports, on which the economy rests, are tied to international prices, which plummet; Western Australia entwined with global markets and joins global suffering through economic collapse

1939–1945 Australia automatically joins Britain immediately when war is declared; more than 60,000 Western Australians enlist; Japanese air raids 1942 and 1943 the first (to 2018) attack on Western Australia since British displacement of Aboriginal occupants; fear of invasion widespread; new allegiance to the USA develops; Dutch and British navies also stationed in Western Australia

1947–1950s Continental European migrants strengthen personal links with non-British Europe, especially Mediterranean countries; Western Australia increasingly celebrates its own Mediterranean climate, with clothes, food, architecture and popular culture shifting emphasis away from cool-climate British influences

1950–1953 Australian troops support US military in Korean War

1950–1960 Australian troops support British military response to Malayan Emergency

1960s Shift of economy from rural to mining base accompanied with move from Britain to Asia as major trading partner (especially Japan, India, China)

1962 Empire Games in Perth bring international attention, showcasing Western Australia to the world

1962–1973 Australian troops support US military in Vietnam War

1970s Asian migrants accepted in larger numbers, diversifying local culture and creating personal links with Asia; 'Sister city' relationships established with Japanese cities

1970s–1980s Attempts to orient Western Australia as an Indian Ocean nation have little cultural impact

1970s–2000s Despite increasing high-quality local arts and culture, Western Australia construes itself as a provincial outsider; Aboriginal expression often received with more interest internationally than at home; Western Australians contribute to global research in many fields but international sporting achievements more likely to contribute to Western Australia's identity

1980s	Asian tertiary students become crucial source of university funding and build stronger links to Asia; Asian tourists underpin emergent international tourist industry; Western Australians increasingly take holidays in Asia, especially Bali; despite increasing diversity and policies of multiculturalism, popular culture continues to perceive Western Australia as a white community linked historically to Britain and culturally to the USA; increased South African migration forges personal and cultural links, largely based on shared heritage as British colonies
1986–87	America's Cup Defence an important moment of Western Australia's self-promotion in international forum
1990–1991	Australian troops support US military in first Gulf War
1993–latter 1990s	Development of the internet sees Western Australia rapidly integrate into international information, issues, and culture (the latter dominated by American media); concept of a 'global village' popularised in response to internet connectivity
2001–[2018]	Australian troops support US military in Afghanistan
2002	Terrorist bombings in Bali include 16 Western Australians in large death toll, raising fears of terrorist attack
2003–[2018]	Australian troops support US military in Iraq
2000s	Relatively cheap travel and the ease of organising overseas holidays via the internet sees a rapid increase in Western Australians taking international holidays; many young adults pursue overseas working holidays as a rite-of-passage, particularly in Britain; vacation travel expands beyond traditional British and European options and latter 20th century South East Asian destinations to see Western Australians regularly visiting all continents; fears of global terrorism influence politics, popular culture and increasing suspicion of outsiders; Western Austraila integrated into national culture, but often retains parochial self-identity; internet connectivity links the State into global webs of communication, personal relationships, political influence and economic interactions

P3602 **Victoria Quay, Fremantle**

Victoria Quay continues to be an essential part of the port city of Fremantle and played a critical role in the social and economic development of the State. Known to the Whadjuk Noongar as 'Walyalup', historically the area was a resource-rich area with cultural significance. In 1829 Fremantle was selected for the colony's port. By the end of the century, a protected inner harbour was needed with work commencing in 1892. Victoria Quay, a land-backed wharf, was named for Queen Victoria in 1901 after she opened it for shipping in May 1897. Over time a variety of elements became integral to the place as cargo, including jarrah, livestock, wheat, gold, and other minerals passed through the port. The Immigration Bureau opened on Victoria Quay in 1906 and saw the arrival of thousands of immigrants during the early twentieth century.

HORSE TEAM CARTING WOOL, MALLINA STATION TO BALLA BALLA, 1919 – Courtesy of State Library of Western Australia