Title of project

A social and cultural investigation of women in the wine industry of South Australia

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Abstract

Women have made a significant contribution to wine production in South Australia, and their important role has been neglected by much of the community, including the media. Gradually their achievements are being recognised. In my research, interviews and a textual analysis of primary sources provided extensive and continuing evidence of women's contribution in the wine industry from colonial days in the Barossa Valley to recent times on Kangaroo Island. Documentary evidence and the interviews indicate that women have been expected to work in various tasks outside the home, as well as managing the house and rearing children. The interviews I conducted with 25 women in the Barossa Valley, the Riverland and Kangaroo Island, over a wide range of occupations in the wine industry, indicate that they combined their work in the vineyards and wineries with their household tasks. The rural woman's domain included the home paddock, the equivalent of the suburban backyard. Because of economic necessity the home paddock was extended to include seasonal work in the vineyard. Within families there was a variety of tasks carried out by all members, including children.

Women such as Ann Jacob from the Barossa Valley took an essential part in establishing the wine industry. In the Riverland, women worked in Village Settlements in the late 1890s, and during World War I and World War II, they established vineyards as part of the Returned Soldiers Settlement Schemes. The Australian Women's Land Army was an essential work unit during World War II and women picked grapes and vines in the Riverland. After World War II an increase in migration saw European settlers arrive in South Australia. On Kangaroo Island where grapes were first grown in 1836, several women now own and manage vineyards. South Australia has a long history of wine-making and although women have made an essential contribution to its establishment and continued development, much of their work has been overlooked, by the public and within the industry. It is anticipated that this research will give appropriate recognition to these women.

DISCLAIMER

To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis investigates the history of women in the South Australian wine industry, and will redress the imbalance that exists in the literature related to the work women have done and continue to do. An historical, examination of the Barossa Valley, the Riverland and Kangaroo Island wine-making areas, puts the collected data and information into a chronological time frame from 1836 to 2004. The use of primary sources from the 1830s to the early 1900s enables a comprehensive detailed account of women's activities to be presented.

In the interviews I conducted, my intentions resonate with the methodology employed by Barbara Pini (2003) in her study of the Australian sugar industry (Pini, pp. 418-433). Both projects are concerned with horticulture, a part of the rural sector that has, as yet, received little attention from social scientists and social historians, and both studies have focused on women's participation in a rural industry. My interviews with twenty-five women reveal much about the gendered division of labour in viticulture and combined with the primary sources, establish that there is a long historical tradition of women in vineyards.

The thesis is divided into nine chapters: chapter 1, the introduction, describes the background of the colonial wine industry; chapter 2 reviews the previous work and research and the relationship with this project; chapter 3 describes the method of approach; chapter 4 analyses the gendered division of labour; chapter 5 examines the history of wine making in the Barossa Valley; chapter 6 is concerned with the establishment of the wine industry in the Riverland; chapter 7 deals with the industry in Kangaroo Island; chapter 8 presents an analysis of the interviews; chapter 9 concludes the study.

Historiographical neglect

Women have made a significant contribution to wine production in South Australia, as they have to other rural industries. Their participation has been essential, as family members or casual workers, in such tasks as picking and pruning. But only rarely, through their individual enterprise or the absence of the males in their family, have women been able to take up management roles. Even now women's achievements are only slowly being recognised in the wine industry as in other rural sectors.

The important role of women in the wine-making industry of South Australia has been neglected by historians. Published accounts of the history of wine making in South Australia have been written largely from the male perspective and as a result, the significant contribution of women to the wine industry in the Barossa Valley has been ignored by a succession of wine writers (Beeston 1993; Bradley 1982; Evans 1973; Faith 2002; Gent 2003; Halliday 1994; James 1952; Munchenberg, Prove, Ross, Hausler, Saegenschnitter, Ioannou and Teusner 1992; Simon 1966; Ward 1862). Male bias seems evident in some common assumptions of the times about women in relation to wine. In

1952 the influential wine writer Walter James claimed, ‘Women are not worthy of the custody of wine’ (James 1952, p. 9). In 1966 André Simon declared that, ‘A vintner is a wine man; a man who makes or buys wine to sell’ (Simon 1966, p. 55). Historians of the Australian wine industry from early writers such as Ebenezer Ward, whose treatise was published in 1862, to recent authors such as Charles Gent, published in 2003, have shared Simon’s assumption that those who plant the vines, grow the grapes, and make, judge and sell the wine, will be men. On the other hand, recent writers such as Annely Aeuckens (1998) and Jeni Port (2000) have undertaken some limited discussion of the participation of women in the history of the wine industry, though their accounts are by no means complete.

Wine making as a career for women

Wine making is a non-traditional occupation for women and it is still dominated by men. Successful commercial wine making demands intuitive skills informed by experience and regulated by a methodology of systematic experimentation and meticulous record-keeping that is felt to be akin to scientific investigation. The required mix of the wine maker’s skills is suggested in an account of the birth of the best known and most prestigious of South Australian wine, Penfolds Grange:

> The concept of Grange was Schubert’s alone. His ideas, including then-radical fermentation-control techniques and the use of small new oak, are now standard throughout the Australian wine industry. But they confounded the conventional wisdom of the day. Although he was inspired by the Cabernet Sauvignon-based, French oak-matured wines of Bordeaux, Schubert used Australian Shiraz and American oak, intuitively recognising the potential of this particular combination. (*Rewards*, 1994, pp. 28-29)

It should be explained that by tradition, French wines are identified by the regions in which the grapes are grown, which may be better suited to the growing of one grape variety rather than another. At first, Australian wine makers appropriated the names of French regional wines such as Burgundy and Champagne. In the last few decades, in contrast, Australian wine has been identified by the grape variety used and by the company producing the wine. Again, by tradition, Australian wine was given characteristic nuances of aroma and flavour by the use of French oak barrels for storage during production. This oak character is particularly important as a constituent of a wine produced from the Shiraz variety, sometimes known as Hermitage. This wine, when made in the Barossa Valley, tends to have a notably ‘big’, ‘earthy’ and ‘peppery’ quality. One of Max Schubert’s innovations was the use of American oak for his Grange wine. The Penfold narrative continues with an emphasis on scientific methods: ‘Grange finally achieved recognition in 1962 after a decade of experiments’ (*Rewards,* p. 29).

European settlement in South Australia

The *South Australian Act 1834* was intended to facilitate the establishment of the colony, which was based on a theory of colonisation developed and propounded by an Englishman, Edward Gibbon Wakefield. In essence, his proposal entailed the sale of land in the colony to wealthy settlers, and the utilisation of the proceeds to assist working class immigrants who would become labourers and servants for the landowners. Eric Richards (1986) maintains that Wakefield’s great achievement was to popularise the notion of planned colonisation, founded on ordered and subsidised immigration without the labour of transported convicts (Richards, p. 117).

Social historians writing about the events leading up to the establishment of the colony and the first years of settlement record a sequence of near disasters. Marjorie Barnard

(1978) maintains that while the plan for the foundation of the South Australian colony appeared eminently workable, it was very nearly ruined, before the colony was founded, by the necessity to reach a compromise between the conflicting interests of the British Government, the Commissioners and the South Australian Company (Barnard, p. 202).

Main (1986a) has traced in detail the disputes that occurred about the price set for land in the colony (Main, pp. 96-98). However, in spite of these early setbacks, on July 27th 1836, the first European settlers arrived at Nepean Bay on Kangaroo Island in South Australia, on the *Duke of York* (Pike 1967, p. 198). Unfortunately there was no suitable timber for building and the water was undrinkable. There were fierce quarrels about rations and as a consequence, Samuel Stephens, the first manager of the South Australian Company, was dismissed from his position. Meanwhile, another ship, the *Buffalo,* commanded by Captain Hindmarsh, reached Port Lincoln, and met with the *Signet*. He was warned by Captain Lipson of the *Signet* to avoid the settlement at Nepean Bay, where there was 'much drunkenness and every species of crime' (Price 1978, p. 171). Hindmarsh, therefore, sailed south around the coast to Glenelg, arriving on December 28th, 1836, and the first European immigrants stepped ashore (Whitelock 1977, p. 10).

Main (1986b) outlines further discords that arose in the colony soon after it was established on the mainland. The planned balance of power broke down and friction developed between Governor Hindmarsh, who represented the Colonial Office in Britain, and Fisher, the sole resident Commissioner, who represented the other ten commissioners living in England. Moreover, serious disputes soon occurred between Hindmarsh and Colonel Light, whose responsibility it was to survey the land that was to be sold on behalf of the Commission to those immigrants with the means to purchase property on their arrival (Main, p.11).

British settlers

Religion and culture

The important part played by religion in the establishment of the colony has been discussed by authors such as David Hilliard and Arnold Hunt (1986), Grenfell Price (1978) and John Zweck (1988). Among the Englishmen active in the founding of South Australia were several who belonged to Dissenting churches (also known as Evangelical or Non-Conformist churches, that is, Protestant churches other than Anglican), including George Fife Angas, a Baptist and Robert Gouger, a Congregationalist, who envisaged the new colony as a place of civil and religious liberty (Hilliard and Hunt, pp. 195, 197). Angas was a leading member of the provisional committee of the South Australian Company*,* who saw the colony as the ideal destination for those who desired greater political freedom. 'My great object was in the first instance to provide a place of refuge for pious Dissenters of Great Britain, who could in their new home discharge their consciences before God in civil and religious duties without any disabilities' (Price, p. 58). South Australia was to be established without a state religion, and church funds were to be derived only from voluntary contributions by members. In contrast to the situation in England, in which the established church and its members were in a position of financial, social, and legal superiority, South Australian believers of all Christian faiths were to be on an equal footing (Hilliard and Hunt, p. 197).

The British settlers who came to South Australia included Dissenters such as George Fife Angas who were active in its foundation, and religious freedom ranked with political and

economic freedom as a guiding principle in its establishment. German Lutherans were another important and numerous group among the immigrants in the first decades of the life of the colony. While the German settlers seemed to take little interest in the political and social concerns of the colonists, they made important economic contributions to the development of South Australia. In particular, they were active in settling the Barossa Valley and were instrumental in establishing wine making as one of the principal South Australian industries. Some of the English Dissenters also took an active part in developing the wine industry, and George Fife Angas and his son John Howard founded Angaston, one of the main towns in the Barossa Valley and a centre for wine making (Linn 1999, pp. 13-14). One of Angas' edicts was, 'Discourage by every means spirit shops and public houses. Encourage the growth of vineyards and the use of wine made there from' (Linn 1999, p. 16).

Barnard (1978) and Douglas Pike (1967) have discussed and documented the many inconsistencies in the application of the principle of religious equality by the founders of the colony. For example, in 1836 the office of Colony Chaplain was created and an Anglican appointed as the first incumbent. Many of the Dissenters were disappointed with the departures from the promised religious liberty, such as the establishment of the Church of England in the colony (Barnard, p. 203). Furthermore, in 1846 the governor decided to offer a small allocation of state aid to the congregations of all denominations, scaled according to their numbers. The subsidy was of greatest value to the Church of England, with its large nominal membership, and it aroused vehement opposition among the Dissidents, with many congregations refusing to accept the financial assistance. The colonial election of 1851 was fought largely on the issue of state aid, and as a result, state subsidies were abolished (Pike, p. 249).

Hilliard and Hunt (1986) point out that while religious affiliation was stronger in South Australia than in the other colonies, in the early years the majority of settlers were not regular churchgoers. In 1844 only about 20 percent of the population of almost 17400 were regular worshippers, although ten years later the proportion of the population who were church-goers had risen to about 27 percent. By the late nineteenth century as many as 40 percent of the colonists attended church, a much higher level of church attendance than in the other states (Hilliard and Hunt, pp. 199, 218). Nevertheless, Protestant clergy in the 1890s often complained that for many in their congregations, belonging to the church meant little more than one weekly attendance at a service.

The attendance of young men in particular began to decline, and among the expedients introduced by clergy in an attempt to strengthen the perception of their church's relevance to everyday life, some emphasised social issues (Hilliard and Hunt 1986, p. 226). Women tended to be the most consistent and devoted members of the congregations and, although the administration and leadership roles were performed by men, the material support for the church depended largely on women (Kociumbas 1999, p. 27).

Pike (1967) argues that the organisational flexibility of the Dissenting churches and the willingness of members to form small congregations without the leadership of clergy, meant that they were particularly adapted to less populated rural areas. Soon after settlement the Dissenters formed an active religious minority, in some instances even before they had the services of clergy. The first Dissenting minister in the colony, a Congregationalist, arrived in 1837 and attracted followers in Adelaide, but the first

Baptist congregation, which was established in 1838, was for several years presided over by a layman. Many Methodist congregations were also led by lay people. By the 1890s there were 92 Methodist churches in the Mt Lofty Ranges, in which two-thirds of the services were taken by lay preachers. Methodism quickly grew to be the most popular sect, with four out of ten churchgoers attending Wesleyan Methodist churches (Pike, pp. 256-263).

The structure of the Methodist church was flexible, but the members were pious and self-disciplined. While the Anglicans, Congregationalists and Baptists were able to attract adherents among the commercial and professional colonists, the Methodists were mainly workers and small landholders (Hilliard and Hunt 1986, pp. 205-9). Most of the Cornish immigrants who came to the mining areas of Kapunda, Burra and elsewhere were Methodists, and consequently, apart from the Lutherans, the Methodists were the least urbanized of the sects in South Australia. In the 1840s one in ten of the population was a Methodist and the proportion grew to a peak of one in four in the 1870s. Ministers of other churches often complained that it was difficult to obtain a foothold in the country districts, as Methodist chapels seemed to be everywhere (Hilliard and Hunt, p. 205).

German settlers

Religion and culture

The Lutherans, mostly of German descent, were more numerous in South Australia than in the other colonies, comprising about seven percent of the colony's population (Hilliard and Hunt 1986, p. 211). The 800 Lutherans who left Prussia to settle in South Australia from 1838 to 1841 immigrated to escape religious persecution and to enjoy greater personal freedom. Later immigrants may have been more interested in finding better economic opportunities, and a principal motivation for many was their wish to establish a more appropriate system of education for their children (Zweck 1988, p. 135).

By 1825 a system of state education had been organised in Prussia, catering for the majority of children whose families belonged either to the Lutheran Church or the Reformed Church. Although the State had assumed control of all education, out of respect for the Prussian tradition of religious tolerance the smaller Christian sects as well as the Jewish communities were permitted to conduct their own schools, providing they complied with the State education regulations. But the concessions to religious groups did not seem to extend to the Lutheran Separatists, who were expected to conform to the regulations arising from the union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches that had been instigated by King Friedrich Wilhelm III. The Separatists, or 'Old Lutherans', believed that the Lutheran church had been induced to make radical concessions, amounting to doctrinal errors, to facilitate unity with the Reformed church. Members of the United church administered the State schools and religious instruction was often based on Reformed doctrines, which were strongly opposed by the Lutheran Separatists, and even in those schools with a Lutheran orientation, the instruction did not necessarily satisfy the Dissidents (Zweck 1988, p. 136).

Zweck (1988) maintains that what the Lutheran Separatists in Silesia wanted was the right to establish their own schools, as had been granted to other religious minorities. But their faith had no official recognition, and in 1834 a regulation was passed directing that punitive action be taken against Lutheran parents who refused to allow their children to receive religious instruction at their school. The Lutheran Separatists feared above all that if their children attended schools controlled by the United Church, it was likely that

they would be drawn into that church. Some of the faithful chose the expedient of withholding their children from schooling, and in consequence were fined, deprived of property or imprisoned. It was the desire for freedom in religion and education that induced many of the followers of Kavel and Fritzche, who had been persecuted for their beliefs, to migrate to South Australia (Zweck, pp. 136-138).

Price (1978) has shown that the Lutheran settlers from Silesia were determined to maintain their cultural heritage. To this end they gave a high priority to the establishment of their schools in South Australia. In 1839 the first Lutheran school in the colony was established at Klemzig, followed by schools at Glen Osmond and Hahndorf, and in 1842, at Bethany and Lobethal. The curriculum in these early schools tended to follow that of schools in Prussia, and English language was not taught until the 1850s and 1860s, when teachers who understood English became available. The importance to the Lutheran immigrants of the autonomy of their religious congregations was reflected in the schools, which were independent entities controlled by the congregation (Zweck 1988, pp. 137-142). Although their education was in many ways ahead of its time, the cultural isolation of the Lutherans meant that it had little influence on the development of education in the colony (Zweck, p. 144). Because the dominant religious affiliation in South Australian society was British Protestantism, the Lutheran clergy thought it important to preserve their German culture and the Lutheran character of their church. While members of the other churches often shared church buildings and joined together in causes such as opposition to drinking or gambling, the Lutherans tended to be quiescent in public life and did not join the Methodists and others in lobbying for legislation to combat perceived social evils (Hilliard and Hunt 1986, p. 212).

Noris Ioannou (2000) considers it likely that Angas, Kavel and Menge met in London in 1836, and discussed the possibility of the Prussian Lutherans settling in South Australia (Ioannou, p. 10). In November 1838, Kavel and the first German settlers, who included several families as well as single men and women, arrived on the *Prince George*, praising their captain for his 'unremitting attention...on the voyage' (*Southern Australian,* 24 Nov 1838). Details of their meals on the voyage have been recorded. A Sunday meal comprised 5/6 lb meat with dumplings or pudding and dried fruit, and a bottle of wine for eight people. On Monday, there was 1/2 lb bacon with peas and potatoes, and on Tuesday meat with beans or sour lentils (Passenger List).

From Kavel's party of Silesians, 23 who could not be accommodated on the *Prince George*, travelled to Port Adelaide on the *Bengalee*, arriving on 19th November 1838. In contrast to those on the *Prince George*, these passengers were not permitted to enjoy their customary wine with their meals. The announcement in the Adelaide newspaper of the arrival of the *Bengalee* foreshadows a social conflict of some significance for the future wine industry: 'It affords us great pleasure to announce the arrival in our harbour of a thorough TEMPERANCE SHIP. The *Bengalee*, Capt. HAMLIN sails without wine, beer, or grog!' (*Southern Australian,* 24 Nov 1838). It is ironic, as will be noted in the discussion of the early grape growing on Kangaroo Island, that the cargo included 2000 vine cuttings imported by the Englishman, William Giles.

The immigrants took up land in the area now known as Klemzig (Whitelock 1977, p. 54). More German immigrants and 40,924 bricks arrived in the *Zebra* on 28 December 1838 (Passenger List). Mr W.H Dutton, who owned land in the Adelaide Hills as well as at Klemzig, sold a parcel of land to the new arrivals, and a small village was established

and named Hahndorf, after Captain Hahn of the *Zebra* (Casson and Hirst 1972, p. 23). As will be seen in the chapter on the Barossa Valley, the first Germans arrived at Bethany in 1842 to settle the region that Menge had called New Silesia, in recognition of its perceived similarity to the Silesian countryside, and its suitability for grape growing.

This study examines the cultural and sociological impact of British and German families on the wine-making industry in South Australia, and in particular, the agency of women in its establishment and growth.

The thesis is divided into eight chapters, followed by the conclusion: chapter 1, the introduction, describes the background of the colonial wine industry; chapter 2 reviews the relationship of previous work and research with this project; chapter 3 describes the method of approach; chapter 4 analyses the gendered division of labour; chapter 5 examines the history of wine making in the Barossa Valley; chapter 6 is concerned with the establishment of the wine industry in the Riverland; chapter 7 deals with the industry in Kangaroo Island; chapter 8 presents an analysis of the interviews.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

Gender inequality in the organisation of the family

At the outset of the second millennium, Australian society can still be perceived as essentially androcentric. Gender is considered to be the established basis for status in the hierarchy within and outside the home. The male perspective is assumed to be the norm and the activities of men are considered more important than those of women (Broome 1984). It has been argued by Baber (1992), Gilding (1997), Nelson (1997) and others that the nuclear family has survived as the preferred domestic structure because it operates to privilege men.

In the last decade the gendered division of labour within the family has been an important topic of investigation and discussion by social scientists such as Bittman (1992) Bulbeck (2003), Eastwood (1990) and Pahl (1988). These commentators have argued that male and female roles change only slowly and that there has been little development in attitudes promoting equality between the sexes in the organisation of the family. A study by Bittman illustrates the imbalance that commonly occurs between the amount of unpaid work done in the home by men and women (Bittman, p. 46). Pahl suggests that men's attitudes about domestic equality vary greatly, and that traditional patriarchal attitudes persist in many homes (Pahl, p. 119). Eastwood has shown has shown that many young men (54%), believe that their wife should follow their husband if he wishes to move to a different locality to secure work (Eastwood, p. 137). Almost as many of Australian women, (49%), believe that a wife should put the family ahead of a career (Eastwood, p. 126). Some commentators maintain that there has been a shift in gender ideology in the past three decades. In many homes, as earners of a part-time or full-time wage, women are seen as essential economic contributors, or in some cases the major providors, but it is assumed that this role will be taken on by women in addition to fulfilling their domestic responsibilities (Probert and McDonald 1996; Richards 1997).

Gender inequality in the workplace

Kanter's analysis (1977) of the corporate workplace is still largely relevant. She maintains that the disadvantages under which women work in corporations can be attributed to the 'the behaviour-shaping properties of organizational locations'. The distinctive attitudes and behaviour of women, such as their 'feminine traits', are a product of their position in the organisation, the organisational structure, rather than of gender (Kanter, p. 9). In management positions, men are significantly advantaged by the contributions and support of their wife. In large organisations it is assumed that male managers will be supported by a 'corporate wife' who will provide unpaid social and domestic work to the benefit of both the husband and his employer. (Kanter, p. 104). In Wajcman's (1998) words, 'the social construction of "jobs" already has within it the assumption that workers will … have wives to take care of their daily needs' (Wajcman, p. 39).

Kanter (1977) observes that in corporations where there is a minority of women, they serve as tokens, and to be acceptable they must conform to certain stereotypes so that men are able to relate them to familiar social roles. She identifies four categories for women that men can understand and control: the mother-figure, who provides counselling and emotional services, the sex-kitten, who becomes the object of sexual desire, the girlish mascot, who admires male displays and the women's libber, who

suffers isolation. Kanter points to the difficulties that women face in presenting themselves as strong, competent and confident people in the corporate environment, with the capabilities to take up management responsibilities (Kanter, pp. 235-236). It has been pointed out that her discussion of the subordination of women in the corporate workplace, which she explains in terms of the structure of the organisation, fails to take into account the social context of managerial behaviour (Green and Cassell 1996; Savage and Witz 1992; Wajcman 1998). She does not acknowledge that power inequalities can be 'built into the very fabric of gender relations themselves' (Savage and Witz 1992, p. 28). As Pringle (1988) argues, the power differential in gender relations in the workplace constitutes a new manifestation of the patriarchal structure (Pringle, p. 84).

Sexual discrimination

According to Wajcman (1998) it is widely acknowledged that the drive to combat gender discrimination in best-practice companies has not led to extensive change. Instead, there has been a systemic failure to achieve gender equality, and for this women themselves are usually held responsible. The attempt to treat women the same way as men in the workplace has produced anomalies. The aims of equal pay legislation, for instance, have been frustrated by the continuation of pay differentials, which arise in turn from the widespread practice of segregating women and men into occupations deemed to be appropriate to their particular aptitudes. Current gender ideology and social practices reflected in the Australian legislation and arbitration system still ensure that women have a clearly defined and relatively narrow choice of occupations (Williams 1992, p. 63).

Feminist debates in the 1980s and 1990s have been concerned with the question whether gender equality in the workforce should be based on attempts by women to be the same as men or different from them (Jewson and Mason 1986; Nicholson 1990; Wajcman 1998; Young 1990). Wajcman argues that, since each of these alternatives entail an acceptance of the male perspective on workplace relations, the discourse should be abandoned in favour of a concerted challenge to entrenched male attitudes and practices in the workplace (Wajcman, pp. 7, 11).

Recent studies of gender relations in the workplace suggest that sexual harassment, a specific form of sexual discrimination, is still a common experience for women in the workforce and continues to be used by some men as a means of exerting control over women (Collier 1995; Di Tomaso 1989; Stanko 1988; Wajcman 1998). It has been argued that male managers commonly impose sexual jokes and other abusive behaviours to maintain dominance over women staff (Hearn and Parkin, 1987). Margaret Collinson and David Collinson (1996) argue that sexual harassment occurs frequently where women work in non-traditional occupations. When such a workplace has a strong masculine culture, the employment of a small proportion of women may tend to reinforce the male dominance. Gender interaction in these work places takes place in male terms; it establishes the marginal position of the women employees and emphasises their vulnerability (Di Tomaso 1989, p. 70). In her interviews within the management profession, Wajcman (1998) finds support for this contention in the organisations included in her study, while observing changed attitudes among men as well as women in some sections of the corporations (Wajcman, p. 112). She notes that the incidence of sexual remarks and innuendos generally remains higher in areas that are least hospitable to women, where they are in the minority, such as in sales departments, in some of which male attitudes are notoriously competitive, aggressive and sexually predatory (Wajcman, p. 115).

Importantly, when related to my own study, Wajcman (1998) observes that women are divided in their perception of gender relations in the organisation in which they work (Wajcman, p. 116). Women have varying definitions of the tolerable limits of male behaviour towards them. Many women, for instance, seem willing to treat sexual jokes as 'all in good fun' and acceptable, even though a little thought is likely to reveal an underlying, or often quite overt, disparagement of women. Moreover, as Coward (1993) points out, women in positions of responsibility must still be concerned with their appearance: 'being sexually attractive now seems to be *de rigueur* for a successful woman' (Coward, p. 159).

Management strategies: from 'affirmative action' to 'diversity management'

Cockburn (1991) points to the way males resist changes in the workplace designed to put women on an equal footing in pay and advancement. Radin (1991) confirms that affirmative action, which was the principal corrective measure of the 1980s, aroused strong male opposition, based on the claim that it allowed less skilled and less qualified people access to jobs that would otherwise be filled on the basis of merit (Radin, p. 134). Cockburn argues that women, striving for equality in the sexualised workplace, are in a no-win situation: 'when they try to join equally in the sexual relations … they burn their fingers. When they ignore the sexualized culture they are in turn ignored and marginalised. When they resist it they are labelled as spoil-sports, lacking in a sense of humour' (Cockburn, pp. 156-158).

Gender images were often used in the discourses around management theory during the 1980s, to characterise the competing modes of leadership that are basically either co-operative or directive. The new 'transformational' management style incorporated some supposedly feminine qualities such as consensual problem-solving strategies and team-working, as opposed to a more traditional 'transactional' management style that embodied qualities that are assumed to be essentially masculine, such as rationality, forcefulness and an affinity with technology (Peters and Waterman 1982). The new management theory was consolidated in the 1990s, based on a human resource management model in which the aim was to develop a cohesive culture and secure the commitment of employees to the prosperity of the corporation (Legge 1994, p. 403). Feminist theorists assumed that organisational modes built on women-centred foundations would produce a democratic and participatory management style (Ferguson 1984).

According to Wajcman (1999), affirmative action was widely replaced in the 1990s by the policy of 'diversity management' (Wajcman, 2. 20). She suggests that recent developments in management have reduced the differences between the managing style of men and women. In the past, male managers had a tendency to act in an authoritarian manner and value an objective stance, but in the 1990s there was a change in some workplaces in defining which management skills were needed (Wajcman, pp. 55-57). These changes can be partly attributed to the marked increase of women in management and the professions since the 1970s (Wajcman, p.46). However, whatever new approaches have been employed have not resulted in universal changes in corporate gender relations, which are still largely structured to reinforce men's power (Wajcman, p. 108).

Feminist perspectives of politics and citizenship

The last three decades have seen significant changes in the landscape of historiography with the fore fronting of issues relating to women. Marilyn Lake (1996) identifies some highlights in the development of feminist historiography after women's enfranchisement (Lake, pp. 154-157). She refers to the observation by the American women's historians Linda Kerber, Alice Kessler-Harris and Kathryn Kish Sklar of a shift in recent feminist writing from the discovery of woman to a study of women as political and social activists (1995, p.14). At the same time she points out that Australian women's history has always been founded on a critical engagement with 'inherited narratives', such as the triumphant exhortations of the suffragist Rose Scott (c. 1923):

> Make no mistake! Accept no petty, local, short sighted interpretations of this double victory for women. Its possibilities are for all nations and all time! And its birth at the beginning of the twentieth century heralds to a world oppressed with poverty, suffering and sin, the advent of the mother-woman's world wide loving heart and sheltering arms (Scott Papers, quoted Lake 1996, p. 155)

For activists such as Scott, who applauds the 'double victory' of women's enfranchisement at state and federal levels, the vote is seen to provide women with a potent weapon for engendering social change. Pioneers of Australian women's history such as, Miriam Dixson (1975), Beverley Kingston (1975) and Anne Summers (1975), challenge the assumption that women have shared the benefits of post-colonial Australian economic growth, and refute the principal themes of the dominant masculine historiography. Summers (1975) asserts that historians needed to be aware of the multiple roles in politics that could, and indeed had since enfranchisement, been taken up by women outside parliament (Summers, p. 395). However, Marian Sawer and Marian Simms (1993) express a contrary view, criticising the suffragists and the next generation for their apparent lack of interest in pursuing women's representation in the parliaments, pointing out that it took 41 years for the first women to be elected to the national parliament. They interpreted the suffragists' concern for the vote and apparent lack of interest in parliamentary representation as the result of political naiveté (Sawer and Sims, p. 3).

The indictment by Sawer and Sims of the post-suffragist generation, their charge that the foothold in party and parliamentary politics achieved by women's franchise has been not been exploited, is challenged, in turn, by Kay Daniels and Mary Murnane, who hold that the political influence of women 'cannot be measured and discounted by the number of women elected to parliament' (1980, p. 261). This theme is further developed by Patricia Grimshaw, Marilyn Lake, Ann McGrath and Marian Quartly (1994), who connect with the tradition of feminist activism espoused by Rose Scott, seeking to establish women's instrumentality in the creation of a welfare state and a maternalistic citizenship. They maintain that women's domestic labour as mothers and wives was an important factor in the development of the colonial economy. With a similar approach to Kerber et al., (1995) who find that American women have had a diverse and active, though extra-parliamentary, political history (Kerber et al., pp. 13-14), Grimshaw et al. point to substantial maternalist reforms achieved in Australian society (Grimshaw et al., p. 1).

Susan Margery (1994) has argued further that masculinist perspectives in historiography have obscured women's political activity because it is diverse and is not carried out in the more visible parliamentary mode (Margery , p. 81), and Judith Smart (1994) has pointed out that the profound influence of women such as Celia Downing, a leading

figure in the Federated Association of Australian Housewives in the early 1940s, has been largely forgotten, evidently because these political activists operated apart from the legislature (Smart, p. 40).

An important theme of feminist scholarship is women's interpretation of citizenship, which underpins their political perspectives (Lake 1994; Roe 1987; Vickers 1989). The feminist concept of citizenship is clearly enunciated by the suffragists: it is essentially altruistic and concerned with social responsibility and community service. By focusing on the vote as women's main political resource feminists are able to avoid the inherent contradiction between women's altruistic social perspective and the self advancement and subservience to the party line associated with political office. In voting, women could side-step the aggressive control of individual opinion by political parties, and by working within organisations such as the Housewives Associations, Women's Service Union, Women's Political Association and Woman's (sic) Christian Temperance Union, they could campaign and lobby effectively. Membership of associations at a local, grass-roots level was better suited to women with fragmented time, subject daily to multiple domestic demands. In Lake's words, 'The most significant form of politics for women has been the mobilisation of opinion in and by feminist organisations' (Lake, p. 160).

Gender and work

In the last three decades, women's history has been a major preoccupation in Australian research. The project began in the 1970s with an investigation of women's place in society and women's contributions to the formation of the nation. In four studies published in 1975, a group of pioneering Australian feminist historians aimed to dispel the myth that women have shared the benefits of post-colonial economic and social growth, declaring that women in Australian society had always been subordinate to men (Dixson 1975, p. 124; Kingston 1975; Ryan and Conlon 1975; Summers 1975). Beverley Kingston declared that 'The Australian suburban dream created at one fell swoop the Australian suburban housewife's nightmare' (Kingston, p. 4). In these studies and other research in the following years, particular emphasis was given to women's work, which was seen as reinforcing sexual difference and contributing to women's subjugation (Frances 1991; Reekie).

Dixson and her colleagues (1975) were, in turn, challenged on the grounds that, as Mary Murnane (1976) observed, they were caught in the same nationalist frameworks as those they opposed (Murnane, p. 37). Moreover, they had failed to address the diverse manifestations of women's agency in the construction of society from their operational base in the domestic sphere (Grimshaw 1983, 1986; Lake 1996, p. 98). During the 1980s Patricia Grimshaw, participating in the feminist discourse around the family, argued that because of a relative shortage of unmarried females, many colonial men were unable to find wives, and, to alleviate their loneliness and sense of alienation, they bonded as mates with other men. She maintained that mateship competed with patriarchal domesticity as a male ideology during the nineteenth century, but pointed out that it also intruded disruptively into the domestic realm, producing negative effects such as migogyny. On the other hand, Grimshaw also charted the emergence late in the century, of a competing ideology of 'companionate marriage' that competed both with patriarchal domesticity and with mateship (Grimshaw 1983, p. 36).

Creating the nation

In *Creating a nation,* Grimshaw et al. (1994) engaged in a process of redressing the historical balance. As Lake (1996) declared later, they asserted that history to that time had been 'a Western masculine discourse, the self-sustaining record of public man' and they attempted to 'cast women as the very creators of the nation' (Lake, p. 98). They proclaimed that women have been proactive throughout Australia's national history rather than subjugated and submissive. The story Grimshaw and her collaborators told proved to be 'various and ambivalent', revealing an 'ongoing tension in the practice of women's history between the feminist fantasy of the powerful public woman and the perversity of women's private desires' (Lake, p. 99).

Critical reception of *Creating a nation* has been largely favourable. Gillian Pritchard (1994) considers the book to 'adeptly embody' its object of establishing women in an appropriate place in history, as essential contributors who have been 'omitted from historical memory' (Pritchard, p. 145). Meaghan Morris (1994) characterises the book as a 'feminist challenge to yesterday's orthodoxy' and declares that it constitutes 'an effective move to displace it'. Bonnie Smith (1997) also writes appreciatively of *Creating a nation*, which, she claims, 'directly confronts the historical truism' that celebrates the efficacy of male sacrifices and assumes that it was men who gave birth to the nation. She notes, however, that its acceptance has not been universal and 'historical scholarship still serves as a major site for the articulation through teaching and research of male superiority' (Smith, pp. 139-140).

Widely seen as opposing the tenets of mainstream historiography, *Creating a nation* has evoked critical assessments. In one of the most disparaging critiques, John Hirst (1995) challenges the main thesis of the book, asserting that, in view of women's evident subjugation by men, it is not credible to claim a substantial part for them in establishing and defining the nation. Hirst is unable to concede that masculinity and femininity are gendered constructions that define the public sphere, and is therefore not clear or articulate about his understanding of gender and its influence on history. Others express reservations but in less trenchant terms, while remaining generally more appreciative than Hirst of the authors' project of identifying the agency of women in building the nation. Ann Curthoys (1995) is concerned about the book's conventional narrative style, and suggests that this promotes an over-simplified exposition of women's roles in history. Joy Damousi (1999) declares that more research must be done on the impact that gender has had on post-colonial Australia, to build on the discourse begun by the authors of *Creating a nation.* Susan Magarey (1996) argues for the analysis of fiction as a means of addressing an imbalance she perceives in the feminist discourse provided by Grimshaw et al. Magarey proclaims a new emphasis in her understanding of the history of Australian feminism, a shift from her earlier position in which, like Grimshaw, she observed and emphasised changes in the demarcation of men's and women's spaces. She invokes 'the hope, the optimism, the desire for a new kind of womanhood that fuelled the formation of a new identity for women' and proposes a renewed emphasis on women's search for identity (Magarey, pp. 98-101).

Miriam Dixson (1996) returns to themes she discussed two decades earlier and challenges aspects of the narrative provided by Grimshaw et al. She concedes that the defining qualities of the bourgeois companionate marriage often emerge in the discourse, but suggests that marriage in general is depicted in terms of a patriarchal stereotype (Dixson, p. 101). Her criticism that the effects of the convict experience on the structure

of the family and on the formation of identity is inadequately addressed, is not really relevant to the colonial experience in South Australia, where there was no convict transportation. More cogent is her observation that *Creating the nation* lacks an integrated discourse on the positive and negative aspects of opposing ideologies within the family and her suggestion that this may be a profitable avenue for future study (Dixson, p. 100).

Sarah Paddle (1995) characterises *Creating a nation* as an attempt to synthesise the history of men and the nation with the history of women, an affirmation of women's agency in history, involving recognition of the part played by sex and race in the oppressions of colonial society, and allowing for the representation of conflicts and diversities in the narrative. As Saunders and Evans (1992) had aimed to do in their project, Grimshaw and her colleagues sought to create a gendered history of Australia with the broadest possible scope (Paddle, p. 8). Paddle echoes Curthoys' concern that the use in the text of 'the language of "commonsense"' impairs the representation of diversity in women's perspectives, occupations and actions. Feminist history is amalgamated with mainstream androcentric history, the discourse of nationalism is retained, maternalistic imagery is given prominence and the discussion of the variety of women's perspectives and experiences is impeded (Paddle, p. 9).

Gender and the ideology of difference

Recent consideration of the multi-faceted activities of women, including, but not confined to their domestic roles, is paralleled by a widespread debate about the similarities and differences discerned between women and men (Bacchi 1990; Marshall 1995; Pini 2003a). The discourse of difference is exemplified by the contention that women have a more pronounced affinity with the environment than men, which is implied in examinations of women's attitudes to Landcare and the use of chemicals, and of their contributions in rural councils and gatherings (Alston 1995; Campbell 1994; Haslam-McKenzie 1999; Liepins 1995; Roberts 1994). Fiona Haslam-McKenzie declares that perceived feminine qualities such as the ability to network, the inclination to share information and skills in communication are 'qualities found innate in many women' (Haslam-McKenzie, p. 50).

The Sex/gender dichotomy

From the 1960s it has been assumed that differences of behaviour relating to the sexes are socially rather than biologically determined. Biological differences were signified by the term 'sex', and were assumed to be immutable, while behaviour arising from social causes was signified by 'gender', a distinction that has been characterised as the nature/culture dichotomy. Writing in the early 1980s some feminists question this concept. Alison Jaggar (1993) claims that changing social practices can be linked to changes in the body and that such causal relations make the distinction between 'nature' and 'culture' untenable (Jaggar, pp. 106-113). Joan Scott (1988) argues further that there

was a basis of social interpretation for the construction of the biological as well as the cultural distinction between women and men (Scott, p. 2).

Linda Nicholson (2000) examines the implications of the theoretical position taken by Scott, that sex, like gender, is a social construction. In particular she considers the debate that, as a consequence of this perspective, has arisen over the question of whether there are identifiable commonalities among women regardless of who they are or where and in what circumstances they live. She argues that problematic perceptions can arise from an essentialist understanding of 'woman', in which aspects of identity such as gender, race, ethnicity and class are added to the sex/gender essential nature of the individual. For example, gender identity may be conceived as separable from other aspects of identity, and those people who are in the racial majority may see their own gender identity as universal. Women of a racial majority may tend to view women of racial minorities as essentially like them, but with additional racial characteristics and associated social problems (Nicholson, pp. 291-292).

Mohanty (1991) opposes the essentialist position on the grounds that by dividing women's experiences into two categories, those that are 'given', that is, based upon commonalities, and those that are 'individual', that is, all other experiences, it fails to take into account the social nature of many experiences, which serve to differentiate one woman from another. Pointing out further perceived weaknesses in the essentialist position, Nicholson (2000) maintains that the idea of women as unitary beings tends to situate them in opposition to men and to support the norm of heterosexuality. The unitary meaning of 'woman', she insists, 'ends up reproducing … the sexist and heterosexist social order it aims to eliminate' (Nicholson, p. 293).

On the other hand, Susan Bordo (1993) raises concerns that those who oppose the essentialist position have privileged the observation of difference above investigation of commonalities. Nancy Hartsock (1998) links anti-essentialist arguments with a backlash against feminism, claiming that they appear to echo the liberal assumption that everyone is an individual. Moreover, in searching for a middle ground, Nicholson (2000) points out that those theorists who oppose the essentialist reliance on generalisations must use generalisations themselves, since all theorising involves the use of generalisations. She declares that without a generalised concept of what it means to be female, and who is 'woman', the politics of feminism can have no constituency (Nicholson, p. 295). As a way forward, Diana Fuss (1989) proposes that generalisations about women and our situation should be conceived as political statements aimed at specific goals (Fuss, p. 36). Similarly, Butler (1995) considers that the term 'woman' should be seen as having open boundaries that are susceptible to redefinition, enclosing a multitude of distinctions (Butler, p. 50).

Gender and the body

In academic discourse during the 1980s and 1990s there was an extensive re-examination of the differences between women and men in terms of a dualistic opposition of body and mind (Connell 1987; Gatens 1996; Thapan 2001). It is noted that women are devalued by being associated with the body and with nature, while men are perceived to belong to the higher realm of the mind (Plumwood 1993; Rose 1993). Women and men conform to social constructions of femininity and masculinity, and the prevailing interpretation of gender privileges men and demeans women (Gatens 1996). Lise Saugeres (2002a) points out that the question of the extent to which sexual

difference is socially constructed rather than biologically determined, has been fundamental to the feminist debate around the body. Those who take a determinist stance have argued that sex is concerned with biological differences, while gender is a cultural construction arising from these differences. On this basis gender is assumed to be a variable conglomerate of culturally inscribed attributes of the sexed body, which is itself unchangeable (Saugeres, pp. 642-643). Judith Butler and other feminist scholars have challenged this characterisation of gender and sex, arguing that, like gender, sex is constructed by cultural discourses and practices (Butler 1990, 1993; Delphy 1992; Gatens 1996).

In recent years there has been scholarly interest in researching masculinity and femininity in the gendered culture of rural areas in various parts of the world (Alston 1995; Blekesaune, Haney and Haugen 1993; Gasson 1992; Buttel, Larson and Gillespie 1990; Liepins 1995; Saugeres 2002; Shaver 1996; Shortall 1992; Franklin, Short and Teather 1994; Whatmore 1991). In her study of farmers in a rural area of southern France, Saugeres sought to contribute to research on masculinity, focusing on gender, farming and technology. My research is concerned with the gendered division of labour in the South Australian wine industry and women's experiences as workers in the industry. The scope of the study is from the colonial and post-colonial eras, as reflected in historical written sources and photographs, to the present day, as revealed in interviews with rural women.

The ideology of separate spheres

The notion of 'separate spheres' has several different meanings. It can be interpreted as 'women's culture', in which the work practices and social relations are created by women, or it can be taken to mean 'women's place', the socially constructed restraints and possibilities for women. In one view, women's culture consists of the interactions of women with each other, which differ from their interactions with men. While the relations between women are emotionally expressive and intimate, those between women and men are more distant and formal (Smith-Rosenberg 1975). Kerber (1988) suggests a third view of the separate spheres as existing in a state of flux resulting from interactions between women and men. Nancy Osterud (1991), a social historian in the United States, studied a rural area near New York, using diaries and journals. She constructs a new framework to reveal 'cross-gender interaction' (Osterud, p. 7). She takes Kerber's argument further, proposing the deconstruction of dichotomies such as woman's place/man's place, private space/public space and female/male in order to construct a dynamic analysis of the interactions of females and males (Osterud, pp.6-7). She shows that the farm women of the Nanticoke Valley 'did not occupy a

separate sphere' but interacted with men in a variety of ways (Osterud, p. 275). She argues that women sought opportunities to promote positive gender relations, interacting with men in the context of family and community, as well as labouring alongside men in the fields, working co-operatively in local networks, and sharing in decision making (Osterud, p. 147).

Osterud (1991) shows that women in the Nanticoke Valley were not equal to men, in spite of the complexities of their interactions. The women's access to land and their roles in the family and the community were achieved through the agency of men (Osterud, p. 4). She characterises women's work as repetitive but multi-faceted, while men's work was seasonal and linear (Osterud, p. 12). However, Osterud makes little mention of the women's child-rearing responsibilities and the impact these duties had on their farming activities. It is unfortunate, also, that although there are among the photographs included in the book several that provide interesting and quite rare views of women at work inside their houses, the insights they offer are not brought out in discussion by the author. In general the value of photographs for the information they offer as social documents is not fully recognised by many historians.

Chapter 3 Methodology

In the research I have undertaken, my intentions resonate with the methodology employed by Barbara Pini (2003a) in her study of the Australian sugar industry (Pini, pp. 418-433). Both projects are concerned with horticulture, a part of the rural sector that has, as yet, received little attention from social scientists and social historians, and both studies have focused on women's participation in a rural industry.

In recent years feminist scholars practising in the discipline of social science have challenged the gendered discourse that has empowered men in the agricultural sector (Alston 1995; Brandth 1994; Liepins 2000; Pini 2000). In her study of women in the sugar industry, Pini (2003a) undertakes a program of research with the aim of providing 'a focus on gender, giving value to women's experience, rejecting the split between object and subject, emphasising personal empowerment and focusing on political change' (Pini, p. 429). Pini explained that her first research question was related to the contributions women make to the sugar industry in Queensland (Pini p. 418). This theme can be related to my study of women in selected regions of the wine industry in South Australian. But, while her research is concerned only with the sugar industry as it is now, my study is directed to the development of the wine industry from European settlement to the present day. Pini's other research questions are concerned with women's participation in the sugar industry organisation, Canegrowers, and are not relevant to my study, but I considered the reasons why women's part in the development of the industry been forgotten or ignored and how women's roles in the wine industry affected their domestic and child-rearing responsibilities.

Feminist methodology

While most feminist scholars reject a prescriptive approach to methodology, it is widely accepted that feminist qualitative research can be differentiated from traditional research in social science by its guiding aim of creating equal relationships between the researcher and her participants (Armstead 1995; Maynard and Purvis 1994). There appears to be a consensus among feminist scholars that their research will be centred on the social construction of gender; it is generally agreed that their work will address themes that relate to women's lives and interests and promote the feminist thesis (Hall 1996; Pini 2003a; Taylor 1998; Usher 1997). Pini identifies commonalities in feminist research methodology: an emphasis on gender, a respect for women's experience and knowledge, the rejection of the separation between researcher and subject, and an awareness of political issues (Pini,

p. 419). It is widely acknowledged that feminist research is still in a phase of change and development (Little and Panelli 2003; Pini 2003a; Whatmore, Marsden and Lowe 1994). Pini states her theoretical position as 'one which argued for a feminism which makes use of the critical and analytical tools of postmodernism, but continues to seek political change' (Pini, p. 420).

A major issue in feminist debate is the question of differences among women. Pini (2003a) addresses the problem of how to avoid universalising the experience of 'woman' on the basis of a particular group of women, and, on the other hand, how to address the various factors that mediate women's identities (Pini, p. 421). The avoidance of false universalisation may be best achieved by aiming to give attention to the individual experiences of the participants. A focus on differences between women does not preclude awareness of similarities, nor does it negate the importance of feminist politics (Little 1997; Pini 2003a). On the contrary, it has been suggested that bringing to light the ways in which gender is socially constructed can reveal commonalities and provide the means for women to form alliances (Bryson 1999).

It is also necessary to recognise the experiences and perspectives of the researcher and their effect in mediating the research data and shaping its interpretation. Whatmore (1993) has challenged the very possibility of objectivity, claiming that the researcher's position necessarily influences the results of the research. Pini (2003a) addresses the problem of the impairment of communication and rapport that may arise when the researcher's interpretation of events narrated by the participants differs from their own interpretation of their experiences. This occurs as a result of differences between the researcher's life and theirs, which include disparities of experience, education and occupation (Pini, pp. 423-424). The reduction of the power differential between the researcher and the participant is one of the main guiding principles of current feminist research (Glucksmann 1994; Maynard 1994; Ribbens and Edwards 1998; Skeggs 1995).

The principles applied by Pini (2003a) in her research are interdependent. In her account of the methodology, the principle of 'giving value to women's experience' is closely related to her aim of 'rejecting the split between object and subject'. To attempt the equalisation of power between those involved in the research project, the researcher must maintain awareness of her own position as mediator and must acknowledge her own agency in the process. At the same time, as Pini points out, power is not exercised only in one direction, researcher over participants, but can occur in reverse (Pini, p. 424). Pini cautions that the participants in a study may not always share the viewpoint and values of the researcher (Pini, p. 425). The interviewees may be distrustful of feminism and may disagree with its basic tenets. Even when they are critical of the processes for promotion and attainment of leadership positions, they may not wish no be associated with feminism (Alston 1995; Haslam-Mckenzie 1998; Pini 2003a). She declares that it is unjustifiable to label such views as counterproductive and dismiss them as 'false consciousness', suggesting, instead, that a variety of positions can be accommodated if subjectivity is conceived as fluid and discursive (Pini, p. 425).

I sought to ensure that my research program made the involvement of women in the wine industry more visible and helped to provide greater public recognition for their

contributions. With this aim in mind, I accepted all invitations to talk about the project, including giving radio and newspaper interviews and presenting papers at conferences and seminars and publishing my data. I also took several steps to ensure a degree of equality between the researcher and the respondent. My original research proposal and the information given to each participant before their interview included a commitment to post to each woman the transcript of their interview, to enable them to reconsider, alter or delete words or passages. This opportunity was taken up by several participants.

As a further step in the equalisation of power between the interviewees and the researcher, I took a position of empathy rather than objectivity. I chose to give sympathetic and self-revealing rather than impartial responses, and sought to achieve a conversational rather than an inquisitorial tone in the interviews. The relative informality of my interviews was facilitated by the use of a semi-structured framework, with a small number of questions that had been notified in advance, and spontaneous follow-up questions and remarks. I was careful in the supplementary questions to take account of any responses that did not conform to the intention of the original question. It is important to bear in mind, however, that while this semi-structured procedure is much less prescriptive than a formal interview, the typical questions in a formal questionnaire will be carefully calculated to avoid shaping the recipient's response. On the other hand, as Geoffrey Raymond (2003) argues, the more an interview resembles ordinary conversation the more each speaker will communicate their assumptions and expectations and tend to shape the responses to their enquiries (Raymond, p. 959). Nevertheless, it is evident that the power differential between researcher and respondent is much more heavily weighted towards the enquirer in a survey questionnaire than it is in an informal interview, such as those I have conducted.

In taking these measures, I was following some of Pini's recommendations (2003a). However, I did not work with any of the interviewees in their labour and other farming-related work, as some researchers have done (Liepins 1998; Pini 2003c; Sachs 1996). I had an urban upbringing. I was not brought up in a particular rural area, which might have afforded me the advantages of a network of acquaintances in a particular section of the wine industry. However, in the locality in which I lived there was a long history of grape growing and wine making in vineyards that have disappeared or been drastically reduced. One winery still thrives in the neighbourhood, belonging to the Patritti family, from which I had childhood friends. Having a long-standing interest in varietal wine production in the State, I chose not to engage in an intensive study within one geographical location, but instead, decided to undertake a broader survey of women in the wine industry of South Australia, selecting three very different regions to represent the many and varied localities in which grapes are grown and wine made, and to enable the particular issues faced by women in each of these areas to be addressed.

Primary sources

Diaries

The discovery of primary sources such as diaries, letters, journals and photographs indicates a long participation of women in the wine industry. A closer examination and textual analysis of these sources reveals details of the working lives of women from the early days of European settlement in South Australia. Recent studies have discussed the methodology of interpretation and analysis of diaries, letters and photographs, and their identification and evaluation as social, cultural and historical documents.

Lorna Martens (1985) and others discuss issues in the methodology of analysis of a diary that include the verification of authenticity and the establishment of the provenance of the document, as well as the interpretation of the text, which will in turn be affected by the legibility of the script and the degree of literacy of the diarist. Factors such as faded ink, and torn or soiled paper may determine legibility and ultimately also affect the interpretation (Clarke and Spender 1992; Holmes 1995; Martens 1985).

A comprehensive and scholarly interpretation of diaries reflects the society and culture of the time and the personality of the writer. Martens (1985) suggests that there are two types of diaries: those that are private and secret and those that are intended for publication (Martens, p. 4). He outlines a variety of purposes in writing diaries, including the recording of personal observations that are felt to be of no interest to anyone else, and the remembering and defining of specific experiences. On the other hand, the motivation for some diarists could be to record events for posterity, or to immortalise the self (Martens, p. 25).

The majority of diarists have been women, who have, especially in the nineteenth century, apparently felt, that they could write a diary more or less secretly, without incurring male disapproval. It is unlikely that the diary of Ann Jacob, now in the Mortlock Library in the State Library of South Australia, was intended for publication (SLSA PRG 966). Because of the matter-of-fact detail of her entries, I sense that Ann wrote her diary as a means of reflecting on her day, and, as a way of finding order and structure, though in retrospect, in what might have appeared to be haphazard and random events. Often an impression of the character and activities of the author can be deduced from diaries, even though they are based on only are few specific details in the text. Ann's diary, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 5, describes her journey to the colony, and her first years at her vineyard and farm in the Barossa Valley. It is not only the things she describes that are of interest, but the reader can glean insights into her character from the attitudes she expresses. Her courage and determination underlie her quite matter-of-fact descriptions of events, and implicit in her entries is her tolerance perseverance in dealing uncomplainingly and good-naturedly with her circumstances, however difficult and hazardous they might be.

Diaries are composed within well-defined parameters. They have a formal structure, and conform to established conventions. They stress the importance of time: they usually refer to the immediate past, and recount events in a chronological sequence. They are usually written in the first person, often in incomplete sentences. The entries are usually made each day, and their content is primarily focused on ordinary, everyday events.

One of the issues in evaluating comments made in a diary is to determine the level of education and social class of the writer. In their extensive study of colonial diaries and letters, Patricia Clarke and Dale Spender (1992) have shown that the level of education of diarists can be assessed by means of indicators such as vocabulary, spelling and grammar (Clarke and Spender, p. 20). A picture of the diarist's social class is constructed from signifiers such as whether or not she had servants, and who her friends and acquaintances were. But assessments of her social status are complicated by factors such as her financial and domestic circumstances, and the location and degree of development of the property, which might, for instance, affect her attempts to present herself as genteel and refined. The loss of a servant or the inability to find one because of rural isolation, was a hardship that Fanny Barbour experienced when she and her husband

moved from town to a more remote house near Berwick in rural Victoria, which disrupted and changed her work patterns as a housewife, forcing her to carry out domestic tasks that she considered ‘most monotonous’ (Holmes 1995, pp. 53-4).

Diaries combine personal and public activities, but are selective about events, and we need to bear this in mind when reading them (Holmes 1995, p. 22). Key questions asked in the interpretation of diaries are, What has been worth recording? What has been included or omitted? Some diarists sprinkle private codes through their entries, as a form of shorthand, or, in some instances as a security measure, to hide information or identities in case the diary is read by another person. For example, the Australian author Henry Handel Richardson (Ethel Florence Lindesay) uses pet names and initials in her diary (Brooks 2000, p. 10). Similarly, by using their initials, Ann Jacob hides the identity of a young man and woman who were ‘flirting after dinner’ (SLSA PRG 966).

Letters

Olga Kenyon (1995) suggests that letters are a legitimate and valid genre of literature. They have a variety of functions: for instance they may be used to give advice and support, solve problems such as health and finance (Kenyon, p. 2). They may facilitate the exchange of recipes and cooking methods. Recent critical analysis of women's letters has been done within several frameworks including Post-Modernism and New Historicism (Kenyon, pp. xix-xx). Historians and feminists use letters to give a sense of women's writing from early times to the present. Letters were not taken seriously by men and they were not considered to offer a serious challenge to published forms of writing such as essays or novels (Kenyon, xiii). Letters expanded women's own narrow space, helping to compensate for their inability to move away from their domestic space of the household. Thry reveal levels of understanding of the world overlooked in secondary sources. As primary sources, letters express an awareness of a variety of issues, such as the education of females and their interest and involvement in politics and marriage (Kenyon, pp. 73, 113, 126).

Letters differ from diaries in that they are addressed to a named recipient; they are much less likely to be published than diaries. A letter has a broader time-span than a diary entry; the time factor is related to distance and the length of time between writing, receiving and replying. Letters are sometimes used to make contact with a recipient, in a similar way to a telephone call. Others are inspired by particular circumstances, such as births, marriages or deaths, or news from an overseas trip. Letters may convey specific information, such as an account of an event. They usually do not contain the day-to-day trivialities often recorded in diaries, but, on the other hand, they contain less intimate and personal details than some diaries. While coded entries sometimes occur in diaries, they are much less likely to appear in letters.

Photographs

The analysis of photographs, as well as diaries journals and letters, can provide information about the lives of South Australian rural women. Recent discussions of the deconstruction of photographs have revealed several issues and problems of interpretation. It has been pointed out that photographs reveal social, historical and cultural relationships between the photographer, the subject and the viewer (Bolton 1989; Ruby 1990).

Terry Barrett (2000) identifies some unique characteristics of photographs, including the subjects of the photographs, the details contained in them, the specific time of the day and the season in which they were taken, and the new perspectives of the world they provide resulting from the particular vantage points chosen for the photographs (Barrett, p. 54). He points out that a deconstruction of a photograph has several steps. A factual description about the photograph consists of its subject matter, technical attributes and form. The subject matter may include the people and objects in the photograph, their location, and the nature of the event being recorded, as well as the season and the time of day. Technical information such as the kind and size of the camera and film may be of importance in deconstructing the photograph. The composition and arrangement of the contents, as well as the viewpoint of the photograph, can also assist in analysis.

The interpretation of photographs may offer new meanings or different perspectives of the world. What does the photograph mean, what does it imply or suggest? The meaning

of the photograph arises from its factual content. The viewer makes assumptions about the implications of the content, the meaning lying behind the photograph. Marianne Hirsch (1997) discusses family photographs and the assumptions that might be made about familial bonds, and the social and economic functions of the family. These may be revealed by considering details such as where the subjects sit or stand in relation to each other, and the clothing they are wearing. A close reading and analysis of the photographs may reveal a story about personal relationships (Hirsch, p. 167). The man and woman in a photograph taken in 1911 at Waikerie, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 6, are identified as 'Mr Keith Dunstan and his sister' (Arnold 1989, p. 72). They stand in a newly ploughed block of land in which they have evidently been planting vines. It is curious that Miss Dunstan's name is not included in the caption. She is dressed in working clothes with a hat and trousers, and I sense that there is perhaps disapproval of her labouring on the property. The subjects stand several metres apart. Miss Dunstan has her arms folded, while Mr Dunstan stands nonchalantly with his left hand on his hip. The photograph, which was taken by their father, has an air of disharmony.

In contrast to the image of Miss Dunstan all of the women in a group of workers for the Red Cross, shown in a photograph taken in 1916, are dressed in long skirts and voluminous, long-sleeved blouses, and the two female cooks standing with a group of male shearers in a photograph taken in 1922, are also dressed in long skirts (Arnold 1989, pp. 111, 79).

Barrett (2000) comments that photographs can serve as historical and social documents, which may reflect and preserve, but can also obliterate certain aspects of society and the cultural attitudes of the time (Barrett, p. 80). For instance, the photograph of the home paddock on the Freundt property at New Residence, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 6, reflects the prevailing gender ideology of the time, by showing the housewife standing in the doorway of the cottage with her baby, while several men stand near teams of horses, implying that they have been working with the animals. Richard Bolton (1989) has pointed out that the subjects of photographs are usually willing and co-operative participants in the process (Bolton, p. 17). Considering the cumbersome equipment that must have been used in this early photograph, and the high view-point selected, the people in the photograph must have stood for some time waiting for the photographer to take his shot, especially Mrs Freundt, who proudly holds her baby up high. The cart in the foreground provides a detail of social history, in that it has the sloping sides of a German wagon, confirming that the farm belonged to one of the many German families in this village.

Equally revealing about social and cultural factors are three photographs taken at the Riverland village settlements of Ramco, Holder and Gillen in 1894, the year that the settlements were established, which show groups of men posing for the camera with no women present (Arnold 1989, pp. 22, 23). In the Ramco photograph the nine men stand in front of a group of tents, some holding tools, as if they had been interrupted while working. Distinctive features of this photograph, which illustrate Hirsch's assertion that photographs capture a specific cultural moment that give a sense of identity and place, are the distance between each man and their defensive poses, most standing either with their arms folded or their hands in their pockets (Hirsch 1997, p. 163). It is perhaps significant that this photograph, according to the local historian, Meredith Arnold, was taken within a month of the founding of the village after an acrimonious split from the nearby Waikerie settlement (Arnold 1989, p. 23; Mack 1994, p. 59). Clearly a decision

was made by the men or the photographer to exclude women from these photographs, which reflects the prevailing gender ideology. It is conceivable that their subject matter might have given rise to the incorrect assumption that there were no women living at the settlements. A Parliamentary Report in October 1895 gives a breakdown of the demographics in all the villages, and shows that Ramco had four married women and one single woman, Holder had forty-two married women and two single women, and Gillen had twenty-five married women (cited Mack, p. 10).

Jay Ruby (1990) maintains that the research methodology of analysing photographs entails a knowledge of photographic history and processes. It includes procedures such as comparing photographs, enquiring about who took the photograph and what their relationship was with the subjects, discovering the intention of the photographer and the purpose of the photograph, determining the subject of the photograph, and deciding how the photograph might be used by other people (Ruby, p. 136).

Interviews

Constructing the narrative of people's lives can reveal disparities in the belief systems and attitudes of different generations; it may result in 'facts' about the life of the researched being hidden, deliberately or inadvertently, as other matters are pushed to the foreground of recollection (Tuchman 1994, p. 315). For example, a specific event affecting a participant in her youth, such as unexpected pregnancy while she was still unmarried, may have been kept hidden from her family over the years, and she might not want to reveal it to the interviewer. Such a contingency may be a strong motivation for a woman to turn to marriage and set up a home. In an interview, however, it might also be a reason that she will want to conceal, perhaps to avoid causing embarrassment or conflict in her family. She may be reluctant to discuss the social imperatives that led her to decide upon marriage, which might include the religious and moral views of her parents. Gaye Tuchman (1994) emphasises the importance of reassuring the participant that the interview is strictly confidential, and her responses will not be attributed to a specific individual. The participants in my research project were given this assurance and the opportunity to choose pseudonyms. However, six of the seven interviewees insisted on using their full name, and on having their responses attributed to them. The seventh participant chose a pseudonym.

The researcher's role is complex. In an interview, the differences in the relative positioning of the researcher and the participant can influence the outcome.
In conducting oral history, the researcher, rather than the respondent, 'owns' the project. As Miriam Glucksmann (1994) points out, when writing in the context of oral histories of women doing production work in factories, the researcher designs the questions, interprets the responses, assembles the data, and writes the discourse (Glucksmann, p. 154). Care must be taken to avoid constructing and editing the interviews in such a way that they substantiate the researcher's theories, rather than reflecting the experiences of the respondents. However, during the interview process, I reflected that considerable power was invested in the respondents, who could choose what information was to be provided and what withheld, and whose recollections of events in the past were mediated by subsequent experiences and attitudes.

Tuchman (1994) argues that the assumptions of an era are implicit in a variety of texts, including documentary texts (encompassing writings, screen productions and still images of all kinds) as well as lived experiences, which are also deemed to be 'texts'. This

multiplicity of texts leads to many-faceted interpretations, of which any may be valid, but none can be held to represent *a single truth* (Tuchman, p. 316). This view is particularly pertinent to my own research, where the endeavour is not to identify a single truth of women's war and post-war experience, but rather to identify the range of influences that shape the experiences and behaviours of the interview subjects in various ways. Joan Scott (1989) maintains that the historian's discourse, like that of social scientists and others, is an assembled text reflecting its era. History is constructed by historians; it both reveals and creates relations of power. The selections, interpretations and evaluations are 'not objective criteria but politically produced conventions' (Scott, p. 683).

My project deals with these social and historical concerns and approaches, as well as feminist issues. Elizabeth Stanko (1994) defines feminist research as listening to the voices of women, speaking from varied contexts, about common themes (Stanko, p. 96). June Purvis (1994) states that 'finding out about women's daily experiences and, therefore, where possible, finding women's own words in the past is a critical aspect of 'feminist' research' (Purvis, p. 167). For Liz Kelly (1988) the purpose of feminism is to 'understand women's oppression in order that we might end it' (Kelly, p. 12).

Beverley Skeggs (1995) discusses the various influences on feminist research and established knowledge (Skeggs, p. 6). She points out that feminist research is influenced and shaped by the institutional or academic location of the researcher, as well as by those factors that determine her personal standpoint, such as social and economic positioning, as well as gender, class and age (Skeggs, p. 9). Skeggs advises feminist researchers that, when constructing a narrative by listening to voices that have been silent or ignored, they must take account of the paradigms of established knowledge in their disciplines (Skeggs, p. 7).

Jane Ribbens and Rosalind Edwards (1998) argue that research projects concerned with the experiences of women tend to fall between the dominant classification systems of public knowledge, or to become marginalised within disciplines that are still dominated by male ways of thinking and perceiving (Ribbens and Edwards, p. 2). They insist that high standards of reflexivity and openness are essential for academic survival (Ribbens and Edwards, p. 4).

The voices of the many female employees who worked in South Australian vineyards from early colonial times to the present day, and those who now work in wineries throughout the state, have rarely been heard. The primary sources I have examined show that women have always provided a substantial proportion of the workforce in the wine industry and my interviews document their involvement in wine production in recent times and at the present day. Taken as a whole, the research serves to bring to light women's important contributions to the social and economic fabric of the wine industry.

Chapter 4 The home paddock

Introduction: private and public space: women's work in the home paddock and beyond the gate

> After picking grapes all day I would go home, chop the wood, light the stove, make the hot water, bath the kids, wash the clothes and cook, and when he comes home at six o'clock everything is ready (Soula 2003).

In the wine-producing areas of South Australia, as in other farming sectors, women and men occupy different spaces and in these spaces perform different functions that are determined by gender and are socially constructed. Women's private domestic domain is distinct from the public space located outside the home, which is dominated, though not exclusively occupied, by males. In the grape-growing regions, the private sphere occupied by women, the domestic domain symbolised by the home paddock, defines their identity and limits their activities. It is the focus of many of their responsibilities, and the site of much of their work and activity. However, economic necessity has legitimised the extension of the home paddock to include more distant parts of the property, such as vineyards, as appropriate places for women to work.

Women have always been involved in grape growing and wine making in the Barossa Valley, the Riverland, and other viticultural regions of South Australia. While the primary responsibility of those women who lived on family vineyards was considered to be their domestic tasks within the house and in the home paddock, they also made important contributions to the development and continuation of the grape-growing enterprise. The vineyard was often considered an extension of the home paddock, in which the women shared the work and participated in the management and decision-making, usually in a subsidiary capacity. This intrusion into the public space was sanctioned by grape-grower husbands, and deemed to be part of the women's supportive role, even if it occurred on a regular basis and not only at busy seasons such as harvest time.

A detailed analysis of primary sources, in particular early photographs, provides evidence that women have been given approval from their family and from society as a whole to work beyond the home paddock. The interviews I conducted in the Barossa Valley, the Riverland and Kangaroo Island, confirm that women's contributions to the industry have been substantial and consistent up to the present day. Women's labour, whether paid or unpaid, and although never adequately recognised, has always been an integral and essential part of the wine industry, as it has been of the rural economy as a whole.

Europeans settled in South Australia in 1836 and brought the dominant ideology of the gendered division of labour with them. Women were expected to rear children and take responsibility for the household in a private domestic domain, while men worked outside of the home in a public space. In Australia, for middle-class and many working-class families, the suburban home was surrounded by a small block of land, while in rural areas, its equivalent was known as the home paddock. The tasks that were considered normal for married women, such as cooking and rearing children, were carried out in this private domestic space.

Women who live on vineyards often engage, as they have always done at busy times, in activities such as picking and pruning, which were carried out in the public space. On these occasions, the women ventured beyond the home paddock to work in the vineyard, with the short-term approval of their husbands. Evidence from primary sources that I analysed and the interviews that I conducted, indicate that there is a long history of work done by women in vineyards, including the very early colonial pioneers such as Ann Jacob, but little recognition has been given to their achievements.

Women had a narrow choice of occupations and limited career paths, for example, teaching and nursing which reflected their innate ability of caring. Off-farm work supplemented the family income and a recent report that income now derived by rural women in Australia is $12 billion a year (Women in Business, 2004). The use of primary sources, such as photographs and diaries from the nineteenth century, as well as my interviews conducted in 2003/2004, indicate a long history of women working in the wine industry.

Ann Jacob, a colonial land owner, wrote frequently of the visitors who came to her property, but very little of her work in her vineyard or dairy. In Britain, the ideal middle-class woman was faithful and submissive to her husband, and her home was the centre and purpose of her life. In some ways, the colony of South Australia reflected this class gendered structure of society.

In the power structure of the traditional family, women were relegated to subsidiary status even in the domestic arena. Although the home was the site of most of the woman's duties and responsibilities, it was subject to the male claim of ultimate authority. Women's domestic role was considered of less importance than those of the males and their work of less value. It has been argued by Catherine Hall (1995) in the context of English society in the nineteenth century, the source of much of the early colonial migration, and Grimshaw et al. (1994) with reference to society in the Australian colonies, that the assumption by men of paternal authority and leadership in the domestic arena, and their prominent stance as the earners who ensure the financial wellbeing of their families, has diminished the acknowledgement of the economic value of women's contributions to family life within the household. Moreover, there has been a consistent undervaluing, even within the farming community, of women's work outside their domestic sphere, whether as labourers on their family farms or for some women as employees away from the farm for wages that contributed to the farm income.

The gendered division of labour

The dominant ideology of English-speaking societies in the nineteenth century, which survived in modified form well into the twentieth century, determined that women had different responsibilities and occupied separate spaces from men (Grimshaw et al.1994; Hall 1995; McDowell 1999; Osterud 1991; Shortall 2000; Williams 1992). The ideal woman in the nineteenth century was a housewife, who carried out traditional domestic duties. Work in the home at this time was onerous, and in their principal roles of housewives and mothers, many married working-class or lower middle-class women lived lives of drudgery, while the responsibilities of married women in a wealthy middle-class family though

mainly managerial, could still be substantial and demanding (Bacchi 1986; Allan and Crow 1989). Although the domestic sphere was the housewife's area of responsibility, her husband maintained overall authority in the family. While the mother was responsible for the moral and religious instruction of the children and maintained good discipline in the home, the father dispensed justice and administered punishments. He also exerted his control in matters such as the choice of household appliances and the purchase and use of machinery, which was considered male expertise.

In the nineteenth century, South Australian society was essentially androcentric. Patriarchal authority established the division between the private domain of women and the public arena of men, and opportunities were limited for women to work in the public domain. Teaching was one of the few careers for women, but there were restrictions placed on their employment. Women who married after they took up a teaching position were not legally forced to resign from the education department. What they were required to do was to give notice of their change to married status. They were then given temporary status with minimal prospects for promotion, a decrease in salary and status (Whitehead 1996, p. 135). In colonial society it was considered appropriate for young women to work for wages until they were married, but once they married, middle class women were constrained by social conventions from seeking paid employment. Working class women, on the other hand, might, from economic necessity, take whatever work they could find. In the wine regions of South Australia women have always found employment as grape pickers, while in urban regions, as the state became more industrialised during and after World War II, factory work became increasingly available to women.

In addition to factory work, certain types of employment, particularly in the service, health and education industries, were considered especially suitable for women, since they related to the conventional notion of women's primary responsibilities of nurturing and caring. Similarly, in the wine-producing regions of the state it was commonly conceded that women were well adapted to some aspects of vineyard work, particularly grape picking and tying the shoots onto the supporting trellis after the men had pruned the vines. On the other hand, women were excluded from many jobs, including those that were considered physically demanding or were concerned with machinery, such as operating a grape harvester or tractor. Women were paid much less than men for the same work. They also found it difficult to achieve managerial status and were generally excluded from high-salaried work. Some women, apparently acquiescing in the restrictions on their labour in the rural sector, tended to speak of themselves as 'helpers' of their husbands, rather than as farmers or vignerons themselves. By contrast there were others who ignored socially imposed restrictions by taking work that was normally associated with men, such as pruning vines and driving tractors or trucks.

The domain of the housewife extended outside the household to the surrounding area of enclosed land, which was generally known in suburbia as the garden, and in rural areas as the home paddock. The house and home paddock together constituted the site of most of the farm-wife's duties and activities, which were generally concerned with nurturing, sustaining and caring for her husband and

children, as well as maintaining the house and home paddock and keeping them orderly and productive. While these activities and responsibilities were the hallmark of the stereotypical ideal home, and of a traditional heterosexual marriage, in reality the rural household was, like the family itself, characterised by diversity.

Beyond the home paddock

Primary sources

On occasions women worked beyond home paddock, as may be seen in photographs and written evidence. These records reflect the expectation that the housewife, often accompanied by other family members, would contribute to the management and operation of a vineyard, at least on a seasonal basis. At the same time, it was assumed that she would continue to fulfil her tasks such as mothering and household management while doing the additional work outside the home. From the time of settlement to the present day the housewife's domestic tasks were regarded as her substantive duties, while his defining responsibility was to work in the public arena. On occasions when she was required to work in an area such as the family vineyard, which was outside her customary sphere of activity, she was subject to her husband's patriarchal authority, just as she was when she worked at home.

Photographs

Visual representations of the home paddock can be seen in several photographs taken in the late nineteenth century. A photograph from 1909 at New Residence, one of the village settlements established in 1894 in the Riverland, shows a farmhouse and surrounding land belonging to Adolph and Helene Freundt (Appendix A). The shot gives an extensive view of the property, and shows buildings and structures within the home paddock, including a cellar built separately from the farmhouse, and several small pens for animals and poultry. The house stands in the middle of the home paddock, which is surrounded by a post and wire fence and has a neat picket fence separating the front garden from the larger utility area at the rear of the house.

Mrs Helene Freundt poses on the back verandah, proudly holding up her baby son, Bernhardt, so that he can be included in the photograph. The cellar, which was used to store meat and dairy products, and the animal pens, for which she was responsible, as well as the smoke rising from the chimney, suggest ordered domesticity, as she stands very much at the centre of her domain. Further from the house, and on the outside of the home paddock, are three teams of horses and two carts. Also visible are two men wearing work clothes, and tending the horses. In the background, close to the home paddock, is a small herd of dairy cows, and it would have been one of Mrs Freundt's responsibilities to milk them. Unlike the home paddock, which is closely confined and represents the woman's place in the family, the space in which the men work extends far beyond the limits of the photograph. A technical discussion of this photograph is given in Chapter 3 Methodology.

Early photographs show settlers standing proudly in front of their houses, or in their home paddocks. A photograph at Waikerie village settlement dated 1894, shows two women, one holding the hand of a toddler, who stand together near a log and hessian dwelling (Appendix B). The woman holding the child's hand is evidently a visitor. She is wearing a hat, while her child is dressed in a bonnet and a pretty frock with decorative stitching. The woman standing closest to the house, who can be assumed to be the housewife, wears a pinafore, and is not wearing a hat. Behind the women is a fence made from branches. No doubt this extends outside the frame of the photograph to enclose the settlers' home paddock. In the foreground, further from the house, and beyond the home paddock, is a man dressed in a jacket and hat, stacking wood. A clothes line, propped up by two sticks, seems to mark the border of the home paddock, the domestic space containing the house near which the women stand.

Jemima Birks and her husband Walter lived at Murtho, a village settlement in the Riverland, with their six children in a substantial home surrounded by fruit trees and vines (Mack 1993, p. 50). An unusual photograph taken in 1897 documents the cultivation of the Birks home paddock (Appendix C). Jemima is shown facing the camera, and her husband, nearer to the camera, holds a long-handled hoe. Both stand within the home paddock in a patch of cultivated ground, possibly a vegetable garden. Behind Jemima are four rows of trellised vines, planted a few metres from the house. It is uncommon for a woman to be shown in an early photograph dressed in her working clothes, but Jemima is wearing a pinafore, and holding a plain straw hat, and she has evidently been working. She stands beside an orange tree in quite an active pose, holding her right hand up to touch a fruit while facing the camera as if to say, 'This is what I do; this is where I work: this is my space.' It is likely that in addition to her domestic duties within the house, cultivating the vegetables, tending the vines and harvesting grapes and fruit, would have been part of Jemima's responsibilities within the home paddock, although Walter may have done the heavier digging and cultivating work. As in the Waikerie photograph, the husband stands closer to the camera than his wife, as if to signify his dominant male role.

Another photograph taken in 1907 shows Mrs and Mr Blizard's house at Ramco (Arnold 1989, p. 275). Mary Blizard stands facing the camera at the open front door, with a child in front of her. She is not wearing a pinafore, but is dressed neatly in a long-sleeved blouse, with a skirt held by a contrasting-coloured belt. Mr Blizard stands at the front of the porch, with a child beside him. He wears a legionnaire-style hat, as if ready to step off the porch to work outside the house. A small front garden is planted in front of the house and in the foreground is a more open space, part of the home paddock, showing a citrus tree and a plot of cultivated earth, possibly prepared for vegetable growing.

Gendered social divisions

Contrary to the prevailing concepts of normality, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it was common for women on family farms, and particularly those who co-owned vineyards, to move beyond the home paddock, which symbolised their domestic domain, in order to work on more distant parts of the property. So important was their

labour that the economy of many such enterprises could hardly survive without their contribution. Often women have made financial additions to the family income by means of wages earned away from the property, although in the wine industry of South Australia, such off-farm work was usually confined to the months or years after the property was first purchased, when the vineyard was being established. In some significant cases women have assumed even larger responsibilities, both in colonial days and during the following century, when they took over the operation of their vineyards, temporarily or permanently, in the absence of their husband. These important contributions by women have not been adequately recognised in economic statistics, historical writing, or by the wine industry and the public.

Women have had a significant involvement in the wine industry from the period of European settlement in the colony to the present day. Evidence of their contributions in the colonial era may be found in historical texts such as photographs, diaries, newspapers or official documents, while narratives of the participation of women to the wine industry, from World War II to the present day, may be heard in their interviews. Their contributions have been made in a range of activities in the wine industry, including, in some instances, the assumption of major responsibilities in wine production. But their participation has never been adequately acknowledged and the intention of this study is to make women's participation in the industry, both now and in the past, more visible.

I will now consider in more detail how the ideology of gendered social divisions has resulted in the household being defined as the domain of women, and domestic duties being considered as women's work. I discuss the colonial household and the enclosed space immediately surrounding it, the housewife's socially-designated space, where most of her responsibilities lie and much of her work is done. This is defined as the home paddock, which corresponds to the garden and utility areas surrounding the urban house, where many of the rural housewife's tasks are performed. The home paddock symbolises the farm woman's domestic sphere, the site of her principal responsibilities.

The home paddock: woman's designated space
Gendered domains in the English middle-class family
In English middle-class families of the nineteenth century, the private sphere occupied by rural women, the domestic domain symbolised by the home paddock, defined their identity and limited their activities. Women and men inhabited different social and economic spheres and to a large extent, engaged in different activities (Hall, 1995; McDowell 1999; Middleton 1988). From this dominant ideological perspective, which was transported from British to Australian society, women were seen to occupy private space and men to inhabit public space, and in these spaces they performed different functions that were determined by gender and were socially constructed. Women's private domestic domain was distinct from the public space located outside the home, which was dominated, though not exclusively occupied, by males. It was the focus of many of their responsibilities, and the site of much of their work and activity. A woman might engage in tasks outside the home paddock only with her husband's approval, and although women might be involved in farm work on a regular or periodic basis, their

domestic duties were usually designated as their primary responsibilities (Williams and Williams 1986, p. 541).

In the home, which was the site of her designated responsibilities, the housewife was regarded as a supporter of her husband, who was head of the household. In the English middle-class, a woman's responsibilities in the home included household management and the organisation of social activities, and she was also responsible for the upbringing and socialisation of the children, the overseeing of their education, and the inculcation of moral values and religious beliefs within the household (Skeggs 1997, p. 45). Women's responsibilities in the traditional family include the upbringing of children, in which the father tends to take relatively little part. In the nineteenth century, according to Linda McDowell (1999), 'Housework and childcare in particular were seen as women's "sacred duty"' (McDowell, p. 76).

Women's household duties are authoritatively defined by Mrs Isabella Beeton, who writes from an unequivocally middle-class perspective. Her book on household management was first published in 1859, and maintained popularity for over sixty years. In a chapter entitled 'The Housewife', in an edition of her cookery manual published shortly after World War I, Mrs Beeton extols the virtues of an efficiently organised household: 'Whether the establishment be large or small, the functions of the housewife resemble those of the general of an army or the manager of a large business concern.' She claims for the housewife the status of a ruler within her domain: 'Woman has extended her influence in every sphere; and in that which has always been peculiarly her own her position is more unassailable than ever' (Beeton. c.1920, p. 59). While admitting that heavy demands may be made upon her time, especially in those households ' where the exacting needs of a young family constantly clamour for attention', she suggests that the rigours of housekeeping may be alleviated 'by proper methods of work, punctuality, and early rising' (Beeton, p. 60) Curiously, Mrs Beeton's declaration that 'Housekeeping has been aptly described as the "oldest industry"' resonates with the phrase, *the oldest profession*, which refers to prostitution (Beeton, p. 59).

It has been convincingly argued by Catherine Hall (1995) that the gendered division of space that gave men the freedom to inhabit the public realm, while women were confined to their domestic sphere, was constructed as a result of the emergence of the middle class. The ideal of genteel womanhood informed the middle-class stratum of English society in the nineteenth century and was emulated by the aspirant working class women. However the reality often diverged from this stereotype of the genteel woman. While women were perceived as home makers whose principal responsibilities were centred on the household and family, in reality women had always engaged in activities outside the home, such as rural labour and work in trades and manufacturing (Hall, p. 178).

Working in the public sphere was supposedly confined to working-class women and was considered incompatible with middle-class status, though, in cases of necessity, such as the death or incapacity of the male breadwinner, a middle-class woman, or one who aspired to middle-class status, might continue her husband's business or trade discreetly, without drawing too much public attention to herself (Hall 1995). Furthermore, visiting relatives or women friends and engaging in shopping expeditions were considered

suitable activities, or 'outings' for a genteel woman in the public space, beyond the gate of the home paddock (Davidoff 2003).

Hall (1995) has shown, as exemplified in my interviews, that in the rural sector there were many variations and permutations of activity and behaviour by individual women in the public space outside their home paddock. Even the supposed division of society into private and public spaces has been critically re-assessed. Examining the ways in which buildings are used, Davidoff (2003) argues that women of all classes, subject to greater or less limitations, inhabit the public space, just as men live in, and as head of the household, exert their authority over the private space. She asserts that by the end of the nineteenth century, working-class women were less restricted than middle-class women in moving about the public sphere, and were able, for example, to move about and meet freely in streets and market places. Middle-class women, on the contrary, were required to be more circumspect in venturing outside their home. They were expected to accede to conventions, such as travelling in public only with a chaperone. 'Their conformity to the putative public/private divide was a crucial element in their gentility' (Davidoff, p. 19).

The most characteristic manifestation of the traditional family, or, at least, the form that was identified by Talcott Parsons, and is most frequently discussed, that of the Victorian English middle-class family, emerged from pre-industrial kinship structures, and survived more or less intact into the twentieth century, before transmuting after World War II into the nuclear family (Davidoff and Hall 1987; Parsons 1955, p. 49). Scott Coltrane (1996) and others argue that the nuclear family gained ascendancy because it privileged men (Baber 1992; Gilding 1997; Richards 1997). The allocation of domestic responsibilities to women, not only confines women to the house and its immediate surroundings, but facilitates the engagement of men with life in the public arena.

In describing the English prototype of the family man, Catherine Hall (2002) declares that, in the second half of the nineteenth century, although he generally left the day-to-day nurturing and upbringing of his children to the ministrations of their mother, his self-image entailed the assumption of overall responsibility for the well-being of the family. The hallmark of the upstanding male citizen was the good order of his home, which testified to his abilities in money making, as well as his capacity to protect his household, provide for it and control it. The concept of manly citizenship discussed by Hall (2002) was nourished by '"real religion" – the faith born from religious conversion and a determination to make life anew' (Hall, p. 27). This accreditation in a Protestant faith based on spiritual rebirth and moral regeneration was particularly in keeping with the notion of emigrating and embarking on a new life in a distant country (Hall, pp. 31-33).

Gendered domains in Australian society

The values and aspirations of migrants to the colony of South Australia reflected their European origins. The English middle-class man, Protestant, respectable and hard-working, served in Australia as a model for industrious and socially aspirant working-class settlers as well as middle-class migrants (Bacchi 1986, p. 405). The stereotype of womanhood pervading colonial society mirrored the concept of the *ideal woman* that was prevalent in Victorian England. She was supposed to possess the virtues of piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity, and her proper sphere of activity was the home. (Davidoff and Hall 1987; Hall 1992; McDowell 1999; Welter 1966).

By the time South Australia was settled, in the 1830s, the doctrine that men and women inhabited their own separate domains had developed into a dominant social ideology (Anderson 1992; Bacchi 1986; Williams 1992). Men's domain encompassed the market and workplace, while women were placed at home, fulfilling their various domestic duties, including the bearing and raising of children, and in the examples given by Anderson (1992) and Lewis (1986), regular household chores such as the very complex and arduous procedures of hand washing and ironing clothes. The relegation of women to domestic duties resulted from the prevailing orthodoxy that promoted the gendered demarcation of labour throughout society from the mid nineteenth century into the twentieth century.

While the stereotype of the ideal woman, which related initially to the middle classes, eventually filtered down to the working class, it was not always adhered to in practice. In many ways the British colony of South Australia mirrored social conditions in England during the second half of the nineteenth century, and the traditional role of women is identified as a fundamental structural component of Australian colonial society (Bacchi 1986; Grimshaw 1994; Larson 1994; McConville and McEwen 1985). However, social conditions in the colony, which were somewhat different from those in England, resulted in some important variations from the traditional social structure. In South Australia, where the proportion of women to men was nearly equal, where marriage was all but universal for women, and where there was a shortage of domestic servants, many middle-class women as well as those in the working class, had to perform their own domestic tasks.

Early settlers such as Ann Jacob, who belonged to the colony's English gentry, and generally adhered to the social code described by Hall (2002), described her social activities in her diary. She recounts frequent excursions made on horseback, accompanied by a servant or her brother John, to the home of young women of similar age and social standing such as Mary Bagot and visits to Johann Menge, a middle-aged male neighbour. Her diary is principally a record of social events – only occasional mention is made of her work in the household, dairy or vineyard or her managerial responsibilities and entrepreneurial endeavours, which nevertheless occupied much of her time. The lives of women in the German community of the colony, on the other hand, seemed to have little in common with that of the English settlers. Odette, one of the participants in my study, who is discussed in the interviews chapter, recalled that her mother regularly undertook outings by herself beyond her home paddock, visiting German friends, shopping in the nearby Barossa Valley town, and, in addition, taking eggs and other home produce out for sale in the neighbourhood.

The German migrants, who began arriving in South Australia during the 1830s, formed an important element in the colony's population, particularly in the Barossa Valley. Initially most of these German-speaking people were religious refugees, who came from Silesia and adjacent provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in response to the promised religious freedom in the colony. They were peasants or petit bourgeoisie who had practised farming or a trade in their former home. They received assistance for the passage to Australia and some had little money when they arrived. Johann Gramp, for instance, who was later to found a substantial vineyard, began in Adelaide working as a

labourer to raise the money to buy land. By travelling to a new country about which they knew little, the German, English and Irish migrant families, were demonstrating their aspirations for a better life and their willingness to move far beyond the familiar social boundaries to achieve it.

The colony of South Australia had a predominantly rural character and a low level of industrialisation (Williams and Williams 1986, p. 513). By the 1880s, nearly ninety percent of the men in urban areas of South Australia were married, and although in rural areas there were more unmarried men, married men were still in the majority (Bacchi 1986; Grimshaw 1994; Ryan and Conlon 1975; Saunders and Evans 1992). Carol Bacchi declares that in the colony during the nineteenth century, there was a very high proportion of married women, in comparison with the other colonies and with Britain, and 'The Victorian concept of woman's role as homemaker and child-rearer became well established' (Bacchi p. 405).

The structure of the rural family in the colony was purportedly based on the concept of the gendered division of labour, and while the male assumed the role of farmer, his wife was allocated the domestic responsibilities. In reality, however, she was often required to work as a farm labourer in addition to her household chores. Because of the impoverished circumstances in which many rural people lived and the low level of productivity on their farms, due to the small scale of farms in the period, the lack of mechanisation, and the difficulty most farmers had in finding and paying labour, it was often necessary for all members of a farming family to work on the property. Rural women, whatever their social rank, often infringed against the norms of European society by labouring with the men to establish a farm or vineyard in the colony, as discussed later in this chapter.

Social ideology in the Victorian era dictated that the husband and father, who was deemed to be the head of the household and the breadwinner, was supported by the wife and mother, whose special skills, designated responsibilities and moral duty lay in the nurturing of the family and the maintenance of the home, and these mores have largely persisted to the present day (Bacchi 1986; Craik 1989). In addition to her other domestic activities, the housewife and mother was responsible for the upbringing and socialisation of the children, the overseeing of their education, and the inculcation of moral values and religious beliefs within the household. The household and the home paddock or its urban equivalent, the block of land on which the house was situated, was designated as the woman's domain where her work was carried out, while it was considered to be a male prerogative to move freely beyond the confines of the home paddock to more distant areas of the vineyard or farm, and outside the family property into the world at large.

A housewife's domestic tasks, both inside the house and in the home paddock, were burdensome and time-consuming in colonial times and are still considered tedious now. In her diary, Fanny Barbour, who lived on a farm at Berwick near Melbourne, reflects on the onerous nature of her household tasks, which were relieved only by the pleasure of working in her garden. Fanny's dislike of the boring and repetitive household chores is reflected in an entry written in 1920:

> Since the middle of August…there has been nothing to enter except the rain, & wind – and every day alike – get up in the morning at 7 –

> skim the milk etc. Get breakfast. Wash up – clean out fireplaces – do the rooms etc get dinner – pouring all day – so iron or wash – or do something in the house – most monotonous. (Holmes 1995, p. 54)

Some men were aware of the importance of women's work in the home, and the ill effects it often had on their health. A doctor wrote in a health journal in 1885:

> The poor man, as he is called, is much better off in this colony than the poor man's wife. If she has a large family, as most poor women have, she has a hard time of it. Her day is a constant round of cooking, scrubbing, making, mending, &c., with a child in arms or one in prospect, from the time she gets up to the time she goes to bed…She probably does as much actual work, spends as much nervous and muscular force as her husband, and her hours are nearly twice as long…She has no leisure, but is always doing. (William Henry Coutts MD 1885, 'Injurious effects of close confinement and overwork', *Australian Health Society* no. 22, June, cited Allen et al. 1989, p. 160)

The androcentric social system, determining the conceptual demarcation of society into private space, the site of women's domestic activities, and. public space, inhabited by men, has been identified in a wide range of countries, including the United States (Osterud 1991), England (Skeggs 1997), Ireland and Canada (Shortall 1993) and France (Saugeres 2002). This patriarchal ideology was brought to South Australia, as to the other colonies, with the first settlers. Androcentrism was the major determinant of gender identity for all immigrant groups.

The ideology of gendered spaces, based on the assumption of male dominance, was the dominant perspective of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Australia (Broome 1984). It was part of Australian cultural heritage, transcending the varied social backgrounds and ethnic origins of the European migrants. It determined the relative positions, the status and spatial locations of men and women within the family. Justine Lloyd (2004) discusses the post-war period in Australia and the modern Australian home and family. Jean Duruz (1994) has identified a symbolic manifestation of the gender-based hierarchy in the home. Men have their own spaces in separate rooms provided for their private comfort – dens and studies; or sheds or workshops for pottering at leisure, but women have no such facility. Rooms that are nominally 'mother's domain', such as kitchens and sewing rooms, are, in reality continually subject to intrusions from members of the family (Duruz, p. 101). The open-space grouping of kitchen, dining and family room, commonly provided in the designs of 1980s and 1990s houses, allow many of the activities in the home, particularly of young children, to be visible and accessible to the mother's supervision. No doubt this lack of a personal space prompts many housewives to yearn for a 'room of one's own', as written about by Virginia Woolf and enjoyed by her friend, Vita Sackville-West in her private writing-room high in the tower at her home of Sissinghurst Castle in Kent.

It permeated industrial practices as well as social values and was reflected, for instance, in the arbitration system and industrial legislation (Bennett 1984; Saunders and Evans 1992, pp. 267-270; Williams 1992, p. 64). Indeed, as shown in research by Wajcman (1999), the ideology of male domination continues in modified form to the present day, manifested in continuing problems of sexual inequality in the workplace.

As Skeggs (1997) declared, with reference to English society, 'The roles of the ideal woman … gave to women particular *moral* significance and responsibility, which gave them status, self-worth and pleasure' (Skeggs, p. 45). However, as Grimshaw et al. (1994) observed, the assumption by men of paternal authority and leadership in the domestic arena, and their prominent stance as the earners who ensured the financial well-being of their families, precluded the acknowledgement of the full extent of women's responsibilities and diminished the recognition of the economic value of women's contributions to family life (Grimshaw et al., pp. 117-118).

In the traditional household, the husband is acknowledged as the overall authority, who guides and controls his family. Jessie Ackerman, an American feminist who visited Australia several times and published her assessments of Australian life and manners in 1913, observed that:

> The first striking feature of the husband in Australia is his assured position as head of the home – not to say head of the house, but of the aggregate forces under the roof of the house, which constitute home … the husband is certainly the head of the home … the one who is consulted 'because he knows'. Women and children, especially girls, have always been assured that he really has a grip of things … In times past the womenfolk have accepted the dictum of the head of the home … and have been more or less satisfied to abide by it, until men quite unconsciously expect it. (Ackermann, p. 77)

Ackermann declares that women have in the past accepted the authority of their husband as head of the household, and that the male has become accustomed to this role.

Ackermann (1913) claims to have detected signs of a new consciousness and changes in gender relations since she last visited Australia twenty years earlier. She recalls that on her earlier visit a woman would be reluctant to make decisions about her activities outside the home until 'she had first "talked it over" with her husband or father'. At the time of writing she finds that it is rare for a decision to be delayed until this consultation with the head of the home could take place. She also finds that to avoid 'open rebellion' or the need 'to dethrone man from a position he has always held by right of being man', women have become accustomed to "managing" men (Ackermann, p. 77). The writer suggests that between her visits, Australian women had become more outspoken and confident and perhaps better educated. 'The necessity for [managing] has grown with their increasing propensity towards ideas and opinions'. If, as she believes, there had been a shift in gender relations in the home as a result of an expansion of women's interests and their greater awareness of their own capabilities, the change was small indeed. She declares that the need to manage men 'is entirely out of keeping with what the position of wives and daughters should be in a country of boasted equality of the sexes' (Ackermann, p. 78).

The nature of the family in the colonial and post-colonial eras has formed an important part of feminist debate since the mid 1970s, when the concept of the patriarchal society, in which women were seen as subordinate to men, is proposed in several ground-breaking feminist studies (Dixson 1975; Kingston 1975; Ryan and Conlon 1975; Summers 1975). As discussed in the Literature Review chapter, this standpoint is challenged by Grimshaw (1983, 1986), whose studies of the family emphasise the diversity of women's agency in the construction of colonial

society from their base in the domestic sphere. The process of historical revision, in which women were cast as a strong creative force in the establishment of the nation, is continued in *Creating a nation* written by Grimshaw et al. (1994). While the critical reception of this account of women's contribution to Australian history is largely favourable (Pritchard 1994; Morris 1992; Smith 1997), there are some historians who express reservations (Curthoys 1995; Damousi 1999; Dixson 1996; Hirst 1995; Paddle 1995).

It is evident that *Creating a nation* has not placed beyond doubt the significance of women's agency in nation building. John Hirst (1995) strongly challenges the main thesis of the book, that women have been instrumental in the development of Australia, as he denies that women can be considered to have taken a major creative part in the formation of the nation (Hirst, pp. 36-38). On the other hand, while conceding that women have played important nation-building roles, Curthoys (1995) and Paddle (1995) are critical of the style of writing used in the book, suggesting that its conventional narrative format ties it too closely to traditional historiography, which reflects a view of society that privileges men. Identifying shortcomings of the book and proposing a way forward, Damousi (1999) suggests that a more complete picture of women's place in Australian history will emerge as a result of ongoing scholarly efforts to provide a thorough analysis of the impact of gender on post-colonial society, and Paddle argues that some of the research emphasis should be shifted from women's maternal functions and activities to other female mores. The project of raising public awareness of women's contributions to the establishment of the colonies and nation can be considered still in a phase of development.

The representations of women that emerge from the discourse around their agency in colonisation and nation-building, show that they have carried out many different responsibilities and engaged in a variety of occupations both inside and outside their home paddock. It becomes clear that the locations of women and men in Australian society cannot be understood simply as a dichotomy, comprising private and public space. As suggested in research by scholars such as Alston (1995, 1998), and Pini (2000, 2000a), there is, in fact, considerable fluidity of movement, with women and men, in some circumstances, inhabiting both the private and public spheres. A similar blurring of conceptual boundaries is evident in the allocation of work to women and men, which, in some circumstances is inadequately represented by the concept of the gendered division of labour.

Multiplicity of women's responsibilities

The complexity of women's roles in society in the post-colonial era is apparent in the microcosm of the household. The nature and distribution of the workload in the domestic sphere was determined largely by the social status of the family. In contrast to the solitary burdens of the working-class or lower middle-class housewife, such as Odette's mother, who is discussed in Chapter 8, housewives with the means to employ domestic labour, even if they only had one female servant, worked alongside their domestic staff, sharing the chores (Saunders and Evans 1992, p.182). Many domestic tasks such as cleaning the house, washing and pressing clothes, preparing food and cooking, cleaning fireplaces and chopping wood, were arduous and repetitive. Families approaching the middle class often aspired to the employment of a servant to take some of the load of

humdrum chores in the home. As Thompson wrote in 1909, 'Every bourgeois family is struggling to emerge into the servant-employing class; every proletarian family is trying to keep its girls out of the servant class' (cited in Saunders and Evans, p.183).

The tasks of affluent middle-class women, which included hiring and supervising staff, were managerial and not physically demanding. Women such as Una Falkiner who lived on a large property in the Riverina district of New South Wales in the early 1900s, employed female servants to do the housework and cooking and male gardeners and farm hands to do the heavy work outside the home. Although Una did not carry out domestic tasks herself, nor did she do the manual work in the home paddock, she was familiar with the work that needed to be done and supervised the household staff and gardeners who performed these tasks. Una had the assistance of two gardeners, one to cultivate vegetables and the other to work in the flower beds, but she took great pleasure in doing the lighter tasks associated with the gardening, including pruning, planting and weeding, and she felt that she worked sufficiently hard to keep herself slim (Holmes 1995, pp. 56-8). It would seem that Una felt compelled to justify the large amounts of time she spent in the garden, even though it was part of her domain, claiming that she was keeping herself attractive by the exercise.

Working at a multitude of tasks in the household and home paddock was the norm for rural women in the colonial and post-colonial eras, and these family duties were often extended to include work on the farm or vineyard and even off-farm work. The variety of domestic work that rural women were required to do is exemplified in a description of Hulda Nitschke's life on a farm near Bethany in the Barossa Valley from her marriage in 1904 to 1970, when the property was transferred to her son and daughter (Byerley 1986, pp. 201-203).

> Hulda and Gottfried worked hard to improve their farming land situated along Lily Farm Road at the foot of the ranges … On their farm they grew wheat, established a 10 acre (4 ha) vineyard, kept horses, pigs, poultry, a few short-horn beef cattle and a dairy herd of up to twenty cows. During the summer when feed was scarce Hulda cut fennel from the creek with a sickle for the animals .. [and] lucerne with a scythe … Hulda also tended a large garden of fruit trees and vegetables, and carried water in two buckets on a Schulterträger (shoulder carrier) from the nearby Lily Creek … For her family Hulda made butter, cheese, Deutscher-kuchen (German cake) and bread as well as drying fruit and pickling vegetables. Every Friday she took butter cream by spring cart to Tanunda where it was sent to Adelaide by train for manufacture into butter.

Hulda was evidently a very competent farmer as well as a hard-working housewife. She took over the responsibility and much of the labour of the farm when her husband became an invalid in the 1940s. After he died in 1951 she continued to run the farm, with assistance from her children, until she retired in 1970.

Fluidity of spatial boundaries

I would argue that, while the demarcation of female and male space remains valid as a general picture of society in the post-colonial era and later decades of the twentieth century, the divisions were far from rigid; in fact they had soft and indistinct borders, allowing complex shifts and crossovers in both directions. The multiplicity and variety of women's actions is evident in the narratives of those of

my interviewees who describe their working lives on their family properties. As discussed in the interviews chapter, these responsibilities range from Mavis' full involvement in a trucking business and vineyard, to Andrea's management of wine sales at her cellar door.

Men, as well as women, occasionally crossed from one spatial division to the other. Just as the home paddock could be notionally extended to include more distant parts of the property, such as the vineyard, to allow women to take part in grape picking and other seasonal activities, and family circumstances could compel the farm wife to venture into the public domain, there were sometimes factors that induced the male to take more interest and a more prominent part in activities in the domestic space. Men sometimes intruded into the women's domestic domain to exert their authority in family decisions, or to undertake household repairs that involved the use of tools, or manual work that seemed to require their strength or height. They also had their own spaces within the household, such as a den or study designated for their sole use, or a workshop or machine shed at the boundary of the home paddock. Most significantly, men assumed ultimate responsibility for the financial affairs, and the welfare, security and social standing of their households and families.

The choice and use of household machinery was another area in which the male often claimed special skill and knowledge. By the end of the nineteenth century the colonial household had undergone many notable transformations. The number of domestic servants had declined, and the technical innovations such as mechanical washing machines that had appeared in the homes of the wealthy in the 1880s, were moving to less affluent homes to compensate the housewife for the absence of hired domestic labour. Many of these innovations may be seen in a popular Australian illustrated catalogue issued by Lasseter and Company in 1911, which has illustrated advertisements for 'labour saving machines', such as hand-operated wringers, mangles and washing machines, as well as new devices such as coffee-makers, mincers and bread slicers, bath-heaters, lamps and stoves, and water filters (Lasseter 1976).

Men often assumed the right to participate in the evaluation and purchase of the new household equipment. Machines were considered part of the male area of expertise, as were scientific and other forms of specialised and practical knowledge. This is particularly noticeable in rural areas, where the ability, and the right, to operate machines such as tractors, is felt to be a symbol of masculinity, and as such has become a matter of contention for some farm women, as observed by Saugeres (2002) and expressed by the interviewees Kate and Mavis, whose narratives are discussed in Chapter 8.

Significantly, while Lasseter's catalogue usually refers to the customers without specifying their gender, an advertisement for the Delphin Filter Bottle is addressed directly to the potential male buyer, characterising the machine as, 'an invaluable necessity for the man on the land' (Lasseter 1976, p. 134). In another advertisement it is a man's hand that is shown operating the Gem Ice Shaver, while Ericsson's Portable Telephone is fitted with 'a strong leather strap so that it can easily be carried by a man' (Lasseter 1976, pp.135, 141). No such references can be found to women in the sections of the catalogue dealing with kitchen

utensils, and household equipment and furniture. Clearly the advertisements in the catalogue were addressed as much to the husband as to his wife.

A further occasion for male intervention in the domestic arena arose from the growing tendency for various professionals from the public arena, such as architects and designers, doctors and dietitians, to intrude into the home (Saunders and Evans, pp.182-5). Men might choose not to participate in the decision-making about family medical or dietary matters, but they would expect to take a major role in consultations related to building, renovating or extending the home. This incursion by the male into domestic spaces that were ostensibly controlled by the housewife, were of a very specific kind and seemed to occur mainly when expenditure was involved or important decisions to be made.

In general, men withheld themselves from intervention in the day-to-day management of the household. Odette, one of the women I interviewed in the Barossa Valley, recalled the privations and difficulties her mother endured as a farm wife during the 1930s and 1940s. She remembered her mother washing the family's clothes outside the house, using water she carried in a bucket from the creek over 200 metres away. The tasks associated with the household, which were socially legitimised, constituted her main responsibilities: 'the cooking, the housekeeping and the care of the children were mother's department'. But her mother's work extended far beyond the household, including tasks that took place outside in her home paddock, such as milking the cows, separating the milk, making butter and feeding the pigs. Her activities also involved moving beyond the home paddock to cart the surplus produce from her dairy and sell it in the neighbourhood, to supplement the farm income. Her responsibilities included the day-to-day maintenance of the household, but for those aspects of her family life in which medical or other professional knowledge was required, only males were deemed to have the necessary expertise, just as a male retained overall authority in the home.

The extended home paddock

In spite of the work they may have been required to do outside the home paddock, such as labouring in the vineyard, many rural women regarded their domestic duties as signifiers of their identity. It is evident that farm wives tended to regard their domestic duties as their major responsibilities, even though economic necessity sometimes led to an expectation that the housewife would work outside the home paddock, and, during busy seasons such as harvesting, the places in which she was permitted to work were customarily extended to include more distant parts of the farm. Many of the women I interviewed expressed the belief that responsible motherhood and good housekeeping, in spite of the rigours of country life and long hours spent working outside the home, still constitute the main basis of the married woman's self-esteem and identity.

It is clear that in the first half of the twentieth century, as in the colonial era, there was a core of domestic tasks that were almost universal, which were included in the responsibilities of housewives, rural and urban, of all classes. Moreover, the majority of women performed the labour themselves, alone. These tasks changed in detail after the 1950s when household appliances began to come into general use, but the responsibilities and hard work remained. For rural women there were added duties such as milking and making such products as butter and cheese, whether for home use or for sale. Furthermore, there was the work to be done outside the home paddock, such as labour in vineyard or paddock. In addition, for many women living on the farm or in the suburbs, there was work for wages away from their property. Work of this kind, universally undertaken by housewives, has often been taken for granted and forgotten; it seems only recently to have begun to be recognised.

Also, it should not be forgotten that, throughout the twentieth century, in addition to faithfully carrying out their designated domestic responsibilities, Australian women have, to an increasing extent, worked for public causes ranging from the women's vote and Temperance to equality in the workplace and preservation of the environment. It is now customary for women to sit on industry committees and boards, and to become members of parliament, to perform in the arts and produce creative work, to research, invent, preach, act in professional capacities and play sport.

Domestic exterior space: the home paddock

The tasks pertaining to the home paddock were subsumed into the domestic realm, the private space. All the interviewees confirmed that rural women's domestic responsibilities were not confined to the house, but extended into the land surrounding the house.

As well as their duties of sustenance and nurture, the responsibilities of the country housewife included making sure that the home was both cheerful and morally uplifting, serving as refuge for the male provider, yet for most women it was a place of almost ceaseless toil and hardship. Saunders and Evans assert that, 'while the work schedule in many suburban households was daunting...women's labour in the countryside [was] herculean' (Saunders and Evans 1992, pp. 180-181). An indication of the multiplicity of tasks that confronted a country housewife, as well as the tedium of her daily routine and in some instances the physical demands made on her, is given in the reminiscences of Hazel Colwell, who grew up on a farm on the Yorke Peninsula in South Australia:

> Mother really worked hard, she made bread, butter, jam and preserved fruit … [she] tried to learn to milk the cow but she just could not manage to get one drop. It was the only thing I know of that beat mother … When a sheep was killed it was put in a huge calico bag and hung on the bough of a tree near the house. It was worked on a pulley system and when mother wanted meat she had to let the pulley down, cut off the piece of meat she wanted, then go and chop it up with a tom-a-hawk – women had to be very versatile on those early farms (Allen, Hutchison and Mackinnon 1989, p. 167).

Women's domestic responsibilities were not confined to the house. The women's domain included the suburban backyard or its rural equivalent, the home paddock. The traditional suburban house in Australia was built on a standard block of about a quarter of an acre. It was surrounded by an area that contained a garden at the front of the house, usually planted with decorative trees, shrubs and flowers. There was a side path or drive leading to the back of the house, where there were utility areas, such as a garage, toolshed, fowl-house, clothes line, and vegetable garden, as well as some flower beds, fruit trees and vines. The front and back garden and the house comprised the domain of the housewife. Houses in the country were surrounded by a similar, though much larger space. The rural equivalent of the urban garden was the home paddock, which included similar facilities, and perhaps additional features such as a small dairy, an orchard and a vineyard. The home paddock often contained features such as a fowl house, clothes line and vegetable garden, and a small dairy, and in it the housewife may have kept beehives, as may be seen in Clara Southern's painting, *An old bee farm*.

Just as the locus of responsibilities for the urban housewife was her home and garden, so the country housewife was expected to confine herself to the spaces

allocated to her, though the rural household was surrounded by a more extensive enclosure than its urban counterpart, and encompassed a more varied range of produce-related activities. The main occupations in the home paddock typically included milking cows, keeping poultry, caring for orphaned and sick animals, and gardening. Like the hand rearing of animals, gardening was an extension of the nurturing role of the housewife and mother. As well as flowers and vegetables, the garden often included a small orchard or vineyard within or adjacent to the home paddock, which could be part of the woman's responsibilities.

When details from photographs, diaries and letters and documents such as newspaper articles and family histories of the colonial era and the early twentieth century, are compared with stories related by my interviewees, it becomes apparent that the nature and purpose of the domestic space I have denoted as the home paddock has changed very little from the time of European settlement to the present day. The work done by women in their household and home paddock, which was addressed earlier in this section, is discussed in relation to my interviewees in more detail later in the interviews chapter.

Two of the rural woman's main tasks in the home paddock, the hand rearing of animals, and gardening or vineyard work, were extensions of the nurturing role of the housewife and mother. Linda, one of my interviewees said that she felt a big responsibility for the nurture of the small vines:

> I really enjoy training young vines. It's just a great feeling to see those vines grow from this little small thing up onto the wire. I kind of feel responsible for them, watching them grow.

This perspective was not confined to the rural sector in Australia. In Saugeres' account (2002a) of labour practices on French farms, it is reported that for women, unlike the male farmers whose primary responsibility is to work the land, their labour is concentrated indoors and in the home paddock (Saugeres, p. 647). In France, both men and women work outdoors with animals, but while men raise cattle in the open fields, women tend orphaned and sick animals in the restricted area of the home paddock. Similarly, it was customary in South Australian rural properties for produce grown in the home paddock, to be considered part of the housewife's responsibilities, often with the involvement of her children. Odette recalled that in the family property her mother raised pigs and turkeys and there was an extensive vegetable garden and fruit orchard where Odette would work as a young girl with her mother:

> We grew vegetables down in the back garden, beans, tomatoes, cucumbers cabbages and caulies, and we had grape vines and fruit trees down in the gully too, mainly apricots and a few quinces.

The gendered division of labour: women's place in the rural economy

The ethos of colonial and post-colonial Australian society was largely derived from the concepts that pervaded English society, and also partly shaped from the image of the adventurous pioneer. The dominant English social ideology, which was brought by the migrants to Australia and helped to determine the gendered structure of colonial society, was based on widespread assumptions about the innately different functions and capacities of men and women (Anderson 1992, p. 227). But colonial society was also permeated by the pioneering spirit, signified

by such figures as explorers, settlers and drovers, all males, who were celebrated in art and literature.

Schaffer (1984) observes that the national identity was expressed in the works of early colonial writers such as Henry Lawson in terms of male-dominant culture, with language that refers to taming the country, and to battles, conquering and fighting **(**Schaffer, p. 72)**.** Magarey (1996) also points to literature as a source of information about the dichotomy inherent in colonial social perspectives (Magarey, p. 99).

Similar heroic male figures, including images of intrepid explorers, stoic pioneers, and adventurous drovers, may be seen in paintings such as *Sturt's Overland Expedition Leaving Adelaide* by S.T.Gill (1844) in the Art Gallery of South Australia, *Home Again* (1884) and *The Pioneer* (1904), both in National Gallery of Victoria and painted by Frederick McCubbin. *Sturt's Overland Expedition* is a record of a notable event, represented with a wealth of detail and with much movement, to create a sense of excitement. Males dominate Gill's painting, but women have an elegant presence among the onlookers. *Home Again* is particularly interesting for its realistic depiction of a farmhouse interior. A man enters through the front door, perhaps a drover or itinerant labourer, his arms eagerly outstretched towards a woman, presumably his wife, who turns from her ironing to face him. The young woman's gesture eloquently expresses her surprise, as well as some restraint, as she looks at him. He has evidently been absent for a long time, perhaps working as a drover; in fact, she is dressed in black, implying that he had been believed dead, and she seems disconcerted by his sudden appearance. In contrast the little dog welcomes its master with unrestrained enthusiasm. While the woman's loneliness and sense of isolation can be read into the image, he is energetic and optimistic. Perhaps before his long absence he is still a rather unfamiliar figure to his young wife, and possibly he is essentially incompatible with her. *The Pioneer* is a romanticised image of a pioneer settler and his wife. The man is the vital element in the three panels of the painting, which represent the passage of time as he establishes his farm and builds his house, and a town emerges from the wilderness in the background. The woman is a rather passive figure as, in the first panel she sits pensively while he toils, and one of her main duties is indicated in the second panel by the child she holds. In images such as these, frequently painted in the decades before and after Federation, the men are represented as active figures, while the women are shown in more passive, supporting roles, usually in a domestic setting.

Arising from a mixture of sources, the prevailing social and industrial ideology in the rural sector of South Australia created the gendered division of labour, which dictated that men should work mainly out of doors, at a distance from the house, taming the exterior space by clearing, ploughing and fencing, while their wives were expected to fulfil their obligations for the upkeep of the house and its environs, and carry out their responsibilities for the nurturing and upbringing of the children. In this traditional view of society, the private space of the domestic sphere, which constitutes the women's domain, was distinguished from the public space occupied by men.

It has been argued that the social realities of colonial life in the last decades of the nineteenth century diverged significantly from the proclaimed ideals of the dominant ideology (Bacchi 1986, p. 406). The percentage of women in the population of South Australia increased in the 1880s and more women were destined to remain single, so that increasingly women sought permanent employment. In Adelaide in the 1880s and 1890s, there was a steady decline in the numbers of women employed as domestic servants and an upsurge of employment in manufacturing. This led to newspaper articles condemning factory work as an occupation for women, in which among other objections, fears were expressed on moral grounds because of the proximity to men, and on medical grounds because of the unhealthy working conditions, which were said to endanger the women's reproductive capacities (cited in Bacchi p. 407). A similar sense of alarm was aroused in 1855 by the observation of women engaged in rural labour, for outdoor work was considered unsuitable for women on moral grounds:

> it is a bad school of morals for girls and the mixing up with men on whom poverty and ignorance have encrusted coarse and vulgar habits tends to greatly uncivilize and demoralize women … the topics of conversation and the language used amongst the men and women are described as coarse and filthy. (cited in Davidoff and Hall 1987, p. 274)

At the same time there were renewed attempts in newspapers and elsewhere to establish domestic duties as the main sphere of responsibility for women (Bacchi, p. 417).

Women have always laboured in farm and vineyard, as they do now, taking on substantial and important roles. In the vineyard, as in other farming properties, the home paddock could be extended at times of peak activity, and on these occasions, the vineyard was perceived as a place where a woman could work. Even if the vineyard was large and situated at some distance from the homestead, and although its management might be considered a male responsibility and deemed to be a section of his public domain, it could be perceived as a legitimate space where a woman could work with patriarchal approval. Either on a continuing basis, or only during busy times, the housewife could be given tacit permission to work there.

It is evident that the home paddock could be expanded, in effect, to encompass women's socially sanctioned participation in activities that were normally considered men's work.
Clearly this enhancement of women's roles could apply as well to an unmarried woman who chose to remain and work at the family homestead, as it did to a married woman. The colonial pioneer, Ann Jacob, as will be seen in the following chapter, established her own vineyard before she married, and Odette, one of the women I interviewed in the Barossa Valley, whose narrative is discussed in the interviews chapter, worked on the family farm, as well as in the household, throughout her life. A photograph taken at Waikerie in 1911, shows Mr Keith Dunstan and his sister, posing several metres apart in a large area of cleared land (Arnold 1989, p. 72). The young man is wearing working clothes, including a hat, and looks straight at the camera, in a relaxed stance with one hand in his pocket, while Miss Dunstan wears long tight pants, a long-sleeved shirt and a wide-brimmed hat, and she stands facing the camera with her arms folded, looking a little self-conscious. The photograph was taken by their father, Mr Keith Dunstan.

Although many rural women in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries made an important contribution to their family enterprise, it was not considered their substantive work and was often ignored by others. The multiple roles of a farmer's wife have never been accorded official status by government bodies, nor appropriately recognised within the industry itself, it has always been a significant economic factor as well as an essential component of rural society in Australia. *The Working Man's Handbook to South Australia* (1849), advises the reader on the advantages of marrying an energetic woman who:

> does many things for her husband which he can find neither the time nor inclination to do for himself … his wife is a great saving to her husband; if he is poor she cooks for him, makes and mends his clothes, keeps his house in order, looks after the poultry. Thus she is a great profit and help. (Wilkinson 1849, p. 20, cited Williams and Williams 1986, p. 541).

This unflattering view of a woman's role in a marriage partnership is quoted in an essay by Eleanore Williams and Michael Williams (1986), which characterises the male experience of rural life: 'Farming could be hard, if not mind-numbing drudgery', but gives little attention to the equally onerous life for women on a farm, apart from a statement that 'As well as housekeeping many women shared the burden of part-time and seasonal work around the farm' (Williams and Williams, p. 541).

Although fully conscious of their value to the family enterprise, rural women often seem impelled to minimise the importance of their contribution when referring to their work in the farm or vineyard. Fiona Haslam-McKenzie (1998) reports that of the farm wives interviewed during her research in Western Australia, all were aware of their importance to the economic survival of their family farming enterprise. Yet the women often spoke disparagingly of their own involvement in farming. This tendency to self-deprecation was noticeable in the interviews with some of the participants in my research, such as Karen on Kangaroo Island, whose narrative is discussed in more detail in the interviews chapter, and who described herself as the 'dogsbody' in the family vineyard, doing all the hard work that no-one else wanted to do. Self-deprecation is also mentioned by Haugen (1998) in relation to Norwegian farm women and Saugeres (2002) with reference to French farm women, as well as by Pini (2003), with reference to some of the women she interviewed in the Queensland sugar-growing area. Pini relates a remark made in an interview by a woman who was recently widowed, but planned to maintain the family sugar plantation: 'I could say I'm going to be a farmer now. I was a side-kick for my husband' (Pini, p. 176).

At busy times it was often necessary not only for farm wives, but for whole families, to work outside the home paddock and the domestic space, performing tasks such as harvesting, sowing seed, operating milking machines or erecting fences. Deborah Thiele who, with her husband Anton, was co-owner of a property at Loxton, described how all members of the family, including the two young children, were involved in the work on the farm. 'We'd go out to mend fences and we did it together. We'd be going along the fence and Alex and Lottie would be dragging the hammer with them.' (Bowden 1995, pp.134-51) When working on family properties, farm wives usually received no pay and little acknowledgement of their contributions, unlike their children who often received remuneration, and in consequence some recognition for their work.

The expectation that women would labour in the vineyard and at the same time look after a family was common among immigrants regardless of their country of origin. Soula, one of the women I interviewed in the Riverland, who migrated from Greece in the late 1950s, told of her long, hard, tiring days working in her vineyard while maintaining her household:

> After picking grapes all day I would go home, chop the wood, light the stove, make the hot water, bath the kids, wash the clothes and cook, and when he comes home at six o'clock everything is ready.

Women's work in the vineyard was sanctioned by grape-grower husbands, and deemed to be part of the women's supportive role.

There is evidence, both in the form of eye-witness accounts and photographs, of substantial contributions made by women to the labour in vineyards established by German immigrants in the Barossa Valley. Several successive waves of immigrants from the eastern regions of Germany arrived in South Australia during the early years of the colony and settled in the Barossa Valley. Producing wine for household use was part of the cultural heritage of the German immigrants, and German families in the Barossa Valley usually had small plots of vines in their *Gewann-flurteilung* or home paddock. The planting of the first commercial vineyard has been attributed to Johann Gramp who bought land at Jacob's Creek near Rowland Flat (Aeuckens et al.1988, p. 29). He planted his first

vines in 1847, and made his first wine in 1850 (*Register* 15 July 1927, p. 8). His holdings were gradually expanded to form the Orlando winery (Aeuckens et al., p.125). A photograph of the Gramp family and helpers at the 1898 vintage, discussed in Chapter 5, shows a group of pickers in working clothes, mainly women, posing formally in front of a horse and cart filled with grapes (Appendix D).

Mechanisation and reduction of the rural labour force

Most colonists were employed or owned property in the rural sector. Colonial settlers often suffered from an initial shortage of capital exacerbated by the economic hardship that resulted from periodic droughts and the lengthy unproductive time required to clear land and establish their farms. Before the introduction of agricultural machinery became widespread in South Australian farms, which tended to lag behind English farms, much of the rural population, male and female, was engaged in farm labour (Williams and Williams 1986, p. 513).

The proportion of the population living and working in rural areas declined steadily in the second half of the nineteenth century in England, and in the early twentieth century in South Australia. Davidoff and Hall (1992) argue that by 1850 in England, as machinery began to be used in farming and chemicals were introduced as fertilisers, the demand for labour was reduced and there was a growing belief that outdoor work on a farm was unsuitable for women (Davidoff and Hall, p. 275). In South Australia as a result of increased agricultural mechanisation by the beginning of the twentieth century the number of employees in the rural sector, including the grape growing industry, had begun to decline (Stevenson 1986, p. 179). The rural labour market was transformed in South Australia during the twentieth century with a marked reduction in employment opportunities, particularly for women.

The effect of mechanisation in agriculture in reducing labour opportunities for women is parallelled in other rural sectors, such as the dairy industry. In her interview, Odette, one of the participants in my research, discussed the changes in work practices on her family property in the Barossa Valley as a result of increased participation in the dairy-produce market, which led to the introduction of milking machines and an increase the size of the herd. The main effect of the changes for her was that the milking was taken over by males and she no longer worked in the dairy. Similar changes in the dairy industry have been reported in other countries such as Canada, the United States and England (Shortall 2000, pp. 248-250). Osterud (1991) observed the negative effects of increased mechanisation on women's involvement in the dairy industry in a rural area of the United States, which coincided with the development of the dairy products into a market commodity and which resulted in women being gradually eased out of the dairy (Osterud, pp. 283-284).

Mechanisation in South Australia

In the late nineteenth century mechanisation began to spread in Australian farms. In 1843 a machine for stripping grain from stalks was developed in South Australia by John Ridley. Ridley's machine was not widely used, but it formed the basis of an improved machine developed in Victoria in 1884 by the McKay brothers. The McKay harvester

stripped, threshed, winnowed and bagged wheat in one operation. The machine was sold in increasing numbers throughout Australia in the late nineteenth century and by 1900 the brothers were able to claim that it had been shown to reduce harvesting costs by two-thirds. Another important innovation was the revolutionary stump-jump plough, invented in South Australia by the Smith brothers in 1875. The mechanisation of agriculture steadily increased in South Australia during the last decades of the nineteenth century and through the twentieth century.

Mechanisation had less effect on employment in viticulture than in other rural industries. The spread of mechanisation was slower and less widespread in the wine industry than in agriculture, and its effect on employment was less marked, although some mechanisation occurred in large grape-growing properties after 1900. This resulted in a small decline in employment in vineyards, particularly of women, who were considered unsuited to the use of the new machines and consequently were largely excluded from employment in broad-acre viticulture estates (Stevenson 1986, p. 179). I would suggest that one of the main reasons that the introduction of machinery was less widespread in vineyards than in agricultural properties during the second half of the nineteenth century was that the wine industry suffered some severe setbacks at that time and was not always profitable.

Progress and stagnation in South Australian wine production

It was customary in the first colonial settlements for vines to be grown for the small-scale production of table grapes and dried fruit as well as for wine (Osmond and Anderson 1998, p. 4). In the second half of the nineteenth century wine grapes were cultivated widely in the Barossa Valley, particularly on farms owned by German families, where they were grown largely for home use. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century it was customary for the German farmers to be assisted in tending the vines by the women and often by all members of the family, as may be seen in photographs such as those discussed in Chapter 5. Through their work in the vineyard, these women made a substantial contribution to their family economy, even though their efforts were not rewarded by wages. It is still customary for women to labour without wages in many family vineyards, as attested by several participants in my research, including Karen, Linda, Odette and Soula. This form of employment has been largely unaffected by the economic fluctuations of the commercial vine growing and wine making.

Wine production in South Australia and the other colonies was characterised by cycles of surging development followed by periods of stagnation. One such period in which there was a strong rise followed by a plateau in production was from the 1850s to the 1880s. Robert Osmond and Kym Anderson (1998) show that the total area of land planted with vines in South Australia rose by 16% per annum from 1854 to 1871, by which time the supply of wine had expanded ten-fold and out-stripped local demand. The decline in profitability was not easily remedied, since the export of wine to Britain was restricted by a trade preference agreement with South Africa, and exports to the other colonies in Victoria and New South Wales were inhibited by prohibitively high tariffs (Osmond and Anderson, p. 4). During the 1870s wine production fell almost 30 percent in South Australia (Osmond and Anderson, p. 5). The economic difficulties of Australian growers in the 1870s are reflected in the records of acreage planted, which were negative throughout the decade (Osmond and Anderson, p. 38).

In the period from the 1880s to World War I. there were further surges in the planting of vines and the production of wine, with an expansion of both the export and home markets. The improving economic position of the industry resulted in the establishment of several large family companies. The concentration of winery ownership in the hands of the three great wine-making dynasties, Hardy, Penfold and Seppelt, allowed extensive capital developments, including the adoption of mechanisation in vineyards and wineries (Beeston 1994; Bell 1993, 1994; Halliday 1994)

Importantly, the expansion of the industry included the proliferation of family vineyards, which were usually small compared to agricultural properties. On these properties, which were usually modestly capitalised, there was little mechanisation. Much of the new machinery was unsuited to the cultivation of perennial plants such as vines and for the harvesting of grapes. Grapes were customarily cultivated as free-growing, unsupported bushes, as seen in the photographs of vineyards dating between 1910 and 1930, discussed in Chapter 5. Old bush vines still survive in a few rows at Turkey Flat and other wineries in the Barossa Valley. The grape-growing industry awaited the appearance of specialised harvesting machines and the widespread adoption of trellising to facilitate the use of the machines.

The new harvesting machines which were introduced in 1969 were ideally suited to the long straight rows of vines and flat terrain of the broad-acre Riverland properties, but were soon introduced to the Barossa and other regions as well (Gent 2003, pp. 292-293). During the last decades of the twentieth century the amalgamation of wine-producing companies and the consolidation of vineyards into broad-acre properties began to have a serious effect on employment in the industry. The use of specialised machines for harvesting grapes and other processes in the large vineyards, the modernisation of the juice extraction and fermentation processes in company wineries, and the introduction of the wine cask, for which David Wynn had acquired the patent in 1971 and which by 1980 accounted for half of domestic white wine sales, led to substantial reductions in the employment of labour in the corporate sector of the wine industry (Gent, pp. 286-287, 292-294). This expansion of white wine production, led to the doubling of the per capita consumption of wine in Australia in the decade to 1985 (Osmond and Anderson 1998, p. 13). Reflecting a change of fashion in consumer tastes, the increase of white wine consumption helped to induce a sharp decrease in red wine sales in the early 1980s, leading to the public perception of a glut and to a government scheme implemented in 1985 to compensate growers who uprooted red-grape vines (Gent 2003, p. 295). Osmond and Anderson (1998) report that from 1984 to the present day there has been a steady increase of consumer interest in premium red wines, stimulated by a marked surge in wine production and a strong expansion of the export trade. Partly accounting for the increased production and export of wine are the numerous mergers of wine companies that have occurred (Halliday 1994, p. 59). In 1978 there were 17 percent of wine firms crushing more than 1000 tonnes per annum while ten years later this quantity of grapes was crushed by only 4 percent of wine producers. Although the number of wine-producing firms in Australia had jumped from less than 200 in 1971 to more than 900 in 1998, by this time the big three wine conglomerates in Australia were producing 50 percent of the annual vintage (Osmond and Anderson, p. 14).

However, as Gent (2003) has argued, the decline in employment was less marked in grape-growing properties than in agricultural farms, because the introduction of machinery was less widespread in vineyards, many of which were relatively small properties, and in any case much of the new cultivating machinery was unsuited to the cultivation of a perennial crop such as vines. In the last decades of the century the amalgamation of wine-producing companies, the consolidation of vineyards into broad-acre properties, the introduction of machines for harvesting and other processes in vineyards, and the modernisation of the juice extraction and fermentation processes in wineries, which began in the late 1960s, led to reduced opportunities for the employment of labour in the wine industry (Gent, pp. 292-294). In the second half of the twentieth century the reduction in job opportunities was most noticeable in manual work such as grape picking, and anecdotal evidence, such as that reported by my interviewee, Linda in the Barossa Valley, suggests it had a negative effect particularly on employment for women.

In contrast to agriculture, where mechanisation has been widespread, manual labour is still used extensively in the smaller vineyards of South Australia. Since the hiring of machinery can be very expensive, the need for cost optimisation often determines that in the smaller enterprises, operations such as harvesting grapes, pruning vines and sometimes even making wine must still conducted largely by hand. As Andrea in the Barossa Valley, Barbara in the Riverland, and other interviewees declared, job opportunities for women still remain in the smaller South Australian wine-industry enterprises. The employment of casual labour on a seasonal basis is especially widespread on Kangaroo Island, where most of the vineyards are quite small, including those of my interviewees Karen, Virginia and Lisa. Even on larger properties in the Barossa Valley and Riverland, because the varieties of grapes ripen at different times during the late summer and autumn months, it may be more economical for some of the smaller plantings of less common varieties to be hand picked, as Linda reported in her interview.

In the 1960s, and especially after 1970, there were extensive changes to the South Australian wine industry, bringing an era of expansion and prosperity (Sheehan 1995, p. 112). In the expanding vineyards of this period, as attested by the participants Andrea, Mavis and Soula, the labour force, which was still largely composed of women, became markedly more professional. Until the 1950s the employment of experienced adult pickers and pruners was mainly confined to large commercial vineyards, such as that of Johann Gramp and Edward Salter, discussed in the chapter about the Barossa Valley.

In contrast, at busy times in the smaller family vineyard, the housewife and perhaps the whole family, were expected to participate in work such as grape picking and pruning. In her reminiscences about life as a child on the family vineyard in Riverland in the 1940s, Peg Mortimer writes:

> Mother came down at mid-morning bringing tea and buns and then helped with the cutting until lunch time. After lunch she came back and cut all afternoon, except for another break to make afternoon tea. (Mortimer 1996, p. 29)

Barbara, now a middle-aged woman, described in her interview how she worked as a child with her mother and father when she lived on the family vineyard in the Riverland:

> We had a lot of wine grapes. I would have been in my teens when I helped pick the grapes with my parents. I used to help with picking, and, yes, it was very hard work. If it's really hot, it's not very pleasant and you get really dirty and sticky, but we all had to help.

Similarly, Sandra, another interviewee, said that when her children were small she took them with her to play in the vineyard while she worked, and when they were older they helped at busy times:

> My husband and I had another vineyard further up the river and we used to go up there on Friday and pick grapes by moonlight up there. One of my boys used to say, 'Mr Moon, shine here so we can see the grapes.'

Children may still be expected to work in their family vineyard at vintage. When Linda, who lives on a Barossa Valley vineyard that she owns in partnership with her husband, was describing the jobs that men and women do on their property, she mentioned that her four children aged between nine and fourteen are all expected to help in busy times: 'All the children go out and help in the vineyard. When it comes to planting, we all plant. We all help out there'.

Photographs of women in the extended home paddock from the last century indicate that family work practices described by Barbara, Sandra and Linda have changed very little from colonial days. A photograph of the Gramp family taken at vintage in 1898 in the Barossa Valley shows a group of people posing formally in front of a horse and cart filled with grapes (Appendix D). There are six women, two young girls, one boy, and three men, one of whom is holding two toddlers. It is evident from the stains on their hands and clothing that the women and girls have been picking grapes, which fill a cart in the background. There is a young boy who kneels next to a metal bucket and whose job has been to carry buckets filled with grapes to the cart. This photograph is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 Barossa Valley.

Linda described her own work as diverse and demanding. She told me that at vintage time, when heavy machinery such as trucks and tractors were required on different parts of the property, she was expected to drive and shift the equipment for the next day's work: 'You come home and cook tea and then you have to go out and shift trucks. It is dirty, hard work'. Women's intrusion into the public space was legitimised by necessity. Linda said she felt that at harvest time it was like working full time, and she was fully aware of her economic significance in the family enterprise:

> Well for me it's like having a full-time job. Instead of me going and working for someone else, I'm working in our family business, and if I didn't do it, we'd have to employ more people to do it.

In addition to working in the vineyard, the housewife was expected to maintain her household and carry out her normal domestic duties. Linda described her working hours during harvest time:

> You work really long hours and you fit the children in between. We pick five days a week during vintage. I pick my son up from school at three and then I come home to get tea for my husband so he can go out picking again at six.

She was conscious that were she not to make her contribution, two employees would be needed to carry out her workload:

> You go out there through those times, during harvest there's a lot of pressure. The vineyard's full-time and you've got children in the house. It is like having two full-time jobs.

In colonial times as well as in the twentieth century, in spite of the fact that driving a truck or even a horse and cart was usually considered men's work, instances have been recorded of women transporting grapes to wineries at some distance from the vineyard in which they worked. Writing in 1903, Whitington reports seeing German women in the Barossa Valley taking grapes in a horse and cart to the wineries. In the mid 1920s grapes were still taken, occasionally by women, to the Berri distillery in horse-drawn carts and also sometimes in model-T Ford cars that had been cut down by removing half of the roof and replacing the back of the car with a tray to form a small truck (Woolmer 1973, p. 64). Mavis, one of the women interviewed in the Riverland, established her own trucking business in the early 1940s and transported animals and produce, including wine grapes, which she took to a wineries in the Riverland.

> I remember going there with the first load. I had an Austin tipper truck and I loaded it here and I went up to the winery at Barmera. I weighed it and backed it in. I never spilled a grape.

As well as taking grapes to local wineries, Mavis would often load a fifteen-ton trailer and deliver the grapes to a winery at Nuriootpa in the Barossa Valley.

Under valuation of women's work

The extent and variety of women's contributions to the wine industry has never been adequately documented. The part played by women in economic activity during the colonial era was consistently understated in statistical records. The colonial censors reflected the assumptions of their times by underestimating the proportion of women in the workforce, sometimes falsifying the records and even excluding whole categories of female workers from their statistics (Alford 1986; Deacon 1985; Spearritt 1990). In Anderson's words: 'Nineteenth century concepts of women were synonymous with marriage, domesticity and reproduction' (Anderson 1992, p. 229). Marriage was the normal state of being for women. Single women were seen as working only until they married. When urban married women worked they were seen to be supplementing the family income (Anderson 1992; Frances 1988; Lake 1988). When rural women sold surplus home-grown products such as vegetables or eggs, as described Odette's narrative, they were providing a little extra to add to the family income. Those women who worked on their family farm without payment, or away from the farm to earn wages, were helping to consolidate the family economy (Haslam-McKenzie 1998, p. 28). The subsidiary status of women is evident from the inequality of their pay. As in England, the wages of Australian women were generally set at half of those for men, even when the women performed the same work as men (Anderson 1992, p. 229; Alford 1984; John 1986).

From colonial times to the present day, the work that married women contributed to the economy has been by no means restricted to wage earning for an employer, for much of their labour was, and still is unpaid. In colonial times, economic theorists reflected the dominant gender ideology of the nineteenth century by refusing to recognise rural women's unpaid work, both in the home and the vineyard or farm. According to Haslam-McKenzie, the widespread practice of patrilineal inheritance meant that the usual point of entry for women into farming has been through marriage,

and as a result they are customarily deemed in official records such as census statistics, to be dependents of husbands (Haslam-McKenzie 1998, p. 28; Pini 2003; Voyce 1999;). An important variant of patrilineal inheritance is discussed by Barbara Pini in her study of the Australian sugar industry (Pini, pp. 171-182). When farming widows take on the responsibility for the family enterprise on the death of their husbands, there are substantial changes in their roles as well as a significant identity shift. They now see themselves for the first time as *farmers* in their own right, rather than as *helpers* on the farm, and may now be recognised in the industry and may seek to join industry organisations (Pini, p. 171). The women's altered sense of identity is expressed in a remark by a recently widowed participant in one of Pini's focus groups: 'I could say I'm going to be a farmer now. I was a side-kick for my husband' (Pini, p. 176). However, these women often they saw themselves in a caretaker role, maintaining the farm for the future benefit of male children, who will one day inherit it (Pini, p. 175).

A similar situation in which women took over the management of family enterprises on the death of their husbands occurred during the late nineteenth century in several large wineries in South Australia. Especially notable was Mary Penfold, who played a far more important part than has been generally recognised in the establishing the Penfolds vineyard at Magill during the 1850s (Port 2000, p.7). Her husband, Dr Christopher Rawson Penfold, a busy general practitioner and town councillor, has been credited with responsibility for the wine-production enterprise. However, Jeni Port and Susanna de Vries (2002) have both argued convincingly that not only did Mary take over the management of the family wine-production enterprise on Dr Penfold's death in 1870, but, as recorded in her day-book, it was really Mary who was largely responsible for the establishment and maintenance of the vineyard and for the winemaking, while he was an active general practitioner (Port, p.7; de Vries 1995, 2002, p. 8). Mary retained full control of the company until her retirement in 1884, when she handed over the management of the business to Joseph Gillard (de Vries 2002, pp. 2-14). Control of the company passed to Mary's grandson, Herbert Hyland-Penfold on Gillard's retirement in 1905 (de Vries, p. 12). Mary's winemaking activities had been reported in the *Register* in 1874:

> Mrs Penfold makes four varieties of wine, sweet and dry red, and sweet and dry white. Grapes of all kinds are used and the uniformity which is so great a consideration is secured by blending the wines when they are two or three years old. This is done under Mrs Penfold's personal supervision, not in conformity to any fixed and definite rule but entirely according to her judgement and taste.' ('Mrs Penfold's wine manufactory', *Adelaide Register,* 4 June 1874).

This newspaper report implies that Mary Penfold had maintained the winery in a business-like and professional manner. The maintenance of a uniform standard by judicious blending as well as the use of excellent fruit, which was established in the winery under her management, is still the company's declared objective, but it is significant that the official history of Penfolds makes no mention of the important part played by Mary in establishing this policy and developing the company (*Rewards*, 1994, p. 23).

Another example of a woman taking control of a winery was Alice Potts, who managed the Bleasdale Winery at Langhorne Creek from the death

of her husband in 1917 until her own death in 1935. In this case, the achievements of the female manager are recognised in company publicity (Smith 1986, p. 24). Similarly, Andrea, one of my interviewees, took over control of her family vineyard when her husband became seriously ill. There were probably many other women who managed wineries in the Barossa Valley without drawing the attention of most wine writers and historians. For example, Sophia bis Winckel and Mary Smith maintained their family wineries in the absence of their husbands and Joanne Fiedler took over the family wine-producing enterprise after her husband's death.

> *In the twentieth century, the prevailing social attitudes were reflected in the continuing lack of recognition of the economic value of women's unpaid work and the consequent failure of bodies such as government departments or farming organizations to acknowledge the contribution to the farming sector of those women who do not receive wages. Even those women who are paid for their work on farms, comprising a third of the paid farm workforce, are, according to Alston, subject to gender discrimination, holding less than ten percent of positions as industry officials (Alston 1998, p. 197).*

The lack of recognition and respect for women's work occurred in manufacturing as well as farming. The gendered division of labour, the undervaluation of women's work, and the tendency to locate women in the domestic environment, were by no means confined to the rural sector. Rather they were, and to a large extent still are, pervasive characteristics of the social and economic structure. It is evident from a study by Raelene Frances (1991) of the families of factory workers in Melbourne between 1880 and 1939 that the status of women and the gender division of labour in rural society is in some ways replicated in urban industrial society. Frances notes that in general women in the footwear manufacturing industry were excluded from union leadership, while as union members they mobilised principally in support of men and much less often on their own behalf. Even where both partners were receiving wages, the 'defence of men's earnings was seen as the front-line in the battle for survival of the family economy' (Frances, pp. 66-67).

Frances (1991) asserts that the male sense of identity is largely derived from a man's positioning and performance in the public arena. Male workers in the

printing industry in the early twentieth century were adamantly opposed to the entry of women to the workplace. According to Frances, their opposition was engendered by fear that the admission of women to work designated as a male occupation, would threaten the male status as the provider, and undermine male pride in doing a manly job (Frances, p. 70). It is evident that similar motives underlie the failure, reported by Haslam-McKenzie (1998) and others, of the male-dominated unions and other official organisations in the agriculture industry, to recognise women's achievements (Haslam-McKenzie, p. 25). Sometimes women seem to acquiesce in their relegation to inferior status, and I sensed that some of the women I interviewed in the wine-production regions were reluctant to claim for themselves the status of vignerons. For instance, as discussed in the interviews chapter, Karen, who co-owns a family vineyard on Kangaroo Island, seemed to prefer to avoid any challenge to male self-esteem by presenting herself as an assistant to her husband, who was assumed to play the principal role in their enterprise.

Although aware that the economic survival of the family enterprise might depend largely on their labour, women often tended to play down their own importance and the value of their participation. Several of the women I interviewed expressed a clear awareness of their importance as contributors to the labour force in the vineyard or winery in which they worked. Ann, who is a partner with her husband in a South Australian family vineyard, and
who manages the cellar and wine sales, commented during her interview: 'As for women in the industry, I don't think the guys can get on without us! I think we complement each other.' The wine makers, Leanne and Winni, whose interviews are discussed in detail in Chapter 8, also expressed confidence in the importance of their work. Nevertheless, most of the women tended to play down their status in the wine-production enterprise. Haslam-McKenzie (1998) asserts that the official undervaluation of women's part in the rural economy tends to be echoed in the attitudes of the women themselves, who, even when they are partners in the farming enterprises, often do not refer to themselves as a farmer, but as a 'helper' of their farmer husband (Haslam-McKenzie, p. 28). Some of the women I interviewed, who live and work on vineyards, seemed to share this tendency to understate their responsibilities in the family enterprise. Self-deprecation was evident, for instance, in my interview with Karen, who although a partner with her husband in their vineyard, is the effective manager of the property and does most of the labour, yet defers to him as the guiding force of the enterprise.

Gender relations could be affected by the disruptions to the conventional domestic arrangements of gendered spaces that occurred when women moved into the extended home paddock, or away from the farm, to work. In some circumstances the work done by women may be seen as undermining the self-esteem of males. It has been argued that rural women who do off-farm work, bringing in wages to supplement the income derived from the farm, may experience conflict in the family because they have challenged normative values (Grimshaw et al. 1994, p. 122).

It might be openly conceded within the family that a source of additional income is a financial necessity, and the male farmer might appear to acquiesce in his wife's off-farm work, yet he may feel in the end that her new employment

undermines his self-esteem by making obvious the failure of the farm to be self-supporting. A man's social standing and sense of identity, like that of his wife, is affected by the conditions in their home and by factors such as its position, size, condition and furnishings, as well as by the size, variety of plants and state of upkeep of the garden (Frances 1991, p.70; Holmes 1995, p. 60). The performance of men and women in carrying out their duties and responsibilities within their designated workspace is, throughout society, a primary determinant of gender identity.

Beyond the home paddock: intrusions into the public space

Much recent research has been devoted to investigating women's involvement in farming in Australia and overseas (Alston 1995; Campbell 1998; Dunn 1991; Gasson and Winter 1992; Haslam-McKenzie 1998; Lewis 1998; Pini 2003a, 2003b, 2003c; Sarantakos 1998; Saugeres 2002a, 2002b; Shortall 1993, 2000; Whatmore 1993). In Australia, as elsewhere, the importance of women's contributions in the rural sector has received little acknowledgement. It has been shown that rural wives have participated in all aspects of farm work (Haslam-McKenzie, p. 25). Yet, in Alston's words, 'The devaluing of women and their contribution to agriculture has been a constant feature of our history' (Alston, p. 2). In particular their economic contribution has not yet been fully acknowledged, presumably because they do not receive wages and because economic theory does not recognise unpaid work. Their contribution is irreplaceable, as it would not be possible to find a paid worker or workers who could carry out the range of tasks performed by the farm wife, and the wages paid would constitute a substantial additional, and probably unsustainable, cost (Haslam-McKenzie, p. 25). The women I interviewed seemed fully aware of the economic importance of their labour in the vineyard as well as in the household and home paddock. For instance, Linda, who co-owns a vineyard in the Barossa Valley with her husband, asserted during her interview that paid workers could not carry out the varied chores that she performed, nor would they work with such energy and enthusiasm.

Agriculture is seen as a male domain. The status of the male as provider for his family precluded adequate recognition of women's contributions in the public arena, including their labour in family enterprises and properties. It has been estimated that a third of the farm workforce in Australia consists of women (Haslam-McKenzie 1998, p. 27). Alston (1998a) asserts that women make up forty percent of farm partners, and they also perform an important role in farm labour (Alston, p.197). She notes that the farming family operates ninety percent of farms in Australia and 1.25 million women live and work on Australian farms (Alston 1995, p. 2). Yet women hold only eight percent of positions as industry officials, indicating a general lack of recognition of their contribution to the industry and their potential as leaders. Alston explains this in terms of 'gender and power relations and the culture of farm organisations', which impede the access of women to leadership positions. In spite of the extensive participation by women in the industry, farming organisations do not effectively promote gender equity. Alston declares that her survey of rural women in leadership positions shows that in fifty-eight percent of agricultural boards there are either one or two women only (Alston 1998b, p. 22). While the rhetoric of agricultural leaders and politicians is supportive of the principle of gender equity, in practice it is not implemented. However, women have

found other opportunities to develop their viewpoint, by means of networks and their own organisations and informal groups (Alston 1998, p. 206-7).

The farmer's wife performs a variety of roles contributing to the farm business, carrying out her domestic duties and often providing additional services in the community (Haslam-McKenzie 1998, p. 25) The full extent of her contribution is not acknowledged in the public arena, for instance by farming organisations, rural newspapers or government departments. Although many of the farming women do not identify themselves as farmers, preferring to see themselves in domestic and supportive roles, they generally seem well aware of the importance of their own contribution to the family farming enterprise, seeing themselves as indispensable to the economic well-being of the farm (Haslam-McKenzie 1998, p. 28). This is reflected in my interview with Linda in the Barossa Valley, as discussed in Chapter 8. She estimated that because of her motivation and hard work, to replace her labour in the vineyard would require the employment of several full-time workers.

One of the principal aims of my research has been to ascertain what contributions women made to the development of wine production in South Australia. Among the women I interviewed, several lived and worked on extensive vineyards, including Linda and Sandra in the Barossa Valley, Fiona and Soula in the Riverland and Karen and Lana on Kangaroo Island. Linda, who had been brought up in Adelaide and was unfamiliar with country life, married a vigneron and moved to the Barossa Valley. Her daily routine typified that of several of the other interviewees, described in the interviews chapter. Linda worked in a nearby town until her first child was born. She did not resume her off-farm job, but laboured part-time in the vineyard in addition to her domestic duties, taking her babies with her when she picked and pruned. Later, when her three children were at school, her hours in the vineyard were extended, and at busy times there were also occasions when it was necessary to work at night, for instance driving harvesters and tractors to various parts of the property. In families such as Linda's, there was an expectation that the housewives would contribute to family incomes by labouring in their vineyards, as well as working, also without pay, in their domestic spaces.

In the agriculture sector, the public and private domains were not necessarily mutually exclusive. The domestic arena could expand or contract according to seasonally dictated imperatives. A woman's responsibilities could increase, also, in times of hardship arising from occurrences such as economic recessions, precluding the employment of casual labourers, or the illness or death of the male. Moreover, it is interesting to note as discussed in Chapter 8, that during the interviews there were also occasional indications that women had deliberately used extensions of the home paddock as a lever to achieve a greater degree of equality or increased participation in the family enterprise. This was evident, particularly, in the push by Kate and Virginia on Kangaroo Island, to extend their opportunities to drive tractors or to participate in activities such as chemical spraying, in which they had previously been restricted on the grounds that they were not really appropriate work for women.

Supporting the rural enterprise: women's unrecognised contributions

The lack of acknowledgement of women's contributions to wine production in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is parallelled by the inadequate recognition of women's participation in agricultural labour. In the words of Grimshaw et al. (1994), 'Women's labour underwrote the economic transformation of colonial Australia' (Grimshaw et al., p.121). Quantifying women's work in the colony of South Australia is problematic (Anderson 1992, p. 227). Distortions of the statistics arise, among other causes, from the omission of whole categories of women workers, and women's rural work is consistently undervalued (Alford 1986; Anderson 1992; Deacon 1985; Spearritt 1990). However, Haslam-McKenzie (1998) claims that the role of the rural woman was both a universal and an essential feature of the social and economic landscape in rural Australia. She estimates that a third of the farm workforce in Australia consists of women (Haslam-McKenzie, p. 27).

From colonial times it has been customary for women to contribute their labour to family vineyards. Yet, in spite of their substantial contribution to the rural economy, women were accorded a subsidiary place in the male-dominated hierarchy of Australian farms, and, in particular, of South Australian family vineyards. Official records in Australia fail to disclose the extent of women's contribution to agriculture in general and to wine production in particular. While participating in the rural work force, many women have continued to maintain their household and nurtured their family, yet in spite of their substantial contribution from early times to the present day, women have been omitted from statistics relating to the labour force of the farming sector, including the grape-growing industry. It is difficult to establish accurate figures of women involved in farming as early records did not record the numbers of farm wives who were engaged in agriculture.

The lack of recognition of women's part in economic activities is discussed by Alford (1986). who challenges the collection of statistics by nineteenth century statisticians, using the example of women who worked in the goldfields in Bendigo, Victoria. Contemporary accounts describe many women fossicking for gold, but an official census carried out in 1871 did not identify any women on the site. She argues that government officials may have been biased in their collection of information, suggesting that they were influenced by their own personal values in their selective gathering of data, and that as a result women at the diggings were not given official recognition, just as if they had become invisible. Alford's conclusions seem to be confirmed by the published journal of Mrs Charles Clacy (1853), relating her experiences while digging for gold with her husband and brothers at Bendigo in 1852-3, in which she attests to the presence of women at the goldfields (Clacy, pp. 53-4). She describes the shops at the diggings, which sold a great variety of goods, including 'pairs of stays, babies' caps, cradles, frocks ... and baby linen'. It was a very noisy environment, where there were 'children bawling ... and women's tongues going nineteen to the dozen'. Clacy's observation of goods such as baby clothes and cradles, and women's frocks displayed for sale in the store, as well as her description of women in the streets, is evidence of a well-established presence of women at the goldfields.

It is difficult to establish accurate figures of women involved in colonial farming as early records did not record the numbers of farm wives who were engaged in

agriculture. Alston (1995) writes that in 1893 there was sense of embarrassment that women worked in agriculture in a developing country such as Australia and it was agreed that their contribution would not be officially recorded (Alston, p. 3). The economic necessities that induced farm wives to work outside the house, and beyond the home paddock, which was their accepted locus of responsibility, threatened to undermine the self-esteem of the male breadwinner. Similarly, there are no records of the number of women who worked in colonial vineyards, and even now the Australian Bureau of Statistics, widely used by the government, employer associations, labour unions and academic researchers, as the official and most reliable source of information obtained from census data, is unable to provide figures relating to the number of women employed in the wine industry in South Australia.

The female component of the rural workforce was not confined to paid workers but included farm wives working, usually without pay, on their family properties. In rural family enterprises, wives were expected to enter the public space to work, on a regular basis, at tasks associated with farm production in addition to their customary domestic tasks within the house and the land immediately surrounding it. The significant parts played by women in the production of wine in South Australia are reflected in my interviews with women who have worked or are now working in vineyards or wineries.

The economic necessities that induced farm wives to work outside the house, and beyond the home paddock, labouring on their family farm, threatened to undermine the self-esteem of the male breadwinner. Margaret Alston (1995) writes that in 1893 there was sense of embarrassment that women worked in agriculture in a developing country such as Australia and it was agreed that their contribution would not be officially recorded (Alston, p. 3) Women have continued to the present day to be hidden contributors throughout the agriculture sector (Haslam-McKenzie 1998, p. 25). A similar lack of recognition applies in the grape-growing industry, and women's economic contributions, both to the household and to the farm or vineyard are rarely acknowledged.

Beyond patriarchal control: paid off-farm work for farm wives

Women are expected to maintain adequate house care, provision of meals and child nurturing, in spite of their increasing activities outside the house and beyond the home paddock. In times of necessity, rural women, including those living on vineyards, might be induced to seek work away from the family property. Margaret Alston's study (1995) of women's work in the rural sector concluded that it was common for women to work off-farm, with patriarchal approval, in order to supplement the family income (Alston, p.17.). Except when engaged in work condoned by her husband, the housewife was often severely restricted in moving out of the home paddock and beyond the front gate, and when she did venture into public male space, perhaps to visit a friend or relative, she might well be expected by her husband to account for the time spent away and defend her movements (Grimshaw et al.1994, p.130).

The ideology of the gendered division of labour persisted in the typical Australian rural household even though the public and private domains were not necessarily mutually exclusive and, farming women in spite of social and cultural restrictions

often worked off the property. When they worked within the confines of the home, or within their home paddock, women remained in their allocated domain and conformed to the prevailing concepts of gendered spaces, but when they worked outside their domestic sphere in paid employment, they entered the public spaces, which they shared with men outside the family, and by so doing, they were challenging accepted social values (Grimshaw et al.1994, p.130). It seems likely that the emergence of women from their private spaces, as they moved out from the home paddock into the public space, could be a potential source of domestic conflict (Allen et al. 1989, p. 2).

Three of the women I interviewed, who worked on their vineyards in partnership with their husbands, recalled that they had worked for wages away from their home for a short time, but only when the property was being established and the vines planted. Fiona co-owned a property at Loxton with her husband on which they established a vineyard in the late 1940s. She would help her husband plant or water vines all day, and after she made dinner, would ride her bicycle into the local telephone exchange, do a four-hour shift as a telephonist, and then ride home again. When Linda was first married and came to live on the large family vineyard owned by her husband and his two brothers in the Barossa Valley, she worked in the nearby town:

> When I first got married I went out and worked in an office. But then, after I had my children I never went back and just went out and worked in the vineyard. There was an expectation that I would work in the vineyard, that I would stay home and work in the vineyard.

Stella said that when she and her husband were developing their vineyard in the Barossa Valley, she also pruned vines for a large winery in the district, to earn extra money while their own vineyard was getting established.

There are indications that the practice of working off-farm for wages, which Alston (1995) has shown to be common among farm women in the agriculture sector, occurred less frequently on family grape-growing properties, especially after the vines have begun to yield fruit. Growers experience particularly lean times while their vineyard is being established. It usually takes at least three years for newly planted vines to bear a substantial crop, and during this time families sometimes look for alternative sources of income. Several of the women I interviewed, including Fiona who, with her husband, grew vines on their fruit block in the Riverland in the late 1940s, and Linda who lives and works on a family vineyard in the Barossa, undertook paid work to supplement the family income when their vineyards were being established.

The employment of family members away from the vineyard is generally not an ideal solution to the financial difficulties associated with the establishment of a vineyard. The processes of preparing the land and planting vines are very labour intensive, and in many instances the participation of the wife as an unpaid labourer, obviating the employment of casual labourers, proved to be essential. In the soldier settlement scheme in the Riverland after World War II, grape growers found that in the initial stages of the development of their vineyards the amount of time that men or women could spend in off-farm work was often limited by the labour requirements of the vineyard. Stella Holliday (1995), one of the contributors to Judith Weir's compilation of reminiscences about the soldier settlement at Cooltong, near Renmark, writes of the heavy workload entailed in

such work as clearing and preparing the block, digging irrigation channels, root trimming and planting the vines (Holliday, p. 42). The physical demands and heavy commitment of time required to establish vines were recognised by the South Australian government, and the ex-servicemen and their wives received a living allowance until their properties began to return an income (Mack 1995, pp. 23-25).

It appears that the practice of working off-farm has been less frequent among women living on South Australian vineyard properties, than it is in the rural sector as a whole. None of the women I interviewed who live on their vineyards presently works for wages away from the property. In Linda's family vineyard, for instance, as discussed in Chapter 8, it is no longer necessary for her to work elsewhere for wages to supplement the family income, since the income derived from the family vineyard is sufficient to make the enterprise self-sustaining. The anecdotal indications are that relative prosperity has continued since the post-war era in the South Australian wine industry. Tony Sheehan (1995) points out that the prosperity of the growers in the Cooltong area in the Riverland began in the late 1940s when the local distillery-wineries, Angove's and the Renmark Growers' Distillery, 'were looking for specific wine grape varieties to be grown'. Development was again stimulated in the 1970s by a dramatic swing away from fortified wines to white and red table wines (Sheehan, p. 114). More recently the significant expansion of home and overseas markets has resulted in further growth of the industry. Writing in 1998, Robert Osmond and Kym Anderson stated: 'The wine industry has contributed very substantially to growth of the Australian and especially South Australian economies in the past decade' (Osmond and Anderson, p. 21). However, there is a continuing need for her labour in the vineyard. As she explained in her interview, she is more committed than the casual workers she replaces, and she has developed a particular expertise in tasks such as tying-on. The reasons it is no longer necessary for women such as Linda to earn money by working away from their properties seem to lie not only in the steadily increasing earning capacity of the wine industry, but also in the large number of manual workers needed in vineyards, at least until the recent advent of mechanisation, and the general acceptance by the grape growers of women as casual workers, often comprising at least half of the work force.

Written records: the achievements of Ann Jacob

The story of the pioneering landowner, Ann Jacob, who voyaged on her own from England to South Australia in 1838 at the age of twenty and settled on land adjacent to the Gramp property, is little known and has been all but ignored in historical writing relating to the Barossa Valley region and the colony. I first read about Ann Jacob in Allen et al. (1989) and considered the possibility that there might be more information about her. Among the Horrocks family papers and records in the State Library of South Australia I found a copy of her diary and *Reminiscences.* In the diary, which is on microfilm, I found several references to vines and grapes, which appeared to have been planted in the early 1840s. These tantalising snippets provide evidence that Ann's property in the Barossa Valley most certainly had a vineyard, and that she was primarily responsible for it. The serendipitous nature of research cannot be overlooked, as the chance meeting of a relative of Ann's enabled me to have access to her original diary. The descendent of Ann, who as it turns out lives in the same suburb as I do, happily lent me many

documents and papers relating to her life in England. Ann's contribution to the development of the wine industry in South Australia has not been recognised. Documentation of her land purchase and involvement in grape growing is hidden in a variety of written records. The discovery of these primary sources proved to be an essential and pivotal contribution to my research.

Not all of the significant pioneers in the Barossa Valley wine industry were German immigrants, and Ann Jacob was one of the most important of the English settlers attracted to the region. She acquired a tract of land at Rowland Flat in 1839 and established *Morooroo*. On this large property at Jacobs Creek she planted a vineyard that was later to become part of the Orlando wine company estate. Ann kept a diary on her voyage from England and during the first few years in South Australia (SLSA PRG 966/1). It shows that, even before her arrival, she had an interest in wine and in grape growing, and it affirms the presence on her property of a flourishing vineyard. Ann was responsible for the management of *Morooroo*, with assistance for short periods of time by her brothers William and John, who both had employment that necessitated frequent absences. Documents in the South Australian Land Titles Office establish that Ann purchased the land in 1839 and owned it until her marriage in 1850 (SALTO Old System Pkt 21071).

Recognition of Ann Jacob's achievements is conspicuously absent from the history of the wine industry. Acknowledgement of women's contributions to both grape growing and wine making has been slow to emerge in the published historical narrative of the wine industry. Authors from Ebenezer Ward (1862), one of the earliest wine writers, to James Halliday (2000), who is well-known as a contemporary wine commentator for an Australian newspaper, have failed to recognise the significance of women's contributions. While the involvement of women in South Australian wine production has been consistently understated or neglected, Ann Jacob's contribution has been completely ignored. For instance Charles Gent (2003), like all his predecessors, omitted Ann from his recent narrative of the Australian wine industry, and Jeni Port (2000), who has begun the process of recognition with her account of women wine makers, does not include Ann Jacob.

Ann's diary makes little mention of her vineyard, and, for that matter, gives few details about the dairy products she made for sale or any other aspect of her day-to-day working life. The document really amounts to a record of the highlights of her social life, particularly the comings and goings of many visitors, including her friend the geologist, Johann Menge, and her husband to be, Arthur Horrocks. Her brother William is mentioned infrequently, and is spoken of as if he too was a visitor, and her other brother, John, who lived at the property, was evidently away for weeks at a time. Clearly Ann would have had many responsibilities around the property, but her silence about them in her memoranda suggests that she regarded them as commonplace, while the details of her social life were sufficiently exciting to be recorded. As Davidoff and Hall (1992) point out, outdoor labour was not considered a suitable occupation for women. While the tasks nominally assigned to men might, of necessity be undertaken by women, such practices were considered transgressions of the accepted norms, signifying social inferiority, and attempts were often made to hide or disguise them (Davidoff and Hall, p. 275).

A detailed analysis of primary sources, in particular of photographs, provides evidence that women work beyond the home paddock. The lack of recognition or relative silence about women's contributions to the industry cannot be explained simply by a lack of awareness within the industry itself of their achievements. It is perhaps significant that while there are several women employed as wine makers at a very high level in some of the larger companies in the Barossa Valley and Riverland, and although they have held their positions for a long time and are well reputed among their peers, their names rarely appear on company wine labels.

The work of women in their households and home paddocks, as well as further out in the vineyard, and in some cases away from their property, is described by interviewees such as Barbara, Kate and Linda. It is clearly divergent from the canons of behaviour for a genteel housewife proposed by an authority such as Mrs Beeton, as discussed earlier in this chapter. In recent studies it is argued that challenging what is and what is not new in family life can lead to a deeper analysis in family studies of diversity and change, and that the power structures in family relationships, when considered over the spread of class strata, are much more diverse than has been previously realised (Coontz 2000; Nelson 1997). It is evident, when considering the range of views expressed in my interviews, that the perspectives of individual respondents cannot readily be represented in terms of the simplified division of labour based on gender that is demanded by middle-class social ideology. At the same time, the principal responsibilities of the stereotypical housewife in heterosexual marriages in rural areas of Australia are clearly still deemed to be the household duties, which I have characterised as the labours of the house and home paddock (Barcan and O'Flaherty 1995; Bittman 1992; Bryson 1999; Epstein 1998; Gilding 1991, 1997; Jamrozik and Sweeney 1996; Kolar and Soriano 2000; Reiger 1991; Richards 1997).

This chapter has been concerned with gender divisions within the family in the wine-producing sector of South Australian rural society, during the second half of the nineteenth century and the twentieth century, and the implications for women of this gendered organisation of labour. Women have held their own with men in most sections of wine industry work, and in some aspects, such as wine making and judging, they are considered by some to have greater aptitude, or different skills from men. The next three chapters, dealing with the Barossa Valley, the Riverland and Kangaroo Island, consist of historical examinations of women's involvement in the wine industry.

Chapter 5 Barossa Valley

Introduction

In this chapter it will be seen that the Barossa Valley has a long history of wine production and that women have played a significant part in its establishment and development. Nineteenth century letters, journals and diaries, examined in the following pages, provide evidence of the early history of women working in the wine industry of the Barossa Valley. The interviews I held show the importance of women's contributions to the industry in more recent years. A combination of the primary sources and the women's narratives indicate the continued importance of women's work in vineyards and wineries. This project, unlike others, has combined the past with the contemporary experiences of women and indicates a long history of their contribution. A textual analysis of written material is provided in this chapter and the interviews are discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

In the past women carried out a range of tasks and responsibilities in wine production, including casual labour as pickers and pruners, as well as general work in the vineyard, sometimes including the operation of vehicles or machinery. Women have a similar involvement in the wine industry in the present day, with the addition of full-time employment in areas such as wine making, laboratory work and viticulture. Examples of women's involvement in all of these areas are discussed in this chapter.

Indigenous inhabitants

Exploration of the area now known as the Barossa Valley was led by Colonel William Light in 1837. In the Lyndoch Valley, he found plenty of fresh water and good grass for cattle (Munchenberg 1992, p. 11). The Aboriginal people he encountered were from the northern Peramangk tribe, occupying the territory up to the North Para River, and extending east to Keyneton and west to Sandy Creek (Tindale 1974, p. 8). Mrs Grigg of Springton, recalled that when she lived at Pewsey Vale Station as a young girl, in the late 1850s, a number of Aborigines were camped at Jacob's Creek (Hossfield 1926, p. 293). The other people inhabiting the Barossa Valley area were the Ngadjuri, who lived to the north of the Para River to Clare and who shared a boundary with the Peramangks east of Truro (Tindale 1974, p. 8).

Stone tools, cave paintings and rock engravings discovered in the Barossa and Eden Valleys indicate a long history of Aboriginal groups occupying the area. Food and water were plentiful, and the tribes had evidently moved freely and easily about their lands. Examples of Ngadjuri engravings and paintings can be seen in the Kaiser Stuhl National Park near Bethany in the Barossa Valley, while in the area around Springton and Eden Valley paintings of human figures can be seen on several cave walls (Hossfield 1926, p. 291).

When the European settlers arrived in the Barossa Valley they steadily displaced the Aboriginal people from the land. Cattle and sheep drank from the waterholes, huge tracts of land were cleared and fenced, and crops were planted. Many of the Ngadjuri people moved towards Morgan on the River Murray. As the Aboriginal

people were dispossessed, their cultural and religious ties with the land were destroyed. In addition, the indigenous people had no immunity to European diseases and many elders died before they had time to pass on their knowledge of tribal customs, which could only have been transmitted orally since there was no written language. Although the relationship between the settlers and the Aboriginal people was mostly quite friendly, it was largely as a result of white settlement that several tribes had died out by 1850 (Foster and Gara 1986, 67-68).

Aboriginal men and women were employed, usually on a casual basis, by some of the colonists in country villages and farms, though less frequently in Adelaide. While it is difficult to measure the extent to which their labour was used by the settlers, there are several contemporary accounts of Aboriginal men and women being employed as farm hands. In January 1844, Michael Moorhouse, the Protector of Aborigines wrote in his quarterly report that, when distributing food and other goods, 'the country settlers adopt the plan of having the equivalent in labor for all they give to the Natives'. As an example, he reported that, 'several tribes...assisted Mr Emmett in cutting nearly 200 acres of wheat' at Lyndoch (SASA CSO 20/1844 p. 7). Henry Jones, a journalist whose nom de plume was Old Colonist , reported in his newspaper column that both Aboriginal men and women were hired as reapers (*Register* 23rd December 1850, p. 12). Later he observed Aboriginal people working in a mine at Kapunda, near the Barossa Valley (*Register* 10th February 1851, p. 9).
In view of such accounts of Aboriginal people being employed in rural areas, it seems likely that both males and females worked in vineyards.

Cultural differences sometimes caused difficulties, and the relations between settlers and Aborigines were not always trouble-free. Ann Jacob describes an incident in her *Reminiscences* :

> A large number of natives came & seemed inclined to remain which I did not quite fancy, not knowing what they were likely to do, and there were about 50 of them, so, as I had heard they were afraid of cattle, I went to the stockyard, a native closely following me & told Sands to turn out the cattle; as soon as the slip panel was opened away went the natives. (SLSA PRG 966/2)

Many of the German settlers seem to have achieved a relationship of mutual respect with the Indigenous people. Heuzenroeder discusses the likelihood of local tribes showing the settlers how to obtain food in the bush, including native currants and buttercup root, and how to catch possums (Heuzenroeder 1999, p. 148). Schramm's painting, *A scene in South Australia* , despicts a Prussian family outside a Barossa Valley farmhouse in 1850, in friendly conversation with a group of Aboriginal people. At the centre of the picture a young Aboriginal mother stands next to the German farmer. She is smiling and relaxed and carries her baby in a sling on her back, while he holds a small child in his arms. Close by is another Aboriginal woman in a relaxed pose watching the German housewife, who stands under a tree, washing clothes. In the foreground, an Aboriginal woman tends a large cooking pot over a fire. In the scene there are other adults and children, as well as several dogs, and all seem relaxed and calm.

Colonial wine makers
Among the nineteenth century women to be discussed are the English settlers, Ann Jacob and Eliza Randall, who were the wives of wealthy landowners and

carried out managerial responsibilities on substantial properties, and the German women, Sophia bis Winckel and Johanne Fiedler, who lived on smaller farms and took part, without pay, in all activities in the vineyard, and then assumed responsibility for the family winery on the death of their husbands. Also included is an examination of the contributions, from the early years of the industry to the present day, of women who worked in vineyards as paid casual labourers. In addition there is discussion of the increasing employment since the late 1970s of women as professional wine makers in wine producing companies in the region. It is argued that although some of these wine makers have achieved a high profile, it remains true that women are under-represented in management positions and still do not receive recognition commensurate with their contributions and achievements.

German settlers

Many of the women discussed in this chapter were German Lutherans from Silesia or are descended from Silesian immigrants. The German settlers made an important contribution to the development of the wine industry in the Barossa Valley. Unlike many of the English Protestants, who were opposed to the sale and use of alcohol, the German settlers, most of whom were Lutherans, had a cultural tradition of making and drinking wine. Vines had been introduced to Silesia in the twelfth century, when they were cultivated mainly by religious orders and the aristocracy (Aeuckens et al.1988, p. 7). By the nineteenth century grape vines were commonly grown in the hills of Silesia, and it was part of the culture of the region to make wine for use in the home. When the Lutheran settlers arrived in the Barossa Valley they brought with them the experience and inclination to grow and harvest grapes, and the expertise to make wine (Ioannou 2000, p. 102). An advertisement from three German men seeking employment appeared in an early newspaper and illustrates their abilities and willingness to work in horticulture (*Register* 1 December 1838).

Dissident Lutheran Silesians

The Barossa Valley, with its numerous vineyards operated by descendants of Lutheran refugees from Silesia, is one of the best-known wine-making regions in Australia. In the late 1830s Augustus Kavel, the pastor of a group of Lutheran Dissidents, who were suffering religious persecution in Silesia, wrote to Angas asking for financial assistance to emigrate to South Australia. Kavel had heard of the plans for the foundation of a model province in South Australia, and knew that no convicts would be brought to the colony. He was aware of the enthusiasm of the Colonial Office in London to attract those who were willing to leave their own country and sail thousands of miles to begin a new life. He was also aware of Angas' sympathy for victims of religious persecution. However legislation restricted assistance to British subjects, and Angas used his own money to enable the first German-speaking immigrants from Silesia to settle in South Australia (Price 1978, p. 200). By 1851 nearly 7000 Germans had settled in the colony of South Australia (*From many places* 1995, p. 182).

Lutheran culture

Many of the cultural and economic characteristics of the German communities in the Barossa Valley can be ascribed to the experience of the 'Old Lutherans' in their homeland Silesia, where they had been a minority dissenting from the

government sponsored Uniting Church. The dissenting 'Old Lutherans' believed that their children had been especially disadvantaged by the dominance of the United Church in the state-controlled education system of Silesia (Zweck 1988, p. 135). Their fierce desire to retain and nurture their faith, was expressed above all in their determination to remain rigidly separate from colonists of other cultural and religious backgrounds, particularly in the education and upbringing of their children (Price 1957, p. 8-9). A typical little Lutheran schoolhouse survives as a museum at the time of writing in the old village of Light Pass near Tanunda. Schools such as this were among the first buildings to be erected in the German villages of the Barossa Valley.

Johannes Menge

Johannes Menge, a German geologist and friend of Pastor Kavel, arrived on 17th January 1837 at Kangaroo Island in South Australia, on the *Coromandel* at the age of 50 (Passenger List). As related by Munchenberg et al. (1992) Menge was appointed as a mine and quarry agent for the South Australian Company with duties that included exploring the countryside for gems and minerals and establishing slate and stone quarries. Initially he spent some time exploring Kangaroo Island, but after a disagreement with David McLaren, the first commercial manager of the South Australian Company, he was dismissed from his position, and moved to the mainland. He was a very keen explorer, and walked vast distances, including trips to the Murray and Darling Rivers. Menge was a solitary, rather eccentric man who made his home in a small cave not far from the Jacob homestead at *Morooroo*, on Jacob's Creek. In 1839 Menge explored the Barossa Valley extensively (Munchenberg et al.1992, pp. 14-15). In a letter dated 1839 and preserved in the Angas papers in the State Library of South Australia, he wrote enthusiastically about the valley to George Fife Angas: 'I am quite certain that we shall see...flourishing vineyards and orchards' (SLSA PRG 174). Shortly afterwards twenty-eight families loaded up their wagons under the guidance of Pastor Gotthard Daniel Fritzsche and reached the Barossa Valley, where the first village, Bethanien, now Bethany, was established in February 1842 (Munchenberg et al. 1992, p. 24).

The short period of time that both Johann Gramp and Johannes Menge spent living and working on Kangaroo Island before they settled on the mainland provides an early link between the Barossa Valley and the Island. Menge planted a garden on Kangaroo Island, then another at Klemzig near Adelaide, and yet another on the island he created near his cave home (O'Neil 1992, p. 18). Each of Menge's gardens contained exotic plants and may well have included grape vines, in which he was certainly interested. Johann Gramp established a vineyard nearby at Rowland Flat.

German women and vineyards

Written accounts or photographs have documented the participation by German women in the work force in vineyards of the Barossa Valley. This is not an isolated phenomenon, as many authors have discussed the participation of women in the operation of farms in Australia from settlement to current times. Among others, Aeuckens (1988), Alston (1995), Dunn (1991), Kapferer (1990), Lake

(1987) and Sarantakos (1998) have shown that many women living in rural areas make an essential contribution to farm labour on a day-to-day basis. There has always been a high proportion of women in the labour force of the small and medium sized vineyards. These include the family vineyards that dominated the Barossa Valley during the nineteenth century and are still numerous in other regions, and the small-scale vineyards that comprise the wine industry of Kangaroo Island, which is discussed in a later chapter.

German families
German settlers in the Barossa Valley carried on the tradition that all members worked on the family property at particular busy times of the year, such as shearing, ploughing, vintage, pruning and planting. Little distinction seems to have been drawn between men's and women's work, and at peak seasons men and women from the families in a village would work co-operatively (Aeuckens et al. 1988). In his thesis, Stevenson gives the example of Gustav Herbig, his wife Caroline and their sixteen children, who lived in a gum tree near Lyndoch, working together to harvest wheat. The oldest boys cut and gathered in the sheaves and Caroline and the girls tied them (Stevenson 1982, p. 147). In his travels in 1884 John Bull observed German women shearing sheep. 'The shearers were principally young women...without shoes and stockings...who were waited on by men of the village, who, when called on, caught and carried the sheep to the shearer' (Bull, p. 91).

From the earliest times it has been customary for German women to take an active part, on a regular basis, in the work of their family vineyards. In 1903 Ernest Whitington describes a vintage time at Chateau Tanunda: 'A German woman arrived with her wagon of grapes and helped to unload them. In this district it is no uncommon thing to see the women pruning and working on the farms and in the vineyards like men' (Whitington, p. 32).

Primary sources
Photographs
The employment of women in vineyards has evidently continued from the period of European settlement to the present day. Photographs and diaries that have survived among the records of family vineyards from the late nineteenth century onwards attest to the presence of women in teams of vineyard workers.

A photograph of the Gramp family and helpers at the 1898 vintage shows a group of pickers in working clothes, mainly women, posing formally in front of a horse and cart filled with grapes (Appendix D). A more careful examination of the photograph suggests that the small group of four people on the right are probably Gramp family members. The older woman sitting on a chair may be Mrs Gramp while her son and daughter-in-law stand beside her and their young daughter kneels in front of them. The other people in the photograph are positioned further apart and are unlikely to be family members. It is evident from the stains on their hands and clothing that the women and girls have been picking grapes. There is a young boy who kneels next to a metal bucket and whose job has been to carry buckets filled with grapes to the cart (Aeuckens et al.1988, p.149). Details of this photograph reflect the methods of transport,

work practices and clothing of German wine workers in the Barossa Valley, in a social and historical context.

A photograph taken around 1900 shows grapes being harvested at Nuriootpa (Appendix E). Three women, apparently unaware of the camera, are bending to pick, while a fourth stands gazing at the lens, secateurs in hand. In the background a man sits holding the horse's reins, ready to move the cart, which is full of grapes. Another man, whose task no doubt is to empty buckets of grapes stands near the cart. In the foreground is a small boy, whose job is to take the full buckets from the pickers to the cart and leave an empty one. In her interview Sandra, who once shared the ownership of a vineyard with her husband, describes this very procedure: 'You'd sing out for a bucket...the boy he'd come along and take the full one and give you the empty one, and you'd keep going'.

Other vineyard photos

A photograph taken in 1911 in the Hueppauff vineyard at Bethany shows members of the family during the vintage (Appendix F). The four women depicted have been picking grapes from the trellised vines, and a boy has been carrying buckets. One man sits on the cart holding the reins and another man, who has been loading grapes, stands nearby. Two small children play between the rows. Another photograph taken around 1920 at Orlando vineyards in Rowland Flat shows four women picking grapes, a man carrying the buckets and another man loading grapes into the cart (Appendix G).

Diaries

Evidence can be extrapolated from primary sources such as diaries and photographs to document a long history of women working in family vineyards. Edward Salter's diary, written in the mid nineteenth century, records work practices in his winery. Edward's father, William Salter planted Shiraz vines in 1859 on the outskirts of Angaston and called the property *Mamre Brook.* When he retired in 1870, his son Edward, managed the winery. Edward's diaries reveal his thoughts about hiring pickers at vintage time (SLSA PRG 1/A/20/8, 10, 19). 'Get all the married women pickers possible they are much steadier than yg women'. He lists the names of several women who were good strong workers, and notes that he intends to hire them for the next vintage (SLSA BRG 1/A/15-21). Edward was willing to employ young women when necessary, but did not consider them to be worth the wage he paid married women. 'Arrange with pickers before beginning abt. Wages. Especially any under age. Tilley Weber wanted 3/- and her mother said she earned it. Gave it; but too much for a girl of her age.' (SLSA BRG 1/A/20/10).

Johann Gramp

While most German families had small plots of vines for their own use, the planting of the first commercial vineyard in the Barossa has been attributed to Johann Gramp (Baker 1987, p. 15). He arrived in the *Solway* at Port Adelaide on 16 October 1837 at the age of 18 (Passenger List). He worked in Adelaide and Kangaroo Island for several years in various jobs and then bought land at Jacob's Creek near Rowland Flat (Aeuckens et al. 1988, p. 29). Here he planted his first vines in 1847, with cuttings he had imported from Germany, and made his first wine in 1850 (*Register* 15 July 1927, p. 8). On his marriage to Lydia Koch in

1874, Johann's son Gustav was given a wedding present of 40 acres of land adjacent to the family vineyard. These holdings were gradually expanded to form the Orlando winery (Aeuckens et al. 1988, p. 125).

It seems clear that the women in the Gramp family, during the second half of the nineteenth century, made significant contributions to the work in the vineyard in the developmental phase of the family business, and they may well have provided support and some input into other aspects of management and production in the winery. However, by 1910, when the Gramp business had prospered sufficiently to be converted into Orlando, a limited company, it was evident that women's participation in the business was no longer deemed necessary. The wine writer Tony Baker cites no evidence and does not mention women's participation in his history of the Orlando vineyard and winery (Baker 1987). Women are also omitted from the history of Yalumba (Linn 1999) and of Penfolds (*Rewards of Patience,* 1994). This exclusion of women applied generally to the medium size and large commercial wine companies in the Barossa.

Johanne Fiedler

Johanne Fiedler was one of the earliest women to take full responsibility for a vineyard when she took over the management of the family winery and distillery at Bethany, on the property that had been acquired by her father-in-law, Johann Friedrich August Fiedler. The Fiedlers arrived in South Australia in 1838 on the *Prince George* and first settled in Klemzig near Adelaide (Passenger List). In 1843 they moved to Bethany and Johann is considered to be the first German recorded as owning a vineyard in the Barossa Valley (Munchenberg 1992, p. 55). In 1851 the *Old Colonist***,** noted that the Fiedler winery was well-established and producing large quantities of excellent wine (*Register* 5th February 1851, p. 9). By 1862 the Fiedler vineyard was sufficiently large for Johann to qualify as a distiller of brandy. Legislation allowed anyone with a minimum of 2 acres of vineyard to apply for a licence to use a still (Munchenberg 1992, p. 55). Johann's son Alexander was also a winemaker, and he used some of the brandy to fortify wine. Alexander died in 1875 (when his father was nearly 80 years old), and his wife, Johanne, took over the management of the winery, and was granted a distiller's licence in her own name (SAGG 7th September, 1875 p. 1684). This new responsibility implies a long-standing involvement by Johanne in the family winery, and suggests that she had acquired considerable skills and experience over the preceding years. The original vines are now incorporated in the Turkey Flat Vineyard on Bethany Road.

Sophia bis Winckel

Sophia bis Winckel was another women who took up the management of her family vineyard and winery when her husband died. The property, originally named *Büchsfelde* , had been established by Dr Richard Schomburgk when he purchased land on the Gawler River, west of Gawler. Before he immigrated, he had been employed as a gardener in Potsdam and he was familiar with growing vines and had a keen interest in viticulture (Aeuckens et al. 1988, p.27). By 1853 he had planted 93 different cultivars using cuttings from the gardens of Potsdam and gradually earned a good reputation for his wine. However, in 1865 he was appointed Director of the Adelaide Botanic Gardens and could no longer maintain the property and sold his five acres to his neighbour Friedrich bis Winckel

(McDougall 1980, p. 93). George Loyau, editor of the local newspaper, *Gawler Bunyip,* visited the property in 1879, where he was given 'some excellent wine...and would take first place at any exhibition where good wines are appreciated' (Loyau 1880, p. 96). Friedrich died in 1879 (*Express* 1880, p. 2). His wife Sophia took over the property, which by this time included eight acres of vineyard containing 68 grape varieties, and a five acre orchard of fruit trees (Loyau 1880, p. 97). It may be assumed that in order to maintain and manage such a large property, Sophia had extensive experience in the family enterprise.

Seppelt family

The women of the Seppelt family probably never had the opportunity to be as important participants in their family wine-making business as Sophia bis Winckel in her family enterprise. Joseph Seppelt emigrated from Silesia in 1850 with his wife, Johanna Charlotte and their three children Benno, Hugo and Ottilie, and settled in the Barossa Valley. Joseph's background had been in cordial and liqueur making and he saw the potential of wine making in the area. Vines were planted and the first wine was made in the early 1850s in the dairy, which had been established soon after the Seppelt family settled on their land (Aueckens et al. 1988, pp. 46, 250).

Johanna Charlotte Seppelt

According to Len Evans, the building at Seppeltsfield that was used for milking and also for making wine was known as 'Frau Seppelt's dairy' (Evans 1974, p. 117). As Alford (1984) and Lake (1987) have pointed out, operating a dairy was considered a woman's responsibility. Women carried out milking, along with other farm activities such as smoking bacon, rearing chickens, growing vegetables and fruit. The Seppelt women continued the rural tradition of producing dairy products. In 1908 the author May Vivienne, travelled throughout South Australia and visited Seppeltsfield, where, on a tour of the property she saw the dairy. Sophie Seppelt, Benno's wife, also showed May '*her* bacon-curing - and smoke-house ... *her* fowlyard and the beautiful garden, where all kinds of fruit, vegetables and flowers were growing' [my italics] (Vivienne 1908, p. 221). May accepted without comment that these responsibilities belonged specifically to Mrs Seppelt. It is interesting to note that the small-scale production of milk and milk products for the family was the responsibility of Mrs Seppelt, indicated by the signifier of ownership, Frau Seppelt's dairy, but once wine was made commercially, Johann Seppelt took control of the space and building. Presumably the tasks were allocated to women because they were all activities carried out in the vicinity of the house and produced food for the home: men work, women have responsibilities.

The allocation of tasks within the German families on rural properties in the Barossa Valley was based on a sexual division of labour. While the management of the household was considered to be one of women's primary responsibilities, in practice this could be extended to include the productive activities of the surrounding yard and garden. The duties of a farm wife such as Sophie Seppelt included rearing pigs and making bacon, keeping hens and bees, maintaining a fruit orchard and cultivating a flower and vegetable garden, in addition to her household duties (Vivienne 1908, p. 221). This work done in the vicinity of the house was an accepted part of the her household duties, while her husband in his

day-to-day working life, left the house and moved to the vineyards in distant parts of the family property.

Housewives in the Barossa Valley frequently worked as pickers and pruners on their family properties, and sometimes as casual labourers in other vineyards, and while I have not been able to find specific indications that Charlotte Seppelt or Sophie bis Winckel participated in the wine-making activities in their dairy, it is likely that they did. It is even more probable that, in the early years at least, the Seppelt women like so many German housewives in the Barossa Valley, included their own casual labour in the family vineyard as part of their responsibilities.

Patrilineal inheritance

Joseph Seppelt died in 1868 and in his will he left his eldest son Benno with 85% of the property and his daughter Ottilie the remaining 15%. Hugo was not mentioned and I have not found any information to explain his omission from the will. Benno married Sophie Schroeder in 1870 and they had thirteen children who survived childhood, four girls and nine boys (Aueckens 1988, p. 47). Benno took a very active role in the wine-making business and was enthusiastic about installing new equipment and trying new methods. Under his management, the holdings and vineyards doubled in size. As well as wine, vinegar and cordial were made and a distillery built to produce grape spirit to fortify wine and for use in liqueurs. Benno maintained the traditional domestic values and sexual division of labour, by the allocation of duties and responsibilities within the family. Seven of his sons were involved in the business and most of them were trained in either agriculture or viticulture. In accordance with the findings of Shortall (1999), in her study of the gender basis of power in Irish farms and rural family companies, the four Seppelt daughters did not take part in any aspect of the business and were expected to contribute instead to the domestic matters of the household.

Many other German families settled in the Barossa in the late nineteenth century, and we can assume that most grew one or more vines and made wine for use in their homes. However, few wine-making families are mentioned in the literature. For instance, Johanne and George Schmidt bought land at Vine Vale, Johanne and Johann Schrapel settled nearby at Bethany, so too did Carolina and Samuel Stiller. Descendants of the Schmidt, Stiller and Schrapel families are still involved in the wine-making industry (Aeuckens et al. 1988, p. 228).

Whatever part the Seppelt women had taken in wine production in the early years of the Seppelt winery, it is clear that women were soon denied any significant role in the expanding family business. By the time Seppeltsfield winery had grown sufficiently to be established as a company, in the early twentieth century, women were excluded from management, as well as professional postions such as wine maker or laboratory technician, indeed from any category of employment that attracted a salary or regular wage, as distinct from payments for casual labour. Evans, writing in the early 1970s, noted that Seppeltsfield winery was then managed by the fifth generation of Seppelt males (Evans 1974, pp. 117-118). He does not mention female employees in the winery.

As with other large wine companies, such as Orlando, the expanded business evidently had no place for women (Baker 1987). It was not until the next decade

that the first woman was employed at Seppelts as a winemaker, according to one of my interviewees, who succeeded her as an employee in the company.

Significant English women

Ann Jacob

In addition to Germans, the Barossa Valley attracted Irish and English settlers. One of the pioneers in the Rowland Flat district was a young English woman, Ann Jacob who arrived in South Australia in 1839. Ann was the only daughter of Ann (nee King) and John Jacob, who owned Down Farm, a large prosperous dairy at Abbots Ann, near Andover, in south-east England (Private Papers). When her mother died in 1834, and her father in 1836, she and her two brothers, William and John, inherited the property, which they sold before migrating to South Australia. Ann left London on the *Ganges* in February 1839, with Robert Gouger, the Colonial Secretary of South Australia and his second wife as fellow passengers. She purchased a property near Gramp's vineyard, which she managed with her two brothers, and planted with vines before 1847 (Ioannou 2000, p. 104). William was an assistant to Colonel William Light the Surveyor General for South Australia and John was an explorer. Ann kept a diary, which describes her journey out and her early years in the colony, and later wrote her *Reminiscences;* both documents are now held in the State Library of South Australia, (SLSA PRG 966/1).

Journey to South Australia

Ann's *Reminiscences* describe the journey in great detail. While the ship was berthed in Cape Town on the way to South Australia, Ann went to see the 'famous Constantia vineyard'. In the company of five single young men, she hired a carriage to make the rather hazardous 12-mile trip. 'I hesitated, but was persuaded to put myself under their care and see what I could' (SLSA PRG 966/1). Clearly Ann's interest in viticulture and her curiosity about the vineyard over-rode any wish to submit to the social requirement of maidenly discretion. This vineyard had been planted in 1684 by the Dutch Governor Simon van der Stel and named in honour of Constance, his wife (Debuigne 1976, p. 81). It had an excellent reputation for good quality wines, and when planting their vineyards in North Adelaide, both John Barton Hack, in 1837, and George Stevenson, in 1838, used cuttings from the Constantia vineyard (Aeuckens et al. 1988, p. 7; Simon 1966, p. 30).

Ann arrived at Port Adelaide in June 1839. At the time neither of her brothers was in Adelaide: William was surveying the new town of Gawler, and John was in New South Wales buying cattle. Ann was looking forward very much to seeing them after her long voyage, and in her *Reminiscences* she expressed 'very great disappointment to find them absent' (SLSA PRG 966/1). Her journey had taken five months and she was eager to establish herself on the land. In the absence of her brothers, Ann stayed at North Adelaide with the generous and hospitable friends of two women she knew in England. Ann comments that, 'provisions were fearfully expensive, eggs at 6d each, a hen cost £1, a cat 10/-, and meat 1/- per pound' (SLSA PRG 966/1).

Ann's interest in wine

Ann Jacob was a very young English woman: she turned twenty during the voyage to South Australia, and came from a climate that was not conducive to grape growing, yet she displayed a keen interest in Constantia and grape cultivation in general. Ann's diary indicates a hardworking, straightforward, honest young woman with a sense of humour and a lively curiosity about the world. It is likely that she had read about South Australia in correspondence from William, who, as a surveyor travelled extensively in the colony, and would have observed the vineyards that had been planted. It can also be assumed that Ann Jacob met George Fife Angas in London before committing herself to the journey to South Australia. Angas was a Commissioner of the South Australian Company and took an enthusiastic personal interest in enlisting emigrants for the colony (Price 1978, p. 59).

Suitability of South Australia for vines

Ann belonged to the important class of prospective landowners who, by purchasing land from the Company, subsidised the immigration of workers. She would have learned of the suitability of land in the colony for grape growing from Angas who had received favourable reports of South Australia sent by the geologist Menge (Ioannou 2000, p. 14). She would have observed the local vineyards and may well have met the vignerons socially. George Stevenson was the editor of the Adelaide newspaper, the *Register*, and he and John Barton Hack owned substantial properties in North Adelaide on which they grew their vines (Aeuckens et al. 1988, p. 6) In addition, William built two cottages on two acres, opposite land owned by John Barton Hack and Samuel Stevens, in Melbourne Street, North Adelaide. In his diary, William makes frequent reference to different types of alcoholic drinks, including a six-gallon cask of Cape wine, a cask of ale and eleven bottles of wine. He also mentioned that he had broken five wine glasses. These examples of her brother's interest in wine suggest that Ann would, herself, have been familiar with wine.

Ann Jacob, though not yet a landowner, had a similar social and cultural background to her neighbours, Hack and Stevens. In his diary, Colonel Light mentions a visit she made to him just before his death, while she was still living at North Adelaide, and this seems to confirm her status, as do the references in her diary, after she settled on her newly purchased land, to the circle of friends she developed among the wealthy land owners (Elder 1984, p. 169).

Contemporary books on wine

Several books on wine and its benefits had been published in England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, including works by the English doctors, Barry (1775) Henderson (1824) and Redding (1833), who discussed the health-giving properties of wine. Henderson's book was based on his travels in Europe and the Cape of Good Hope. In 1833, Redding wrote a book about the history of wine, and later editions included wines produced in Australia. By the time Ann came to establish the vineyard, several practical handbooks on viticulture had been written and published in Australia, for example by James Busby (1825, 1833, 1842), George McEwin (1843) and George Stevenson (1843). The first book about wine making for the Australian climate and conditions was *A treatise on the culture of the vine and the art of making wine*, written by Busby in 1825.

Busby had studied wine making in France and toured vineyards in France and Spain, and he established his own vineyard on the Hunter River in New South Wales. He taught viticulture to orphan boys, and wrote several authoritative books and practical manuals on growing grapes and making wine (Hankel 1994, p. 7). In 1843 the nurseryman McEwin wrote the *South Australian vigneron and gardener's manual.* In the same year Stevenson, gardener, vigneron and editor of Adelaide's only newspaper, published his book with the same title. Any of these publications, which were readily available in South Australia, might have come to Ann's attention.

Ann purchases Morooroo

Using money she had inherited from her parents, Ann Jacob purchased land at Rowland Flat, at the junction of Jacob's Creek and the North Para River, in October 1839 (SA LTO Old System Pkt 21071). The land had been surveyed by her brother, William, and Menge who was living in a cave near the junction of the rivers, had reported that the rolling hills and valley reminded him of the Rhone district and offered a good prospect for vine growing (Ioannou 2000, p. 14). In her diary Ann mentions her acquaintance with Menge, and it seems likely that she discussed with him the suitability of her property for grape growing (SLSA PRG 966/4). Ann called the property *Morooroo*, an Aboriginal word meaning 'big waterhole'. 'I brought £500 into the Colony and it was expended in purchasing 500 acres of land at Morooroo, being a part of a special survey taken by Messrs Gilbert, W.H. Brown, Hallet and myself' (SLSA PRG 966/2). In earlier accounts of the origins of this important property, it has been assumed that *Morooroo* was purchased, and a farm and vineyard established on it, by William and John, rather than by their sister, Ann (Aeuckens et al 1988, Ioannou 2000, McDougall 1980, Munchenberg 1992, and Yelland 1970). But Ann brought money to the colony with the specific purpose of acquiring property, and the land grant, finalised in 1842, shows clearly, that she was the sole purchaser of the tract of land that she named *Morooroo.* Clearly she also had the necessary strength of character to collaborate with her brothers in establishing a farm in the next few years, which was to include a vineyard.

Stewed parrots

Having bought the property, Ann was 'very desirous of going to *Morooroo'* (SLSA PRG 966/1). She does not mention in her *Reminiscences* or diary that she had seen the land before purchasing it, but the area had been surveyed by her brother William, and she may have heard that the geologist Menge, who lived in the locality, had reported favourably about its potential for farming and particularly for grape growing. She set off with her brother John in October 1839, and they finally reached her property, *Morooroo*, 'a strange and wild place it looked to call our home' (SLSA PRG 966/2). In her bullock dray, Ann had brought a plough and a variety of other farming implements, and she was greatly amused that the invoice for their purchase was addressed to 'A. Jacob Esq.!! Not imagining such things belonged to a young lady' (SLSA PRG 966/1).

Ann slept in one room of a house that had been partly built, and John and the workmen slept in a tent. Living conditions were difficult and 'just better than camping out'. Ann records cooking outside by an open fire and boiling salt beef and pork with damper. For Christmas Day 1839 Ann 'had bespoke a quarter of

mutton from the nearest sheep station as a great treat but they reconsidered the matter and did not kill...so my brothers took their guns and brought in some parrots, young and old' Stewed parrots were her first Christmas dinner in South Australia. The following year her diary entry is humorous and much more positive: 'Christmas Day 1840 we had a roast goose for dinner, a decided improvement to parrots' (SLSA PRG 966/1).

Vineyard at Morooroo

Thirty acres of land had been cleared and a mixed farm established that was large enough to necessitate the building of three more cottages for farm hands, and which included a large dairy where Ann made great quantities of butter and cheese (SLSA PRG 966/4). In addition, oats and barley, as well as vines and fruit trees had been planted (Ioannou 2000, p. 104), and during a visit to *Morooroo,* the *Old Colonist* observed 'a considerable extent of orchard and vineyard' (*Register*, 5th February, 1851, p. 7). Ann participated in the establishment of a dairy and other farming enterprises at *Morooroo*, and when she managed the property during William's frequent absences, her responsibilities included care of the vineyard.

Significance of Ann Jacob

After Ann married Arthur Horrocks in 1850 they lived on a property at Penwortham, near Clare, another wine growing area north of the Barossa Valley. John, Arthur's brother, had a farm at Penwortham planted with vines, which he had brought out from Europe (Pearce 1996, p. 2). In 1846 John was shot by his camel and died of his wounds, leaving the property to Arthur. The house, which had been completely built by 1842 was known as *Hope Farm*, and a sketch of it, done by John, shows a large comfortable brick home with three chimneys, substantial windows and a wide verandah (Pearce, p. 13). It is likely that Ann participated in the work at *Hope Farm* as she certainly had experience and knowledge of managing a vineyard. In 1852 Arthur and a friend Mr Moulden went to the Victorian gold diggings, leaving Ann to manage the property for several months (Private papers). When I visited the site with local historians they informed me that the house had been demolished in 1915 to make way for the railway line. Ann and Arthur had five children. Arthur died in 1872 and is buried in Main North Road cemetery, and Ann died in 1874 at Mt Gambier and is buried there. A photograph of Ann, taken a few years before she died, shows a woman who is strong-willed and stoical.

She transferred ownership of *Morooroo* to her brother William and his wife Mary (Aeuckens et al. 1988, p. 39). The homestead, which can still be seen at Rowland Flat, is now owned by Orlando winery, and the old walls of the original cellar have been incorporated into the Grant Burge winery nearby. Ann Jacob was one of the earliest settlers in the colony, and like many other women who have worked to produce wine in South Australia, her significant contribution to the establishment of the wine industry is frequently overlooked. In particular, her part in establishing the now internationally famous Jacob's Creek vineyard has never been acknowledged.

Other significant English women

Among the many other women in the early years of settlement in the Barossa Valley who made positive contributions to the development of the wine industry were Anna Browne, Eliza Burge, Elizabeth Foot, Anna Gilbert, Eliza Randall and Mary Smith.

Anna Browne

Anna Browne and her brothers John and William arrived at Port Adelaide on the *Buckinghamshire* in March 1839, with the English vigneron, Joseph Gilbert (Passenger List). William and John Browne built *Wongalere* homestead at Williamstown in the early 1840s. In 1847, when Anna, their sister, married the English vigneron Joseph Gilbert, her brothers gave her *Wongalere* as a wedding present (Aeuckens et al. 1988 p. 42). The property passed to Anna's husband because, until the *Married Women's Property Act 1883-1884*, women were unable to retain property after they married (Jones 1986, p. 17). Joseph already owned a vineyard at Pewsey Vale, about 15 kilometres away, and in the late 1850s vines were planted at *Wongalere* (Aeuckens et al. 1988, p. 42). It is possible that Anna took some part in the vineyard management of *Wongalere* . The Pewsey Vale vineyard is now part of Yalumba estate, but *Wongalere* was compulsorily purchased in 1949 to allow the construction of the South Para reservoir.

Eliza Burge

Eliza Burge and her husband John, an English farmer, settled in Lyndoch in 1855 and planted a vineyard. Eliza was the daughter of John Springbett, a well-respected vigneron in the area (Aeuckens et al. 1988, p. 227). It is likely that she worked from a very young age in the Springbett family vineyard, and later when she married, worked with her husband in their vineyard. It has always been customary in Barossa Valley grapegrowing families for all members to contribute their labour in the vineyard, especially at busy times such as pruning and harvest.

Elizabeth Foot

In 1845, John Walker Foot and his brother Edward Nicholas, bought 480 acres of land east of Angaston and called the property *Gawler Park.* In 1850 John transferred his share of the property to Edward's wife, Elizabeth (LTO vol. 67, fol. 218 and vol. 115, fol. 44). This transaction is puzzling, as she would not be legally entitled to retain ownership of the property. Although the transfer of John's parcel of land to his sister-in-law is recorded in documents held at the Land Titles Office, Adelaide, no explanation of the transaction is given. Perhaps a falling-out had occurred between the two brothers or they had found themselves in difficult financial circumstances. Close to the house was a 'large garden with weeping willows and an extensive vineyard,' described by the *Old Colonist*, (*Register* 8th February, 1851, p. 6). Writers such as Alston (1995) and Lake (1987) have shown that it was customary for women to care for cultivated areas adjacent to the house, and it is likely that the garden and vines would have been part of Elizabeth's responsibilities.

Eliza Randall

Eliza Randall, Anna Gilbert and Mary Bagot, who married Ann Jacob's brother William, were English women of similar age, background, interests and social class to Ann, and were neighbours, living on substantial properties that included vineyards. Entries in Eliza's diary, written on her voyage out to South Australia, describe in detail the meals she ate and the wine she drank on the ship as a first class passenger (Randall 1845). She showed a particular interest in the wine available on the ship, and was appreciative of the 'good red from Cadiz' that was taken aboard especially for the ladies. 'Dined at half past 3 as usual had roast Turkey boiled Fowls boiled Leg of Mutton ham and roast beef with Potatoes turnips Carrotts (sic) Cabbage a famous plum pudding not quite a yard in circumference and bread and cheese with ale and Porter also wine after dinner'. Eliza was accustomed to drinking wine, and no doubt was knowledgeable about wine types. One night her father produced 'an excellent bottle of wine given to him by a friend in London'. Three bottles of 'fine wine' were drunk with the Captain one night, and 'several songs were sung and at last some of the gents became rather more *merry than wise* '(Randall, p. 24).

Eliza and David Randall arrived in South Australia on the *Templar* in November 1845 (Randall 1845, p. 2). Eliza writes with enthusiasm about several visits to local vineyards. In December, while staying at the Freemasons Tavern in Pirie Street, Adelaide, the Randalls walked to visit Mr Giles, whose property contained many vines of 136 different varieties, and they also visited Mr Stevenson, who owned a property in North Adelaide which had a large vineyard (Randall, pp. 54, 57-8). In 1851, the Randalls took up 2000 acres at Mount Crawford, near Williamstown, and named the property *Glen Para*. Shortly afterwards Eliza wrote in her diary that she took 'entire charge of the flower garden and orchard', which was planted with one thousand apple, pear and plum trees, all bought from George McEwin the nurseryman and vigneron (Morphett 1939, p. 9). On a visit to the property in 1862, Ebenezer Ward (1862) observed an extensive vineyard and a substantial two-storey cellar (Ward, p. 41).

Eliza wrote in her diary that she and her 'dearest friend', Anna Gilbert, who lived at *Wongalere*, about five kilometres away, frequently visited each other's houses, and Eliza attended the church that the Gilberts had built near their property (Morphett 1939, p. 12). Another good friend was Mary Jacob who lived nearby (Aeuckens et al. 1988, p. 39). Eliza's diary reveals an active life, including domestic responsibilities such as care of the children and management of the household staff, and numerous social activities, in addition to the management of parts of the farm, including the orchard, that were close to the main house. Her husband was frequently occupied at a distance from the homestead, since there were substantial herds of dairy cows and beef cattle, and it seems likely that she had at least part responsibility for the vineyard.

Mary Smith

Samuel Smith, an English brewer, emigrated to South Australia with his wife Mary in 1847 and was employed as a gardener on the John Howard Angas property, *Tarrawatta*, which included vines planted by his brother-in-law, local vigneron, Henry Evans (Aeuckens et al. 1988, p. 33). In 1849, Smith recognized the possibility of owning his own vineyard and purchased 30 acres of land at

Angaston and named the property *Yalumba* (Munchenberg et al. 1992, p. 57). In April 1852 Samuel and his eldest son Sidney, set off for the goldfields of Victoria joining thousands of South Australians who had left their jobs and families to fossick at Ballarat (Aeuckens et al. 1988, p. 33). Mary Smith, who by this time had five daughters with ages ranging from 2 to 13 years, was left for four months to manage the property, in which, as well as the vineyards, there were several acres of orchards and a fruit-preserving factory (Linn 1999, pp. 18-20). The grape picking would have been completed by the time Samuel left the property, but the essential work of pruning the vines would have been left for Mary to organise and accomplish, for which she would have needed specific knowledge and skills. Samuel's successful trip to the goldfields enabled him to buy some adjoining land and he gradually increased his wine-making operations. In 1888, he handed over *Yalumba* to his son, whose male descendants still own and manage the winery (Linn, p. 16).

Women inn-keepers

It was not uncommon during the nineteenth century for women to own or manage inns and taverns. The *Old Colonist* mentions several hospitable landladies, including the 'pleasant and obliging' Mrs Williams, at the *Old Spot* hotel at Salisbury, and Mrs Templar, of the *North Star Inn*, near Gawler, who carried on the business after her husband's death and had 'every desirable qualification as a hostess' (Yelland 1970, pp. 104, 167). Sophie Schluter managed the *Greenock Tavern* from 1892 to 1915 (Munchenberg 1992, p. 186). Wine selling licences were frequently granted to women managing country inns, such as Eliza Mansell at Scott's Creek, Elizabeth Bott at Mt Torrens and Anna Christianne Mann at Hoyleton (SAGG 1875, pp. 744, 909). The detailed and meticulous research done by Clare Wright (2003) on the history of hotels in Australia indicates that many women held licenses to sell liquor from early colonial days. In 1797 Sarah Bird was Australia's first publican and owner of the *Three Jolly Settlers* in Sydney (Wright, p. 20). Wright provides much evidence to suggest that many women in these early days were successful, popular and well-respected publicans.

Temperance campaigns

From the 1870s a major concern of Protestant leaders was to curb the liquor trade, and in the Catholic Church the Guild of St John the Baptist was formed to encourage abstinence from alcohol. Anglicans and Catholics joined the Dissenting churches to further some causes, such as the repression of prostitution, but the Methodists were the most vigorous in battling the liquor trade, as well as promoting Sunday observance, campaigning for shorter hours of work and for the abolition of child labour, and denouncing a variety of other perceived social ills (Hilliard and Hunt 1986, pp. 212-223). A campaign to restrict hotel trading hours, led by the Wesleyan, David Nock, gained momentum in the late nineteenth century (Hilliard and Hunt 1986, p. 223). These efforts by the Methodists to restrict the sale of alcohol reached a peak in the first decades of the twentieth century, culminating in their espousal of total prohibition. One of the main concerns expressed at the Annual Methodist Conference in 1900 was the 'evil arising from the unrestricted sale of strong drink' (Minutes, cited in Hayward 1952, p. 7). In 1912, The Conference proposed, as part of a wide-ranging social agenda, to promote total abstinence from alcohol (Minutes, cited in Hayward 1952, p. 8).

Other churches and liquor reforms

Other Protestant Churches followed the lead of the Methodists in establishing social programmes, including the promotion of restrictions on the sale of alcohol. In 1939 representatives of the Baptist, Anglican, Congregational and Presbyterian Churches attended the Methodist Conference and a United Churches Social Reform Board was instituted (*Minutes,* cited in Hayward 1952, p. 13). While total abstinence had become a policy of the Methodist Church, the other churches tended to favour more modest reforms aimed at limiting the sale of alcohol, by restricting the hours during which bars could be open. An active campaign for the introduction of compulsory six o'clock closing of hotel bars was under way by 1914, strongly supported by the Methodists along with temperance organizations (Hayward 1952, p. 33).

Woman's Christian Temperance Union

The history of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of South Australia has been fully documented by Harry (1986) and McCorkindale (1949). The state branch of the Union was formed in 1886 and became the most important interdenominational organisation of the era. During World War I, when a significant number of men were away on active service, legislation was passed which altered drinking and licensing laws. The efforts of the anti-liquor lobby in Australia, which was led by the Union, culminated in 1915, when a national referendum was held during World War I, resulting in the enforcing of 6 o'clock closing of hotels (Hilliard and Hunt, p. 223). The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was also prominent in the campaigns for equal status of women and men in society and for women's right to vote.

Mrs Evans and Mr Evans

The influence of women in the wine industry has not always been positive in contributing to its growth. When the vigneron Henry Evans died, his teetotal widow, Sarah, a member of the Congregational church, and a fervent member of the Temperance Movement, closed the winery and sold all the wine stock. Henry Evans was an innovative winemaker and viticulturalist at Kyneton in the Eden

Valley. In 1852, at his property *Evandale*, he planted a variety of cultivars including Shiraz, Pineau, Muscat of Alexandria and Tokay. He read widely, and adopted the ideas of the well-respected French winemaker Dr Jules Guyot and was prepared to experiment with different kinds of planting patterns, trellising and staking. Evans was well informed about different kinds of filters and the need to be scrupulously clean with processing. Over several years, he extended the vineyard and established a nursery which sold vine cuttings and fruit trees (Aeuckens et al. 1988, pp. 43-44).

In 1859, Evans established an export business and arranged for his father-in-law, George Fife Angas to act as his wine agent in London (Munchenberg 1992, p. 59). Evans gained a good reputation for his Riesling and reports in the paper at the time were favourable, his wines being described as, 'in excellent condition, elegant and full-flavoured' (*Register* 21st February 1860 p. 3). Ebenezer Ward, who visited the property in 1862 was very impressed by the quality of the wine, the extensive equipment, substantial buildings and huge cellars (Ward 1862, p. 22). The property became a viticultural landmark in the Barossa, and Evans won many awards and prizes, both locally and overseas.

The success of his property, *Evandale* came to an abrupt end in 1868 with Henry's death. His wife Sarah, daughter of George Fife Angas, had most of the vines pulled out and the remainder grafted with currants. The Temperance movement at Kyneton was very strong and the wine cellar at *Evandale* was used frequently for meetings. Mrs Evans provided funds for the Temperance Hotel, which was built in 1883 (Munchenberg 1992, p. 144). The hotel, which can still be seen, is now a private residence. In 1889 she was elected as Vice-President for Life of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in recognition of 'services rendered to the temperance cause' (Harry 1986, p. 1). Mrs Evans' work for the cause of Temperance continued for thirty years until her death on Monday 6th June 1898 (*Register* 8th June 1898, p. 4).

Religion and family structure

The prominence of women in the fight against the perceived evils of alcohol were partly due to changes in the status of women in dissenting middle-class households. These social changes have been charted by Kociumbas (1999) in her investigation of the religious education of children in the family environment. The established churches began to follow the lead of the Dissenting congregations and to promote the notion of maternal responsibility for the moral and religious nurturing of children. The Anglicans were slower than the Evangelical sects to reject the doctrine of the impairment of childhood by innate sin. Eventually, however, both Anglican and Catholic clerics became vocal supporters of the ideal of personal care by a loving mother, guarding the purity of the young in the spiritual haven of a godly home. It is worth noting, however that, for conservative churchmen, extolling the virtues of motherhood seems to have been principally a means of combating the rise of feminism by redirecting the attention of women to their home duties. In time it was firmly established, in all Christian faiths, that it was the mother who took responsibility for the religious and moral education of her children (Kociumbas 1999, pp. 26-28). The shift from the traditional form of patriarchal authority in

the family to a maternalistic mode of control was instrumental in changing and enhancing the status of women in society.

Family worship

Kociumbas argues that changes in familial authority in the late nineteenth century were promoted by the development of a new concept of childhood, which stood in sharp contrast to the traditional notion that children were burdened at birth with the sins of their parents. The practice of family worship led by the mother became increasingly common in Christian households in both town and country, and she was considered responsible for the religious education as well as the upbringing of her children. This tendency was enhanced, rather than impeded, by the difficulties of establishing churches in areas that were sparsely populated. The qualities and characteristics that were perceived to be innate in women, such as their submissiveness and emotionalism, were held to make them particularly suited to the nurture and instruction of children in the home, which was their special domain (Kociumbas 1999, pp. 25-27).

Nurturing role of women

The nurturing and upbringing of children was an important responsibility for the mother, but she was also a housewife, with all the duties and responsibilities entailed in this aspect of her identity. Moreover her management of the household was not limited to the home; it included those productive activities in the vicinity of the house that contributed to the nourishment and well-being of the family. Lake (1987) has argued that the importance of a well-ordered household, as the basis of the economic status of a family, was generally accepted in Australian society. As proclaimed in a rural newspaper:

> Feed men badly and they work badly. Provide them with an environment irreproachably clean and [with] wholesome food, nourishing and well-cooked, and those small additional comforts which only a woman's capable hand may furnish, and you promote conditions conducive to the physical and moral well-being and the best possible commercial output. (*Weekly Times* 29 January 1921)

But the value of women's contributions in the domestic sphere, which in rural areas embraces the home paddock, has never been fully recognised nor quantified.

Housewives working in Barossa vineyards

Women doing men's work

Though the labour performed by men and women in the rural sector is determined in general by their gender, at particular times or in exceptional circumstances women may be found performing tasks that are normally associated with men. Examples abound of women sharing work in vineyards with male labourers, and as I have discussed, Johanne Fiedler operated a family distillery in the 1870s, work previously done by her husband, Whitington observed a German woman in the 1900s driving her cart full of grapes to join the male drivers waiting to unload at a winery, and in the 2000s Leanne, one of my interviewees, moves heavy machinery in the family vineyard and Mavis drives a truck to a winery. These examples support the contention of Game and Pringle (1983) that it is not that there are intrinsic qualities in particular types of work that make them appropriate for either men or women, but rather that there is a perceived need to preserve a

distinction between work considered suitable only for men and other work deemed appropriate for women (Game and Pringle, p. 15).

Women contributing to farm economy
In addition to their domestic duties, many rural housewives in the Barossa Valley have been instrumental in the financial survival and success of family vineyards. Throughout the history of the colony, women have made important contributions to the economic survival of vineyards, just as, according to Alston (1995), Lake (1987) and Sarantakos (1998) their participation has been essential in the maintenance of many Australian farms. Lake quotes a mother in the 1920s who wrote about the work she did on her dairy farm, and the difficulties of combining her responsibility for the care and well-being of her children with her regular routine of manual work. By her vivid yet understated description, she evokes a sense of her toughness and courage: 'I have also milked with a baby in a pram and a toddler in a little wire-netting yard by the dairy, and then bumped the pram home with the two in it, and a bucket in each hand' (Lake, p. 185).

Sandra's story
Sandra, one of the women I interviewed, is representative of the women who work beyond the home paddock, and still carry out their domestic duties as wife and mother. She described working with her husband in their vineyard, situated out from a small town in the Barossa Valley. When they married in the 1930s they bought a house in the town and seventy acres a few miles away, containing forty rows of old untrellised Shiraz bush vines, as well as orchard and scrub. In her interview Sandra recalled pushing her two small children in a pram from the house to the vineyard, and then picking or pruning with her husband. They worked among the old vines and, as the scrub the scrub was cleared, extended the vineyard by planting new vine cuttings. Sandra had four small children and she would take them all to the vineyard. They 'played around with sticks. They would make out they were pruning, just like we'd do with the vines.' After working in the vineyard all day, Sandra would walk home again, pushing the pram. She described grape picking as dirty arduous work. Nevertheless, at the age of eighty, she still occasionally helps out picking and pruning in her sons' vineyards.

In addition to working without pay in their family vineyards, it is evident that women also played an important role as paid casual employees. This practice has a long history and examples of this casual employment are found in Edward Salter's vineyard records. Photographs of vineyard workers show that it continues in the Barossa Valley to the present day. Leanne asserted in her interview that women play a major role, as the observant passer-by may readily confirm, labouring in those vineyards where hand picking is still practised, even though much of the grape harvesting in the valley is now done by machinery.

Cultural and social influences
Many of the women employed as casual labourers in the Barossa Valley vineyards are descendents of German or English immigrant families. Skeggs (2001) maintains that the social and cultural heritage of women immigrants determined their domestic ideology and economic aspirations in their new country (Skeggs, p. 42). The cultural background of the German speakers from Silesia who came to South Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century was

strongly defined not only by their ethnicity, but also by their social class, the peasant milieu. Many of the English immigrants were shopkeepers, tradespeople or clerical workers before they arrived in South Australia (Passenger List). In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it was not uncommon for working-class women in both the urban and rural sectors to seek paid work (Hall 1995). In the Barossa Valley the vineyards were often a source of seasonal work for women. But it was not only the women of working-class or peasant status who worked, at least occasionally, outside their normal domestic domain. Women of the landowning class, such as Ann Jacob who owned property, and Anna Browne and Eliza Randall, who were the wives of substantial property owners, worked beyond their home paddock in addition to their managerial responsibilities.

Extension of women's domain

In Barossa Valley properties, such as that of the bis Winckel family, the woman's domain was often extended to include the orchard. At busy times, the rural housewife often participated in work such as grape picking and other tasks in the vineyard, at a distance from the house. Alston's survey shows that conflict in the household could arise when the women worked even further from the farmhouse (Alston 1995). A woman might, like some of those depicted in the photograph of the Gramp family and helpers, work for wages in the vineyard of a neighbour. Moreover, even though her husband might have an ambivalent attitude or express disapproval, economic necessity sometimes led the housewife to take up part-time employment away from the farm, such as teaching, nursing, clerical or receptionist work.

Gender ideology

Alston (1995) asserts that there was a general lack of recognition of women's participation in production activities in the agriculture sector, and that this omission persists to the present day. There appears to be a valid comparison between women on farms and those in family wineries, because both operate mainly in rural areas, and all members of the family are expected to work on the property without payment. Women's contribution to production processes in the wine industry is equally unrecognised. Family vineyards and wineries, like farms, operate as an economic unit as well as having strong kinship ties. The overall lack of acknowledgement of the real extent of women's economic contribution to society seems to be largely attributable to general disapproval of any activity by women outside their accepted domain. Skeggs (2001) went so far as to suggest that work outside the home was not considered respectable, and linked it to the idea of prostitution (Skeggs, pp. 46-47).

Masculine hegemony

The paucity of acknowledgement of the participation of women in the wine industry and in the work force in general may be attributed to the masculine social hegemony. Australian folklore and the ideology of Australian mateship exclude women. Rural ideology supported a strong male culture from the days of the early settlers, and the exploits of male explorers and bushrangers, as well as the achievements of pastoralists and colonial officials was celebrated by writers, poets and artists. The literature and art of the colonial and Federation eras frequently depicted the brave male pioneer. Adam Lindsay Gordon and Henry Lawson wrote poems and stories about courageous bushmen, and the artist S.T.

Gill depicted heroic figures such as the explorer John Horrocks, who was shot by his camel while in the far north of South Australia. These observers expressed the prevailing social mores, which were also reflected in the conservative nature of farming families, with their patrilineal inheritance, exemplified by the Seppelt family. Gender stereotyping and sexual division of labour allowed men to be seen as the breadwinners while women's tasks were unpaid and therefore of no recognised economic significance. Men were perceived as the 'norm' and women as the 'other'. The agricultural industry is predominantly male, but with an increasing expectation that all family members contribute. Power relations and the masculine culture dominate contemporary Australian society and it has been difficult for women to gain a high profile in the industry. It is also difficult for them to be given public recognition. This situation is also apparent in the wine industry.

Large wineries

From the beginning of the twentieth century, as many of the larger and more successful family wineries developed into companies, it seems evident that the opportunities decreased for women to pursue careers, or even to find full-time employment in the industry, although they continued to work as casual vineyard labourers. The employment of women in positions of responsibility in the production areas of wine companies in South Australia has begun only in the last two or three decades. Wendy, who is employed in a large Barossa Valley wine company, told me in her interview that she was only the second woman to work there as a winemaker. Another interviewee, Leonie, is one of three winemakers employed in a smaller Barossa Valley company. Vanessa, an interviewee from a large company in the Riverland is a fifth generation member of the founding family and the first women to be employed at management level. It is perhaps significant that Leonie and Wendy married after their careers were established, and that both speak of having supportive husbands.

Summary

Although viticulture has always been considered a male occupation, scattered information suggests that many early women settlers were involved in all aspects of wine production. In the early days of settlement in the Barossa Valley, most German women were encouraged by their cultural background to participate in grapegrowing and the Lutheran religion did not preclude them from making or drinking wine. Some members of other sects such as Congregationalists, Baptists and especially Methodists were strongly opposed to alcohol, but despite this, many early English settlers planted vines and made wine on their properties.

The Barossa Valley has a long tradition of wine making and many women have been involved in the industry from its beginning. Photographs, dairies and interviews provide this evidence. As wives of grape growers, women were expected to pick grapes at harvest time, prune vines and provide meals to the workers in the vineyard. Child bearing and rearing were a large part of a married woman's life, as well as maintaining the home, carrying out religious and moral responsibilities, visiting sick relatives and performing other social obligations, all of which constituted their primary duties. In the Barossa Valley, as elsewhere in South Australia, women have undertaken additional work outside the home, either to bring income to the family or to reduce labour costs by their participation in

work on the property. Women have a long history of contributing to the wine industry, as they have in other rural activities, but the extent and significance of their contribution has never been fully acknowledged. The next chapter describes the work done by women in the Riverland from the 1890s to the 1950s.

Chapter 6 Riverland

The principal focus of this chapter comprises the geographical indicator 'Riverland', which is used by Federal and State governments, the Australian Bureau of Statistics, as well as wine organisations to include the area from the border of Victoria near Renmark, west along the Murray River to Morgan. The major towns include Renmark, Berri, Loxton and Waikerie in which large quantities of wine grapes, as well as citrus and stone fruits are produced. The Riverland is the largest wine-growing region in South Australia, with 19,000 hectares of vines. Among the other significant wine-growing areas, the Barossa Valley has 8089 hectares, McLaren Vale 5723 hectares and Coonawarra 5120 (Australian Wine and Brandy Corporation 2004).

This chapter consists of six sections: a discussion of the Indigenous inhabitants, a history of the Village Settlements along the Murray River, World War I and World War II soldier settlers, The Australian Women's Land Army (AWLA) during the 1940s and the influx of post World War II migrants to Australia in the 1950s. The dominant theme of this chapter is the concept of initiated and sponsored schemes by the government, which include Village Settlements, World War I and World War II land settlement schemes, the formation and accomplishments of the AWLA and assistance to migrants from Europe to South Australia. It is within this framework that a history of the Riverland can be explained by the agency of women in these enterprises. The evidence is scanty and difficult to find, but the use of interviews and primary sources, such as newspapers and photographs, facilitates a more complete discussion of the Riverland history and women's contribution to viticulture.

Aboriginal inhabitants

Mussel shells, middens, a few artefacts and the remains of burial grounds suggest that Aboriginal tribes moved into the Murray Basin South Australia during the last 40,000 years. The Ngawait tribe inhabited a tract of land extending west from Loxton to the area known as Penn's Reach near Waikerie, and the Erawirung people lived in an area reaching north from Loxton to the Victorian border (Nunn 1994, p. 6). It is likely that Captain Charles Sturt met these tribes on his journey down the Murray River in 1830. Woolmer describes several interactions between Europeans and the aborigines that indicated an initial friendly and tolerant relationship. However, within a decade there was a sharp deterioration in relations between the indigenous people and the new arrivals. Alexander Buchanan, an early explorer, shot many Aborigines over the years, and destroyed their canoes and fishing nets. In his diary in 1839 he writes of one such incident: 'saw a good many blacks on the opposite bank of river, fired upon them and killed one, the rest made off immediately' (Woolmer 1973, p. 8).

A description of Aboriginal people that appeared in the local *Pioneer* newspaper in 1914 described how their lives had changed and gave an indication that their numbers would diminish. A similar premonition was expressed in the paper in 1925 by local riverboat owners (Woolmer 1973, p. 17). In 1945 when a mission was built for Aboriginal people at Berri, the population had been reduced to 113 and by 1971 only 85 remained (Woolmer 1973, p. 73). It was estimated by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs that in the early 1970s, there were about 300 people of Aboriginal descent who lived in the Riverland area (Woolmer 1973, p. 73). Some Aborigines came to the Riverland from the north of South Australia to help with the grape harvest, and this was also observed by women in the Land Army in the 1940s while working in Young in New South Wales.

‘Over the fence, across the next farm, of a morning, there’d be a large truck of Aboriginal people, women and children and some men. They were working for the next farmer’ (Hardisty 1990, p. 35). June Macgillivray who owned a vineyard in partnership with her husband at Cobdogla, in the South Australian Riverland, told Irmgard Kobelt in an interview that ’an Aboriginal picker we hired was an exceptionally good worker; the kids too, they really knuckled down to it’ (Kobelt 1999, p. 36).

Early European settlement

Large-scale permanent European settlement in the Riverland did not occur until the 1890s, several decades later than in the Barossa Valley, although much earlier some isolated pioneering properties, such as Cobdogla sheep station of 1439 square miles, had been established along the Murray River. In the 1870s this enormous property was owned and managed by the three Chamber daughters (Andison 1953, pp. 2-5).

Several attempts were made to establish communal settlements in the Riverland. In the 1890s, the State government of South Australia put forward a plan to encourage families and couples to take up land along the Murray River. There is evidence to suggest that some of these early settlers cultivated grapes and made wine within the first few years of their arrival. After World War I legislation enabled returned soldiers and their wives to lease farm land from the government. During World War II, the AWLA assisted with grape picking and pruning of vines, and after the war, returned servicemen with their wives were again assisted to take up land leases. Information about the types of produce grown and the contribution that women made to the area is scattered and fragmented, but the few diaries and letters that have been found give some indication that from the very early days of European settlement in the Riverland, women have planted and pruned vines and harvested grapes. Photographs from the period also indicate that women tended vines in the home paddock and family vineyards. Textual analysis of several photographs is included in Chapter 8 Historical Evidence.

Concurrent with the government-sponsored village settlements along the Murray, two Canadian brothers, George and William Chaffey, established irrigation projects in Renmark and Loxton. They were persuaded to come to Australia by Alfred Deakin, later Prime Minister of Australia, who had met the brothers while travelling in Canada in 1885 (Menzies and Gray 1983, p. 6). Their irrigation projects were similar to those they had set up in California (Evans 1974, p. 29). Complex systems of above-ground channels and pumps allowed settlers to distribute water over their properties to grape vines and orchards.

In the late nineteenth century, the South Australian economy was moving into recession. Many banks had closed and a series of strikes and lockouts had led to widespread unemployment. In 1890 there was a shipping strike, in 1891 a shearers’ strike, and in 1892 a lockout of Broken Hill Proprietary Limited miners (Casson and Hirst 1988, p. 19). There was little money to buy products and many people were declared bankrupt. Opportunities to work were becoming very limited. Families were forced to sell their homes and become itinerant workers and some left Australia and settled overseas. In 1893 the *Royal Tar* left Port Adelaide with 220 colonists and their children who were emigrating to South America. An article, in a journal published by the New Australia Association, contains information about the philosophy and guidelines on which the village settlement was based, which give an indication of the Association’s inclusive policies: ‘Women are given absolute equality in voice, and vote and earnings’. The writer

observes that the ‘women of South Australia understand the principle of New Australia far better than those of the other colonies’, suggesting that South Australia might be an especially valuable source of prospective colonists (Miller 1894, p. 2).

Village Settlements

The government was concerned that many more unemployed South Australians might move from the colony to a new settlement that had been founded in Paraguay, South America by William Lane (Munn et al, Tonkin, Wachtel and Schulz 1994, p. 4). Souter (1968) gives a lively and comprehensive account of Lane’s settlement in South America. Lane was a Utopian from Bristol, who had travelled widely, and settled in Brisbane in the mid 1880s. The Utopian Movement was created after the publication in 1516 of Sir Thomas More’s book, *Utopia* (Souter 1968, p. 43) More’s work was based on the ideas of the Greek philosopher, Plato, expressed in *Timaeus* and *The Republic*. More describes an imaginary island where respect was the dominant ideology, and there was communal, not private ownership of land. Other writers included Francis Bacon, *New Atlantis* 1626, James Harrington, *Oceana* 1656 and William Morris’ *News from Nowhere*, 1890 (Wynne-Davies 1999, pp. 704-5). These authors described fictional, idealised countries where happiness was paramount, women were treated equally and received the same respect as men.

Lane was an active participant in the trade union movement, and was responsible for the formation of the Australian Labour Federation in 1889. He was aware of several community settlements, including Topolobanpo in Mexico and Icaria in North America. A colleague of Lane’s, Alf Walker, travelled to South America to claim land on his behalf for a community, and chose remote Paraguay in order to discourage the weak and indecisive settlers. In 1893 William, his wife Anne, and their four children sailed from Adelaide to South America. The village community, which was named New Australia, was 176 kilometres south-east of the capital, Asunción. Unfortunately the land was unsuitable for growing crops and there was barely enough food. Lane’s autocratic manner led to some disillusioned settlers moving in 1894 and making a new site at Cosme nearby. One of the settlers, Mary Cameron, who married William Gilmore in Paraguay, later became well known as an Australian poet. However, the land at Cosme also proved to be unproductive. Most of the settlers from both villages abandoned their homes, some returning to Australia and some moving elsewhere in Paraguay, while a few married Paraguayans and remained at the settlements, where their descendants have continued to live. Lane went to live in New Zealand, where he died in 1917 (Souter 1968).

The village settlements on the Murray were founded on a socialist ideology, with similarities to Lane’s Utopianism, and some close connections with the settlers in South America are indicated by the fact that relatives of the Birks family who settled in Murtho were among the pioneers at New Australia. In the Riverland settlements, the establishment of a school was one of the highest priorities. Lane’s Utopians considered education to be of the highest importance. A photograph taken at Holder village in 1894, the year of settlement, shows the women and children grouped in front of the school, which was a temporary shelter made from small branches and with a tarpaulin for the roof (Arnold 1989, p. 247). Another photograph taken in 1894 shows the first school at Pyap, which was a similar structure. Later in the year a galvanised iron school was constructed to replace the makeshift shelter (Munn 1994, pp. 9, 13). A school was one of the first substantial buildings to be erected in the villages, usually within a year or two of

settlement. At the villages of Kingston-on-Murray, Pyap, Waikerie, Gillen and Holder the school was built in the first year of settlement, at New Residence, Lyrup and Murtho in the next year, and in the third year at Moorook (Munn et al 1994; Mack 1994; Jones 1994). Ramco's school must have been built later as the first teacher Miss Mary Temple-Harris, did not arrive in the village until 1897, three years after settlement (Arnold 1989, p. 275).

The Premier, Charles Cameron Kingston, fearing that many more unemployed South Australians might be persuaded to take up land in Paraguay, proposed the idea of facilitating the establishment of villages on the Murray River, where families could settle more easily than in South America. In 1893, legislation was enacted which allowed the formation of Communal Associations (Mack 1994, p. 3). In her *Reminiscences*, written in 1945, Elsie Birks remarked that 'when the South Australian government woke up to the fact that their good citizens were drifting away, they granted us land on the Murray for the Murtho Village Settlement' (SLSA D 2861/1-25).

Kingston's concept was to provide blocks of land and a house to settlers, who in turn, would farm the land and grow produce. An encouraging report written by the Chaffey brothers had stated that grapes grown in the Riverland were of excellent quality and were readily sold to wineries in the Barossa Valley and in Adelaide for good prices (Chaffey 1894, p. 62). The settlers would farm co-operatively, having no individual income, but sharing what they grew with other settlers. A Board of Management elected by the settlement would be responsible for the distribution of land, task allocation, income and expenditure. These settlements were often referred to as 'communistic' and the term 'Communism' was often used to describe the ideology that formed the basis of their villages.

The *Crown Land Amendment Bill,* given assent on 23 December 1893, set out the rules and regulations that formed the basis of the villages. The Act provided the opportunity for establishing small towns which were known as village settlements (Menzies and Gray 1983, p. 179). Unemployed men were keen to select their sites and begin work. From February 1894 to January 1895, eleven settlements were established along the River Murray. They were Lyrup, Murtho, Ramco, Waikerie, Holder, Pyap, Kingston-on-Murray, Gillen, New Era, Moorook, and New Residence, as well as Mount Remarkable in the Flinders Ranges and Nangkita near Mount Compass (Jones 1994, p. 19). In 1895 a parliamentary report detailed the population figures of the village settlements as 282 married men, 281 married women, 109 single men, 12 single women and 952 children (Mack 1994, p. 10). A report in the *Murray Pioneer* newspaper described a Vice-Regal visit to Renmark and the village settlements in 1896, when the temperature reached over 100° Fahrenheit and the visitors had difficulty climbing up the steep sandy slopes of the riverbank (*Murray Pioneer* 1 February, 1896, p. 5).

Samuel McIntosh, had been appointed by the state government as Village Settlement Expert in February 1896 (Mack 1994, p. 7). An article in the *Murray Pioneer* in May 1896 reported his judgement that only eight villages were likely to succeed: Lyrup, Pyap, Kingston, Waikerie, Moorook, Ramco, Holder and Murtho. He suggested that the settlement of New Residence should amalgamate with Waikerie, while Gillen and New Era should be abandoned (*Murray Pioneer* 22 May, 1896, pp. 4). Many problems had been encountered by the settlers including lack of suitable water, drought and poor business acumen. In addition, very few men had the skills or knowledge to carry out rural

work, having former occupations such as watchmaker, seaman or book-keeper (Mack 1994, pp. 112-122). On the other hand, many of the women settlers may have been able to contribute some horticultural expertise, being accustomed to cultivating vegetables, fruit, and flowers and tending fowls in their gardens in the suburbs of Adelaide.

The Methodist lobby in Adelaide opposed the sale of alcohol and though early legislation permitted wine to be sold in two-gallon containers without a trading licence, the spread of retail facilities was strongly resisted (Cutlack 1988, pp. 24-25). When the government of South Australia established the Village Settlements in the Riverland, one of the foundations rules stated that the drinking of alcohol was forbidden (Jones 1994, p. 77; Mack 1994, p. 5). Yet it is interesting to note that many settlers grew wine grapes and drank alcohol. At Waikerie village settlement the completion of the grape harvest was celebrated with a cask of beer that had been brought by train and river-boat from Kapunda Brewery (Arnold 1989, p. 271).

Conspicuously, the Surveyor-General's reports of 1895, 1896, 1897 and 1898 give an undifferentiated 'Number of Members', without specifying the number of women in the villages (Mack 1994, pp. 9-11). Moreover, apart from a few women who are designated as 'spinsters' or 'schoolteachers', the female pioneers are not discussed or acknowledged by authors writing at the centenary of the foundation of the Village Settlements, such as Glenie (1994), Jones (1994), Mack (1994), and Munn et al. (1994), as well as earlier writers such as Arnold (1988), and Casson and Hirst (1988). A large proportion of the early settlers were married but the women who lived in these villages are rarely mentioned in accounts of the history of the settlements. There is some evidence to suggest that women worked in the vineyards at the villages, including the diary of Elsie Birks, who lived at Murtho and photographs taken at these settlements in the 1890s and later.

Photographs surviving from the 1890s are an important source of information about conditions in the settlements both in Paraguay and on the River Murray in South Australia. It is perhaps significant that while women are quite frequently included in the South American photographs, they appear much less often in those from the Murray River village settlements. The relative absence of women from the photographs was not because there were few women in Riverland settlements, for in fact they formed a large proportion of the village populations. Nor can their absence be explained by the notion that they worked mainly inside their homes, where it would be difficult to take photographs, because, in reality many women's tasks, including washing, cooking and baking bread, were performed outside the house or tent in communal facilities. Unlike men's work, the routine activities of women were evidently considered too ordinary to be documented in photographs, just as they were felt to be too banal even to be recorded in women's diaries (Holmes 1995, p. 54). The explanation is not that the South American and Riverland settlers were different types of people, or that they had differences of ideology. Members of the Birks family settled both at New Australia and at Murtho, and both the Paraguayan and Riverland settlements were based on Lane's Utopian principles.

It seems likely that the most significant difference between these settler groups was in their destinations. For Australians to emigrate to South America must have required a greater degree of courage and adventurousness than to settle near the River Murray, within a few days of Adelaide. I sense that women were included in many Paraguayan photographs, because they had earned respect from the men. It must have been obvious to

the male colonists at New Australia that the women shared their commitment and sense of adventure, whereas in the Riverland the surroundings and countryside were less alien and distant.

Photographs of groups of emigrants leaving Port Adelaide for Paraguay, show women and children as well as men (Souter 1968, pp. 58-9, 106-7, 186-7, 258-9). At the settlements of Cosme and New Australia, women are photographed in groups with men, as well as with their family or with other women. A closer analysis of one photograph shows three men, eight children and three women standing informally, accompanied by another four women on horseback (Souter 1968, p. 106-7). Women are also shown in work clothes standing near their front doors (Souter 1968, pp. 106-7, 186-7). In contrast, most of the photographs reproduced by Arnold and others showing groups of settlers at villages on the Murray River such as Holder and Gillen, depict men only (Arnold 1989, pp. 22-3). Sometimes they are grouped for the photograph outside a pumping station, standing to take a break from rooting out mallee tree stumps, or posing at some other work site; other photographs show them sitting or standing outside a residence (Arnold 1989, pp. 22, 35, 246; Jones 1994, p. 29). A few photographs have survived of a single man or a small group at work (Jones 1994, pp. 29, 63). Women are photographed in a group much less frequently, and occasionally individual women are shown within the home paddock, usually accompanied by their children (Arnold 1994, pp. 27, 268; Munn et al 1994, p. 16; Mack 1994, p. 50; Jones 1994, p. 21). Unlike the men, who are often depicted as if interrupted at work, and even though the women are photographed at their work site, the home; they may pose near their house beside their vegetable garden, but they do not hold gardening tools and there is nothing to show that they have been working (Munn, Tonkin, Wachtel and Schulz 1994, p. 16; Mack 1994, p. 50). Men dominate the early photographs, yet in 1895 all of the settlements included women, and only Ramco had more single men than married couples. The village settlement of Holder had 44 married couples, two single women and 7 single men, while Gillen had 25 married couples and 7 single men (Mack 1994, p. 10).

Lyrup

Lyrup, situated between Berri and Renmark, was chosen as the site for the first Riverland village, and settlers arrived by paddle steamer in February 1894. There were thirty-five single men along with 58 married couples and about 200 children in the settlement, so women formed a substantial proportion of the village population (Mack 1994, p. 38). Jones mentions women only once in his history of Lyrup, when he describes them arriving at the settlement and cutting and sewing old tarpaulins to make temporary shelters (Jones 1994, p. 19). Making the tents was evidently considered women's work because the skills needed were an extension of those required for making clothing. A photograph of Lyrup taken in early 1894, shows many tents, and a family of settlers (Jones 1994, p. 21). Once the camp was established, the land was cleared, and fruit trees donated by a local grower were planted, as well as Doradilla and Grenache grape vines, purchased from the Department of Woods and Forests (Jones 1994, p. 28).

Of interest is the apparent conflict between the growing of grapes for sale and the rules formulated by the villagers at the foundation of the settlement that there was to be no alcohol on the site except for medicinal purposes (Jones 1994, p. 77; Mack 1994, p. 5). By August 1895, fifteen acres of vines had been planted (Jones, p. 38). A map drawn in the mid 1890s shows several blocks of land planted with grape vines (Mack, p. 42). An article in the *Murray Pioneer* in 1896 discusses a report made by McIntosh about some of

the settlements: ‘At Lyrup the grape crop is now being picked and promises to turn out well’ (*Murray Pioneer* 29 February 1896, p. 9).

Daniel Tree, a settler at Lyrup, disagreed with several decisions made by the Village Association, and had concerns about his financial situation. He took up more land south of Lyrup in 1902 and placed it in his wife’s name (Jones 1994, p. 105). There seems to be no clear explanation for the arrangement, and this transaction is similar to that carried out by John Foot who transferred land at Angaston to his sister-in-law in 1850. However, by this time, the *Married Women’s Property Act* 1882 had been passed, and Mrs Tree was able to retain the land in her own name. Growing vines was popular and successful, and it is very likely that the land had a vineyard worked by Mrs Tree. In 1955, Mrs Lesley Ann Thane inherited several blocks planted with vines. The land had originally been purchased by Alexander Thane in 1902, and passed through the family. Lesley Thane continued the family tradition of managing the property and selling wine grapes (Jones, p. 108).

Murtho

Murtho was a small village established in June 1894 by several Adelaide families who contributed capital to establish the settlement. Unmarried settlers paid £40, and married settlers £60, plus £10 for each child (Mack 1994, p. 44). Many of the settlers had capital, and several members were educated, but only three of the sixteen original male members had farming experience; two were drapers, one was a cabinet-maker and the other occupations included an accountant and a sailor (Woods 1994, p. 3). Murtho was one of the first settlements established near Renmark and John Napier Birks, a chemist, arrived there with his family in May 1895. In her *Reminiscences* , written in 1945, John’s daughter Elsie recollected that the village settlement of Murtho had vineyards as well as orchards, vegetable gardens and wheat fields, ‘the big garden, orchard and vineyard were irrigated by a channel carrying water pumped from the river’ (SLSA D 2861/1-25). One of the rules at Murtho was ‘total abstinence from intoxicating liquors for three years from date of joining’ (Glenie 1994, p. 11). McIntosh, the village settlement expert, reported that some of the women were happy that the rules kept their men away from, ‘the drink’ (Mack 1994, p. 55). It is evident from Elsie’s diary and correspondence, which is now discussed in more detail, as well as contemporary photographs from Murtho, that some grapes were grown for wine (SLSA D 2861/1-25). In her diary and in letters to her former teacher in Adelaide, Elsie, who was the school teacher at Murtho, describes the difficulties and hardships of living at the settlement. In addition to her teaching duties, Elsie assisted her mother in domestic tasks such as cooking for her father, brothers and uncles. ‘I have written in scraps of time each day, in between cooking for my men, packing their lunches, looking after poultry and garden’ (SLSA D 2861/1-25). Elsie also worked on the village property at such tasks as picking fruit and planting vines. Her days were long and the work laborious. ‘Today I have been cutting vine cuttings for planting. Two of us cut 1,000 but we had a rather short day. We have about 3,000 more to cut.’ There was very little leisure time and ‘on Saturdays we all helped to gather fruit and vegetables if needed, putting the wee ones to sleep under shady trees’ (SLSA D 2861/1-25).

Elsie describes moving large trays of ripe muscatelles to escape the ravages of the crows. ‘We girls and the married women who had no wee babies went out to help cart the boxes to a sheltered hollow’. The women also picked maize, which was, ‘not so tiring as stooping over grapes’ (SLSA D 2861/1-25). When Elsie’s uncle saw her working outside

wearing a large pink sun-bonnet and a coloured apron, he likened her to a German girl. Elsie took this as a compliment: 'I replied that this was no insult, as I admired the Germans' (SLSA D 2861/1-25). Undoubtedly Elsie was very hard working, and could see a similarity between herself and the German settlers at Loxton and elsewhere in the Riverland. Newly planted vines produce fruit in the second or third year, and early photographs show large healthy vines in March 1895, which was a year of good rainfall (Mack, p. 50).

Many of the early settlers in the Riverland, particularly at Loxton, were Germans who took up land in 1894 (Jones 1994, p. 7). For example, the Thiele family who settled in Loxton were from Kanmantoo in the Adelaide Hills, where there were substantial vineyards (Casson and Hirst 1988, pp. 24, 92; Mills 1981, p. 33). A photograph of pickers in the Holmesdale vineyard at Kanmantoo, taken in the 1890s shows women and children in work clothes standing near a cart filled with grapes (Mills, p. 83). Other Germans who came to Loxton were the Zschech, Schwartz and Kaesler families (Casson and Hirst, pp. 44-45). Wheat was sown, dairies were established and grape vines were planted. Just as the original Silesian immigrants who settled in the Barossa Valley brought their traditions of wine making to Australia, the German families who came from other areas in the colony to settle in the Riverland continued their grape-growing traditions when they established their new properties.

Other settlers included English families such as Jemima and Walter Birks, who lived at Murtho with their six children in a substantial home surrounded by fruit trees and vines (Mack 1994). Walter was John Birks' brother, who founded the settlement in Paraguay. A photograph taken in 1897 of Jemima Birks outside her house is one of the few images of a woman working in the home paddock (Appendix C). It is likely, that in addition to her domestic duties within the house, cultivating vegetables, tending the vines and harvesting grapes and fruit, would have been part of Jemima's responsibilities within the home paddock. A textual analysis of this photograph in Chapter 4 discusses the scene in much more detail.

In July 1899 only five of the original settler families remained at Murtho. In a report to a Royal Commission, David McIntosh, the village settlement overseer, was disparaging of the men at Murtho, but he did praise the women, who were in favour of staying on so that eventually they would have a home of their own (Mack 1994, p. 55). However, by the end of the year the settlement had formally ceased and all the blocks of land had been sold (Mack, pp. 11, 17). Mack points out that Murtho and Gillen were the only two settlements to be completely abandoned (Mack, p. 106). Most of the land on the original Murtho site is now devoted to dry-land farming such as wheat-growing, but there is also extensive horticultural cultivation, and 485 hectares owned by Angoves have been planted with vineyards (Glenie 1994, p. 44). This indicates a long and unbroken history of viticulture in the area.

Waikerie and Ramco

The village settlement of Waikerie was originally established in March 1894 on a site of 5258 acres on the River Murray. The villagers attempted to grow citrus fruits and vines, and they struggled against plagues of locusts and rabbits. Poorly positioned pumps were unable to supply adequate water. In 1897 the settlers formed the Waikerie Co-op Irrigation Produce Company, in an attempt to save the village from financial collapse (Arnold 1989, pp. 16, 30). Nevertheless, their small holdings could not provide enough

food, and gradually the settlers moved away. By 1900 there were only 78 villagers remaining, and it seemed likely that the settlement would be abandoned. But McIntosh had moved to Waikerie, and with his enthusiastic leadership and practical advice, other families soon arrived and took up land under a new government scheme. With the installation of a new pumping plant more settlers arrived. A map dated 1903 shows several large vineyards planted with first year vines, and second and third year trellised vines (Arnold 1989, pp. 29, 76). By July 1903 the original village of Waikerie had been incorporated into the Hundred of Waikerie and the land offered on perpetual lease (Mack 1994, p. 59).

When strong disagreements occurred a few months after the original settlement at Waikerie village, eleven bachelors and seven married couples moved, in August 1894, to nearby land near the Ramco Lagoon in Waikerie sheep station, and established Ramco village. A photograph taken in November 1894 shows nine of the men posing near their tents at Ramco (Arnold 1989, p. 22). This is one of several photographs taken by Adelaide businessman Mr Dobbie of groups of settlers at Riverland villages, which do not depict women (Arnold, pp. 23, 26, 274, 270, 271). From the beginning each villager at Ramco was allocated a block of land to cultivate. After 1901, the blocks at Ramco were offered as perpetual leases to the remaining settlers, and the land at Ramco became a part of the Hundred of Waikerie (Mack 1994, pp. 58-9).

Early photographs show women settlers standing proudly in their home paddocks. For example, a photograph taken in 1894 at Waikerie, shows two women standing in front of a small cottage. Another dated 1911, is of a young woman in work clothes standing with a man in their vineyard. A more detailed examination of these photographs and others is given in Chapter 4.

Holder

In the same year that the Waikerie village was settled, Holder was established on 7540 acres surrounding the old Waikerie homestead (Mack 1994, p. 82). Buildings on the property were used by the 71 settlers, and substantial stone houses built. Their approach to self-sufficiency was innovative, and they showed a remarkably progressive attitude. For example, a huge channel was dug and each house was given access to the water. As a result, settlers could grow their own fruit and vegetables using water from the channel, and the settlers in the sub-division of Woop Woop at Holder made their own wine, in spite of strict rules forbidding the drinking of alcohol (Arnold 1989, p. 95). However, the pump that brought the water up to the channel from the river was underpowered, and there was insufficient water for crops and gardens. Gradually the population declined, and by 1903 only twelve settlers remained, and the land was incorporated into the Hundred of Holder (Mack, p. 92).

Pyap

In March 1894, 274 settlers arrived at Pyap on the paddle steamer *Bourke* (Munn et al, Tonkin, Wachtel and Schulz 1994, p. 9). Land totalling 10,530 acres was made available and the villagers built a store, a bakehouse and a teacher's residence (Mack 1994, p. 31). Stokers worked in shifts fuelling boilers to provide steam to keep the pump going ten hours every day, bringing water up from the river to the village. However, the pumps were not powerful enough, and the water supply was erratic. The settlers could not sustain themselves, and in April 1903 Pyap was abandoned (Mack 1994, p. 34). Over one hundred years later, I visited the site in August 2003, but did not

find any remnants of the old village buildings, other than the foundations and concrete floor of the pumphouse. However, a well-preserved stone schoolhouse, which was built in 1914 and used as a community hall, is situated on high ground several hundred metres away from the river. The site of the original schoolhouse on the river bank is marked with a plaque.

Kingston-on-Murray
In 1894, 146 settlers arrived at the Kingston-on-Murray site. The families camped around the old Thurk homestead and used the shearing shed as a school. They were a determined group and tried to adhere to the original concept of communal living. A surveyor's map of 1898 shows communal ovens and eating areas. Mr Henry had been allocated block number 5, where he planted the first vines. The settlers encountered the same problems and difficulties as other villagers, and by July 1903 the remaining settlers had taken up perpetual leases on their quarter acre block, and the village disbanded (Munn et al. 1994, pp. 2-6).

Moorook
Moorook was established in May 1894 by a group of sixty settlers who occupied the land along the Murray River, south of Kingston (Mack 1994, p. 9). Photographs taken at the time show the barren and inhospitable site, and the small, insubstantial and temporary-looking houses (Mack, p. 103; Munn et al. 1994, p. 16). Fierce squabbling about financial matters and poor crops led to its closure in 1903, when the remaining twenty settlers took up perpetual leases on their blocks (Mack, p. 17).

New Era
New Era settlement was founded on 2095 acres near Cadell in 1894, beginning with twenty-two members. However the government did not provide any pumping equipment and in March 1896 most of the settlers abandoned the village (Mack 1994, p. 56). The Cadell Training Centre now occupies the site.

Gillen
Gillen village was situated on the north side of the river, east of Morgan, and settled in April 1894. The poor location of the pump did not allow water to be brought up the cliff from the river to the orchards and vines. The settlers quickly became disillusioned after finding it impossible to grow any crops. Practical advice was difficult to obtain and a huge amount of labour was needed to move the pump and keep the boiler supplied with wood. The settlement had been completely abandoned by September 1896 (Mack 1994, p. 17).

New Residence
New Residence, situated halfway between Kingston-on-Murray and Loxton was established by four single men and thirteen married couples with sixty-two children (Munn et al 1994, p. 22). Mack notes that there were ten different nationalities among the settlers at New Residence: three Australians, two English, two Scots, two Welsh, two Austrians, two Swedes, and one each American, French, German and Danish (Mack 1994, p. 35). It is likely that four different languages as well as English were spoken, which must have added to the difficulties of communication and collaboration, yet according to both Mack and Munn et al the village was exceptionally peaceful and harmonious (Mack, p. 35; Munn et al. p. 22).

The settlers cleared 130 acres, and by October 1895 had planted twenty-five acres of vines and olives, but very few fruit trees (Mack 1994, p. 35). Unfortunately they could not grow enough food for their own consumption, and a disastrous winter, with low rainfall, followed by hot dry winds in spring and summer damaged all their crops including lucerne for hay (Munn et al. 1994, p. 26). In spite of the hard work, determination and co-operative spirit of the settlers, conditions beyond their control led to the eventual failure of the settlement. Several months of drought and hot north winds destroyed their crops, and wild dogs and dingoes took their animals. The settlers became disillusioned and by 1897 most had left. The population dropped rapidly as settlers gradually moved away, and in 1897 New Residence was officially closed (Mack, p. 11).

Only three German families remained in the village, including Mr Gustav Schier, who told members of his family, who lived further away, about the village. Several of his relatives came from Eudunda, and by 1901 there were at least ten Lutheran families living in the village. A landing was built for paddle steamers, and the settlers sold or traded eggs, cream and butter for food and other goods (Munn et al 1994, p. 27).

A photograph taken in 1909 near New Residence, shows a farmhouse and surrounding land belonging to Adolph and Helene Freundt (Munn et al.1994, p. 29). The perspective of the photograph is very unusual, as it has been taken from a high view-point on the property. When I visited the farm and spoke to Mark Freundt, grandson of Adolph and Helene, we spent some time walking around discussing how the photograph could have been taken. He suggested that the photographer might have climbed onto the roof of the shearing sheds, which were demolished in the 1970s. In view of the bulk and weight of photographic equipment at the time, this would have been a very hazardous vantage point.

The shot gives an extensive view of the property, and shows buildings and structures within the home paddock, including a cellar built separately from the farmhouse, and several small pens for animals and poultry. The house stands in the middle of the home paddock, which is surrounded by a post and wire fence and has a neat picket fence separating the front garden from the larger utility area at the rear of the house. Mrs Freundt poses on the back verandah, proudly holding up a small child so the baby is included in the photograph. The cellar, which was used to store meat and dairy products, and the animal pens, for which she was responsible, as well as the smoke rising from the chimney, suggest ordered domesticity, as she stands very much at the centre of her domain. Further from the house, and on the outside of the home paddock, are three teams of horses and two carts. Also visible are two men wearing work clothes, and tending the horses. In the background, close to the home paddock, is a small herd of dairy cows, and it would have been one of Mrs Freundt's responsibilities to milk them. Unlike the home paddock, which is closely confined and represents the woman's place in the family, the space in which the men work extends far beyond the limits of the photograph.

On a visit to the village site in August 2003, I found the well-constructed stone schoolhouse built in 1905, with a room attached to accommodate the teacher. Nearby is a substantial Lutheran church and an extensive cemetery.

Collapse of Village Settlements

The *Village Settlements Act*, 1901 came into operation on 1 January 1902, and offered the remaining settlers in the villages the opportunity to take up land on perpetual lease. Some of these privately-owned properties became more profitable than the communal properties of the villages, none of which survived after 1900 (Jones 1994, p. 326). A combination of adverse conditions and circumstances led to the collapse of the Riverland settlements and by July 1903 they had all been abandoned completely or integrated into nearby towns (Mack 1994, p. 17). Sometimes the buildings were demolished and materials such as doorframes and roofing were bought by the remaining settlers and incorporated into their own houses. For example, when the Holder village was abandoned in 1903 sections of the buildings were auctioned, and purchased by the remaining settlers at Holder and other villages, for use in building or extending their homes (Arnold 1989, p. 279).

There seem to be no surviving photographs of women in the settlements outside their home paddocks, apart from a very few pictures of groups of women with men in a social situation such as a picnic or the formal opening of a facility such as a pumping station, and, unlike men, women are never shown doing work for the village community. Elsie Birks describes work she and some women did pruning in the settlement vineyard, but she also writes disparagingly of other women who did little or no such work (SLSA D 2861/1-25). It seems likely that some of the village women were disinclined, or perhaps were discouraged by their husbands, from doing work that was not directly associated with their household. This attitude may have arisen because outside their own home garden, work such as cultivation and harvesting was done for the community as a whole, and not for the direct benefit of the family.

It may be surmised that such inhibitions would have disappeared when the settlements were closed and the remaining villagers bought land or took up leases on the village sites. The Royal Commission in 1899 found that there were several reasons for the decline of the settlements. ‘It is the strong feeling that if you give the settlers something to call their own’ they will make it a success’ (Mack 1994, p. 66). Little has been written about the role of women in these early village settlements, and at the properties that were maintained at the village sites after the settlements were abandoned. However, I have been able to ascertain, by making a careful study of diaries, letters, and photographs, that wine grapes were grown in these areas and that women were involved in vineyard work.

Riverland wineries

History

Angove’s winery

In the late nineteenth century there were no wineries in the Riverland, but wineries in the Barossa Valley were well established, and grapes from the Riverland villages were transported by steamboat to Morgan and then by train to Kapunda where they were off-loaded and taken by cart to the Barossa Valley (Jones 1994, p. 184).

Dr William Angove began making wine at Tea Tree Gully in the Adelaide foothills in the 1880s (Evans 1974, p. 135). At first Angove used raisins grown in the Riverland for the production of brandy and he also encouraged more growers to concentrate on supplying wine grapes, which were made into table wine (Jones 1994, p. 287). His eldest son, Thomas set up the first distillery and winery at Renmark in 1910, using grapes supplied by local growers. Dried vine fruit such as currants, sultanas and raisins were distilled and used for fortifying spirit, and wine grapes such as Riesling and Shiraz were made into

table wine (Jones 1994, p. 287). Thomas expanded the wine-making business and made further extensions to the company. In 1913 the Lyrup winery was built on the site of the old Lyrup Village Settlement. Angove's had been buying grapes from the settlers for many years and transporting them to Renmark, which before the ferry was built, was difficult and time-consuming. The idea of the Lyrup Winery was to process the fruit on site and make drinking wines (Bishop 1986, p. 70). The winery was closed in 1976, as it was considered more economically viable to transport grapes by the ferry from the village to the Renmark winery, than to continue processing them at Lyrup (Jones, p. 292).

It is not known how many women worked at Angove's during the early years, but Dorothy Angove, Thomas' wife, remembers one of her tasks was to put out snail killer between the rows of vines at Tea Tree Gully vineyards in the evenings, and collect the dead snails the next morning (Bishop 1986, p. 76). Male descendants of Thomas continued to manage the winery for four generations until 1977, when Thomas' great-great-great-grand-daughter Victoria was the first woman to take up a position in the company as Regional Export Manager. The wineries at Renmark and Tea Tree Gully are still owned by the Angove family. Other wineries were established in the Riverland in the early 1900s, such as Renmano Growers Distillery, Barmera Winery, Berri Distillery and Waikerie Co-operative (Evans 1973). These companies employed women for menial tasks such as bottle washing and labelling, as Seppelts did in the Barossa Valley (Evans, p. 34). However, it was not until the late 1970s that managerial positions were made accessible to women such as Victoria Angove. Careers in winemaking were not attained by women in the Riverland companies until the 1990s, for example by Gabrielle La Forgia, who became Assistant Winemaker at Renmano in 2000, after an earlier appointment at Angove's.

After the collapse of the village settlements, and their official closure, several families remained near each site and gradually small farming towns were created along the River Murray. At Loxton, near Pyap village, for example, a post office, school and community hall had been established by 1902 (George 1999, p. 7). Over the years more farmers arrived in the area, and the towns of Renmark, Berri and Barmera were formed (Marsden 1986, pp. 481-482). In 1917, during World War I, at the Premiers' Conference in South Australia, Thomas Playford, Premier of South Australia was allocated a quota of 1700 men who could apply for land under the Returned Soldier Scheme (Menzies and Gray 1986, p. 229). Men who had served in World War I took up land as part of the government-initiated and sponsored scheme. The next section describes the role women had in establishing vineyards after World War I.

War Service Land Settlement Scheme

World War I

The employment of returned soldiers after World War I was a primary concern of the Federal government. Various pieces of legislation that were passed from 1915 to 1917 enabled soldiers returning from the first world war to take up land in several areas of South Australia, including Kangaroo Island, the South East and the Riverland. The *Returned Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915* and the *Discharged Soldier Settlement Act 1917* made provision for returned soldiers to be allocated land for farming (Menzies and Gray 1983, pp. 227-228). The Federal Government agreed to make the equivalent of $1250

available to the states for each settler, which was to be used to purchasing stock, plants and equipment. In 1919 the administration of the scheme was transferred from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Lands and Survey (Baker 1983, p. 4). The ex-soldier settlers were expected to grow fruit, vegetables, and manage sheep and cattle. In addition, many planted orchards and vineyards, particularly along the River Murray. In 1917, returned soldiers were allocated land at Berri and at Moorook, just north of the original village settlement and by 1927 there were 237 hectares held by returned soldiers in the area. At Monash, Glossop and Winkie soldiers held a total of 1232 hectares by 1920 and many were planted with vineyards (Menzies and Gray, p. 230).

A series of interviews documented by Mortimer (1996) show that ex-soldiers and their wives customarily worked as a team on their allocated properties. Often grapes were planted, and the varieties used for drying were initially predominant, although it was soon found that wine varieties were more profitable. Rub (sic) Scott and his wife Doris, who had been allocated eighteen acres of land at Glossop, were advised by Rub's father, a strict teetotaller, to plant currants and gordos for drying. Rub soon observed that his neighbours, who had planted wine grapes, finished harvesting earlier, without the labour of drying, and received a better price for their fruit. Consequently he and Doris decided to replace their drying-grape vines with wine-making varieties (Mortimer, p. 38).

The work of clearing land and planting vines, which was demanding and arduous, was shared by the settler women, who worked side-by-side with their husbands. In an interview, Rub Scott acknowledged the work done by his and other ex-soldiers' wives:

> The women in those days really worked hard. While I was away my wife did a lot of hoeing, and when we had the young vines she would string them up to the wires, and that kind of thing. (Mortimer 1996, p. 38)

Margaret Hatch and her husband Jack took up a block of five acres at Cobdogla on the Murray. When their vineyard was being established, Jack was employed clearing land at Monash. In her interview Margaret explains her daily routine, modestly suggesting that her tasks, heavy, dirty, and exhausting as they might be, were 'quite easy' in comparison with the 'work' that he went off each day to do:

> I would plant the rooted vines the next day, while he went off to work. It was quite easy to do, just dig a hole with the shovel and put the vines in. I also did emu-bobbing. That was the name for picking up all the roots and sticks that were left. (Mortimer, p. 134-5)

Vernon Hallam was brought up on a farm at Monash in the Riverland, on land that had been issued to his father under the Soldier Settler Scheme after World War I. When Vernon returned from World War II, he and his wife Fay were granted land under the soldier settler scheme (George 1999, pp. 26-165). Karen George (1999) also recounts the lives of these settlers who planted vines on small plots of land, some of them selling grapes to local wineries. Many of the women worked away from their home paddock on neighbours' blocks, planting vines and picking grapes at harvest time (George, pp. 21-28). Often their husbands were away from many months trying to get work wherever they could, which was especially difficult during the Depression and severe drought in the 1920s and 1930s (George, p. 17). Jones (1994) and Woolmer (1973) suggest that many of the men took any job they could find away from their land, while the women managed their properties. The work done by the women included watering and pruning vines, and harvesting and transporting grapes, which they took to wineries by horse-drawn carts (Woolmer, p. 64). Mortimer's interviews (1996) and George's research (1999) show that for many of the wives of the World War I veterans in the soldier settlement scheme, the family vineyard became an extension of the home paddock, as it was managed and

maintained by the women while their husbands were employed away from the property. Despite the Depression some managed to retain their properties, and when the economy improved bought other blocks and adjoining vineyards, which expanded their holdings and increased their profit margin (Casson and Hirst 1988, p. 93).

In 1918 a small distillation factory was set up in Berri alongside the Berri Fruit Co-operative. The waste products from the packing house, sub-standard dried fruit, were used in the plant for the production of brandy. By 1950 the Berri Distillery was the largest in the Southern Hemisphere, having developed from processing 100 tons of grapes per annum before 1920, to 20,000 tones in 1950 (Andison 1953, pp. 56-7). In 1919 the winery at Waikerie in the Riverland was sold to a group of soldier settlers as the Waikerie Co-operative Distillery Limited (Evans 1974, p. 139). An ex-soldier, Major Herbert, who owned a small winery at Moorook, near Barmera, made muscat, port and brandy (Mortimer 1996, p. 109).

A number of factors contributed to huge financial losses in the soldier settlements. There was insufficient long-term planning for the scheme, and over-capitalisation resulted from inflated land prices and the high cost of materials, because of shortages and high demand (Dunsmuir 1975, p. 17). Most of the men had little or no experience of farming and the land proved to be marginal and unsuitable for cultivation. These issues and problems were similar to those on Kangaroo Island, as discussed in Chapter 7. An investigation into the scheme resulted in the systematic closure of many properties and by 1929 the program had been abandoned (LeLacheur 1968, p. 41).

In the 1940s there was intensive horticultural growth, and grapes were a common crop (Menzies and Gray 1983, p. 236). The introduction of channel irrigation using water from the Murray River allowed higher crop yields, and there were increased plantings of orchard fruits such as apricots and peaches, as well as vines. The next section of this chapter discusses the issues related to labour shortages in the Riverland during World War II, and the government's intervention in galvanising women to redress the situation, by the creation of the Australian Women's Land Army. In the Riverland, women had been instrumental in establishing the vineyards and orchards after World War I, and during the course of World War II, they were also an important part of the rural labour force. The next section describes how they were employed in vineyards while the men were away, and how the government created legislation that encouraged women to join the AWLA. In addition, reference will be made to the influence of the media, particularly the *Australian Women's Weekly* (*AWW)*, in persuading women to do war-time work, is analysed.

World War II: Australian Women's Land Army

Three phases of war

In order to understand the progress and labour requirements of World War II, it is useful to follow Kramar's example and divide the war into three phases (Kramar 1982, p. 448). The first phase was from September 1939 to December 1941, when Menzies declared Australia at war with Germany. On 3rd September 1939, the Australian Prime Minister, Robert Menzies made a radio announcement that, 'In consequence of the persistence by Germany in her invasion of Poland, Great Britain has declared war upon her, and, as a result, Australia is also at war' (Beaumont 1996, p. 14). Australia contributed fighting

forces to the European conflict, but the war in the Pacific began in December 1941, with the bombing of Pearl Harbor by the Japanese and the involvement of the United States of America. The second phase was from December 1941, when the war escalated as a result of the increased presence of enemy forces near Australia, to late 1943. The final phase was from the end of 1943 when the likelihood of invasion of Australia was reduced, to September 1945, when the Japanese surrendered (Kramar, p. 448).

Enlistment and labour shortages

In the 1940s a crisis had developed in the rural sector as thousands of men who would normally be planting or harvesting crops, had been called up to active service and were assigned to training camps or were fighting overseas (Butlin and Schedvin 1977, p. 199). Newspaper articles highlighted many of the reasons for labour shortages in the country. In many rural areas there had been a compulsory call-up of men into war service, which had left farmers with insufficient labour. The high wages paid in munitions factories to those who were considered unfit for active service tended to attract men away from rural work: 'In many rural areas compulsory call-up of men for military duty on top of a high rate of voluntary enlistment and a substantial drift into munitions ... has left many farmers and graziers with substantially less than sufficient labour' ('Food front', 1942, p. 3).

Concern was expressed at the decreasing number of male workers and the necessity of maintaining a viable work-force in the production and distribution of food. As a result, there was a serious shortage of male labour, and efforts were made to recruit public servants to work at weekends, students after school, and conscientious objectors to take up seasonal work in the country. However, it was soon realized that many more workers would be needed to fill the gaps in the labour force. In grape-growing areas such as the Riverland, large numbers of people were required at busy times such as harvesting. The export of wine from Australia to the United Kingdom was a substantial part of the economy and was regulated by the Wine Overseas Marketing Board, which had been established in 1929 (Butlin 1961, p. 102).

Before World War II nearly four million gallons of wine and brandy were shipped to Britain annually. The wine industry had expanded, mainly as a result of the World War I soldier settlement scheme (Butlin and Schedvin, pp. 177-178). Ex-soldiers had established large vineyards among the 879 irrigation blocks that had been settled in the Riverland by 1927 (Menzies and Gray 1983, p. 234). Fortified wine and brandy were exported to New Zealand and Canada, and a small amount to Japan and China between the wars, but Britain was the main market for these products, accepting half of the Australian exports. In 1938 the United Kingdom doubled its duty on fortified wine imported from Australia (Butlin 1961, p. 102). In July 1939 agreement was reached with the United Kingdom to import from Australia surplus products, including meat, dairy products and dried fruit. However, wine and fresh fruit such as apples or pears were not included as they were not regarded in the United Kingdom as essential imports and it was argued that in any case supplies of these products could be obtained from closer markets such as France and would therefore be cheaper (Butlin, pp. 8, 85). In 1940, when trade across the English Channel ceased after France was invaded by Germany, agreement was reached with the British government that non-priority goods such as wine and fresh fruit could be imported from Australia if space was available in shipping. These restrictions were partly circumvented by an arrangement with the shipping lines to allow about ten percent of the shipping space to be allocated to non-priority products, such as wine, for shipping to the United Kingdom (Butlin, pp. 159, 163).

Butlin (1961) cites a letter from the Prime Minister to the High Commissioner in London, showing that the government was well aware of a potentially volatile political situation: ‘Our object in sending these cargoes is to avoid serious and embarrassing problems with growers of barley and wine grapes’ (Butlin, p. 163). Many of these growers were soldier settlers, and the government did not want to be seen to be treating them harshly, because of the likelihood that this would result in public outrage and resentment. As an expedient to provide continued sales, some growers diverted to the dried fruit market grapes of varieties such as sultana, gordo and lexia which had been used for wine, but were suitable for drying (Butlin, p. 82). Dried fruit was exported mainly to the United Kingdom, where it did not have the restrictions placed on it that limited other imports. It was a valuable export, being profitable to produce and easily transported and stored.

Food shortages and United States of America troops

In 1942, during the second phase of the war, with the presence of enemy forces close to Australia, and events such as the bombing of Darwin and the entry of Japanese submarines into Sydney harbour, the government realised it needed to reorganise the labour force and increase food production. Hardisty (1990) and Penglase and Horner (1992) discuss the food and alcohol scarcity that occurred with the sudden arrival of American defence personnel in Australia. The presence in Australia of troops from the United States of America led to a national beer shortage (Butlin and Schedvin 1977, p. 210). In December 1941, there had been 4600 troops in Brisbane but by the end of June 1943, there were 200,000 Army and Air Force servicemen in Australia and New Guinea (Penglase and Horner, pp. 101-103). These troops began arriving when food supplies were already decreasing and their presence gave an additional sense of urgency to the re-organisation of the labour force.

In a campaign to increase public awareness of food shortages, the government encouraged the media to promote food production and processing as important contributions to the war effort. An advertisement by the Commonwealth Food Control Board in the *AWW* in 1944 warns the readers that while food is being sent to Britain and the fighting forces, Australians need grow more food for their own consumption (Appendix H; *AWW,* March 25, 1944, p. 23). In advertisements by the Commonwealth Food Control Board in the *AWW*, householders are urged to grow vegetables and keep fowls to conserve food supplies (*AWW,* June 17, 1944, p. 23; June 3, 1944, p. 12).

O'Brien points out that gardening magazines encouraged householders to grow vegetables instead of flowers (O'Brien 1982, p. 90). The *AWW* encouraged civilians to grow their own food in their gardens. The term 'Victory Gardening' was used frequently in the articles and social pages of the *AWW*. In early 1944 a young woman described as a 'Victory Gardener' is shown in a photograph, at home busy digging in her vegetable garden (*AWW,* February 19, 1944, p. 16). A *AWW* article in 1944 reported that King George had relinquished one of his properties to grow food and flax. Flax was an important crop, as it was used to make straps for parachute harnesses. A photograph in the article shows Land Army girls working on the property, where carrots have been grown and milk from the large dairy distributed to local villagers. Articles such as these gave royal approval to growing vegetables for household consumption as well as to membership of the Land Army (*AWW,* June 3, 1944, p. 12). Public awareness of food shortages was heightened by means of articles and advertisements relating to food production and indirectly encouraged young women to join the Land Army. A more direct campaign was also instigated in newspapers and magazines with recruitment notices exhorting women to enlist in the AWLA to increase food production. Examples of this encouragement are discussed later in this section.

Legislation

In the second phase of the war, the Australian government passed significant pieces of legislation that provided for the formation of various departments and organisations that would mobilise the workforce. The Manpower Priorities Board was established in 1941 to co-ordinate labour requirements and available workers. Offices were set up in local areas and staff collated information relating to industry and resources (Wurth 1944, p. 20). Prior to this, the involvement and selection of the public in the war effort was uncoordinated and arbitrary. On 15th December 1941, Cabinet approved the, 'extensive employment of women in industries where men were not available … and only for the duration of the war' (Curtin 1941, p. 13). The *National Security Act 1939-1940* was used to alter the traditional concept of men's work. The *National Security (Employment of Women) Regulations Statutory Rules 1942*, no. 92, authorised females to be employed in the production of munitions and aircraft and other work that traditionally had been done by men (*Statutory Rules 1942*, No. 92, 2 Mar). For example, women were now able to work as tram conductors and deliver ice. Statutory Rule no. 146 made provision for the formation and constitution of the Women's Employment Board. In 1942, the Women's Employment Board was created in response to the worsening wartime situation (*Statutory Rules 1942*, No. 146, 25 Mar). Its purpose was to establish appropriate rates of pay for women in what were previously men's jobs (Butlin and Schedvin 1977, p. 33).

In 1942 two major city newspapers outlined government plans to provide labour assistance for rural areas, by the creation of a work force of trained women who were to be employed to work on farms and vineyards ('Formation of Women's Land Army', 23

May 1942, p. 3; ‘Women’s Land Army’, May 28, 1942, p. 8). In October 1942, Frank Wurth, the Director General of Manpower, announced the formation of the Australian Women’s Land Army with separate branches to be established in every state. The AWLA was the amalgamation of many volunteer organizations and services, including the Country Women’s Association Land Section, the Women’s Auxiliary Training League, and the Women’s Australian National Services (Hardisty 1990, p. 108; Shute 1980, p. 371). By establishing a visible and cohesive group such as a land army, the concerns of farmers about labour shortages could be addressed. For women it also legitimised forms of employment previously associated with men. The intention was to provide a supply of female labour to rural areas, where there was a shortage of male workers as a result of enlistments. By July 1943 there were three thousand AWLA members working on Australian farms, vineyards, orchards and dairies. (Butlin and Schedvin 1977, p. 200).

Australian Women’s Land Army and the media

In addition to articles and photographs that may have indirectly persuaded young women to join the Land Army, there were also direct advertisements in Australian newspapers and magazines that exhorted them to join the AWLA (Hardisty 1990, p. 47). Towards the end of 1944, a reply to a letter in the ‘Ask Dorothy Dix’ column gave details about joining the Land Army (*AWW* October 9 1944, p. 21). The language and words used in the context of the AWLA is part of validating women’s participation in it. The AWLA adopted the same ideology and culture as the Australian Infantry Forces, using the title of ‘Army’, adopting the term ‘Headquarters’ for the main office and referring to the women as ‘recruits’, who ‘enlisted’ and were sent ‘call-up papers’. Enlistment involved a number of bureaucratic steps to give the process credibility. Recruits were interviewed, given a medical examination and asked to sign documents. They were sent a letter confirming their acceptance into the Army and giving them instructions for appearing at their first job.

During World War II the media, in particular newspapers and magazines, were influential in persuading women to take up war-time work. In 1942 newspapers and magazines began to publish articles and advertisements supporting the AWLA and encouraging women to join. A staff reporter of the *AWW* interviewed E. G. Theodore, the Director General of the Allied Works Council, who was also the Chairman of Directors of Consolidated Press, the publisher of the *AWW*, who expressed the patriotic commitment of the magazine in urging Australian women to enlist in the Land Army (‘In this hour’, 1942). Four months later, in an interview with one of the organisers of the AWLA, the *AWW* reported that, ‘Australian women are excited and delighted that at last a Women’s Army is going to become a reality in Australia’ (‘Action’, June 11, 1942).

Newspapers were asked not to report social news, but to emphasize the virtues of taking up war work (Hasluck 1970, p. 274). A textual analysis of wartime copies of the *AWW* reveals many stories, advertisements, photographs and articles about women doing war work. These items appear to be designed to persuade Australian women to participate in the war effort and to overcome their reluctance to do men's work. Special Federal legislation was passed in 1942, enabling women to be employed in jobs normally restricted to men, for example working as tram conductors, or delivering bread and ice (McKernan 1983, pp. 210 - 217). A front cover of the *AWW* in 1944 shows a young female conductor manipulating the operating cords outside a tram at the terminus (Appendix I; *AWW*, February 5, 1944, front cover). This task is perceived as a serious responsibility, difficult and potentially dangerous as it involves heavy electrical

equipment. However she is very much in control of her task as shown by her firm grip on the cords and her smiling, confident face. In the background are three other women and one elderly man in tramways uniforms. Images such as this convey public approval for women to undertake men's jobs. Gradually the traditional notions of femininity, and what constituted women's work and men's work, were challenged. In many cases war work required women to carry out tasks that previously had been classed as men's work, from which women had been excluded, and the special regulations needed to facilitate this change were provided in the *National Security Act 1939-1940* and the *Statutory Rules 1942* relating to the act. But doing men's work, including dirty, heavy and very physical work with machinery, must have threatened women's gender identity.

Stories and community perceptions suggest that the *AWW* was a strong influence in this re-orientation of women's values. Vane Lindesay (1983) maintains that the lifestyle suggestions and opinions expressed in the *AWW* have, at some stage, influenced almost every Australian family. This assessment is echoed by Elaine Thompson (1979), who claims that the *AWW* reached a true cross-section of the public during the 1940s. Denis O'Brien (1982) considers the *AWW* to be 'unashamedly propagandist'. Bill Bonney and Helen Wilson (1983) maintain that the *AWW* functioned as an effective instrument of propaganda, helping to overcome the potentially strong opposition of women to the war. Anecdotal wisdom suggests that the *AWW* was as influential in persuading women to take up household duties after the war, as it had been in inducing women to take an active role in the war effort. But when examined closely, the messages in the post-war issues of the *AWW* extolling the advantages of being married, having a family, and being a housewife, appear less explicit and perhaps less powerful than the earlier messages suggesting that women take up war work. There is evidence also of some ambivalence of editorial policy in issues of the *AWW* after 1945. The discourse in the *AWW* relating to the social repositioning of women in the post-war years is evidently more complex than the persuasive messages of wartime.

The date of the first issue of the *AWW* was June 10, 1933. The target as stated in the *AWW*, was to encompass a broad range of Australian women. The new publication was, 'to be a treasure-store [into] which every woman, stay-at-home, gadabout, intellectual or just nice-average' would delve (*AWW* June 10, 1933, p. 2). It was to cater to the varied tastes of its readership: 'We have been able to give women a real newspaper, covering their widest interests, rather than a journal of solely domestic interest' (*AWW* June 12, 1943, p. 10.

The *AWW* has long been a popular magazine, approaching the status of an Australian cultural icon. Sales figures support this view and, soon after it appeared on the market, the *AWW* claimed to be the leader among women's magazines in Australia, with an initial circulation of 92,000, rising in six months to 162,849 (*AWW* December 1, 1933, p. 7). In 1935 sales averaged 260,271, in 1937, 383,487, and in 1940, 450,000. In 1943 a circulation of over 500,000 was claimed (*AWW* May 1, 1943, front cover). By mid 1946 approximately 700,000 copies of the magazine were selling each week (Whitington 1971, p. 131). In fact, because the magazine was often passed on to friends and relatives, its circulation far exceeded the official sales figures. As the publishers of the *AWW* were clearly aware, the readership included many male readers (*AWW* June 12, 1943, p. 10).

The importance of researching a media text through the eyes of its readers has been emphasised in recent writings about popular culture (Hermes 1995, p. 144). As a first step

in assessing the *AWW's* influence on readers during its first two decades, it would be desirable to determine who the readers really were. But, as Joanne Scott (1998) points out, there are difficulties in establishing, in retrospect, who actually read the magazine. There are pitfalls in equating this historical readership with the preferred readership that was projected by editorial policy, and constructed in the leaders, articles and other editorial material (Scott, p. 76). It is unclear, for instance, whether the preferred readership was to include women who were not primarily housewives, for references to women working outside the home are comparatively rare.

Scott (1998) argues that the letters to the editor may give a more accurate indication of the actual readership than the leaders, articles and stories in the magazine. However, it is not a clear-cut issue, since questions remain as to whether the correspondents can be considered typical of the readership, whether they might have been inhibited by the constraints of achieving acceptance for publication, and even whether the letters, and writers, are genuine (Scott, p. 77). It could be argued that letters for publication are likely to have reflected and endorsed editorial policy. In any case, letters from readers were omitted when the number of pages was reduced in 1941, and not resumed until 1945 (O'Brien 1982, pp. 84, 92). For the purposes of this study, the magazine's editorial content as a whole, including readers' correspondence, together with the advertisements, will be deemed an adequate reflection of the female readership. Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplin Daniels, and James Benet (1978) assert that women's magazines, in spite of their differences, tend to project a common image of feminine qualities. Striving to please, women are conscious and supportive of the emotional and physical well-being of others, and if they fail to cater to those needs they are criticised. Barbara Baird, Lyndall Ryan and Susan Sheridan (1992) have examined the *AWW* and found a similar construction of femininity in the magazine during its heyday after World War II.

At the beginning of the war the *AWW* assured its readers that women would serve the nation's interest best by maintaining cheerful and healthy families (*AWW* September 16, 1939, p. 3). This message, about the importance of maintaining the family and home, continued throughout the war, but was soon overshadowed by other urgent themes. Soon after the beginning of the war the *AWW* had assumed the task of encouraging and supporting women who chose to undertake war work. A leading *AWW* article in 1941 reported a speech by the Australian Prime Minister, Robert Menzies, in which he said that the war had brought Australian women into industry to contribute to the war effort, and that the only problem had been to find appropriate work for all the volunteers (*AWW* May 31, 1941, p. 14). The *AWW* participated strongly in the drive to recruit women to the auxiliary services and other war work. A leader in the *AWW* claims that since the outbreak of war the *AWW* had become a war magazine, which always found space to record the bravery of Australian fighting men and the selflessness of the servicewomen (*AWW* June 12, 1943, p. 10).

As an alternative to enlisting in one of the auxiliary services, young women are exhorted to, 'Get a Victory Job'. They can, for instance, join the Land Army to help to speed the end of the war. It is suggested, rather disparagingly, that the work they are doing now could probably be done as well by their grandmothers, thus freeing them to take more demanding jobs and contribute to the war effort (*AWW* May 1, 1943, p. 4). Not all the propaganda in the *AWW* had a positive tenor. In 1943 the *AWW* published an article entitled, 'Girls tell why they cling to their present jobs'. Women, who had so far failed to respond to public appeals to engage in war work, were interviewed for the report. The

writer comments that the excuses given sounded selfish, even unpatriotic, and that it would need more than 'moral pressure' to 'pitchfork' some women into participating (*AWW* June 5, 1943, p. 13).

In 1943, at the most critical stage of the war in the Pacific, persuasive advertising rhetoric encouraging participation in the war effort permeated the pages of the *AWW*. Throughout the war the *AWW* included special articles featuring women's war work in the auxiliary services and the land army. In 1944 and 1945, for instance, there were special colour features outlining the advantages to be gained in becoming a member of the Women's Auxiliary Air Force, showing the benefits and amenities offered by the service, which included a free individually tailored uniform, generous leave and varied leisure facilities, as well as specialised training (*AWW* , June 3, 1944, p. 4; July 29 1944, p. 4; April 21, 1945, p. 33).

An advertisement for cosmetics shows a Land Army girl driving a horse-drawn plough. She works alone, seated on the machine, holding the reins, and is obviously in control and unsupervised. Ploughing is a task that has been traditionally done by men, but the drawing shows this young girl cheerfully and capably working outside on the land, but still within the safe and secure vicinity of the farm house, which is seen in the distance. During the war the labour shortage required women to carry out work usually done by men, including routine tasks on farms and vineyards. The picture of this young women shows her working in the extended home paddock. She wears shorts without socks or stockings, a short-sleeved shirt and a wide-brimmed hat with an easily identifiable Land Army badge (*AWW* October 14, 1944, p. 16). An article in the *AWW* in mid 1944 shows Queen Elizabeth talking to a Land Army girl who drives a bailing machine on the royal farm (*AWW* June 3, 1944, p. 12). The royal family was held in high esteem by Australians, and this article which shows the Queen talking to a young female farm labourer, implies royal sanction of her work. It can be assumed that the motivation for publishing these feature articles and advertisements was to express approbation and admiration for the war workers as a means of contributing to their morale, and also to provide an incentive to other women to participate in war work.

The emphasis of editorials as well as advertisements in the *AWW* during the early years of the war, shifted from extolling the virtues of mothers and housewives, which had been a dominant theme up to 1939, to admiring the participants in war work. With keen patriotism, the *AWW* welcomed the impending conscription of women, proclaiming that the planned compulsory enlistment of women in war work would be an important step in the organisation of Australian society for total war (*AWW* February 13, 1943, p. 14). Yet there are also hints of some reservations in this editorial. For example, the call-up will relieve many women of the dilemma of conflicting duties. A 'great army of women' will still need to remain in their homes, providing food and domestic care for the workers in the family, and looking after children and nursing the sick. Those who must stay at home, the reader is assured, will be able to participate in the war effort as they, 'knit and pray for the soldiers ... And if a faded print house-frock is this army's uniform, it is earning a salute along with the rest' (*AWW* February 13, 1943, p. 14).

By 1944, the conscription of women for war work had been introduced, and the editorial staff of the *AWW* was aware of the need to make compulsory participation more acceptable, as may be seen in an article published in 1944, reporting answers from Manpower Department to ten questions about the call-up of women (*AWW* March 25,

1944, p. 13). But the new forms of employment were always intended to be temporary, as may be seen in the editorial in the same issue, which called for social reforms after the war to enable women to, 'fulfil their true destiny of motherhood' (*AWW* March 25, 1944, p. 14).

Recent enquiries have taken into account such considerations as how the media representations of femininity are received and what pleasures are derived from them. Media representations have been interrogated to discover how they are constructed and delivered, what means are used and in what contexts they are produced. Attempts have been made to ascertain their purpose and determine who benefits from them (Sheridan 1995, pp. 88-89). As Sheridan maintains, the magazine's popularity and wide circulation ensured that it became an important gender text, as it assumed the responsibility of training women in femininity and achieved the status of an Australian cultural icon. She argues that the *AWW* contributes to the construction of the sexed subjectivity of its female readers by its orientation to the viewpoint of an ideal housewife. The representation in the media of gender realisations, identity negotiations and other social constructions has become a central concern of those taking a feminist position in cultural studies. Sheridan points out that while it has long been of concern to researchers that representations of femininity in the media have impeded attempts by women to achieve personal freedom and empowerment in society, feminist approaches now are often more broadly conceived.

The discourse in the *AWW* about gender identity and the social positioning of women in the post-war years, is more complex than has sometimes been acknowledged. In Marilyn Lake's view (1995) the common belief that the post-war years were characterised by a re-assertion of traditional values, is an oversimplification (Lake, p. 75). Jillian Trezise (1997) claims that the contents of magazines in the post-war era point to contradictions and uncertainties lying behind the façade of equality and harmony. She challenges the customary account of Australia in the late 1940s, which focuses on anxieties about changes in the relations between the sexes, and on the ensuing restatement of the edict that the primary location of women was in the home (Trezise, p. 18).

It would be a mistake to assume that all readers accepted this idealised image of women unreservedly and uncritically. As Steven Kates and Glenda Shaw-Garlock (1999) have argued, the discourses of women's magazines are grounded in social conditions, and constructed by the interactions of varied component groups of women in society (Kates and Shaw-Garlock, p. 43). The differing approaches of readers, arising from varying levels of cultural knowledge and sophistication, lead to a plurality of readings. The representation of femininity in the editorial content of the *AWW*, during the first ten years after the war, was evidently calculated to reflect the prevailing view in society. As Thompson (1979) has pointed out, it was rare for the *AWW* to challenge or question the norms of its readers (Thompson, p. 493). In an interview with Whitington (1971), Esme Fenston, the editor of the *AWW* in the early 1950s, explained the editorial policy. 'I doubt very much whether we mould female opinion ... We cater for tastes. We simply dare not get too far ahead of them.' Fenston considered that if the *AWW* did introduce changes of attitude too quickly, some would catch up, but many more would turn away from the magazine (Whitington, p.134).

On analysis, the discourse about the place of women in society, provided in the *AWW* during the 1940s, is by no means as simple as might be expected. The everyday act of reading a women's magazine is informed by a variety of interpretive positions. The

complexities of society, consisting, among other factors, of varied political, economic and class structures, produce contradictory interpretations of cultural texts. These conflicts are heightened by differences of gender, sexual orientation, social and moral values and lifestyle.

Changes in the social positioning and economic status of women were intensified in the early 1940s by the upheavals of war. Many women were propelled into war-related employment. They were induced by the necessities of war to undertake a variety of unfamiliar types of work that had previously been carried out by men. To induce women to take up unfamiliar but essential war work, persuasion and reassurance, and finally coercion, was needed; and The *AWW*, by far the most popular women's magazine of the period, participated in this process.

It was anticipated that the Land Army women would work in agricultural and horticultural industries and in the dairy industry carrying out essential tasks. There were very specific conditions for their employment. They were, for instance, not permitted to carry out domestic tasks such as cooking and cleaning in the house, but were required to work out of doors on the farm at tasks such as picking grapes and driving trucks and tractors (Butlin and Schedvin 1977, p 199; Bayne 1943, p. 25). As a result of wartime requirements, and by means of special legislation, which has been discussed earlier, the concept of women's work and the types of activities that were considered appropriate for women to carry out, were changed. Rural women have always worked on their family farms, at tasks such as milking cows, feeding poultry and animals and growing vegetables, usually without payment (Alston 1998, p. 197). In contrast, the AWLA, which had been formed to meet wartime labour requirements, made provision for women from urban areas to receive training in rural tasks and be paid for the work they did (Bayne, p. 25).

It has been stated that members of farming families were not permitted to join the Land Army (Butlin and Schedvin 1977, p. 199). While this may have been the general enlistment policy, there were certainly some exceptions. Jane, one of the women I interviewed in the Riverland had been brought up on a dairy farm at Rendelsham in the South-East of South Australia, and left her work on the family farm at the age of eighteen to enlist in the AWLA. Daisy was another Riverland interviewee who was brought up on the land. Before joining the AWLA, she was living and working on the family dairy farm at Mypolonga, near Murray Bridge.

By 1945 there were approximately 3000 women harvesting crops and driving farm machinery (Disher 1983, p. 57). In 1943 the *Murray Pioneer* reported that land army girls at Renmark had picked flax, peas, and laid a brick floor in a cow shed at McLaren Vale: 'Many of the girls have been doing a man's work on farms in various parts of the state' ('Doing a man's work' 1943, p. 1). A lengthy article in the *AWW* in mid 1944 described the work that Land Army girls were doing in South Australia. Several photographs show the girls in the flax fields at Morphett Vale, and there are references to other work they did including picking grapes and pruning vines. It is reported that despite the hard work the girls are pleased to be able to contribute to the war effort. In the article, the photographs and comments from the workers suggest social and cultural approval of their undertaking of work that had been perceived as men's work (*AWW*, June 3, 1944, p. 9).

Riverland and the Australian Women's Land Army

In the Riverland, there was a strong sense of national loyalty, and 300 men had enlisted in the defence forces by June 1940, resulting in an acute scarcity of labour (Casson and Hirst 1988, pp. 95, 100). The AWLA members were employed to do such work and from 1942 to 1945 all women in the AWLA worked in rural areas, where they helped alleviate the labour shortages. This led to anomalies such as the hiring of a young girl rather than the traditional male employee, to deliver milk and bread in the Renmark district (Casson and Hirst, p. 100).

In South Australia, there were two separate sections of the Land Army: workers who were sent to specific farms and worked full-time on the properties, and other women who travelled throughout the country doing seasonal work (Marshall 1943, p. 245). I interviewed five women in the Riverland who had been in the Land Army. They had been seasonal workers and had been directed to work in different areas in South Australia depending on labour requirements. For example in one year they might have spread flax at Morphett Vale, picked cherries at Lenswood and pruned vines in the Riverland.
The reasons for joining the AWLA are discussed in the next section, using the women's own words from the interviews, to describe how they felt about leaving home and going to work in the Land Army.

Australian Women's Land Army
Reasons for joining
Social and cultural pressure
A crisis in the fruit picking industry was averted by the timely help of the AWLA (Casson and Hirst 1988, p. 98). An article in the *Murray Pioneer* reports that there was increased enthusiasm from 'scores of girls wanting to join the land army and help with the grape harvest' ('Several big sources' February 4, 1943, p. 1). The newspaper acknowledged the importance of the women's contribution: 'Members of the Women's Land Army have come to the aid of the industry with very pleasing results. All fruit crops will be satisfactorily harvested' ('Land army girls' February 25, 1943, p. 1).

The women I interviewed in the Riverland talked about their reasons for joining the Land Army. Their decision to enlist reflected the current social pressures to participate in war work, and moreover the Land Army gave them a valid and legitimate reason for leaving home at a time when it was customary for girls to live with their parents until they married. Fiona was working in an office in Adelaide, but felt that she needed to do her bit for the war effort: 'I never thought very much about it, except that it just had to be done.' Fiona was aware of the current ideology of participation in war work: 'I think everybody's ideal was the same. Everybody was doing their share.' Her cousin was in the Red Cross, but Fiona felt that she would prefer to work outside: 'I decided that if I did anything, I wanted to get out into the open spaces'.

Lucy, another woman I interviewed, recalled her reasons for joining the AWLA. As a young girl she was acutely aware of the discrimination that prevented women from joining the defence forces: 'My Dad was in a garrison and my brother was in the army. It was really funny because we girls weren't allowed to join the services'. The AWLA offered her the opportunity to participate in the war effort: 'I think I did my bit. We all played a part in helping. The work had to be done and the men were away so we just went out and did it'. In my interview with Jane she told me that when she was considering enlistment in the Land Army, she was influenced by her brother's fiance, who was a Land Army girl and spoke enthusiastically about her work: 'my sister-in-law

was in the land army and that was the main reason why I went to help with the war effort'. Her decision was also affected by advertisements such as those in the *AWW* asking for women to work on the land: 'They were advertising for women to work in the land army because the men were overseas in the forces and they were advertising all the time for women to work on the land. I thought I'd work on the land, that I'd be suitable and able to do the work.

Independence

For several of these women a strong motivation for enlistment in the AWLA was the socially condoned opportunity it provided of leaving home and becoming independent. When Janis joined the AWLA she was seventeen years old and lived with her parents in an Adelaide suburb. She was working at Charles Birks' Emporium as a machinist making curtains and cushions. Her father was a chef in the same department store and her mother was at home looking after the family. Janis recalled that her life changed suddenly when her two elder married sisters returned home while their husbands were in the armed services. The house became very crowded and 'I was shunted out onto the front verandah with a bed just with a canvas blind.' Janis' primary motivation in enlisting with the AWLA was evidently to escape the family environment. 'I felt that I was getting pushed out. I wanted to get away from home'. Her parents initially refused to sign her papers: 'they thought it would be awful going to the country as I'd never done that sort of work'. Eventually Janis was able to persuade her parents to sign the papers and she was called up early the following year, after the customary three-month probation period allowing time for recruits to change their minds and withdraw their application to enlist. Lucy described herself as being rather restless and immature in those days early in the war. She recalled that she was a 'young, 19 year-old girl. I was a very giggly person.' After an incident in which she was 'joking and larking about' with some other girls in the clothing factory, she was dismissed from her job and it was then that she decided to join the Land Army. 'I thought it was an adventure', she said. 'I must have been ready for it, to go. I didn't have any qualms'.

The women I interviewed who worked in the Land Army described a variety of reasons for wanting to enlist, but they can be summarised into two main motivations. The first was a response to social pressure to take part in the war effort, for example, Daisy, Fiona, Jane and Lucy said they had been induced to enlist by a consciousness of the current social attitudes. The second reason was the desire to leave home and become self-sufficient and Jane and Janis said they had been motivated by a sense of adventure and independence.

After the Land Army girls enlisted there was usually several weeks before they were given instructions relating to their work and accommodation. Of the women I invited for my interviews, all those who had been in the land army had picked grapes and pruned vines. Accommodation was provided either at hostels or with families on the blocks where they were working. Jane recalled that her wage was £3 per week and that out of this she paid £1 per week for her board. The AWLA pay rate might be compared to the top wage for a machinist in Adelaide at the time, which was £1/18/- per week (Tolley 2001, p. 43). The women remembered going to the Riverland in trucks and arriving at their accommodation excited and enthusiastic, but those who had come from Adelaide were unaccustomed to country life and unaware of the difficult working conditions they would encounter. Jane remarked that, 'For some girls it must have been fairly difficult if they didn't realise how hard it was. It was hard for the city girls'. Working in vineyards was a new experience even for girls who had been brought up in the country. Jane had milked cows and rounded up sheep, but was unfamiliar with vineyard work. In her interview she admitted that she had never before seen grapes growing. 'When I came to Berri I thought they were peas growing along in rows. I said to the girls in the truck, "Why are they growing all these peas?". They said, "They're grapes and you'll be picking them. You'll know!"'. Fiona, who had previously worked in a city office, was also unfamiliar and unprepared for picking grapes and in her interview told me that she arrived at her first job in a vineyard wearing high heel shoes and a skirt.

Australian Women's Land Army Clothing

Romanticised images of women in uniform occurred in the *AWW* throughout the war. A picture on a front cover published in 1944 shows a young woman in a conductor's uniform standing at the end of her tram. She is smiling, but since we are given a profile view, the smile suggests a self-conscious pride in her job, rather than a direct connection with the viewer. Her face is made up with lipstick, mascara and well-defined eyebrows, and her fair hair curls neatly below her cap (*AWW,* February 5, 1944, front cover). Underlying the idealised representation of this young woman's face and figure is the reassuring message that participation in the war effort is not incompatible with feminine charm. In a Pond's cosmetic advertisement a young Land Army girl in her working uniform driving a plough is represented as a conventionally pretty girl who wears lipstick and powder and has pencilled eyebrows and tightly curled hair under her Land Army hat. 'Driving a plough or attending a theatre premiere - she maintains loveliness with those dependable aids to glamour, Pond's Powder and Pond's "Lips."' (*AWW,* October 14, 1944, p. 16).

The perception of an increase in the number of masculine-looking women seems to be largely due to the adoption of uniforms for much of the new war work undertaken by women. As Bonney and Wilson (1983) point out, a uniform is a traditional signifier of masculinity. Through its educational journal, *Salt*, the army made efforts to counteract negative comments about women in its auxiliary service, such as the suggestion that service life would make the Australian Women's Auxiliary Service coarse and neglectful of their feminine grooming. Army personnel reading the journal are assured that the AWAS are doing an excellent job and have not 'lost any femininity' ('Are they feminine?' February 14, 1944, pp. 1, 5).

War-time fashions had a notably masculine, military look. This trend in mid 1940s women's clothing is illustrated in a photograph of Janet Blair in the regular *AWW* pin-up section featuring Hollywood film stars (*AWW,* February 19, 1944, p. 17). The actress wears a tailored jacket with square padded shoulders and an emphatically angular collar, which give it a rather conventionally masculine look. A fashion page in the *AWW* shows several jackets and coats cut in a similar fashion (*AWW,* March 27, 1943, p. 15). In the New York Roundup section, an American Women's Army Corps uniform is described as 'tailored with extra broad shoulders' (*AWW* June 3, 1944, p. 14).

Neither in World War I nor World War II was there strong opposition to women serving overseas in areas such as the Middle East. Although they could not take a direct part in the conflict, they could serve as army nurses, which was seen as an appropriate gender role of nurturing and caring. At home women could be members of the Armed services, but they were perceived as helpers and assistants. Their supporting role was reflected in the names of several of their organisations, for example the Women's Auxiliary Australian Air Force (WAAAF), the Women's Auxiliary Naval Service (WANS) and the Women's Voluntary Naval Reserve. However the young women in these services were not really supporting the men; they were, on the contrary, performing complicated technical tasks that had previously been done by men. Members of the WAAAF, who by 1945 numbered 18500, are shown in an extensive special supplement to the *AWW* maintaining and repairing aircraft and boats and driving heavy vehicles (Appendix J; *AWW,* March 24, 1945, pp. 11-12).

An article by Catherine Speck (1999b) discusses the social and cultural expectations of women in the military forces. Much of her analysis relates to portraits of women painted during World War II. She discusses several paintings of women in uniform by Nora Heysen, who was appointed in 1943 as an official war artist, arguing that although their clothes are masculine, the women still retain and display aspects of femininity. Speck's analysis of a portrait of Matron Annie Sage, does not discuss the importance and symbolism of her veil. Similarly, in discussing the symbolism of nurses' uniforms, Kay Saunders (1997) notes that the militarisation of their clothing stopped short of replacing the veil with a helmet, a signifier of battle, but she does not mention the veil's religious significance as a symbol of piety (Saunders, p. 81). Moreover, neither author refers to the retention of the skirt in the nurses' uniform, rather than the use of trousers in imitation of men. The dress uniforms of the women's services, worn on outings such as attending church or going to the pictures, while even more military-looking than those of the nurses, also retained the skirt, but their working clothes included trousers, overalls or shorts, which were safer and more practical than a dress or skirt. It was as if, when working at men's jobs, the women wore similar clothes to men.

Saunders (1997) suggests that the design of the Land Army uniform presented some issues that had not been dealt with before. A choice needed to be made between copying male military uniforms, as had been done in the women's auxiliary services, or basing the design on current women's fashions, which would be remodelled or made more austere. In June 1942 the official AWLA uniform was designed, with variations from state to state (Saunders, p. 82). The South Australian dress uniforms for the AWLA included straight rather than full skirts and fitted jackets, and were economical in the use of material. The Land Army work uniforms consisted of a pair of bib-and-brace overalls or trousers, a long-sleeved and a short-sleeved shirt, a hat, woollen socks, army boots and gaiters. A

pattern for making women's overalls was included in the *AWW* in 1943 (March 13, p. 15).

The war had modified the well-defined traditional roles and cultural norms. Military uniforms were no longer confined to men. Their use by women signified that the wearers did 'real war work' and that their participation was socially condoned (Speck 1999b, p. 153). Civilian dress styles had begun to reflect cultural changes, such as the place of women in society, which had been re-defined partly by the new kinds of work they did outside the home paddock. It is possible that women who were not involved directly in war work may have wanted to express solidarity and support by wearing fitted jackets in a military style, with padded shoulders and narrow tailored skirts. Both the work clothing and the formal dress uniforms of the AWLA varied from state to state, but all consisted of a compromise between military and civilian styles of dress.

Australian Women's Land Army uniforms

The women who were interviewed for this project spoke of the pride they felt in their AWLA uniforms. Uniforms were ordered for recruits but often took several weeks to arrive, and the women often had to wear their own street clothes when they arrived at their first job. Fiona met her employer when she came from Adelaide to Berri: 'Mr W. came down in his buck-board and I'm dressed in high heel shoes and wearing a skirt. He took one look at me and he said "Do you know what you're letting yourself in for, lass?" And I said, "Yes", and he said, "Oh well, hop in and we'll give you a go"'. Obviously Fiona was very keen and enthusiastic to start work, but she vas naively unaware of the impractical nature of her street clothes for work in a vineyard. Alternatively, perhaps she felt reluctant to discard her conventional skirt until an official alternative was provided. Work clothing was usually supplied after two weeks, and all of the former land army women I interviewed clearly remembered their uniforms and the pride they felt in wearing them. The *Murray Pioneer* discussed the clothing that the girls wore, indicating that there was some resistance towards it. It was reported that many wore blue overalls, or shorts and shirts, but some 'will not yield in their stand for feminine conservatism and stick to the traditional skirts' ('Doing a man's work' February 25, 1943, p. 1). However, I suspect that this report might reveal more about the assumptions of the writer than the views of the Land Army women, since far from expressing reservations about their uniforms, all of the women I interviewed spoke of them with pride.

The AWLA girls were given permission to go to weekly local dances, to which they were required to wear a special khaki dress uniform consisting of a button-through dress, or skirt and shirt, high heel shoes, hat and gloves. Jane recalled that wearing a uniform was very different from being dressed in her usual clothes. The uniforms promoted cohesiveness: 'I thought it was a good idea that we all wore the same things and we were all one group and one army.' They minimised rivalry and competitiveness in clothing: 'There was nobody dressed any better than anybody else. We were all the same.' Above all, the uniforms identified the AWLA women and signified their social status: 'People recognised us as land army girls. We were very well respected'.

The formation of the AWLA had been initiated by the Federal government in response to a labour shortage in rural areas, resulting from male enlistment during World War II. In the Riverland the Land Army women did a variety of traditional men's jobs including working in the vineyards. In spite of their significant contribution to the wine industry, as well as to the war effort, these women were given little official recognition after the war.

For example, participation in the Anzac Day marches was confined to men who had been members of the Defence Forces and nurses and members of the women's auxiliary forces.

The women in the Land Army were not permitted to join the parades because they were not directly associated with the armed forces: their hat badge proclaimed 'CAN'T FIGHT CAN FARM'. For several decades some strongly motivated ex-members of the AWLA in Queensland and New South Wales met socially and lobbied the Federal government and the Returned Soldiers' League to allow them to march in Anzac Day parades. After many of these approaches, approval was finally given in 1983 for women of the AWLA to march in Sydney's Anzac Day parade, and in subsequent years members in other states were also permitted to march.

AWLA members were also excluded from the benefits available to nurses and women in the auxiliary services (Saunders 1997, p. 86). It may have been felt that to extend these privileges to the Land Army women would have diminished the importance of the men's role in the war. The Queensland Minister for Agriculture offered some recognition in his farewell letter in the Land Army Gazette:

> I know there has been little glamour in your Service, and many of the privileges and good things available to the women of the other services were not available to you, and I reiterate what I have said so often, that no other Women's Services has done more to assist in the successful prosecution of the war than the Land Army. The Frontline Battle would not have been won without the Food Front Battle. (Williams 1945, p. 2)

That commendations such as this were not widely expressed for the work of the Land Army women was partly due to the changes in social attitudes that had begun to occur in the last months of the war. In the immediate post-war years the sentiments expressed in magazines such as the *AWW* had changed significantly and the focus was now on re-establishing the primacy of domestic values. This is reflected in an editorial in the *AWW* asserting that most servicewomen have already decided that after the war, 'home, husband and family will come first' (*AWW* 24 March, 1945, p. 18). The pleasures of home and family were promoted in a leader published after the cessation of hostilities. The returned soldier is to be rewarded with, 'children's laughter and the sight of a small, sleepy head upon a pillow ... an armchair by the fire and clean sheets ... tea in the kitchen and a woman's tenderness' (*AWW*, 25 August 1945, p. 18).

When referring to women leaving their war work, there had been indications of some confusion of editorial policy in the *AWW*. An editorial, written towards the end of the war, reports that women are feeling optimistic about their place in the post-war world. The writer notes that some younger women hope to make their wartime activities into a career. The reader is assured that women who choose to remain in the workforce will have nothing to fear, providing the large-scale unemployment of the 1930s does not reoccur. There is a rather gloomy warning that preference will be given to men if circumstances force women to compete with them in the harder and heavier fields of work that were formerly regarded the province of men. The editor explains that men are tougher than women, and have always been regarded as the breadwinners:

> Men would replace women, not only because tradition credits men with greater toughness and endurance, but also because man has been regarded through the centuries as the head of the household and the breadwinner. (*AWW* June 17, 1944, p. 10)

Summary
During the war, as a result of male enlistment, there was a shortage of labour on the wine properties in the Riverland. The employment of Land Army women to fill the gaps in the labour force by taking the places of absent male workers, was a temporary measure which came to an end in 1945, when the Land Army was disbanded. Although the work done in the vineyards by the girls of the Land Army was appreciated by their employers in the Riverland, and occasional articles acknowledging their work were written in the media during and after the war, they have received little official and public approval of their contribution to the war effort. This omission may be explained in terms of social and cultural ideologies. Firstly, any reward and recognition given to the women in the Land Army could have been perceived as diminishing approbation of the work of the men in the fighting forces; secondly, city people were largely unaware of the extent of the work done in rural areas by the women; and thirdly, there was an expectation that the women would redirect their attention to domestic duties and relinquish their jobs to returning soldiers. However their efforts enabled food production to increase and crops were picked while the men were away. Some of these women had the opportunity of working in rural areas as wives of returned soldiers. This next section describes how they established vineyards as part of the government-sponsored returned soldiers scheme after World War II.

War Service Land Settlement Scheme

World War II

The Federal government had concerns relating to the welfare and employment of returned soldiers after the end of World War II, just as it had after World War I. Legislation and agreements allowed the men to apply for property in rural areas. Commonwealth provisions were the *Re-establishment and Employment Act, 1945, War Service Land Settlement Agreements Act, 1945*, and *Statement of Conditions, 1953*. In South Australia the *Land Settlement Act, 1944-1974, Crown Lands Development Act, 1943*-1973 and *Irrigation Act, 1930-1981* were enacted (Baker 1983, p. 10).

In their discussion of the development of the War Service Land Settlement Scheme, Brian Menzies and Peter Gray (1983) explain that Loxton, Renmark and Cobdogla in the Riverland were chosen as the three initial areas for the scheme, and that allotments were first surveyed in 1946 (Menzies and Gray, pp. 243-244). The settlements at other sites such as Berri, Barmera and Cooltong quickly followed, but Loxton became the centre for trade, business and education. The Loxton Co-operative Winery and Distillery Limited was created in 1949 by local growers who had taken up land in the War Service Land Settlement Scheme, and the first vintage was processed at the winery in 1950 (Casson and Hirst 1988, p. 114). There was a rapid expansion of the Riverland as a wine-producing area after World War II, as a result of an increased interest by consumers in table wine, due to the influence of southern European migrants who came from wine-drinking cultures. The transfer of culture resulting from the migration is discussed by (El Czeladka 1991). Good prices for grapes encouraged settlers to buy properties and increase their holdings. By 1950 there were 2800 acres of vineyards in the area (Baker 1983, p. 16).

Soldier settlers took up land and moved to the Riverland in July 1948. Using maps provided by the Department of Lands, they pegged out their preferred sections and notified the Department of their choice. Once approval to commence planting was given,

most men lived in camps and worked on the land every day. They built basic shelters of huts and sheds on their blocks, and their wives, often with small children, came to live in the huts (George 1999, pp. 246-248). Fiona and Victor were exceptionally fortunate as they were able to live near their allotment on his parents' property. Fiona, one of the women who participated in this project, worked at North Loxton after World War II, on a soldier settlement block with her husband, Victor. She had been in the AWLA, and when she and Victor were interviewed when applying for their land, her experience working on a vineyard in the AWLA had favourably influenced the interviewing panel. Her story, discussed more fully in the interviews chapter, gives details of long hot hours of planting and watering in dust storms and weeks of high summer temperatures. The events she recounted were typical of the experiences of soldier settlers' wives, and resonated with the interviews recorded by George (1999), Kobelt (1999) and the stories from Cooltong collected by Weir (1995).

Despite many difficult years of droughts, floods, rabbit plagues and water salinity, these stoic hard-working 'blockers' provided the basis for a rich, diverse and profitable wine region of South Australia. The ex-soldier settlers and their wives established properties that were referred to as 'blocks', and various crops were planted including citrus fruit and vines (Menzies and Gray 1983, pp. 243-244). Several of the ex-soldiers encountered by Karen George (1999) in her study of post World War II settlements were familiar with the concept of land settlement, as their fathers, had been repatriated soldier settlers from World War I. Vines were first planted at Cooltong in the mid 1950s (Mack 1995, p. 17). Judith Weir (1995) compiled the stories of many settlers and government officials at Cooltong near Renmark. Most of them arrived in 1950 and assembled Nissen huts on their blocks while they built more substantial houses (Weir pp. 49, 67, 68, 81). Grapes such as doradillos were grown for brandy production and delivered to wineries, particularly the Renmark Growers' Distillery and Angove's, who paid good prices for grapes. Gordo and sultana varieties were grown for sweet wine (Sheehan 1995, p. 112). David Mack, who was District Officer for the Department of Lands in the 1950s, has explained that the department owned the land and provided assistance as a loan to the settlers, including seeds, planting stocks, and all necessary equipment. In addition a living allowance was paid regularly until income was received from the first crop, which, for vines was three years after planting. Mack recalled that many of the settlers also grew vegetables to supplement their income (Mack 1995, pp. 20-23). When the properties were fully productive the settlers had to repay the loan in full.

The vivid recollections of blockers from Cobdogla are described by Irmgard Kobelt (1999). Representative of the women who worked there is June MacGillivray. She and her husband, Bill worked on their fruit block at Cobdogla, near Barmera. The block consisted of forty acres, which included two acres of grenache, shiraz and pedro wine grapes. In an interview with Kobelt, June explained that each year between February and March pickers were hired, mostly from the local area, and she added the comment that women were paid the same rates as men. June also recalled that she and her husband worked in vineyards belonging to other farmers to supplement their income (Kobelt, p. 36).

Summary

In the Riverland prior to 1950, groups of settlers planted grapes and tended vineyards. For example the communal village settlements of the 1890s and the World War I and World War II soldier settlement schemes. However, after World War II migrants from Europe bought land in the area and there was more emphasis on individuals and fewer

groups owning vineyards. Journals, diaries, photographs, interviews and government reports all tell of the work women did in the Riverland vineyards and in particular, the agency of women during and after World War II. The Soldier Settler Scheme of World War II was more successful than its predecessors, primarily as a result of developments in machinery, but also because of improved viticulture practices. Irrigation allowed blockers to purchase more land and increase crop yields and the 1950s saw an influx of civilians to the area. A further impetus to the wine industry came from an increased consumer interest in table wines, stimulated by the southern European immigrants who brought aspects of their culture, including the drinking of wine.

Post World War II Migrants

Introduction

This next section investigates the effects of migrants after World War II on the wine industry in the Riverland. Three major groups of Europeans, Greeks, Italians and Yugoslavs, settled in South Australia in the early twentieth century. This section of the thesis will discuss specifically the impact of Greek migrants after World War II, on South Australia's population in the Riverland. Migrants from Greece were the dominant settlers in rural areas of Australia, including Mildura and Shepparton in Victoria and Virginia north of Adelaide and Renmark in the Riverland in South Australia. Figures from the Australian Bureau of Statistics show a gradual increase in the Greek population from 1911, when data was first collected to the 1940s, and then rapid from after World War II to 2000 (Hugo 2000, p. 18). The first record of a Greek settler in the Riverland was in 1911, but by the 1950s post war migration policies saw the arrival of many Greek migrants to the area (Menzies 1980 p. 12). Soula one of the women I interviewed in the Riverland, came from Greece in 1951. A discussion of her background and post World War II migration trends put the interview in a cultural context within the wine industry.

Legislation

Legislation and government intervention were primary factors in the change of population composition of Australia, particularly at the time of Federation. A sense of insecurity, coupled with a strong sense of nationalism led to the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, one of the first pieces of legislation passed by the newly formed Commonwealth Government. Other laws that year included the *Pacific Islander Labourers Act* and the *Post and Telegraph Act,* which restricted shipping lines employing 'only white labour' (ABS Year Book, 2000). This led to the White Australia Policy an element of the Act, which influenced Australian demographics for nearly fifty years. Restrictions on migrants were not base overtly on race, but the introduction of a Dictation Test, insured migrants from Europe, and predominantly Anglo-Celtic heritage, were admitted to Australia (ABS Year Book, 2000). However, immediately after World War II, several issues arose, which saw a change in government migration policies. These included the large numbers of 'Displaced Persons' from Eastern Europe who wanted to resettle in Australia. As a result, migrants arrived from Jugoslavia, Greece and Italy, while there were insufficient British migrants, many preferring to remain at home and rebuild. Another factor was the shortage of labour in Australia in the 1950s, as a result of wartime mortality and an increase in manufacturing, especially in South Australia where the automotive, white goods and housing industries expanded as a result of initiatives by the Playford government (O'Neil, Raftery and Round 1996, pp. 103-105). Consequently, restrictions on migrants from Europe were relaxed, and the post-war period saw a diversification of cultures in Australia.

Migration

A detailed analysis of Australian demographic data is given by Graeme Hugo (2000) and also John Lack and Jacqueline Templeton (1995), who write that migration has been the main influence on the Australian demography since World War II. In 1947 Australia's population was 7.5 million, and nearly 90 per cent were from Britain, while the remainder was from Europe. By 1999 in a population of over 20 million, 70 per cent of migrants were from the United Kingdom, 20 per cent from Europe and 7 per cent from Asia (Hugo 2000, p. 43). Georgios Tramountanas was the first Greek settler to arrive in South Australia in 1842 (*From Many Places* 2000, p.193). Over the decades more Greek migrants settled in South Australia, and in 1933 there were 740 (*From Many Places,* p. 194). After World War II there was considerable political unrest in Greece and many unskilled workers and families came to South Australia under the *Australian Assisted Migration Scheme*, which arranged work for migrants when they arrived in Australia. (*From Many Places,* p.196). By the 1950s post-war migration policies saw the arrival of many Greek immigrants, including one who went to Murtho, which had been one of the original village settlements in the Riverland (Menzies 1980, p. 42).

After World War II migrants from Europe bought land in the area and with an emphasis on independent private ownership of land unassisted by the government. In particular, migrants from Greece dominated and settled in rural areas of Australia, including Mildura and Shepparton in Victoria and Virginia north of Adelaide and Renmark in the Riverland. Figures from the Australian Bureau of Statistics show a gradual increase in the Greek population from 1911, when data was officially first collected to the 1940s, and rapidly from after World War II to 2000 (Hugo 2000, p. 18).

Vineyards had been established in the Riverland in the South Australian government's Village Settlements and in the Soldier Settlement Schemes initiated by the Federal Government after World War I and II. Migrants who settled in the Riverland in the 1950s were instrumental in the further expansion and establishment of vineyards (Menzies 1980, p. 10). The expansion into table wine occurred after the war (Butlin and Schedvin 1977, p. 177). Post-war European migration was an important factor in the expansion of the market for table wines. Greek and Jugoslav families were encouraged to come to Australia after World War II and they settled in the Riverland in the 1950s and planted vineyards (Menzies 1980 p. 22). Jugoslav migrants had also settled in the Swan River Valley in Western Australia by 1938 (El Czeladka 1991). Ten wineries in the area are still owned by Jugoslav families.

Parallels can be made between the Riverland migrants who brought with them aspects of their culture, including grape growing and wine making, and the early German settlers in the Barossa Valley. Like the early German immigrants who had settled in the Barossa Valley one hundred years earlier, the Greeks brought with them social and cultural attitudes and ideology from home, including grape growing and wine making. Most Greek migrants came from the poorer rural southern areas of Greece from the Peloponnesian and the Aegean and Ionian islands (Menzies 1980, p. 16). Dimitrios Theodossopoulos (1999) describes the farm work that women did on the island of Zakynthos, in south-west Greece. Curiously, it was also from this island that four migrants came to South Australia and settled in the town of Barmera in the Riverland during the 1950s (Menzies 1980, p. 42).

Soula

Soula is representative of the many young Greek women who migrated to Australia in the 1950s and bought vineyards and orchards with their husbands. In her interview Soula explained how she came to live in the Riverland, which was as a result of chain migration. This process, which occurs when individuals leave their homeland, establish themselves in the new country, and then assist family members to emigrate, is discussed by several authors, including (Haberkorn, Hugo, Fischer and Aylward 1999; Lochore 1951; Price 1975).

Soula migrated to South Australia in response to an offer of marriage by Theo. Theo's father had come to Australia in 1928. When he had saved sufficient money he brought his wife and their four children out in 1934 and they bought a vineyard and orchard at Berri. Theo then wrote to Soula, who was from the same village as his family, and arranged for her to come to Australia. In her interview she recalled:

> I felt scared because when he came to the boat to pick me up he came up and of course he as different from the photo when I saw him. He sent me a photo once, nearly five years before. He said, "Hello Soula". I said, "Hello". He said, "I'm Theo". I said, "No way, you're not Theo!". He said, "Yes I am", and he laughed his head off, I don't know why. He was a very good man. He said, "Look come down from the boat, it's two hundred pounds to go back if you don't like me and two hundred and fifty pounds if you stay in Australia. The government gives me back the two hundred if you stay here, come with me and if you like Australia, you stay, if not you go back after three months, that's the law for the girls that came to this country". So I stayed.

Soula and Theo bought land and a house at Renmark and planted grape vines. They had a ready market for the grapes as most were sold to local wineries or taken to the Barossa Valley. In addition, neighbours, friends and family who still wanted to retain the cultural tradition of making wine at home, purchased grapes from them. Soula was one of the women who participated in this project and an example of the many women who came from Greece bringing with them parts of their culture, working in vineyards while bringing up their children and making a significant contribution to the wine industry of the Riverland after World War II. She came from Greece as a young girl and worked for more than forty years on her property at Renmark. Her story is similar to those of other women I interviewed, who show that women have had a long involvement in the wine industry with little public recognition of their contribution.

Summary

The agency of women in the wine industry of the Riverland began with a few vines planted in the Village Settlement along the River Murray during the 1890s, then their involvement over the period of the Soldier Settlement Schemes from World War I and World War II. It continued with their labour contribution in the Australian Women's Land Army and the work as migrants during the 1950s. A combination of primary sources and interviews provide evidence of the continuous participation by women in the wine industry of the Riverland, from the late colonial period to the present day.

Chapter 7 Kangaroo Island

Island Psyche

The women I interviewed on Kangaroo Island all referred to the particular problems
and experiences that arose as a result of living and working on an island.
It is important that the research I have done on the history and sociology of Kangaroo Island is placed in a specific context, and I have done this by locating and identifying it within work and research that has been done on island communities. Ethnographic and anthropological studies written about islands have primarily focused on the social and cultural relationships of their inhabitants (Firth 1936; Goffmann 1953; Malinowski 1978, 1982; Radcliff-Brown 1922; Wolf 1966 cited in Skinner 2002, p. 212). Large islands and island groups have been the subject of the literature, but very few authors have discussed Australia or its islands. The island, as a metaphor for isolation has a long history and much literature has used this device, including poetry and novels, for example, *The Life and strange and surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, Daniel Defoe, 1719, *Gulliver's Travels*, Jonathan Swift, 1726, *The Lady of Shalott*, Alfred Lord Tennyson, 1832, *The Coral Island*, R.M. Ballantyne, 1858, *Treasure Island*, Robert Louis Stevenson, 1883, *Lord of the flies*, William Golding, 1954 and more recently, *No Community is an island , every intellectual is an island*, Nigel Rapport, 1997 and *Island*, 2002, Alistair MacLeod. More contemporary use of the island theme has been made in popular television such as *Gilligan's Island* and the recent reality program *Survivor*, as well as several computer games.

In her book Rebe Taylor (2000) summarises an essential chapter about the arrival of the Europeans, by comparing the sealers to Robinson Crusoe (Taylor, p. 43). Menge who lived on his island in Jacob Creek was described by one of his students as Robinson Crusoe. Jane Watts (1890) described the isolation and inhospitable countryside her family saw when they first arrived on Kangaroo Island: 'What a wild, uninhabited, "Robinson Crusoe" sort of island had they come upon, thickly covered, as it was, as far as the eye could reach and down to the very beach with that dense scrub no human being can penetrate without axe in hand to clear the way' (Watts, p. 10). Islands have also been used as places of exile and incarceration, for example the confinement of Napoleon on St Helena, the transportation of convicts to Tasmania and more recently the imprisonment of refugees on Nauru and Christmas Island. In contrast, islands such as Hayman Island and Daydream Island are currently marketed and advertised as luxury holiday destinations.

Jonathon Skinner (2002) describes his fieldwork in the islands of the Caribbean, and his observations reflect some of the aspects of island society and gives a social and humanistic definition of 'island'. He moves further than others who have previously discussed the significance of the size of islands, and prefers to put his research into sociological, conceptual and political contexts He suggest that there are three types of islands: the cognitive, that is, the real, the metaphorical, and the virtual, that is, the unreal or fictional (Skinner 2002, p.

209). It is interesting to note that Clarke discusses a ‘psychic landscape’ in his work relating to the Australian Aboriginal culture, and in terms of Kangaroo Island as a ‘virtual island’ (Clarke 1998, p. 24).

Skinner notes that in a small community people could assume a number of roles over a short period of time and the inhabitants of the island would encounter each other in a range of capacities and settings. In the course of the day one person might serve as a police officer in the morning, wait on tables in a local restaurant at lunch time, and preach to a congregation in the evening.

An example of this is one of the women I interviewed, who has many facets to her life, for example she manages a vineyard, is associated with the hospitality industry, and plays tennis. She also raises money for local charities, and is part owner of a racehorse. One of my interviewees described uncomfortable encounters with some of her pickers while she was shopping in town. She said that at harvest time it was very difficult to get pickers who had a long-term commitment to the work, as they did not understand the importance of getting the grapes to the mainland as quickly as possible:

> Your pickers don’t have the interest like you in your crops. They can’t see the necessity - they think it’s ok if they don’t come till eight, nine or ten o’clock, and then they want to nick off and do some shopping and they don’t come back. Or they don’t turn up at all. Next day you bump into them in the street and everyone’s very embarrassed.

While staying on the island when I carried out my interviews, I encountered several people who stated that only those who had been to school on Kangaroo Island could be called ‘islanders’. Others might be considered ‘temporary residents’, who were perceived as transient and unlikely to remain on the island. There has been very little discussion of the possibility that the reluctant acceptance of the ‘temporary visitors’ who live on the island may have its origins in the divisive nature of the island’s early days. For example, Wallen, was forced to relinquish his farm to English settlers and Jean Nunn (1981), referred to the suspicious attitudes of the ‘old Islanders’ to the recently arrived soldier settlers after World War II (Nunn, p. 47). Colleen McCullough is an Australian author who has lived on Norfolk Island for twenty-three years, and is married to an islander. She was interviewed by Gay Alcorn for the *Sydney Morning Herald* and she expressed her concerns about the future of the island. In 1856 descendants of mutineers from the *Bounty*, had left over-populated Pitcairn Island to settle on Norfolk Island. The island’s annual revenue is $13 million, but McCulloch suggests that the island is close to financial collapse. The islanders are reluctant to take advice from Federal financial experts and politicians, the two thousand inhabitants perceiving advice as interference from ‘colonial overlords’ in Canberra. They describe themselves as ‘islanders first, Australians second or not at all’ (Alcorn 2003, p. 27). This concept of identity is discussed by Terrell, Hunt and Gosden (1997), whose work describes the social and cultural structure of people living on several Pacific islands.

European explorers
Kangaroo Island is situated off the southern tip of Yorke Peninsula, South Australia and was discovered and named by Captain Matthew Flinders in 1802, when he was exploring amd mapping the coast of southern Australia (Cumpston 1986, p. 8). It is 155 kilometres long and 55 kilometres wide and has a population of 4500. It is the third largest island off Australia, the other two being Tasmania and Melville Island. Several French explorers including Nicholas Baudin and Louis Freycinet, who circumnavigated the island in 1802, did not see any evidence of either indigenous or European inhabitants (Cumpston 1986, p. 27). Matthew Flinders, who explored the island at the same time, also saw no evidence of human habitation. 'Neither smokes, nor other marks of inhabitants had as yet been perceived upon the island, although we had passed along seventy miles of its coast' (Cumpston 1986, p. 9). These observations do not take into account the possibility that there were sealers, convicts and Aborigines living on the island, but they had concealed themselves from the explorers as they did not wish to be seen.

Indigenous inhabitants
For over a century many archeologists and ethnologists have explored the island and presented their findings about the indigenous population who inhabited the island. In 1902, the ethnologists Norman Tindale and Brian Maegraith identified stone tools and camp sites on the island, suggesting that Aboriginal people lived there about 10,000 years ago (Tindale and Maegraith 1928, p. 282). Walter Howchin was a member of the Royal Society of South Australia and visited the island several times. On his second visit in 1903, he found artefacts indicating Aboriginal occupation including eight stone implements that he suggested were used as hammers. He also discovered a 'kitchen-midden covered with broken shells over a distance of fifty yards by twenty yards' (Howchin 1903, p. 90). The large amount of shells and their shattered appearance indicated the shellfish had been consumed by humans.

Previously it had been believed that there had been no Aboriginal inhabitants on the island (Tate 1882). However, no conclusive evidence has been found that the indigenous people had survived into the era of European discovery and settlement. Rhys Jones, an archeologist, suggested that because of their small numbers the indigenous inhabitants would not have not been able to continue reproducing and would have died out (Jones 1977, p. 352). The island was considered by mainland Aborigines to be inhabited by bad spirits (Nunn 1989, p. 11). The Ngurunderi people from the lower Murray River on the mainland closest to Kangaroo Island consider it to be the land of the dead, 'a stepping stone for the soul of a dead person to the "Under World" of the sea on its journey to the "Land to the West" where ancestral spirits, such as Ngurunderi, went' (Clarke 1998, p. 24). Rebe Taylor (2000) produced the first substantial written account of the relationships between the first European settlers and Tasmanian Aboriginal women in her detailed history of Kangaroo Island. Taylor claims that islanders such as the self-appointed governor Henry Wallen and the sailor Nathaniel Thomas brought Aboriginal women from Tasmania to become their wives in the 1800s (Taylor, pp. 5, 21, 34). Taylor cites newspaper reports that describe 'kidnapping blacks and other dead-and-gone doings' and George

‘Fireball’ Bates, a settler in the 1820s told a story of going to the mainland and capturing Aboriginal women and bringing them back to the island (Taylor, p. 63). Obviously Europeans had very little knowledge of Aboriginal society and culture and were unaware of the effect of these practices. In addition, being taken to a ‘land of bad spirits’ would have had significant psychological effects on the women. Surprisingly this aspect is not discussed by Taylor (2000) or Clarke (1998). Aborigines have strong family and kinship ties and there are stories of women trying to swim back to the mainland (Cumpston 1986, pp. 144-145; Nunn 1989, p. 11; Taylor 2000, p. 41). These stories are also reflected in the twenty-first century by Karen, one of the women I interviewed, who is of European descent, and talked about her sense of alienation when she arrived on the island in 1972, recently divorced and accompanied by her young son. Karen admitted that, when she first arrived on the island, there were times that she felt very lonely, as she sat on the beach at Kingscote and looked across to the mainland:

> I would have swum to get off. I just felt the isolation so much and you know what small communities are like. Over the years I’ve adjusted to it but also my husband’s been quite good because he knows that I need to go to Adelaide fairly regularly and get over and smell the smog ... If you ask a lot of my friends they’ll all tell you that they’ve sat down on the wharf looking over to the mainland and howled.

The characteristics of island life, which Karen identified, have been discussed earlier in this chapter. She assumed that a ‘non islander’ somehow acquired an understanding and knowledge of island culture and its unique characteristics, and that she was unfamiliar with local ways and customs. I sensed Karen was aware of how the differences between islanders and non-islanders may manifest themselves:

> I think you adjust and also you get used to it. Also, I think if you’re smart you keep on going back to the mainland. You don’t try and become totally engrossed and not go to the other side, you have to. I think all the girls that have successfully assimilated are the ones that just know they need to get off and away they go and they’ve got supportive husbands who see that. Mainly the men are local and they’re happy to be here and they wouldn’t change anything. Robert just loves it, the only way you’ll get him off is in a box!

Contrary to Karen’s experience of loneliness and isolation, the interviewees Virginia and Lana were familiar with the island’s culture. Virginia was born on the island:

> I love it here. I love the isolation of the island from the mainland. I love the country side I suppose. I love the honesty of the people over here. It’s just a different lifestyle. Even the country areas on the mainland have got that slight difference to what the island has and I’m actually concerned at the moment that there are so many people from the mainland coming over here to live because I think we’re going to lose it and it’s a precious commodity these days and I guess I’m being a bit selfish in saying that but so be it.

Lana had been coming to the island for many years, staying with family and friends who lived there, so she was familiar and comfortable with island life before she bought land to establish a vineyard. ‘They’ve got a very unique culture here because it’s and island’, she remarked. ‘Everyone waves at you.’ It would seem that Karen’s feelings of being alone and isolated were not shared by Lana or Virginia. This could be explained by the absence of friends or family in

Kate's life, which is in contrast to the strong social networks of Lana and Virginia.

There seems to be a link between those people who were born on the island and their emotional well-being. Those who have family support and networks appeared much happier and adjusted to the island, whereas those who had come from the mainland found acceptance difficult.

Islanders

The first Europeans, who came to live on the island in the early 1800s, were sealers, whalers and escaped convicts. The earliest sealers were from an American ship, the *Union* and when they landed in 1803, they named the area American River. There they built brush huts and traded seal skins for provisions (Cumpston 1986, p. 51). Unsubstantiated accounts of other settlers are discussed by Plomley and Henmley (1990) and Cumpston. Captain George Sutherland explored the island in 1819. 'Near the Bay of Shoals I planted cabbages, having brought the seed from Sydney, and they proved good and useful' (Cumpston, p. 49).

In 1820, an official enquiry relating to the management and administration of the new colony was held by the Colonial Office in Sydney. The transcript of the enquiry gives the answers made by Mr James Kelly, the harbour master of Hobart, to questions by the Commissioner of Enquiry Mr John Bigge. Kelly testified that there were both men and women living on the island in 1820. 'About eight or nine, some of them have families' (*Historical records,* p, 462). This date is verified by the reports of Captain George Sutherland, who explored the island in 1819, and by John Morphett, a representative of the South Australian Company, also confirmed that sealers were growing food (Cumpston 1986, p. 140). He toured the island in 1836 and learnt of some sealers who had been there since 1818 (Cumpston, pp. 49, 57, 139). 'These men have about five acres under cultivation and grow potatoes, turnips, cabbages, water melons, onions, wheat and barley. The vegetables are all good.' (Cumpston, p. 140) It is interesting to note that barley is grown as a cereal crop, and yet it has limited uses, one being to obtain malt for making whisky and beer. There is no evidence yet that vines were grown by these sealers. However, there is a long history of them clearing the land, making a space for gardens, and planting crops.

Reports and investigations of the social and cultural life of the early inhabitants of Kangaroo Island give conflicting information. Some authors suggest that harmonious groups and families were formed (Hallack 1905; Watts 1890). Others argue that wife-collecting raids on the mainland and Tasmania resulted in large numbers of Aboriginal women being taken forcibly from their families and treated cruelly (Clarke 1991, p. 64; Clarke 1998, p. 20; Cumpston 1986, p. 86; Plomley and Henley 1990, p. 49; Taylor 2000, pp. 37-43). The early accounts have a different emphasis from those written more recently. Descriptions of family groups by several authors reveal Aboriginal women and children living with the islanders, however, with the arrival of immigrants to the island in 1836, there are indications that these families were forced to relinquish their properties to the newly-arrived settlers (Leigh 1839, p. 124). Henry Wallen, the self-

appointed governor, had lived with a large group of people at Cygnet River since the mid 1800s. He had established a substantial farm, where he grew vegetables and raised pigs and poultry. In 1837 he was forced to hand over the property to English settlers (Leigh, p. 142). In her book, Taylor discusses the relationships and family trees of these early settlers. Some of them were unaware that they had an Aboriginal heritage and others did not want to make the information public. According to the 1841 census there were thirteen 'native women' on Kangaroo Island. In 1869 the *South Australian Register* identified three Tasmanian Aboriginal women still living on Kangaroo Island, but by 1880 all of them had died (Simpson and Hercus 1998, pp. 22-23).

German settlers

The first European settlers to arrive under the auspices of the South Australian Company landed on Kangaroo Island in July 1836 at Nepean Bay in the *Duke of York* and established a small settlement at Reeves Point, Kingscote. Two other ships, the *Lady Mary Pelham* and the *John Pirie* had arrived by August and by November four more ships had arrived on the island (Cumpston 1986, p. 136). There is evidence to suggest several of the German families who settled on Kangaroo Island in these early days had the skills and cultural background to make wine. Passenger lists from ships show that there were many German migrants on board and among their recorded occupations were experienced practical farmer, agricultural labourer and vine dresser. Jean Nunn tells of the Germans living in huts at the Bay of Shoals, on the eastern end of the island (Nunn 1989, p. 74). It is interesting to note that an extensive vineyard is now operating in this area. In addition, seven to ten German families lived at Reeves Point and in 1982 an extensive archaeological dig revealed the existence of several dwellings clustered together which are now part of the town of Kingscote. German Road was the name given to the location of these houses, suggesting that there were enough people to give the location a unique identity and nomenclature (Truscott 1983).

The presence of the German people living on the island is confirmed by Jane, eldest daughter of William Giles who was the Manager of the South Australian Company on Kangaroo Island from 1837-1839. In her reminiscences, published after she married, Jane describes her day-to-day encounters with German people, including children, indicating the presence of families. She recalls two German boys, Carl and Auguste, who were 'employed about the place'. Elsewhere she refers to a German girl named Lisette a 'maid–of–all-work' and to some new German arrivals who visited the Giles family, a young pastor and an elderly woman with her niece (Watts 1890, pp. 46, 68, 95).

On 16 October 1837 the *Solway* berthed at Kingscote, and included among the passengers was a German man, Friedrich Kleeman with his four children. Kleeman's wife had died on the voyage out, and after one year on the island, he married Friedericke, a young German woman who had arrived on the same ship (Teusner 1969, p. 12). When he settled on the island, Kleeman cleared land he had leased from the South Australian Company. He built a house and established a garden and there are several reasons to suppose that he might have planted vines. Firstly, he was accompanied on the voyage by his good friend Johann Gramp, who was a wine maker, and who later moved to the Barossa

Valley and planted a small vineyard which grew to become the now internationally famous Orlando Winery (Evans 1974, p. 111). Secondly, during the voyage to South Australia Gramp would have had the opportunity to collect cuttings from the Constantia vineyard at the Cape of Good Hope when the *Solway* stopped there, and these may have been planted on the island when he arrived there. Kleeman worked in a stone quarry on Kangaroo Island, and Friedericke, who now cared for his children, was responsible for the home paddock, which included the garden where vegetables and fruit trees were grown and possibly vines.

Johannes Menge, discussed at length in Chapter 5, was a German geologist and botanist who was appointed by the South Australian Company and arrived at Kingscote on Kangaroo Island in 1837 (Munchenberg et al. 1992, p. 14). He spent much of his time exploring the island and collecting rocks and minerals. He also established a garden and as he was experienced in horticulture and experimented with different kinds of plants and seeds (O'Neil 1994, p. 10). It is likely that he planted vine cuttings that he too had acquired from Constantia. In this garden and vineyard, Menge was probably assisted by other German settlers, as a few years later, when he moved to the mainland, he hired German labourers to work in his garden at Jacob Creek in the Barossa Valley (O'Neil, pp. 19-20). We could consider the possibility that other German settlers assisted him in his vineyard on Kangaroo Island.

English settlers

Media coverage including newspapers, wine magazines and television programs have all suggested that the planting of vineyards on Kangaroo Island is a recent activity initiated in 1987 by Caj Amadio, a South Australian builder and vineyard owner. However, I have found primary source evidence that indicates vines were planted on the island in 1837 by an English settler, 150 years earlier than previously thought, indicating a long history of grape growing. This section of the thesis outlines the history of viticulture on the island and a detailed examination of the primary sources supporting the argument is discussed in this chapter.

There is evidence to suggest that the early English settlers had some knowledge of wine. The diaries of several immigrants describe their drinking habits and wine purchases. In addition to the Germans who settled on Kangaroo Island, there were several English migrants who had the necessary knowledge and expertise about wine to establish vineyards. Two of these settlers were Dr Leigh and William Giles. In October 1836, Dr Leigh was appointed as chief surgeon on the ship, the *South Australia.* The doctor kept a diary of his travels from 1836 – 1838, which was published in 1839. On his voyage out to Kangaroo Island he made a visit to the Constantia Vineyard at Cape Town, and arranged for some wine to be sent to him (Leigh 1839, p. 46). Mention is made of meals and wine on several occasions when he visited William Giles on the island. There was also a wine shop on Kangaroo Island that did a good trade selling wine and beer (Leigh, p. 124).

William Giles was Manager of the South Australian Company on Kangaroo Island and was also the Superintendent of Agriculture, Flocks and Bank,

Kangaroo Island (Diamond 1952, Appendix V). I found several letters in the State Library of South Australia written by Giles to Wheeler in London, telling of his attempts to grow vines in 1837 on Kangaroo Island.

He arrived at Kingscote with his second wife and ten children in the *Hartley* on 16 October, 1837, the same day as the *Solway*. Giles' eldest daughter, Jane was thirteen when she left England, and her reminiscences, written after she married, give details of the journey from England and her life on the island. The abundance of details in the reminiscences suggests that they were compiled with the aid of a diary written at the time, although it has not yet been placed in the public domain so far. She uses aliases in an attempt to disguise the names of her family and friends, but the State Library of South Australia has compiled a key to the names, for example Mr A is identified as her father. She recalls details of the reactions from her father's friends to his decision to emigrate:

> In those early days, when so little was known of this vast Australian Continent, it was thought by some of Mr A.'s friends that he was taking a most hazardous step, in fact a veritable "leap in the dark," in leaving a comfortable home in England, where he was much esteemed by many around him, for this *terra incognita*, and indeed, as some thought it, this "waste, howling wilderness," at the antipodes. One warm-hearted individual, in particular, was so persuaded that the little ones would perish, either from starvation, exposure to the elements, the attacks of savages, or from the fangs of wild beasts, that he invariably spoke of the ship that was to carry them to their destination as nothing better than "a floating lunatic asylum." (Watts 1890, p. 3)

Jane describes the excitement of the passengers on arriving at Kangaroo Island after five months at sea: 'After some hours' sailing a brighter prospect spread out before them in the shape of a ship or two lying in a magnificent harbour, a few cottages scattered here and there, and some signs of "the human face divine."' (Watts 1890, p. 10). Jane makes many references to the houses and gardens she saw at Kingscote. At the superintendent's house a flower and vegetable garden had been established and she remarked nearby there was a 'space where a garden could be made' (p. 13). Her writings give a great deal of insight into the early days of the colony. It is primarily a social journal which details the visits made to the Giles' house by various officials, including the Governor John Hindmarsh, the Colonial Manager Samuel Stephens, and other dignitaries. She mentions several dinners in minute detail, including the content of after-dinner speeches and the offering of many types of wine to guests. She writes that at one meal they had a 'splendid ham, an English cheese, tins of soup, roast veal, preserved fruits, and hosts of other dainties, with some excellent light dinner wines - sauterne, hock and claret' and describes another occasion when Menge came to dinner, 'the old German geologist held up his Chateau Margaux to the light and chanted forth in deep bass tones some Bacchanalian ditty' (Watts 1890, pp. 21, 36). Despite her young age Jane understood the guests' behaviour. She was aware of wine-drinking rituals such as studying colour intensity, and she knew the names and purposes of different varieties of grapes. Menge was often invited to dinner at the house and it may be assumed that he and Giles discussed their common interest in grape growing and wines. From Jane's writing we gather that the colonists were familiar and knowledgeable about wine, which was certainly true of William Giles, who planted vines near Kingscote in 1837 and 1838, and was therefore the first person to grow grapes on Kangaroo Island.

Favourable reports of the soil and climate prompted William Giles to bring vine cuttings with him to Kangaroo Island. In addition, his post as Superintendent of Agriculture indicated an interest and knowledge of farming. In 2004, I discovered a letter in the Mortlock Library dated 6 June 1839, and addressed to Mr Wheeler who was a Director of the South Australian Company in London, proves that Giles planted vines on his property near Kingscote. On his journey out to South Australia on the *Hartley*, Giles stopped off at Cape Town and arranged for 300 vine cuttings to be taken on board the ship. No doubt, he planted them as soon as he arrived on Kangaroo Island in October, which meant continued watering and protection during the next few months of summer heat, and unfortunately only a very few survived. However, Giles persisted and arranged for thousands of cuttings to be sent to him by ship from Constantia vineyard near Cape Town. Again he protects and waters them and is hopeful of making wine from his vineyard.

Giles was obviously very keen to establish a vineyard on the island and the initial planting of his 1000 vines would have been on about 1 acre. As yet, there are no records to identify their exact location, but from Jane we find several clues when her family moves into their new home. Writing in the third person Jane describes its location:

> Their new house was situated a mile or so from Kingscote … and was approached by a rough wild road, some ten or twelve feet in width. The dwelling itself, a large substantial stone one, built of blue pebbles from the shore, with brick quoins, had been admirably placed on rising ground. It looked down upon the smoothest, prettiest little beach imaginable, which could not have been more than a mile in extent. (Watts 1838, p. 32)

Her writing primarily focused on the social activities of her family, but now that there is evidence that shows the planting of vines on the island as early as 1837, it is likely that more proof will be found of this significant vineyard.

Giles wrote to Wheeler of his attempt to plant vines on Kangaroo Island in 1837: 'Only three lived out of the three hundred which I brought from the Cape in the *Hartley'* . In the same letter, Giles wrote that thousands of vine cuttings from Constantia had arrived for him on the ship the *Bengalee* at Kingscote in November 1838:

> Dixon & Co. has sent us a present of three thousand cuttings of the Constantia vine. One thousand I kept at Kingscote and forwarded two thousand on to Adelaide: by dint of perseverance, shading from the sun & watering every day, I have preserved about one hundred through the summer: these I intend shall one day become (DV) a fruitful vineyard. Before this time five years I anticipate the great delight of sending the Directors a Cask of wine, made from the grape of South Australia. (SLSA BRG 42/34/74)

Interestingly the *Bengalee,* which carried the vine cuttings, had been proclaimed 'a thorough TEMPERANCE SHIP ... Capt. HAMLIN sails without wine, beer, or grog!' (Passenger List)

In another letter, dated 20 June 1839, Giles writes very enthusiastically to David McLaren, Commerical Manager of the South Australian Company in Adelaide. Giles suggested that land owners should be encouraged to establish a plant nursery on their property:

> Permit me to suggest that no time should be lost in preparing land for a Nursery, which ought also to include an Acre for the cultivation of the Grape. Australia

> will one day, I hope, become famous for its wines, and the sooner we commence operations on a small scale, with a view to this object, the better. (SLSA BRG 42/34/80)

We could consider the possibility that Giles used the local German families to assist with planting, pruning and picking, as they certainly had the experience and skills. A cook and a gardener were employed by Mr Giles and Jane mentions throughout her book other staff who assisted with meals, housework and looking after the ten children. It is most unlikely that Mrs Giles worked outside or far beyond the home paddock as the organization and management of the household would have occupied nearly all her time. Jane does not refer to any activities outside the home and her step-mother seemed to be fully occupied within the house.

Giles was undoubtedly optimistic about his vineyard, but unfortunately he was unaware of the practical problems associated with long hot Australian summers. He arrived in October 1837 with 300 vines, but only three survived. A year later he planted more vines, and about 100 survived over summer. The young plants would have needed constant watering throughout the months of December, January and February, when there are hot days and very little rain.

There is yet any evidence that these vines survived and further research on this topic is beyond the scope of this project. After the death of an infant son, the Giles family left the island in July 1839 and moved to Adelaide in the east end of Rundle Street where the market used to be. They lived in a 'Mannings cottage', a very early type of transportable house and Jane is not at all complimentary about the accommodation. Brought from England it was

> in separate parts, more resembling a doll's house, or a Noah's ark minus the boat. It contained a tiny sitting-room some twelve feet by ten feet, three closets pretentiously styled bedrooms, and an unfinished kitchen destitute of ceiling, floor, and plaster. (Giles, p. 75)

In May 1842, she married Mr Alfred Watts and they lived in a house on South Terrace where she began writing her memoirs, using them as a basis for a book that was privately circulated in 1890. Her diary entries made while on the island, are a glimpse of early colonial life in South Australia, but it is Giles' letters that show the long history of viticulture on Kangaroo Island.

Information in newspaper articles, as well as television programmes, describe Kangaroo Island wine making as a very new enterprise, but I have found evidence which proves that vines were planted in 1837. The discovery of such a significant fact cannot be overlooked in the history of the South Australian wine industry. However, I have found no evidence that Mrs Giles was involved in the establishment and management of the vineyard. Primary sources show the planting of vines on the island as early as 1837 and it is likely that more proof will be found of this significant vineyard.

By their very nature and the process of leaving one country and going to another, migrants show a keen and unusual desire to take up something new and different. They retain some of their old ways and customs, but are also prepared in the unfamiliar landscape to experiment with horticultural practices. For example Charles Powell, who brought with him to Kangaroo Island a large

variety of plants and trees, including date palms and carob trees (Nunn 1989 p. 71). He had been employed as a gardener by the South Australian Company, and arrived on the *Duke of York* in 1836. It can be imagined that vines were part of his botanical experiments. Another example of unusual plantings is on Kangaroo Island, Klemzig and in the Barossa Valley where Menge established experimental farms and grew hops, hemp, flax and tobacco, as well as a wide variety of vegetables and grain crops (O'Neil 1994, p. 16).

Unusual trees were also planted by Barry Hayes, who arrived on the island in the 1970s. Hayes set up a small winery and planned to be a self-sufficient farmer. One of the cork trees he planted for use in his winery, as well as the remains of a citrus orchard and asparagus beds, can still be seen on the property. This resonates with the extensive garden and orchard planted by the Commandants William Champ and Thomas Lemprière in the convict settlement at Port Arthur in Tasmania. Here a wide variety of vegetables and fruit were grown, including gooseberries, strawberries, peaches, currants and grape vines in the officers' gardens and in the land surrounding the Commandant's house (Clark and Viney 2002, p. 7). In July 2003, I visited Port Arthur and saw the remains of the garden and vines near the house. I also spoke to two of the gardeners, Julia Clark and Chris Viney, who considered it very likely that the Commandants' wives contributed to the planting and maintenance of these areas. The gardens at Port Arthur also provided a temporary sanctuary for the families of officers and officials living there. Safe inside the home paddock they seemed distant and detached from the harsh conditions of the prisoners nearby and tending the gardens gave them a source of pleasure and order (Clark and Viney 2002, pp. 20-21).

Books and newspaper articles written in the early twentieth century described how to trellis grape vines and included unorthodox home gardening practices, such as the burying of dead animals in order to improve yields. Hallack (1905) toured the island and reported his stories for *The Register* newspaper, just as the *Old Colonist* had done in the 1850s. Hallack visited Neave's farm near Cape Willoughby and found a large grape-vine supported by posts and wire:

> A drive to Cape Willoughby was taken with Mr S. Neave, whose farm is about half a mile from Mr Willson's. Near to his house is the largest grape vine growing on the island. Its branches trellised overhead, form quite a bowery. (Hallack 1905, p. 41)

A photograph in Hallack's book shows this substantial vine-covered arbour attached to Neave's house. The gardening section of the *Kangaroo Island Courier* described various methods of using wire trellis to support grape vines, and also reported that a gardener hired by Mr Butterwick 'buried a dog beneath the grape-arbour'. ('How Mr Butterwick pursued horticulture' 1908, p. 7). A visit in 1910 by the editor of the paper to the property owned by Geisler and Schulz mentions a large vineyard. Both the German men were from Angaston in the Barossa Valley, which by then had a long established history of wine making:

> It is to the creation of a fine orchard and vineyard that Messrs Geisler and Schulz are concentrating most of their efforts. They both hail from the famous Angaston district, where Mr Geisler had many year's experience in fruit and vine culture, and he states that in all his experience of that fertile district he has never seen vines and fruit trees show better growth and development than they do here. ('Kangaroo Island farms', 1910, p. 4)

Soldier Settlement Scheme World War II

After World War II, the Federal government initiated re-settlement schemes for returned soldiers. Several locations in South Australia were chosen, including Loxton in the Riverland, the South East and Kangaroo Island. Huge tracts of Crown Land near Parndana in the centre of the island were surveyed and applicants were selected. Jean Nunn's book (1981) consists of a careful examination of the scheme, and offers much insight into the process of the Soldier Settlement Scheme on Kangaroo Island. After World War II legislation was passed which reflected the view that the returned soldiers should be provided with land and housing of a good standard. It was also important that the problems that arose from the World War I scheme would not be repeated. *The War Service Land Settlement Agreement Act (1945*) provided both Commonwealth and State funds to set up the scheme on Kangaroo Island, and in 1948 the first families arrived at Parndana. The settlers built corrugated iron huts. While the men were away from the settlement camp, clearing the land, the women spent their time at domestic tasks. Jean, who was a soldier settler's wife, said that the 'old Islanders' were curious and pessimistic about the settlement, but were encouraged by the editor of the local newspaper to be more positive and supportive of the scheme (Nunn, p. 47). During a conversation I had with Jean, she described attempts to establish gardens around the huts, but she could not recall grape vines being planted. However, in the 1950s the South Australian Department of Agriculture established a research centre at Parndana. Wally Boehm, a former employee at the centre, told me he grew vines that were used as experimental plants to find root stock that was resistant to phylloxera. He also recalled a German man, August Boettcher, had a market garden and vineyard in the 1930s at Cygnet River.

In 2003, with the permission of the present owner, I was taken to the property of Barry and Margot Hayes by former neighbours. As I walked around the land with them we found the remnants of a vineyard and orchard and they described the history of the Hayes' winery. In a large galvanised iron shed that had used for making and bottling wine and cider, we found wine labels and other artefacts that had been used in the bottling process. Barry and Margot had come as a young married couple with their three children from Victoria to Kangaroo Island in the 1970s. They bought 1200 acres of bushland between American River and Kingscote, and planted vines on 15 acres. By 1985, the Hayes family had left the island.

The Hayes enterprise seemed ill-fated from the beginning. There was a terrible drought in 1975 that killed off the newly planted vines. Barry and Margot replanted, but in another drought in the following year they again lost all their vines. Once again they planted, but in 1977, during roadside weed spraying by workers from the Kangaroo Island council, herbicide drifted on the wind and devastated the vineyard. A few vines survived and in the next year the vineyard was expanded, allowing the first vintage to be produced in 1982. After just a few years the vineyard was abandoned. I was able to locate the site, still with remnants of irrigation piping and a few trellis posts. Almost all of the vines had disappeared, but in a corner of the old

vineyard I found a few struggling survivors, which at the time, were just beginning to shoot.The Hayes' experience is very similar to that of William Giles who lost most of the vines he planted in 1837 and replanted in 1838. Some of these vines survived, but he went to the mainland in 1839 and little is known about the property after that.

Other more successful vineyards were established in the early 1980s by Rosie and Michael Florance who planted vines at Emu Bay when Caj Amadio, a South Australian builder and vineyard owner, began promoting the island as a new and exciting grape growing area. By 2003 there were 17 vineyards on the island with women managing or owning several of them. These include a vineyard managed by Veronica Bates at the Bay of Shoals, another part-owned and managed by Kate Williams at Kingscote, and a vineyard co-owned and co-managed by Lisa Viney at American River.

Summary

Anecdotes and contemporary media coverage including newspapers, wine magazines and television programs have all suggested that the planting of vineyards on Kangaroo Island is a recent activity initiated in 1987 by Caj Amadio. However, I have found evidence that vines were planted on the island by a colonial English settler, 150 years earlier than previously thought. Contrary to current opinion, Kangaroo Island has a long history of grape growing, which began in 1837 with the planting of vines by William Giles and possibly by early German settlers. Newspaper accounts of visits to properties and gardening advice in the late 1800s and early 1900s suggest attempts at grape growing. The establishment of a research centre in 1950 was perhaps a catalyst for growers such as Margot and Barry Hayes and Rosie and Michael Florance.

There is now proof of intermittent attempts since 1837 to grow vines and make wine on Kangaroo Island. The history of grape growing indicates that the industry was finally established there in the 1980s after earlier unsuccessful plantings. As yet there is scant evidence of the extent that women in the first days of European settlement on the island were involved in wine making, but I have shown that from the 1970s onwards, there has been a significant contribution by women to the industry**.**

Chapter 8 Interviews

Introduction

One of the main aims of my research has been defined as the bringing to public attention the narratives of a selected group of women, from the period of European settlement to the present day, who have all worked, or who are working in the wine industry of South Australia. While sources such as diaries and official documents have been used to tell the stories of female wine industry workers from earlier times, some of today's women have spoken for the first time about their work in my extended interviews. These interviews have been analysed and interpreted by means of broad themes that were formulated on the basis of recent scholarship in fields such as industrial sociology and gender studies, dealing with issues including the gendered division of labour and equality in the workplace. These themes have been used as sub-headings to articulate the interviews chapter, with minor variations in each section.

Aims and methods

In this chapter the interviews I conducted for this research project are analysed and the findings that arise are discussed, bringing to light the narratives of a selected group of women, ranging from pioneers who lived in South Australia as early as the era of European settlement to present-day women, all of whom worked or are working in the wine industry of the state, as either casual labourers, unpaid workers or salaried staff.

Three wine-producing regions are examined, the Barossa Valley, the Riverland, and Kangaroo Island, each of which has a distinctive geographical location, history, climate and significance in the wine industry. The stories of women living in the past are heard through an interrogation of sources such as diaries, photographs and newspaper accounts, while the interviews that I conducted are used to bring the narratives of contemporary women to community attention.

The interviews for this project consisted of in-depth, semi-structured discussions held individually, in private, with twenty-five women representing a range of occupations within the South Australian wine industry. The methodological frameworks discussed in Chapter 3 were used in the interviews. The assembly and interpretation of data from the interviews was achieved by the use of specific themes as analytical tools in terms of this methodology. The transcripts of the interviews are examined from feminist sociological and historical perspectives, and data extracted and integrated using codes denoting specific common themes as analytical tools to identify recurrent themes and to amplify meanings. At the same time, conflicting themes and standpoints were identified to give a more complete picture and to show the complexity of the social and cultural factors involved in the positioning of women as workers in the South Australian wine industry.

Categories of women's employment

Women are employed in the wine industry in a variety of occupations and categories. Employees who are paid a regular salary or wage are divided into several distinct classifications. In one category are those holding permanent positions or contracts, including the qualified and trained wine makers, who are employed at wineries and may also be contracted by independent vineyard owners to make wine from their grapes, and qualified assistant wine makers, who are, in effect on a contract at a winery while being trained, as a preliminary to becoming a fully qualified wine makers. The large wine producing companies also employ laboratory managers and technicians, vineyard managers and labourers, and people in cellar-door sales and various other jobs connected with marketing. The position of cellar hand in the larger companies is generally restricted to males, while it is evident from some of my interviews that in very small wineries this work may be undertaken by the wine makers, some of whom may be women. At another level are the casual workers who are employed for picking, pruning and other seasonal activities in the vineyard and are usually paid by the day.

The interviewees included women in a range of occupations within the industry. Winni is a managing wine maker and Leanne was employed as a laboratory manager and is now a wine maker, while Giulia and Brenda who are assistant wine makers. In addition, Vanessa is a marketing manager, Virginia is a vineyard manager, and Miranda is a laboratory manager. Dot, Fiona, Janis, Kerry and Lucy, worked in vineyards during their service in the Australian Women's Land Army during World War II, and Kerry, Lucy and Dot continued to work as casual pickers after the war.

A separate component of the work force, but vital to the wine industry, is the unpaid labour of members of owner-families who may engage in any of the varied categories of work associated with grape growing, wine making, and marketing. Among the women I interviewed, those who are or were at one time co-owners of vineyards, Andrea, Fiona, Jane, Karen,, Lana, Linda, Marilyn, Mavis, and, Sandra, all work or have worked in more than one of these categories, indeed some had taken on almost all of the roles at one time or another. It should be noted, as discussed in the methodology chapter, that the names of the women have all been replaced with pseudonyms to preserve their privacy, and that other details might identify them have also been changed or omitted.

It is more difficult to determine just what were the personal duties and responsibilities of women pioneers in the industry such as Ann Jacob and Johanne Fiedler in the Barossa Valley. Nevertheless, it is clear that women owners or co-owners of wineries, from the time of settlement to the present day, took important roles in the work force of their enterprises, and a detailed picture of the contributions of women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be extrapolated from the accounts given by my interviewees in the present day.

Wine makers

The themes used for the analysis of the transcripts of interviews with wine makers and assistant wine makers were: Career paths, Support groups and networks, Reconciling winery work and domestic responsibilities, Contributions and strengths, Lack of public recognition, and Women's increased participation.

Career paths

Traditionally wine making has been considered men's work by virtue of the experimental methods used in wine production, which were related to the empirical methodology used in scientific research, considered an inappropriate activity for women. The entry of women to wine making in the large companies of the Barossa Valley and elsewhere since the 1970s has arisen from changes in men's attitudes to women's participation in wine making and has also contributed to those changes of perspective. These changed notions about who should be making wine bear out Game and Pringle's thesis (1983) that the categorising of men's work and women's work does not arise from the practicalities of jobs themselves, but rather it occurs because the maintenance of the distinction is a social imperative (Game and Pringle, p. 15)

Part of the explanation of women's general exclusion from wine making in the past may be the distrust of alcoholic drinks that many women felt. Their opposition to alcohol may have arisen from their disapproval of licentiousness and unfaithfulness on the one hand and their fear of domestic violence on the other, behaviours which are often associated with drunkenness, and widely documented in eighteenth and nineteenth century literature and art, such as Henry Fielding's novel, *Tom Jones* and Hogarth's engravings, *The Rake's Progress.* Unrestrained drinking would, of course, be entirely out of keeping with the moral leadership, the nurturing responsibilities, and the image of propriety that many women strove to maintain in colonial and early twentieth century households.

A more significant factor determining the male domination of wine making as an occupation, which has parallels in other industries, is the education needed by an employee in order to understand the technology of wine making. The emphasis on systematic production methods and testing, has led to the expectation that those aspiring to become wine makers should have a training in chemistry; and science education has only recently been considered appropriate for girls (Hyams et al. 1988, pp. 253-261). In addition, some of the work in wineries is heavy and physically demanding, and on that account has been deemed inappropriate work for women. However, Giulia, an assistant wine maker I interviewed, pointed out, even these tasks the tasks were not beyond her strength. In fact, as she explained, at an earlier point in her career she had worked in a small company where it was customary for most employees, including women, to carry out physically-demanding tasks such as hosing down floors and cleaning barrels, in addition to their wine making or other duties. For a woman to be a wine maker entailed keeping up with men even in heavy manual work. It is worth noting, however, that Giulia herself seemed to consider much of the work in a winery to be dirty and arduous and not suited to a 'high maintenance' woman.

In contrast, Winni declared that in the larger modern wineries there is more emphasis on specialisation, and wine makers are no longer expected to undertake

the whole range of tasks in the winery, as manual labour is now carried out by male cellar hands. Identifying changes in the role of wine makers, she declared that:

> Industries change too. Because the industry's grown the wine makers aren't employed now to pull hoses around, it's not a physical job. If you're in a tiny little winery it's a different story, but in the medium to larger winery that's not the role of a wine maker, so you don't need physical strength. There's no reason at all why a woman can't be a wine maker, no reason at all!

Most of the women wine makers I interviewed were content to leave behind the more labour-intensive aspects of the wine-production processes and to abandon the struggle to achieve physical equality with male workers. This is consistent with the requirements of the workplace in other enterprises that employ both men and women, such as a landscape-gardening firm or a hospital, where employees at the management level are not expected to engage in manual labour. From the comments of my interviewees it appears that rather than calling for physical strength, the position of wine maker requires management abilities and attributes such as perceptiveness, curiosity, an orderly memory, the ability to make informed decisions, and a willingness to take risks.

Sociological and cultural factors

Giulia claimed that a family association with the wine industry would be helpful in entering wine making, but none of the wine makers interviewed came from a family involved in wine production. However, they all declared that a knowledge of science was essential in their work.

In discussing the qualifications required for successful wine making, Winni emphasised the value of an education in science, particularly a sound knowledge of chemistry. However, as it turned out she began her working life as a radiographer, and then travelled for several years, even though she had felt that she would like a career in the wine industry since her teenage years:

> I'd always thought that I wanted to do wine making, probably in about Year 12, when you starting thinking what you want to do for the rest of your life ... I grew up on a farm. My parents didn't own vineyards or anything like that but I used to drink wine at home and it was always Coonawarra or Langhorne Creek reds, so I was exposed to it. Because I grew up on a farm I always thought it would be quite nice to do something a bit more outdoors and not necessarily live in the city. I thought it was an option, but I didn't actually take that one up, I ended up being a radiographer.

Winni's upbringing on a farm evidently compensated for the lack of a wine-growing heritage, drawing her back, in the end, to rural life and work in wine production.

Giulia, with her Italian heritage, and parents who had at one time owned a retail wine shop, was accustomed to drinking wine in the family home, and she said that she had grown up with a consciousness of the romantic associations of vine growing and wine making. Unlike Leanne and Winni, who did not come from families with any particular association with wine and who began their university studies without intending to enter the wine industry, Giulia undertook tertiary studies with the intention of being a wine maker, studying at the Waite Campus of Adelaide University. Giulia said that she sees wine making as 'probably a good blend of art and science' and she likes 'the fact that you can make something with science that's not actually science because you don't end up with a known result'.

Winni entered the wine industry after spending two and a half years working and travelling around Europe. When she came back and began to consider her future she decided that she would go into wine making:

> I still had that desire to do it and that would have been six or seven years later. I came back to Australia and enrolled at Roseworthy in 1986 and started in 1987. I didn't have any experience, hadn't worked in any wineries or anything.

She admitted that during her second year of study she began to have strong doubts about her career change, because of her lack of family association with the industry :

> I started to think, "what have I done, should I really be doing this?", because nearly all the girl students had some association with the wine industry and I sort of felt as though I was a little disadvantaged I guess.

Winni spoke of a considerable attrition among her peers: 'It started off with about thirty students and maybe five or six were women, and then when we graduated there were only eleven of us and there were two women'. Interestingly, the ratio of women to men had remained about the same. Her fears about not getting employment proved to be unfounded: 'looking back on it now I guess I've been

successful and I was quite lucky'. This characterisation of her progress in the industry in terms of good fortune seems unnecessarily modest in view of the responsible position she now holds.

Although brought up on a farm, Winni's only contact with wine was as an interested consumer, but it was while visiting a winery in New Zealand when on holiday with friends that she realised she 'could actually describe the wines a lot better than many other people'. She studied at Roseworthy Agricultural College, and after graduating worked for three years as an assistant wine maker in a large Barossa Valley winery, before being appointed to her present position. Winni pointed out that she was accepted relatively easily into the company because her predecessor was a woman, who was leaving to have a baby and who rang to suggest that Winni might want to replace her, and she has worked in the company now for ten years.

Leanne declared that she had 'come up through the ranks of wine making'. She learnt her trade while doing the job: 'I didn't do any courses at Roseworthy or University. I'm one of those people who've come up through the laboratory staff into the wine making section, which is unusual'. Leanne came into wine making almost by accident, as a result of developing an interest in the chemistry of wine production. She explained that:

> I have a basic science background from high school, yes, and to be truthful I never saw myself as becoming a wine maker. When I was younger, my ambition was to work in a laboratory – that was what I wanted to be.

Leanne left high school with an interest in science and began her working life as a laboratory technician in a food factory in Adelaide, before entering the wine industry as a laboratory technician in a large Barossa Valley company, where she reached the point of training several people in winery work in the laboratory. Towards the end of her seven-year period at this company she was appointed as laboratory manager in the smaller company where she now works. She said that in this winery apprenticeships and traineeships are less common because in a small company there are only a few career wine makers and laboratory technicians who may change jobs infrequently.

Although the winery made little provision for trainees, Leanne was given the opportunity to move from the laboratory and train to be a wine maker when 'It just so happened that one of the winemakers decided to move off and do his own thing'. Her employer was evidently confident that she would be able to adapt readily to the requirements of a wine making position. 'I said "yes, as long as I don't have to go back to school to do any study, I've been away too long", and that's how it started.' Leanne received her training from her 'immediate boss', who 'helped me to understand a lot more than what I have. I've always had an interest in wine but it was never anticipated that I would go into that area.'

Asked if she felt, when accepting the new position, as if she was diving into the deep end, Leanne replied:

> Initially, yes, because as you know wine making has always been a fairly male-dominated area and I also did feel rather intimidated initially when you're going in tasting and you've got three or four guys doing tastings. But I guess when you take on something like that you have to stand on your own and you just learn to speak your own mind, speak your own thoughts on what you feel about wines. Something

> that he actually taught me was that you always go with the first impressions, don't change your mind.

Clearly Leanne came to trust her own judgement and adhere to her first impressions. She became aware that, as a woman, she could make a special contribution to the wine making procedures.

Duties and responsibilities

Giulia highlighted the differences between working as an assistant wine maker in a small and in a large company. She said that she had worked previously in a small company crushing about 500 tonnes a year, 'where basically you're involved in everything and that includes sweeping the floor! So physically you're involved in everything as well, so that's carrying buckets, pumping tanks and using equipment.' She now works in a large company producing 24,000 tonne per annum, where she has responsibility for the red wine, and 'basically it's more of a desk job or supervisory role'. However, her responsibilities change markedly at vintage time, when 'your role is quite different, mainly because for four months of the year you're constantly involved in the day-to-day aspects … a bit more hands on, you're not in your office so much, you're more out there.

Working in a medium-size company Leanne does not specialise in any particular style of wine, as a wine maker does in a large company. She has particular responsibilities, which vary during the year. At vintage time her duties include the chilling of juices and ferments, the inoculation of juices with yeast, and the fortification of wines. In addition she sees herself as a support person, who will always be reliable and who understands all aspects of the wine making procedures. As a result she can take over from the other wine makers when necessary and this backup role is reciprocated. Winni, on the other hand, working in one of the larger companies of the Barossa, is a group wine maker, responsible for the production of all white wines. Winni is able to spend considerable time in the vineyards, tasting fruit. It is her responsibility to decide when the different white varieties should be picked in the individual vineyards, some of which are quite distant from the main winery facility. Yet, in characteristic style, she customarily seeks guidance from the viticulturists in making these determinations. In contrast, Leanne finds that she is only able to go out to inspect the grapes towards the end of the vintage, 'when the botrytis wines are still hanging'. During the vintage, the busiest time of the year, she finds it is best to remain at the winery where she is able to control things that are her responsibility and to assist others where necessary.

Winni admitted that she found it a challenge to make white wines in a company renowned for its red wine styles. 'We're hopefully changing that around', she said, 'because we're starting to focus a bit more on the whites we produce.' She explained that, while the company is best known for its reds, 'its Rieslings are probably some of the best in the country, so we're renowned for that, but we need to focus on some of the other varieties within white'. She expects to be involved during the next few years in changes of white wine styles and the introduction of more brands, particularly prestige wines to complement those currently produced for the commercial end of the market.

Gender inequality and discrimination

In the interviews with Winni and Leanne their perceptions of gender equality prove to be ambivalent. When the topic is introduced they are quick to claim equal status with men in their work place. But after further thought both women modify their first assertion. When the interviewees asked whether they think women are treated with equality in their workplaces, each is quick to assert that women are not significantly discriminated against, nor disadvantaged in promotion or choice of

job. Winni, who works as a wine maker for a large company in the Barossa Valley, insists that she has not experienced any significant friction or discrimination based on gender: 'for me personally there hasn't been a problem.'

She explains that:

> When I came here, the person that I replaced was a female and she'd been here for quite a few years so I guess the guys were familiar with having a female wine maker around so it wasn't an issue at all. I can't think of too many incidents that have occurred over the past ten years. I'm sure there might have been one or two, but nothing that has kind of jolted me. You probably get some friction working with women. Even when I was at my previous company for about two years, being straight from Uni, green and naive, I didn't have any problems with any of the fellas there either. It was fine.

Winni asserts that she has not been aware of any gender discrimination in her work place. 'In a company like this, you don't see any equal opportunity issues. It's reasonably progressive ... the main thing is to have that passion for being in the industry'. She pointed out that in the company several women hold senior positions although there is a minority of females working as professionals in the company's vineyards and winery. Winni herself is principal white wine maker and responsible for the production of all the white wines. She also has a management role, with two wine makers reporting to her. Similarly, Leanne, a wine maker in a smaller Barossa Valley company, expressed her opinion that women enjoy equality with men in the wine industry: 'you'll find a lot of women now in very responsible positions in big companies'.

Winni's suggestion that because the men were accustomed to having a female wine maker on the staff there were no serious equality issues indicates an awareness that there *can* be important issues, and she admits that there may in fact have been minor issues for her over the years. In remarking that 'you probably get some friction working with women', she seems to express a male perspective, apparently accepting the view that the friction is somehow caused by the women. On reflection, however, each of the interviewees went on to mention observations or experiences of sexual discrimination in the industry. Leanne suggested that, in respect to promotion, discrimination against women had been widespread in the industry until recently: 'they were left as assistant wine makers or whatever.' Both women admitted that they still occasionally heard stories of inequality for women in companies other than those in which they work.

Underlying Leanne and Winni's remarks there is a tacit recognition that discriminatory attitudes *do* still exist, and both women hinted that they knew of instances where women have been disadvantaged. Winni admitted that she knows there are women in the industry who do have equality problems, but in her case:

> No, I don't think so. I've been quite fortunate in some respects. It all depends upon the individual but it's really trying to command respect from those people that you work with.

In suggesting that equality could be achieved by the efforts of individual women, Winni not only revealed an awareness that inequality exists, but she also implied that gender inequality in the work place arose from the inadequacy of the female victim, rather than from the discriminatory attitudes of the men. Implicitly she took the position that victims of gender discrimination were themselves at fault, a standpoint from which she would probably retreat if pressed.

Reflecting further, Winni recalled an occasion soon after her graduation from Roseworthy, when, at a dinner she attended in the Hunter Valley, a well-known male wine maker sitting next to her had warned her that she would find it difficult to get a job in the industry. When she asked why, he replied 'Because you're a woman, of course'. This incident occurred more than a decade ago, but she evidently felt that the attitudes prompting the man's remarks, of sexual discrimination if not of outright misogyny, may not even yet have entirely abated within the industry.

Both Leanne and Winni have extensive experience as wine makers in the industry and a strong record of successful achievement. Brenda, who is a younger woman, spoke with a different emphasis on the issue of equal opportunity in the workplace: 'it's probably easier for a man to move up the ladder, so that's an equality issue'. This interviewee has held positions in three companies in succession as assistant wine maker, and she seemed to show some resentment when describing her place in the company's hierarchy:

> I'm considered middle management I suppose, so upper management would be my bigger boss who's the site manager, and he's also a wine maker. Then I suppose my immediate boss is the other wine maker. But it's never really worked that way, I suppose, just because we've got similar experience. When I first came here, he wasn't a wine maker. He was made wine maker after I came here. Besides the fact that we both went to university together and we both have experience in different places, so we probably more work together rather than him actually being my boss. I really report to the site manager.

Brenda contrasts her formal rank in relation to her male colleague, which she feels to be unfair to her, with the informal working arrangements, in which there is more equality. She implies that her colleague's promotion to wine maker above her was unwarranted, since she had a similar level of experience and they were trained together, and she claims that in effect she works in a collaborative rather than a subsidiary position:

> Even if my title had been wine maker or something I still would have been doing the same work. I look after all the red wine here, so I'm not really assisting anyone because I'm actually the one doing it.

The women wine makers certainly don't feel that there is an urgent problem of gender inequity in their work places. Both Leanne and Winni insisted that they are not conscious of disadvantage as women wine makers in the companies in which they are employed. Leanne made it clear in her interview that the industry is still considered primarily a male domain: 'as you know wine making's always been a fairly male dominated area', but she claimed that this had not disadvantaged her:

> No I wouldn't say it has. I guess it makes you grow up quicker! You have to learn to be one of the boys sometimes (which is not a bad thing). I mean you have to have a good relationship with the people you work with – especially the cellar hands. You have to be able to have the respect from them.

It is significant, however, that she obviously believes that the working relationships she has been able to build up with the males, who are in the majority in her work place, has been achieved through her own efforts. She declares that it is necessary to achieve this rapport:

> so that they don't think you're a bit silly if you go and ask them how an operation should be done because they've been doing things a lot longer than me. I don't have

> a problem with communicating with them to find out whether they think they can do it a better way to make it easier for them.

Similarly, Winni claimed that being in a predominantly male industry has not disadvantaged her in any way. Giulia emphasised the importance of achieving a good rapport with males in the workplace; however she went on to recount an altercation she had with a male cellar hand.

All three women seemed to gloss over the implication that a precondition of their success was a willingness to adapt to a male culture dominating their workplaces. Moreover, although they denied that they have been personally subjected to gender prejudice, they gave, after some reflection, specific examples of inequity or admitted that they had heard that discrimination still occurred elsewhere. From their descriptions of the ethos of their workplaces it appears that the women have each made some concessions to male mores. They may well have felt that, in order to preserve their reputation as co-operative employees, they could not afford to acknowledge, let alone protest at this form of discriminatory behaviour, although it seems unlikely that they would tolerate more blatant forms of sexism, should they occur.

The issue of gender equity in the workplace drew out some conflicting statements In discussing equity in the workplace, each of the winemakers I interviewed begins by claiming that they have equal status with men, and denying that they have experienced sexual discrimination at work. However, after further thought each also concedes that they have encountered discrimination at some time or that they are aware of instances of discrimination occurring in the industry. The contradiction implied seems to require further explanation.

Undermining of women's self-esteem

One of the damaging effects for women employees of discriminatory attitudes in the workplace is an undermining of their self-esteem and of their feminine self-image. It is evident that gender-driven discriminatory practices have been institutionalised from the beginning in wine-producing companies. As an example, the official history of Penfolds makes little mention of Mary Penfold, the wife of Dr Penfold who founded the family business (*Rewards of Patience* 1994). In this story of the company, Hyland, Penfold's son-in-law, succeeds the doctor in managing and expanding the company, whereas, in fact Penfold's wife Mary took over management of the company on the death of her husband in 1870 (De Vries 2002; Port 2000). Mary retained control of Penfolds until she retired and handed over the management to Joseph Gillard, her cellar manager, in 1884 (De Vries 2002, p. 12). During her tenure Thomas Hyland-Penfold remained working, under her direction, as a sales agent in Melbourne.

Not only did the forgotten Mary run the company successfully for a number of years, but as shown in her *Workbook*, cited by Port, she also planted most of the original vines with the help of a servant-companion, and she was making wines by 1850, while her husband was still nominally running the winery (Port p. 7). In 1874 it was reported in the *Advertiser* that: 'Mrs Penfold makes four varieties of wine'. The wines were carefully blended 'under Mrs Penfold's personal supervision, not in accordance with any fixed and definite rule but entirely according to her judgement and taste' (in De Vries, pp. 10-11). As discussed in Chapter 5, the large

wine-making companies in the Barossa Valley that developed in the early twentieth century from thriving family enterprises, as well as those that were established at the same time in the Riverland, excluded women from management positions, and even, until the last few decades, from any employment at all in the wineries.

Brenda seems to exemplify the discriminatory practice identified by Leanne of retaining women in the position of assistant wine maker. She has now worked in several companies as an assistant wine maker, and is concerned that after more than a year in her present employment she has still not advanced to the position of wine maker. Her belief that a male colleague was preferred for promotion, seems to be creating doubts in her mind about gender equity in her workplace. Asked if she felt she would be able to achieve promotion with her present employer, she replied 'I think so. That's pretty much why I'm still here.' Brenda's enthusiasm and optimism about her future was muted and restrained, and she made it clear that she considered the work she does to be similar to that done by her male colleague, but she is lower in rank than he is and receives less pay.

Giulia, whom I interviewed in the Riverland, expressed attitudes that often seemed ambivalent when she referred to the issues of gender equality and discrimination in the workplace. She said that her professional judgement, as a young wine maker, was sometimes treated with scant respect, but speculated that her lack of experience rather than her gender was the most likely reason for this treatment. Later in the interview, however, she recalled an incident that occurred early in her career, when her instructions to an older male cellar worker were ignored:

> There has been a case where it has been not just that I'm young, it was because I was female, which is just giving a job to someone and them not following it at all. Then when I approached them and said, "why did you do this when I specifically told you to do this", they just said, "oh, yea, but I thought I'd do it this way". That was an older male, say early 60's and I don't think he coped that well being told what to do from a female. In essence, that affected me at the time because I didn't get my job done or how I wanted it to get done, but if I really had an issue with that I could have taken that further. That's just blatant not listening to what their job is basically. That one stands out but I mean if I really had an issue with something you could quite easily take it up. I would feel fairly confident.

When discussing whether there were issues that women might have that couldn't be brought up with management, Giulia suggested that if people felt dissatisfaction on this account it would be because they were not really committed to their work in the wine industry. 'I think', she said, 'that if you were the wrong person for the job you would probably have issues with all those things.' She did, however, raise the possibility that the rigours of the male-oriented work in the wine industry might undermine the feminine self-image of some women employees. She suggested that dissatisfaction:

> would probably be more likely if you're female just because if you didn't want to get dirty or break a finger nail, all that kind of thing, you're just asking for it really and you won't last. There were quite a few girls that dropped out of uni once they realised what they were in for ... it's a fairly dedicated industry ... and you're dirty and you're sticky.

When asked what they considered to be the ingredients of success several of the interviewees emphasised the need for a co-operative and consultative approach to fellow workers. While Leanne did not feel that she had been disadvantaged by working in a predominantly male industry, she stressed the importance of

maintaining good relationships with people in the workplace. She said that in her job as a wine maker it is especially important to have friendly dealings with the male cellar hands. The importance of earning the respect of male colleagues was also emphasised by both Leanne and Winni, and they both asserted that they had never had difficulty in communicating with them, nor could they recall any times when they felt they could not raise particular issues with them. ‘I don’t think gender has ever been a problem in our winery’, Leanne said. ‘Maybe it’s because we are a smaller winery and it’s like a family situation for us.’

Winni described similar gender relations in her workplace:

> I’ve never had any problems with the cellar guys, the guys who actually pump the wine around. It’s a bit of a culture. Some of the guys can be pretty rough, but I think if you’ve got some respect for them, and so then they have it with you, there shouldn’t be any issues.

When Giulia, who is in her mid twenties, was asked if as a woman she had been disadvantaged in any way, her response was quite different. She exclaimed, 'I find it to be quite fun!' She went on to explain that:

> I've always got along well with males and I find it quite amusing that they like to add humour to their day, just stupid things. They're definitely more fun to work with but when there's a job to be done will do it.

Support groups and networks

Several of my interviewees, including Winni and Giulia, referred to the informal networks or peer groups of women that they found useful as sources of information and advice. As discussed later, this is paralleled among the grape growers on Kangaroo Island, who consider the social interactions and the opportunities they afford for the exchange of opinions and technical help as of particular importance, serving to alleviate their sense of isolation. For women on the mainland the sense of isolation in the industry is clearly not as marked as it is on the Island. The wine makers I interviewed reported that they did not know of any *formal* groups for women in the industry and they did not feel that women in the industry needed separate peer groups or a support network. As Leanne put it: 'I think that most women that have come up in the wine-making side of things these days are fairly independent and they don't need that backup ... from other women.' Winni explained that it is a 'very social industry', and she found that she frequently mixed with other wine makers in the region. She belongs to a small group of wine makers who meet 'as an informal social thing and just have a tasting and something to eat.' Leanne, who lives in a different town from Winni, said that she was not aware of any peer or support group for women in the Barossa Valley, and added that she did not think there was any such group for men either. She did point out, however, that 'Everyone's probably got a mentor in the industry that they'd turn to if they had a certain issue, if they needed to talk and get someone else's opinion.'

Similarly, Giulia claimed that she could obtain informal advice and help when needed both from within and outside the company in which she works. She said that she did not feel that a women's support group was needed and she did not think that any existed in the Riverland. She explained that 'The wine industry is very close-knit and it's not uncommon for me to be talking to five different wineries in a day just over the phone and so you're having a bit of contact that's not entirely internal.' She spoke with emphatic disapproval of people she described as 'wine-wankers':

> there's a men's group in the Riverland which is totally for men who get together and have wine dinners and things like that. I would feel the same if it was a women's group, and if it was a women's group I would not be going, just for the pure fact it's segregation for no apparent reason, and who's to say that they're going to have better ideas.

Giulia admitted that she had been invited to talk to groups of wine-lovers but had refused. Unlike Winni, she did not seem to be aware of the possible effectiveness within the wine industry and among the general public, of using meetings of wine makers and connoisseurs to raise awareness of women's participation and achievements in the wine industry.

Reconciling winery work and domestic responsibilities

The women wine makers I interviewed were all well aware of issues pertaining to their employment and domestic responsibilities. In the last two decades the gendered division of labour within the family has been an important subject of scholarly discourse (Hartmann 1981, Eastwood 1990, Gilding 1991, Bittman 1992, Probert and McDonald 1996, Richards 1997). Male and female roles are considered to have changed only slowly. Studies carried out early in the 1990s show that attitudes promoting equality between the sexes in the organisation of family had not yet become widespread. Eastwood finds that many young men believe that the careers of wives should be subordinated to the employment requirements of their husbands. Fifty-four percent of the males she surveyed believed that a wife should be willing to follow her husband to a new locality to find employment (Eastwood, p. 137). Almost as many Australian women, forty-nine percent of those surveyed, believe that a wife should put her family ahead of her career (Eastwood, p.126).

Men's attitudes about domestic equality vary greatly, but the traditional patriarchal attitudes persist in many homes. Commonly there is still a marked imbalance between the amount of unpaid work done in the home by men and women (Bittman 1992, p. 46). During the 1990s a shift is discerned in gender ideology away from attitudes still commonplace in the preceding two decades. New attitudes to women's employment are perceived, in which they are now accepted within the family as legitimate earners of a part-time or full-time wage, although in doing so women must accept what Bittman and Pixley (1997) have described as their 'double burden', since it is expected that their paid work will not preclude them from fulfilling their domestic responsibilities (Bittman and Pixley, p. 114).

In several interviews, the importance of having supportive partners was emphasised. Leanne has been employed in the company for 16 years as a wine maker and she explained that one of the reasons she has been able to stay so long in her present position is that 'I married late in life so I never had domestic responsibility ... I've never had the distractions of a home life or children.' She said that her husband is fully supportive of her career: 'He thoroughly enjoys it. He says as long as I keep making wine he'll drink it.'

Leanne claimed that her marriage had not impinged negatively upon the progress of their career, and that the long hours worked had no serious ill effects on her relationship. These remarks imply an awareness of the potential for damage to a relationship, and that this can present an obstacle to working in the public arena. In Leanne's comments, as well as in the responses of other interviewees, there seemed to be an implicit suggestion that it might be possible for domestic responsibilities to conflict with a woman's work or impede her entry into the wine industry. In contrast, Giulia perceived the periods of intensive work during the year, such as twelve hours a day and seven days a week for four months or more during the vintage, as deleterious for her partnership and her domestic life:

> My boyfriend who I live with he also works long hours during the vintage so basically we don't see each other for four months, which is pretty hard. It's basically like we'll start again after vintage or I'll see you in four months ... It does affect my life tremendously because I have no energy to offer anyone else when I'm doing that. My friends know I won't see them for four months. None of my family actually lives here, except for my boyfriend, but they all know not to worry about even trying to ring me, it's pointless!

The difficulties in her household are exacerbated by her partner's employment as an electrician working shifts at another local winery:

> If one of us wasn't doing that then at least we'd come home to a clean house and tea on the table. That just doesn't happen. Everyday life just becomes an absolute chore. Coming to work is bad enough, but then going home, and you know that you haven't seen him for so long, so you should be spending time with him. But all you can do is be grumpy about how there's tea to be cooked and dishes to do. My friends know that I won't see them for months. None of my family actually lives here, except for my boyfriend, but they all know not to worry about even trying to ring, it's pointless.

Details of the stress and hard work involved in balancing domestic responsibilities with day-to-day work in wine production were provided by other interviewees. For instance in her interview, which is discussed later in this chapter, Sophie gives a particularly vivid description of her daily life on a vineyard she co-owned in the Riverland. Giulia, who was an employee not an owner, saw the solution to her domestic difficulties in moving to another wine region, such as the Clare Valley where she had begun her work in the wine industry. She thought that 'things would be a lot different if we were in a smaller region I think'. Clare would be 'excellent because you're a bit more hands on, so more sweat has gone into making that product, so I suppose it's more rewarding'. Moreover, her partner would probably be able to run his own business, with more flexible hours, rather than working exclusively for a large corporation. It seems that Giulia, like many other rural women, was really doing two very full-time jobs: her salaried work at the winery, and her unpaid (and possibly unappreciated and unacknowledged) work in her domestic space. Rather wistfully she concluded that if they lived in Clare her boyfriend might be able to share the domestic tasks, instead of the housework falling on her shoulders: 'we'd come home to a clean house and tea on the table.'

Advice to newcomers

Asked what advice she would give to a young woman coming to work in the industry, Leanne said:

> I just think be yourself, be confident in what you're doing and just try as hard as you would at any job. It doesn't have to be regarded as a male-oriented job. It's a job or a career that you want to do, and I think you should just treat it as such, and not feel you're a woman in a male area, because if you start thinking like that, you'll be treated like that.

In this way, she insisted, the newcomer would not to be perceived as a woman doing a male job, but as 'another co-worker.' Winni's also referred to the need to develop self-confidence. She said that she would urge a new woman employee in the industry to 'respect yourself...know what you're aiming for...listen to other people'. In addition, she stressed the importance of acquiring presentation skills: 'it's so important now because people want to meet the person who's made the product'.

Giulia's advice to newcomers was forthright and practical, declaring that to achieve rapport it is necessary to 'like men' and even perhaps to court their attention, though not to the extent of wearing inappropriate clothing:

> I would say hopefully they like men because if they don't they're in trouble. I suppose I've always been aware of the fact I'm female. It's not like I would walk out in the middle of the cellar with twenty-five blokes wearing a skirt and a singlet top - I can't anyway because it's not our uniform policy.

The codes of dress and behaviour imposed upon women in the workplace, which are not necessarily explicit in written policy statements, or even expressed in verbal advice or instructions from management have been discussed in a recent study by Brook (1999) of workplace mores. She argues that in jobs where women are considered equal to men, they may still be subjected to working conditions such as dress regulations that minimise female sexuality. They are enjoined to meet supposedly 'professional' standards that, in fact, privilege men by codifying masculine mores (Brook, p. 113). In a similar context, Giulia seemed very conscious that some women might be fearful that their femininity could be threatened by the rigours of the work as well as the dominance of males in the industry: 'Put it this way, if they were a high maintenance woman, which is what I call the hair, the nails and the stilettos, I would say, "it's probably not for you"'.

Giulia was at pains to show that she was not subject to sexual discrimination and seemed to suggest that the way to avoid it was to accommodate to the male-dominated workplace ethos, which was described by Winni as 'a bit of a culture'. It was her opinion that those who complained about inequality or other hardships were probably unsuited to the industry. She also warned that newcomers should be aware of the long hours entailed in wine making:

> if you don't like working long hours, it's not for you and I suppose in relation to it all it depends on how much you want to be paid for how much you work. It's probably more beneficial for you to be working in the lab or in the cellar than to be doing assistant wine maker's role as far as money goes because you're working a lot. If they think that its all dollars and no time then they've got another think coming.

Winni claimed that women have special qualities and a particular aptitude from wine making:

> I think it's good that there are women in the industry. I think if it was still dominated by the men, it wouldn't be good because women being there gives a bit more of a balance. I think in general women tend to pay a lot more attention to detail than men. They seem to follow things all the way through … and really to make a good wine you need to have a lot of attention to detail, you can't just sort of swan in there and have a bit of a go, and turn around at five o'clock and then say 'that's it'. Not that I'm saying that's the men's attitude either, but it's more, you know, dotting the Is and crossing the Ts. I think women tend to be a bit more fussy about those sorts of things, that's pretty general.

Winni went on to declare that 'One thing I always remember my boss saying to me, something he really believes in, is that women are better wine makers, and that's part of the reason why, because they do have that attention to detail.'

Working in a medium sized winery, Leanne has experienced less innovation in the methods of wine making than in work practices. Change has generally been more gradual in the vintner's methodology, though responses to new trends have led to changes in the wines, particularly the introduction of new styles, and variations implemented as a result of experiments with the incorporation of oak influence. Leanne mentioned one important innovation, however: the introduction in the last couple of years of the Stelvin process, in which a metal cap is used for bottle closure, instead of a cork. At the time it was proposed Leanne supported the use of the new system, having noted that in the 1970s some Stelvin capped wine had been made at her previous place of employment, which had aged well and retained its freshness, and which was free of cork taint and variations of oxidation between

bottles. Leanne predicts that, in spite of a consumer perception that Stelvin capped wines are cheap, the use of the system will increase significantly.

Similarly, Winni has noticed changes in her workplace. She claimed that in her company in recent times there has been a lot more emphasis on quality, and less on yield. She has participated in other important developments at her workplace. The opening of extensive new facilities at the winery about eighteen months ago has led to some important procedural changes. In particular, it has enabled the company to process more fruit from off-site vineyards, reducing the need for outsourcing, and increasing the control that she and her colleagues have over the wine making processes.

Contributions and strengths

Winni seemed sure that women made an important contribution to wine making. She suggested that 'women are more attuned to aromas and flavours...whether it's our genetics or upbringing...through being in the kitchen with our mum'. She added that 'In my experience, maybe, women can describe things a little better than men.' Leanne, also, was emphatic in claiming that women have different palates from men. In her opinion 'women just see things differently', and they also use different language to communicate their perceptions. 'I don't stick my head in a cigar box, and a cigar box character is quite a common expression used by our wine makers on red wines ... it's not a term I'd use.' The identification of a 'cigar box character' implies that the particular scent of cigars combined with the smell of the unvarnished wood of the box is discerned in the smell of the wine, commonly referred to as the wine's 'nose'. Cigars are relatively expensive and smoking them, most often practised by men, not by women, has until recently been socially acceptable even in restaurants. The use of the term cigar box character in a wine's nose confers the connotation of luxury while re-enforcing the assumption that the assessment of wine is a male prerogative, to be expressed by the use of a distinctively male lexicon. Winni explained further that she might see a wine more in terms of spices or herbs. These are comparisons that relate to cooking, and to the kitchen garden in the home paddock, part of a woman's domestic responsibilities. She went on to say that, in the end, it was often possible to reconcile the different male and female viewpoints. From what she could recall, cigars and pipes had a sort of spicy, herbally nose, which would be how she would express the quality in a wine.

Co-operative and consultative approach

A co-operative and consultative approach is an important principle underlying the contributions of the women wine makers. Leanne explained that in the relatively small winery in which she works the wine makers have an input into all areas of wine making. Her descriptions of discussions among the wine makers suggest that while she sometimes has different perceptions from the males and different ways of describing them, the differences can often be reconciled. If not, she might concede the point or the others might acknowledge that her opinion carries more weight. The culture of the larger company in which Winni works is even more encouraging of individual input. When she was first appointed in the company there were only two other wine makers, both males, with whom she worked co-operatively. 'We'd just bounce ideas off one another.' Nowadays, there are three women wine makers in senior positions who are accustomed to making strong contributions to discussions.

There is agreement in the comments made during the interviews with the wine makers that in the last few years women's participation in the wine industry has begun to be more widely acknowledged than before. For instance, it was mentioned that there have been some recent newspaper reports referring to the achievements of women employed as wine makers. But, with few exceptions, there has still been little recognition on labels or in brochures of the important contributions of women to the wine products of leading South Australian companies, many of whom have on their staff women wine makers who have been employed for ten years or more and have been given significant responsibilities in wine production. This lack of

appropriate recognition for women may be attributed to the perception held by the general public, as well as by the women who work in wine production and by the wine companies, that the industry is traditionally an area of male employment.

Lack of public recognition

Winni said that she believes only a few women have so far made their mark for new methods and developments, but she pointed out that 'In that sort of area - innovation...it boils down to the individual and not necessarily to the gender'. She admitted that 'most of the icon wine makers that have come along have been male', but she expressed confidence that women would soon be better known to the public: 'I'm sure there will be female wine makers who'll stand out for specific wines that they've made'. While both Leanne and Winni are well-established wine makers who have served in their current positions for many years, and have very good reputations in the industry, neither has been afforded the public recognition of having their name on the labels of any of the wines for which they are responsible. In their interviews it is perhaps significant that both women emphasised the consultative aspect of their roles at the wineries.

Women's increased participation

Leanne and Winni in the Barossa and Giulia from the Riverland claimed that many more women are showing interest in working in the wine industry these days than in earlier years, although they were not able to quantify the increase. Winni attributed the increasing numbers of women who aspire to enter the wine industry to the rapid recent growth of the industry and the 'media hype' surrounding it. The participation by women will, in Leanne's opinion, continue to increase slowly. She suggested that one of the factors inhibiting a woman's employment in higher positions could be her domestic situation and family plans. A company might believe for instance that a woman employee was likely to want to have children after a couple of years and to take maternity leave or to resign. But she felt that if a woman were determined to pursue a career in the company, that's what would be focused on by the management; after all, as she pointed out, a male too might leave after just a few years.

Leanne considered that it was difficult for young people, whether female or male, to find jobs. She mentioned her own good fortune in finding an employer who was willing to train her, after being told elsewhere that she could not be considered for employment because she did not have the necessary experience. She suggested that the difficulty of finding a place in the workforce was one reason why young women were going into work situations that have not always been female positions, thinking that there might be more opportunities in these different areas.

Giulia expressed well-formulated ambitions for herself, and spoke in terms of a five-year plan for the next steps in her career. She said that she had accepted the position of assistant wine maker on the understanding that after 'two years ... they would review me for wine maker'. She expressed the hope that this would happen on schedule, though she did have some reservations about the management style of the company, in particular she considered the communication between upper management and the workers to be inadequate. She claimed that there was a need to be assertive in seeking advancement:

You have to prove yourself before you get promotion. If you're not making it easy or you're not making it apparent ... if you're saying you're quite happy, and that's the opinion your boss is forming, well then they'll think, "why do I need to give them promotion?" or, "why do I need to pay them more when they're happy?"

When discussing the changes that have occurred during her time in the wine making industry, Leanne emphasised the recent improvements in conditions of work and safety in the workplace, in which she has a special interest and involvement. Winni considered the growth and increasing wealth of the industry to be the most significant changes. She attributed the improved working conditions for wine makers to growth and development in the industry:

> The wine makers aren't employed now to pull hoses around, it's not a physical job. If you're in a tiny little winery it's a different story, but in a medium to large winery that's not the role of the wine maker so you don't need that physical strength. There's no reason at all why a woman can't be a wine maker.

Co-owners of small family vineyards

Introduction

The themes used to organise the transcripts of the co-owner interviews are: Gendered division of labour, Home paddock, Working relationships, Contributions and strengths, Women's increased participation, Support groups and networks, Reconciling vineyard work and domestic responsibilities.

This section is an analysis of interviews I held with four women in the Barossa Valley, three in the Riverland, and three on Kangaroo Island. None of these women has been wine makers themselves, but they have all made significant contributions to their family economies by participating in physical labour in their vineyards. While some of the women still work in their family vineyards, others worked in their own vineyards in the past, most of the women being co-owners of their family properties with their husbands.

In the Barossa Valley, Sandra spent her working life in her family vineyard purchased in the early 1950s, and although she has retired and her son now manages the family property, she still occasionally helps out by working among the vines. Odette, who was the youngest child in a German family and was unmarried, was brought up in the 1930s and 40s, on a farm near Bethany in the Barossa Valley, where she lived and worked as an adult, with one of her brothers who had inherited the property. When Odette retired from active work, she retained the house, while the farm passed to her nephew. Yvonne was brought up on a property that included a vineyard, and worked there as a child and young woman, until she married after World War II. Andrea and Norman currently own ten acres of vines and recently established a cellar door to sell their wine, and Linda works in the vineyard that she co-owns with her husband.

Several of the interviewees who live in the Riverland worked in vineyards in the past. Fiona was married to a returned soldier and worked on their fruit block at Loxton from the late 1940s. In the same era, Mavis established her own trucking business and planted grapes on the property she co-owned with her husband Malcolm. Soula was a young Greek girl who migrated to Australia and arrived at Renmark in the Riverland to marry and live on her own family vineyard purchased in the 1950s. Soula picked and pruned on the property she co-owned with her husband, Theo, and also worked for wages in vineyards owned by neighbours.

Marilyn, who now lives on the mainland, worked in the 1980s in the vineyard on Kangaroo Island that she co-owned with her husband. Currently, Karen, and Lana work in their own vineyards, while Virginia manages a vineyard for her employer, on the island.

Gendered division of labour

In a small family vineyard the demarcation of male and female roles often tends to become blurred. The isolation and the small population of Kangaroo Island, as well as its distance from the mainland and the resulting expense of transport, contribute significantly to this tendency. As Karen pointed out, disastrous mistakes could be made by those entrusted with transporting the grapes to the mainland wineries, where the crop was to be crushed:

> It's getting better now with more vineyards coming on-line, but the freight companies originally didn't understand the necessity that the grapes couldn't just sit. There's a terrible story that for our first Chardonnay, we'd hired a local fruit distributor van and up it went on the boat and stayed in the refrigerated van overnight, except that when they go onto the boat they asked them to turn the engines off. Of course, they forgot to turn it on and then they took it up to their depot. The guys at Waite actually did the crushing that year, they did it as a test-run for some of their students and I think they literally picked through the berries to see which ones they could save.

The procedures of harvesting and transporting the fruit have a particular urgency on the island, demanding the attention of both the male and female partners in a vineyard. Karen and Virginia both spoke in their interviews of the difficulties they had in finding sufficient casual workers who are willing to commit to the task of picking the grapes, exacerbate the problems entailed in getting the grapes into the trucks and onto the ferry quickly, so that they can be transported to a winery on the mainland for processing before they begin to spoil.

While it was customary for Mavis, Sandra, Fiona, Linda and other women I interviewed to share some of the work in the vineyard, such as pruning and in some cases handling machinery, with the men, other tasks and responsibilities were allocated on the basis of gender. Fiona, for instance, took part in planting, pruning and picking, but not the ploughing, which was done by Victor. When their vineyard began to produce substantial crops, Fiona and Victor sold their grapes to neighbouring wineries in the Riverland, and it was usually Victor who carted the grapes away for crushing.

Similarly, in the Barossa Valley vineyard owned by Andrea and Norman, now that it is fully established and productive, the grapes are delivered to a nearby winery, where they are crushed, fermented, bottled and delivered back to them at their cellar-door:

> We take the berries down to the winery and we help to put them in the crusher and we have our own tanks there so we know it's our wine, we're tasting it during the whole process and then when it's barrelled or bottled we bring it back here for storage. Peter, the wine maker, has his own bottling outfit and he bottles for us as well.

Andrea took on the responsibility for marketing their wine, while Norman continued to maintain the vineyard:

I do the labelling by hand here with my very ‘high-tech’ labelling machine which is corrugated iron marked so that the bottles are all in line! People think it's a scream when they come to the cellar door.

Labour allocations in small vineyards

The women I interviewed seemed to assume that work in their vineyard would be allocated on the basis of gender. In the narratives of Linda, Fiona and Odette, in particular, as discussed in the following pages, it became clear that the concept of the gendered division of labour has arisen partly from the convention that some jobs, such as driving tractors and pruning vines are generally considered men's work, while other tasks, such as picking grapes and tying vine shoots onto trellis wires, are deemed appropriate for women. Another important factor that determines which work is suitable for women is their need to confine their involvement in the vineyard to tasks that can be taken up and interrupted at short notice, so that they are able to maintain their households. As Karen pointed out, women are constrained in working outside their home paddock by their domestic responsibilities: 'Because you have children to think about, you have to juggle your hours around the household'.

In practice, the demarcation of gendered work on family vineyards is by no means as rigid as might be supposed, and each of the interviewees revealed some areas in which they performed tasks that departed from the accepted norms of women's work. Karen's remark, for instance, refers generally to women in the industry, rather than to herself. She no longer has dependent children, and works long hours in the vineyard, doing a variety of manual jobs, including riding a three-wheeled motor cycle to spray under the vines, which is usually considered men's work and inappropriate for women. Karen bears the main responsibilities for the day-to-day running of the Kangaroo Island property she co-owns, while her husband works during the week at his job in the nearby town. In fact she seems to do most of the manual work in the vineyard herself.

In a small family vineyard, the demarcation of male and female roles often tends to become blurred. The isolation and the small population of Kangaroo Island, as well as its distance from the mainland and the resulting expense of transport, contribute significantly to this tendency. The procedures of harvesting and transporting the fruit have a particular urgency on the island, demanding the attention of both the male and female partners. The difficulties of finding sufficient casual workers who are willing to commit to the task of picking the grapes, exacerbate the problems entailed in getting the grapes into the trucks and onto the ferry quickly, so that they can be transported to a winery on the mainland for processing before they begin to spoil.

Karen maintained that in Kangaroo Island in general there is little differentiation of women's and men's work. Though she remarked that spraying is one exception:

> The only thing that's really classified as men's work in out vineyard is the sprays, and that's because Robert 's done the spray course and got the certificate and I'm not mad keen on playing with them anyway.

Strangely, however, she admitted later in the interview that she *did* do some of the spraying herself: 'The under-vine spraying on the motorbike, I do that. One of those three-wheeler things.'

Karen also said that she thought that the number of women doing indoor work might be increasing, while fewer women are involved in outdoor labour:

> I don't think there's all that many who are silly enough to run around in the vineyard [as she does]. I think they are more in marketing and wine making. I don't think there's all that many viticulturists ... not everybody wants to be out in the field pruning, whereas there are more men that do that.

Establishing vineyards

Small family vineyards often comprise about ten to fifteen acres of vines and the establishment of a vineyard requires a considerable capital outlay as well as long hours of hard physical work. Several of the women I interviewed, when newly married, lived with their parents or parents-in-law, while consolidating their finances before acquiring their own land. Soula married Theo soon after she first arrived from Greece and the couple lived and worked on his parents' property near Berri, in the Riverland. After five years they were able to buy their own property, a forty-acre fruit block planted with fifteen acres of wine grapes and twenty-five acres of oranges. Fiona and Victor, her husband, lived with his parents near Loxton in the Riverland and worked in their vineyard for a couple of years, before they became eligible for a soldier settler grant and established themselves on their own block of land.

Establishing a vineyard is very labour intensive, as Fiona and Victor learned when they began ploughing their newly acquired soldier-settlement block in 1948, a few kilometres out of Loxton in the Riverland. They had no house on the site and insufficient funds to build, so at first they were billeted in Loxton, and while they worked hard to establish fifteen acres of citrus trees and vines, they had to travel each day to and from their block to prepare it for planting:

> I rode my push-bike over and I used to sit in the middle of this desolation and a truck would come out with the cuttings, you'd be issued with them. I used to trim all the roots on them and then I helped plant. We used to plant with water carts. We'd be issued with a big tank, square tank and the trucks would come along with water and fill those up and then we used to go along with the hose and put every one in separately … The watering was the hardest – we didn't have spray, we had flood irrigation, which was hard work and we had quite a bit of trouble with one section, because they made a mistake in the levelling and the furrows were set out on an angle and Victor couldn't get the water right through. So we had the added job, or I had the added job of – the grader would come along to fix up the furrows and all the vines would disappear and I'd walk behind him and hoe them all out and then he'd come back the other way and I'd go behind. I think I knew every vine by name, just about, in the end.

Mavis and Malcolm lived with his parents in the Riverland until they could afford to buy a fruit block of their own:

> We were living out with Malcolm's people, just out back at Barmera, for the first couple of years. Then dad and mum had a place down near here and she offered it to us, so we shifted down there. Then we put in for this land here and we got it ... There's twenty acres here and you could irrigate it from the lake. They had a channel done along here and that's what started it.

Mavis and Malcolm always regarded their vineyard, which was quite small, as a sideline in their family enterprise. In the 1940s, Mavis and her husband established a hauling business and they transported livestock in a thirty hundred-weight truck. Later they invested in a second truck and both earned income transporting livestock and grapes. They also did contract grape picking and pruning, until eventually they planted six acres of grape vines on their own property: 'We put them in later on after we got started and had a bit of money'.

Manual work in a family vineyard

The work in a family vineyard is very demanding. A vineyard of approximately ten to fifteen acres is generally considered the optimum size to support a small family. Andrea and Norman had a forty-acre property in the Barossa Valley but only a small portion of the land was planted with grapes.

As Andrea explained:

> We only have ten acres of vines because ten acres is all that one man can handle. We do harvesting, and everything else by hand. The vineyard has to be worked by him, which means we don't have to pay people to come here.

Andrea seems to be referring here to an idealised picture of the operation of a family vineyard by a solitary male vigneron. In view of the substantial contribution that Andrea made to the labour in her own vineyard while it was being established, this statement about the size of the vineyard being appropriate for 'one man' to work is unduly self-effacing. It has recently become even less relevant to the realities of her situation, since Norman's illness has drastically reduced his ability to participate in the manual labour of the vineyard, and, to compensate for his withdrawal, Andrea has undertaken increased management responsibilities and employed several workers in the vineyard. Some of her comments about the operation of the vineyard refer to the time, a few years ago, when it was being established and Norman worked consistently at manual labour on their site while she participated at specific times in intensive work such as planting, pruning and picking. In discussing the organisation of work in the last year or so, she seems reluctant to admit to herself that her husband is probably no longer able to take an active part in the enterprise, and that she is now, in effect, the vigneron.

Andrea was very well aware of the physical demands made on women who were involved in the wine industry as co-owners of vineyards, declaring, at another point in her interview, that to establish a vineyard a woman needs to be:

> Fit, physically fit! You have to have a passion for it because some of the job's pretty boring, but if you want to be there and you want to do it, then that's not a worry. I think that's the big one - you've got to have a passion for it.

In a similar vein, Mavis thought that a woman needed to be both energetic and humble to be successful in doing a job in the wine industry:

> Do it with all your might and treat men with respect. If they give you some thing or other to do tell them if you don't know how and ask them to show you. Then you go and have a go. That's what I always found - if I couldn't do it, a man would show me what to do, and they'd come and thank me for having a go after.

The maintenance of a small vineyard entails a considerable amount of manual labour and some of the women who worked hard to establish their vineyards now find that, as they grow older, the manual labour is too physically demanding for them. The vineyard Karen co-owns with her husband, Robert, consists of twenty-five hectares, which they planted in 1994, mainly with Shiraz, Chardonnay, and Cabernet. The first vintage was in 1998 and in her interview, five years later, she said that the work was still heavy and continuous. 'I'm finding this is getting too big for me', she remarked. Karen is nearing sixty and is hoping that a recent increase in the participation of her husband on the property will enable her to begin reducing her own involvement in vineyard work.

Similarly, Andrea, whose vineyard is in the Barossa Valley, has moved from the vineyard to work at her cellar door. Andrea is in her sixties and no longer feels able to do outdoor manual work. Although at the beginning, when the vineyard was being established, Andrea assisted in the labour of planting and cultivating the vines, she no longer works in the vineyard. But Linda, a younger woman, still works long hours in her family vineyard. Linda said that she had been brought up in the country on her parents'

dairy farm, but she had no previous experience of vine cultivation when she married and came to live on her husband's vineyard:

> I always said I was never going to marry a dairy farmer! So I married a vigneron instead and that was only because I knew what hours my dad put in. This is a tie too but you can still get away if you want to.

Family in vineyard labour

Although some jobs are considered to be, in effect, gender specific, and are allocated either to women or men, much of the work, particularly at busy times, is done by children in the family. Pruning, for instance, which requires strong hands, is usually done by men, and tying-on, which requires dexterity rather than strength, is usually carried out by women, while other work is often undertaken by both men and women, and in some cases even by the children. Linda remarked that 'When it comes to planting we all plant', and all available family members may also be involved at other busy times, such as vintage.

The tradition of full family involvement was particularly evident among the Germans families in the Barossa Valley. As may be seen in the Gramp family photograph, previously discussed in Chapter 5, all family members, including the children, worked in the vineyard or farm in busy seasons. Odette explained that her eldest sister worked on the farm until she 'went out looking after other people's families' as a housekeeper, and her other two sisters worked on their parents' property until they married. Odette, the youngest daughter, remained on the family farm and increasingly took on the household responsibilities. She began helping her mother with tasks such as milking when she was just five or six years old: 'I started before I went to school ... I was scared - if the cow would kick me that would be the end of that one.' By the time she was at school her parents were already elderly, her father was chronically ill with asthma and no longer able to perform heavy work. Odette's brothers managed the property and worked in the vineyard while her older sisters helped her mother with housework and chores in the home paddock, such as feeding fowls and collecting eggs.

Odette recalled working regularly in the family vineyard as a child:

> Before school after the pruners had been, we'd have to go out and pick up all the sticks and put them in the middle of the two rows always alternately, we'd put them in heaps, not like they do now. They sometimes just leave them under the rows, but we had to put the cuttings in little heaps and come school time we'd walk off to school ... when everything was pruned then my brother would go along with this old-fashioned burner. It had two wheels and was drawn by a horse and he would go along with a pitchfork and pick up the heap and put it up in the burner.

She said that hers had been a lonely childhood:

> I did go and call on some of my school friends and play with them, but somehow, I don't know, I was meant to be home. Because I was the last one in the family and they all had their work to do and didn't have time to even take an interest in my schoolwork. In that respect it was a lonely childhood ... looking after mum and dad.

Eventually Odette and her brother, who had inherited the farm, were left alone on the farm and in effect she took on the role of housewife, fulfilling the domestic duties as well as working in the home paddock and, on occasion, in the vineyard.

In Sandra's family, also of traditional German descent, collecting vine prunings and placing them in heaps for burning was a regular chore for her children:

> There were all these sticks lying around and the children used to have to help with that too, pick up the sticks and put them in heaps. Quite often they were out when it was wet and they used to lose their boots in the mud!

Frequently the tasks undertaken by children mirrored those of the adults. Odette, was expected to work hard, for long hours, on the family farm, following her mother's example. She was convinced that her mother made an essential contribution to the domestic and economic wellbeing of her family:

> Without her I don't think the farm would have progressed the way it did; she worked very hard and she didn't have the mods and cons - if she wanted to do the washing she had to carry the water from down the creek.

Linda, who although not of German descent herself, married into a traditional German family, spoke of the present-day work arrangements in her family. She explained that most of her children work in the vineyard, and that they conform to the same gender-based divisions of labour as the adults: 'the boys go out and help in the vineyard ... they prune'. Her daughter, who is now employed in a nearby town, 'used to go and tie-on'.

The tradition in the Barossa Valley of all family members participating in farm and vineyard work was shared by non-German families in the Riverland. Mavis declared that her children were accustomed to picking and pruning and other farm work on the family property in the 1950s and 60s:

> Yes, they used to come and help. We had to have them helping us, they used to come out and cart hay and chaff and pick grapes, everything you could think of ... we never hired people, we've been able to pick them all ourselves.

Moreover, in Mavis' household her children helped in some of the domestic tasks: 'My boy of fifteen, one boy among six girls - they used to help me cook.'

During her interview, Mavis, in the Riverland, emphasised the involvement by the children in farm and vineyard work, which was a family tradition. She was reared on a farm and claimed that on her parents' property, no distinction was made between men's and women's work. When asked whether there was any distinction between the work done by girls and boys she replied:

> **No, no way. At fourteen I was lumping those three-bushel bags a week. It used to make me grunt. Dad was a 16-stoner but it didn't do me no harm. I used to cart cocky chaff and hay. You had a go at everything in those times.**

Beyond the home paddock

A new vineyard does not produce income for several years after planting, as grape vines do not produce a good crop for at least three years. Some women worked on neighbouring properties or in a nearby town to supplement the family income. For Soula in the Riverland the means of earning money was contract work on local properties:

> It was very hard when I came here. I went straight into picking grapes ... I worked hard for everything I have. Nobody gave me one thing for nothing. I used to pick grapes, I used to pick peas, I used to pick oranges and worked every day.

Fiona also spent some of her time away from the block working for wages. 'We didn't have much behind us and we struggled for a while so I went and worked, and I kept the house'. Fiona also worked when she could on the block, while Victor worked there full time, and they used contract pickers to help him when necessary during vintage. Fiona declared that she found her working life very hard:

> It was long hours and even when I was working at the engineering firm quite often on a very hot day, quite often there'd be a phone call and I'd hear my boss say "Yes

> that'll be all right Victor". I'd think Oh no! It'd be too hot and the pickers would walk off and I'd have to go home and change into work clothes and go out in the middle of the day and pick grapes and that was very hard; I found that very difficult but we always had that hope. I can remember Victor always used to say - It'd be midnight and you'd be drenched and cold, and he'd say "Never mind, kid, when I'm fifty I'll retire and we'll have a permanent man" and I'd think – oh yes only another twenty years and you'll be fifty!

When Linda and her husband were establishing their vineyard in the Barossa Valley, she was employed in a nearby town, earning an income away from the farm, and she also managed the house and worked part-time in the vineyard. 'When I first got married I went out and worked in an office, but then after I had my children I never went back'. Instead, she began to work intensively in the vineyard, where she was able to arrange her hours to fit in with her child rearing and domestic tasks. She often laboured on the property in the evenings and at weekends, while continuing to carry out her domestic tasks.

The working days of a typical married couple struggling to establish a vineyard were long and hard, especially for the women. Andrea and Norman were middle-aged when they bought their property and although they had sufficient money to make the purchase, their life, as they worked to establish their vineyard, brought hardships and financial difficulties. To provide income until the grape vines gave a financial return, Norman did contract work on neighbouring farms in addition to tending his own vineyard, while Andrea worked in school canteens and also grew and marketed boysenberries.

Andrea's working life, like that of all my other interviewees who co-owned their family vineyards, was complex and varied. In contrast to the relatively straightforward outdoor work done by their husbands, the work customarily carried out by the women included domestic tasks and responsibilities that were both varied and demanding. In common with women in other industries in the rural sector, the women I interviewed were also expected to take part in the labour of the vineyard when needed, and, particularly in the early days of their marriage, most of them also worked for wages away from the farm. Significantly, while the women participated in the outdoor work, their husbands, with the notable exception of Mavis' husband, Malcolm, took almost no part in the domestic chores.

Manual work and social status

Of particular interest was Fiona's recollection of the difficulties she had, when working in the vineyard and in an office, 'trying to keep my hands presentable'. As a young woman working as a receptionist at a business in Loxton, one of the larger Riverland towns, Fiona felt the need to maintain good grooming and a conventionally feminine appearance. This concern for an appearance of gentility was evident also in statements made by some of the interviewees who had, a few years earlier, been members of the Australian Women's Land Army, working in Riverland vineyards.

The wish to preserve their femininity was evident, also, among the young married and single women, who worked in munitions factories during World War II, a concern that is reflected in advertisements and editorial references in the dominant women's magazine of the period, *The Australian Women's Weekly* (Tolley 2001).

Because of the manual work done there, the typical worker in a munitions factory, as in a vineyard, was generally assumed in the wider community, to be male. As we have seen, even a vineyard co-owner such as Andrea, herself an experienced vineyard worker and manager, refers to her husband as 'the vigneron' and says that 'the vineyard has to be worked by him'. No doubt, the conventional view of the family, in which the male was assumed to be the breadwinner, was a contributing factor in establishing this social norm. However, economic necessity over-rode the norms of employment in the labour shortages during wartime, just as the day-to-day economic realities of a small vineyard have always made the casual employment of women a regular and common-place, if not fully and openly recognised occurrence.

It seems likely that when my vineyard-owner interviewees were young they shared the ambivalence about the stereotypical notion of 'femininity' that can be detected in the narrative of the present-day young winemaker, Giulia. As pointed out earlier in the winery-workers section of this chapter, Giulia betrayed a lively concern for her appearance and work clothing and yet insisted that for a woman to be successful in the industry, it was inappropriate to be what she termed a 'high-maintenance' female, that is, one who is perpetually pre-occupied with her appearance, and must be immaculately presented and well dressed at all times. The work of wine making, she insisted, was dirty and arduous and the hours were long, requiring a high degree of dedication and tolerance of physical discomfort. Manual work in the vineyard was even more physically demanding and time-consuming.

Fiona's remark about her efforts to maintain an appearance of gentility, and similar recollections by some of the elderly interviewees who worked in vineyards in their youth, must be treated with some reserve. It may be that their attitudes **at the time** were less straightforward than they now appear to be. There are indications that several of the women who participated in my research consider themselves now to be located in the middle-class. This perception of status has been made possible, for instance, for Fiona and Jane, largely because they have sold their businesses and then retired.

The interviews took place in the participants' homes, so it was possible, in assessing the social status of each interviewee, to record observations about the room in which the interview took place. Otherwise, in all of the interviews an assessment could be made of certain aspects of the respondents' narratives. Often the stage of schooling reached and the interest shown in education was revealed. The respondent's manner of speaking was evident, including the quality of vocabulary, grammar and idiom used, and, in addition, the extent to which they were able to make coherent statements and relevant replies to questions.

The desire for middle class status is evident in the houses in which Fiona and Jane now live. Both houses contain many signifiers of status such as books, ornaments, electrical appliances, well cared-for furniture, and, in Jane's case, the results of her hobby of still-life painting. While Jane's manner of speech bears signs of an adequate secondary education, the use of words in Fiona's narrative is not consistent with this level of schooling. During their working lives, it might be surmised that the social status of these women was of little concern to them as they developed their family enterprise, working hard to establish it in their youth and

consolidate it in their maturity. Certainly while each woman fully accepted her domestic responsibilities, there is nothing in their narratives to suggest that either felt constrained by middle-class mores to confine her activities to the household and home paddock.

In contrast, former vineyard co-owner Mavis gave no sign of a desire for social mobility. Her house, which she proudly announced she had constructed herself with room divisions made from hessian, was still lacking in genteel refinements such as fly screens, pictures, books and ornaments and had few visible amenities such as kitchen cupboards, or electrical appliances. Moreover, she did not mention social activities, such as entertaining friends in her home. In addition, there were indications in Mavis' manner of speech, as well as in the descriptions of her childhood, that she had not gone far beyond a primary school level of education. It is, therefore, not surprising that Mavis showed few social constraints in pursuing the activities of her choice in her working life.

The interview with Linda took place in her kitchen, which was well appointed and clean, with up-to-date cupboards and bench tops, on which several electrical appliances could be seen. While the general appearance of the house was consistent with middle-class status, I am not aware that, in her narrative, Linda showed any interest in her social position, nor did she seem particular concerned about her appearance. The family property is now fully developed and productive, but while their position as landowners and primary-industry producers has the potential to situate them in the rural middle class, their very full working lives make considerations of class largely irrelevant. Linda's husband spends his long days in manual work on the property and she divides her waking hours between her full commitment as a vineyard labourer and her other demanding occupation as mother and housewife. Her work outside the home paddock is expected and fully condoned by her husband, and its acceptability in the general community is not an issue for the couple. The social legitimacy of her vineyard work is either assumed or ignored completely.

Whether or not they expressed middle-class aspirations in their narratives, the women's descriptions of their work in the vineyard, customarily involving outdoor manual labour, seem to equate with the lives of urban working-class women. This inconsistency of attitude, as well as their apparent hesitancy to acknowledge their own achievements and importance in their family business, parallels the lack of public recognition of women's contributions to the industry.

Organisational responsibilities

The responsibility for organising different aspects of the family grape-growing enterprise was often sometimes allocated to the male or female. Karen informed me in her interview, that some organising tasks are shared, while others are allocated to her or to Robert. The decision about when to harvest, for instance, was usually made by Robert, while it was left to Karen to organise the team of pickers. Grapes from their vineyard on Kangaroo Island are processed at a winery in McLaren Vale and Robert took on the responsibility of co-ordinating the picking with the

transport of the grapes to the ferry, in time to be shipped to the mainland, so that they would not spend so long in transit that they spoiled. As Karen explained:

> You pick, and then try and get the berries on the boat as fast as you can and into the crusher as soon as you can. You don't want the load sitting in the heat. Normally at that time of the year, in the summer, there's often a 5 o'clock boat in the morning shuttling back and forth to the mainland. So you try and get it on the early morning boat. So it sits waiting to be loaded overnight, when it's not too hot, so the fruit stays cool. And then it's on the first boat and hopefully up at the winery when they get going that morning.

Karen referred to some of the other complexities of the processes involved in getting the grapes from the vines to the winery:

> The whole process of getting the bins from the mainland, getting them over here, making sure they're washed and cleaned and the same thing in getting them back to the winery, they want to make sure that they come back clean. They leave us classified as disease-free, but we don't want any of theirs, so it is a whole process of co-ordination.

Although her husband was responsible for organising the transport of the grapes and

related matters, it was clear that Karen had a thorough understanding of the difficulties entailed, and no doubt had considerable involvement herself in co-ordinating these procedures.

On the other hand, the organising of pickers has become her responsibility. As she explained, the enlistment of pickers has its difficulties:

> What we've done in the past is organise sporting groups or charitable organisations and they organise their groups on the day and you change your mind about three times and they get a bit stroppy. You say, 'Next Sunday will be the day', and of course bad weather comes in and it's cold and they don't get the group made up. It's got to be on the weekend and that time of the year it's tennis and cricket finals so we've got a bit of competition. Of course they all want to go and play sport because it's very sport orientated, most country towns are.

Payment is given to the social and sporting organisations for the grape picking carried out by the casual workers they provide, while the pickers themselves work for the benefit of their club. This arrangement causes some tensions between vineyard owners and workers:

> They're just doing some volunteer work and that's always a problem and you're getting anxious and they're there to have a bit of a play. At the end you do have a barbecue and they all want to be there at the end, but quite a few of them don't want to be there at the beginning.

Karen admitted that, after a promising beginning with their vineyard's first harvest in 1998, getting people to pick had become increasingly difficult in recent years:

> Originally it was fun, everybody enjoyed it and they all got money for their organisations. We were going through the real recession if you remember and it was really tough and everybody was really short on money. All the community organisations were desperate for money. But now they're all getting a bit tired.

Karen said while for the first time in 2002 they had begun machine picking the Shiraz grapes, which were on the biggest vines and occupied most of the vineyard, the smaller planting of Chardonnay vines is still hand picked, as are the Cabernet grapes, which are the youngest in the vineyard. Fortunately, as she put it, 'My little organisations they need some money.' She also supervises the picking, which is done at weekends, sometimes with the involvement of her husband. Karen said that to help solve the problems associated with picking grapes there has been a regular exchange of labour among vineyard owners:

> We all go and help each other pick because we all know the others are probably struggling for pickers just the same as we are so if I go up and help Virginia I know she'll come and help here.

Karen explained that this mutual assistance by the growers is facilitated by variations in the date of picking, which depend on the varieties of grapes, as well as on differences in the microclimates, from vineyard to vineyard, according to their location on the island.

Work allocation based on family custom and gender

In a small family vineyard the demarcation of male and female roles often tends to become blurred. The isolation and the small population of Kangaroo Island, as well as its distance from the mainland and the resulting expense of transport, contribute significantly to this tendency. The procedures of harvesting and transporting the fruit have a particular urgency on the island, demanding the attention of both the male and female partners. The difficulties of finding sufficient casual workers who are willing to commit to the task of picking the grapes, exacerbate the problems

entailed in getting the grapes into the trucks and onto the ferry quickly, so that they can be transported to a winery on the mainland for processing before they begin to spoil.

Distinctions can be discerned in the types of tasks performed by the women in their vineyards. The traditional gender division of labour, which supposedly relegated middle-class women to domestic tasks located within their home paddocks, did not preclude these women from working, at least at some of the tasks, in the family vineyard. Linda, who married into a third generation German family in the Barossa Valley, works every day in the family vineyard. 'It's just probably tradition, 'she said. 'My mother-in-law did it so I am probably in a way expected to do it as well'. Clearly family custom partly dictated the tasks that should be performed by women.

In general, however, the established categories of work in which rural housewives engaged were principally determined by gender. Linda made it clear that in her family vineyard the men perform the most demanding physical tasks. Similarly, it was customary in the family vineyard of Odette, another woman I interviewed, for men to carry out tasks that involved heavy physical labour. Odette remembered her father before he became disabled by asthma: 'He was just the pick and shovel man if I can call it that - a hard-working man'.

When Odette and her youngest brother were left to manage their farm and vineyard together in the Barossa Valley, after the rest of her family had died or moved elsewhere, there was a clear delineation of the male and female responsibilities in many areas of the work. She said that she continued to carry out her duties in the household and the home paddock, and 'I was still out there in the vineyard and ... I helped with the milking in general'. A machine-milking system had been installed and a new dairy built about three years before Odette's mother died. The size of the herd was increased and milk was sold. At this point Odette's brother took over the milking, with Odette 'helping' him.

This assumption by the male of control of a production process when it became mechanised and developed into a marketable product has been noted in a range of rural industries in a number of countries. Unlike the other interviewees who live on vineyard properties, such as Andrea and Karen, Odette does not speak of sharing the management of the family property. Her position in the family hierarchy had been established at an early age. She was the youngest of the children and was, she felt, expected to remain on the property, unmarried and fully involved as housekeeper to her parents and later to her brother, who remained single after separating from his wife. Odette was also expected to participate in vineyard labour when required.

The interviews reveal differences, however, in the types of work in which some of the other women were engaged. Andrea declared that in their enterprise Norman had formerly been responsible for the management of the vineyard and also for doing much of the labouring and technical work with seasonal assistance from casual employees. The work that Andrea does at the cellar door is also physically demanding:

> It is heavy work at times, lifting boxes of wine and lifting bottles out of crates. You have to think a bit more about how you lift, and use a trolley more, and how you get bottles into crates ... making sure that you don't do too much heavy work and think about how you do it, whereas a man just goes straight ahead. You're dealing with glass and you're also thinking of your own body. I can't hurt myself because I've got to be here every day. So that's in the back of your mind all the time. You don't get into a situation where you can roll a barrel on yourself, because if you break a leg you're in trouble. So I think for me there's got to be a little more thinking about the heavier things that you do.

Andrea made it clear that women are able to do heavy physical work that might normally be considered more suitable for men provided they go about it differently, with more caution and with due regard for their own body.

While Andrea's area of responsibility at the cellar door routinely involved hands-on work, it also comprised frequent interaction with visitors and customers. It is significant, also that her previous employment was the management of school canteens. The work that was allocated to her in the family enterprise, as well as her manner of speech and the relative sophistication of her comments, are among the factors that suggest that Andrea had the attitudes and status of the middle class. This status has been enhanced by her assumption of much of the management of the enterprise since the onset of Norman's illness.

Karen has assumed a great deal of responsibility for the maintenance of her family vineyard on Kangaroo Island. She works there full-time, but she still thinks of herself as a subsidiary to her husband, supporting his dream of being a vineyard owner:

> Well I think you could currently say that I'm the dogsbody! Pruning, you can see my hands, the training of vines. I do the under-vine spraying and some of the mowing – so, manual labour.

She explained that 'Robert always had this little fantasy of going into grapes'. They had considered buying a vineyard on the mainland, in the Clare Valley, but decided instead to buy land on the Island and plant grapes there. However, Robert now works during the week at his full-time job in the nearby town, while Karen has the day-to-day duties and responsibilities in the vineyard. This includes the heavy work of pruning the vines, a task that in other vineyards, such as the Barossa Valley property co-owned by Linda, is undertaken only by men. Asked what factors affect her role in the vineyard, Karen replied:

> The weather ... I've spent a lot of time out in the wind and rain this winter, and I'm getting a bit tired of it at the moment. The time factor, also, I think, because it's been that I'm not quick enough any more. You look at these vines to prune so that it gets a bit daunting, just the magnitude of it.

Several of the women who co-own vineyards seem reluctant to admit to their own importance in the family enterprise. Andrea said that she had a substantial input into the management of the vineyard and such matters as the organisation of pickers:

> We share. I'll make some phone calls and Norman will make some phone calls. He will do the timing like testing the grapes and saying, "We're going to do it next week" and that sort of thing, and I just follow on with all the little bits and pieces.

Because of Norman's ill-health, she has recently taken on more of the management responsibilities of the business. But in spite of the increasingly important part Andrea takes in the family enterprise, in her use of phrases such as 'I just follow on'

she seems to insist that the crucial decisions, such as the timing of the harvest, are properly made by her husband.

Andrea admitted that her husband had been the instigator in the couple's decision to buy their property and establish their own vineyard: 'This was always Norman's dream and he always wanted to do it and when his health failed and he had to leave the job we decided this is what we would do. He said, "Hey, if I don't give it a go I'll be sorry later"'. The vineyard was registered in Andrea's name as manager and licensee:

> So he put it in my name and I still say it's blackmail! I agreed with him that if he wanted to do it he should try and so that's what we've done. But that doesn't mean that I'm the brains of the situation!

While acknowledging her responsibility for the cellar door, she is evidently reluctant to admit that, in effect, she is currently the major decision-maker vineyard and, in her present circumstances she would be unwilling to accept the title of vigneron. Similarly, Linda evidently thinks of herself as being only a 'helper' in the vineyard, although she does admit to sharing many of the business decisions and to 'looking after the books', that is, doing the day-to-day accounting for the enterprise. The fact that, unlike her husband, Linda does not spend the whole of her working hours in the vineyard seems to re-enforce her sense of being subsidiary to her husband.

The notion of 'helping' permeates the narratives of the interviewees. A woman who 'helps' in an activity accepts directions and does not take responsibility for the outcomes. At the same time, the 'helper' cannot be considered the instigator, planner or manager of the activity: if the activity in which she helps is growing grapes, she is not the *vintner*. In this context, Odette said that Sophie, the sister nearest to her in age, worked in the house and home paddock: 'she used to help with milking but she didn't help out in the vineyard, not out in the field like I did with the seeding, driving the tractor'. There is an implication that Odette saw her future as inextricably involved with the farm, with the maintenance of the household and home paddock. She also expected to participate in additional seasonal work in the property at large. In spite of this commitment to work in the vineyard and farm, however, she invariably speaks in terms of helping. She speaks disparagingly about some of her own efforts:

> I wouldn't drive that tractor straight and when the seed germinated and you could see the
> crop coming through in crooked rows and then the corners were not well done and I used to get told off. I just felt I'd like to pull that crop out and go and do it again!

Clearly, like other farming women and in terms used by many of the women I interviewed, Odette thought of herself as the farmer's assistant, rather than a farmer.

Linda says of her routine in the vineyard, 'I just regard it as a full-time job'. Although it takes her well outside the limits of her home paddock, her labours are made necessary and acceptable by economic factors: 'Instead of me going and working for someone else I'm working in our family business and if I didn't do it, we'd have to employ more people to do it.' It is significant that although Linda's work in the extended home paddock involves long hours of demanding labour, she continues to be responsible for all the household duties. This story of an unequal division of labour, allocated by gender between husband and wife, was echoed by

most of my other interviewees, with the notable exception of Mavis, who evidently achieved an enviable degree of equality with her husband.

Working relationships

Sexual discrimination

According to Karen, the small number of the vineyards on Kangaroo Island has had the effect of reducing gender segregation and minimising sexual discrimination in the industry. Asked if she felt the need for a grape-grower women's group, she replied:

> There's not enough of us over here. I imagine on the mainland it might be different because you've got more people, but over here, no. The women here, it just seems to be a very cohesive group. You don't feel the guys are - they don't seem to put women down anyway. They seem to respect your position and appreciate any contribution you have. It's not a boys club ... You go to some organisations and basically you're there to make coffee and pour the drinks, but it's not like that at all [in this industry] ... I think it's all very much a partnership thing, they're all seen as equal ... they've all got a role in the organisation.

Gender inequality and tension

Linda implied in her interview that the management policy is in male hands, as well as most of the day-to-day practical decisions made in the vineyard. The men also carry out particular tasks such as ploughing and watering:

> Once the picking is finished by the women, that's when the guys get in and they work the vineyard and put in the cover crop. So once that's done then we start the pruning side of it. After the planting's finished, the men go through and put in the posts and the dripper wires, where they water from, and then they put the wire on the top as well. The men look after the watering. We do a lot of machine picking, because we've got our own machine, and there we employ another three guys to help us with that.

While Andrea did not claim equal status with Norman in her own family vineyard, she was perhaps unconsciously reflecting her recently-enhanced responsibilities in the family enterprise, resulting from her husband's illness, when she claimed early in her interview that women have an equal status with men in the wine industry. Nevertheless, a little later she began recounting difficulties and conflicts that can arise when decisions are being made about the production of wine from her vineyard:

> In theory we work together. But wine makers are a little like chefs - you have a small say and the wine maker has a big say. That's why we like our customers to be open and honest and criticise the wine, so we can take back to Peter [the wine maker] what the people are saying about the wine. We have our own ideas of what we think of the wine, and Peter has his ideas of what he thinks of the wine. But we want the ideas of the public.

It appears from this description that, far from being able to interact freely with the wine maker in the co-operative mode she preferred, Andrea, who now has the main management responsibility for the vineyard, often finds herself relying on tact and persistence to induce him to recognise her views and the opinions of the customers. She said that Peter had been less resistant to accepting her husband Norman's judgement.

Gender conflict

Andrea said that conflict had occasionally arisen between herself and her husband in the management of their vineyard:

> Yes, and sometimes it's just simple things, like once you open a cellar door and you advertise your times, then I feel you must stick to that. And sometimes Norman has an idea that it's four pm and there's no-one around, so why can't we close up, even though you've advertised you're open 'til five pm, and my idea is, regardless, you must be here. Which I know is time consuming, and if you have to employ someone it's costly. But you have to think of the customer, who's come perhaps a long distance, and they know your times, and they want you to be here. Norman believes that too, but sometimes it's easier to close the door than to stay! It is a tie where there's just two of you.

Managing the cellar door involves direct day- to-day contact with the public and Andrea recognises the importance of providing an opportunity for their input. Moreover, she has a strong commitment to customer service and is reluctant to provide less than the advertised public-access hours by closing early. Norman has much less contact with the public and is inclined to undervalue Andrea's contribution.

Mavis claimed that she never had difficulty working in a male-dominated environment: 'I never seemed to notice it because I used to do the same as they did'. From her account she was always popular with men:

> Everyone's treated me marvellous, I had a happy-go-lucky attitude, and I always had a bit of a joke to tell them and they'd get to know you ... No I can't growl about the men to work with, you do your share and they'll do theirs and help you with anything. I just don't understand why women are so "offish" these days, they don't seem to want to work in with the men, not the heavy work. Of course it didn't do me any harm, did it.

It can be noted, however, that from her descriptions Mavis related to men on their terms rather than on hers. Like the wine makers Giulia, from the Riverland and Winni in the Barossa Valley, Mavis was able to get on well with the men in her work places by adjusting her demeanour and behaviour to the male mores: 'Of course they gave me some cheek and me being used to working with men, I'd have an answer for them. I got treated wonderful with the men.' Mavis credited her ability to get on with men to the advice and example of her mother: 'I've worked with the men all my life and they've been marvellous. Mum always said to treat a man with respect and he'll do the same.' Similarly, she explained that her husband learnt to cook and do housework 'from his mum. They were like us, a big family so they had to do a certain amount of the housework.'

Gender conflict and farm machinery

Operating farm machinery, and driving farm vehicles, in particular tractors, has become for some rural women a symbol of female independence and equality. Sandra, who previously co-owned a vineyard in the Barossa Valley, recalled that her tasks included driving the tractor while her husband used an implement known as a dodge to hoe the weeds and grass:

> I drove the tractor when my husband used to dodge. He had a dodge on a sort of a big sleigh and he'd dodge in between all the vines - they don't do that either anymore. Dodging means they dodge all the grass and everything around the vines. You used to go on one side of the vine and then come down the other row and do that and now they spray under the vines to get rid of the weeds.

Driving tractors is still considered a male prerogative in Linda's family vineyard. While admitting that getting access to tractors has become a matter of contention for some women, she denied that it is an issue for herself, having made a conscious decision not to drive tractors although she did drive other farm vehicles such as

trucks and harvesters. Asked if she ever felt that there has been any kind of discrimination, just because she was female, she replied:

> I don't because I'm quite happy with what I do out there. I don't really want to know about the tractor work and that side of it. There probably are ladies out there who do that side of it as well but for myself I don't think, no.

Linda went on to suggest that she not only knew of women who drove tractors but had also met some women who had their own vineyards, doing all the work entailed in running the enterprise:

> Well, there are ladies that go out and help with harvesting and driving the tractors ... doing the pruning, trellising and putting in the dripper lines and stuff like that. I guess if you want to do it you'd be quite capable of doing a lot of it. I know one lady who's running her own vineyard and there are two or three, and there might even be more, who are actually probably looking after their vineyards maybe a bit more than what their husbands do. I know one lady who is running it by herself.

Driving trucks, like operating tractors or farm machinery, could be considered a source of self-esteem for some rural women. A special licence is required for on-road driving of trucks, and this implies a course of instruction and examination by males, which may tend to be discouraging and even intimidating for women. On the other hand driving a light truck is evidently not particularly difficult and does not require physical strength. Farm children may often be seen driving trucks, and, in fact Mavis began driving one on her parents' property when she was fourteen. She was very proud of her driving ability at such a young age:

> Yes. I had to cross the main highway on the farm. I was picking up cocky chaff and hay and wheat and there was no-one going by because I never had a licence to go on the road but on private property in those times you were allowed to drive. I carted wood at sixteen, twenty miles to the pumping station here every day of the week.

Mavis was a co-owner of her family block and vineyard and she was also co-proprietor of the family trucking business, which she had started and in which most of her time was spent:

> I loved my trucking, getting out with the men, giving them cheek and getting away with it! Yes, I've trucked most of my life, from fourteen on. We did mostly stock carting, grapes was only one part of the year.

The question of using machinery and vehicles seemed to evoke some discriminatory attitudes in Karen's husband. Karen was brought up on a mainland farm and drove tractors as a child. However, when a new tractor was purchased for the vineyard, there were restrictions imposed on her:

> This is where you do get a bit of discrimination. We got a new tractor and I was allowed to drive it forward [but not backward] ... One of the girls said, "You won't believe, but we've got a new tractor." I looked at Robert and said, "She's allowed to - " So the next day we were out there and I had the whole hydraulics shown to me and I was allowed to take it up and down and backwards and since then I've done lots of things with it. Originally that was *his* tractor, he all but loved it.

Friction between Karen and Robert also occurred one day when she got the car bogged and had to phone Robert for help. On this occasion, however, I suspect that the situation was further complicated by the fact that whereas she would normally be working in the vineyard, the mishap occurred several kilometres from their property:

> Just recently I managed to bog the ute when it slipped into a rut. So I rang Robert to come and help me pull it out. He said, “I bet you weren’t in four-wheel drive, were you? I bet you revved the guts out of it and dug a hole.” He was at work and it took him six hours to get there. Then he came out in the tractor, and bogged the tractor.

As might be expected, this incident still seemed to afford Karen much amusement.

Soula, another interviewee from the Riverland, claimed with pride that she frequently drove a truck to deliver grapes to distilleries and wineries: 'All the Australian men used to say, "There she comes the beautiful Greek girl!" They'd never seen a woman drive a truck and bring the grapes to the distillery'. Soula said that it did not seem strange to her to be doing what was considered a man's job, but 'for them it was because no other woman drove a truck. I used to go with the grapes three times a day.' Soula was obviously very proud of being able to do a job that she thought no other woman did, while still considering herself beautiful and feminine and able to command the attention of men. When she arrived in Australia she was only twenty-one:

> I learned to drive a tractor and a car after being three months in Australia. I was only a young girl but I loved to drive the tractor and the truck because if I picked grapes it was too hot for me. The truck was much better for me.

The temperatures in the Riverland can soar above 40 º C for day after day in summer, making outdoor manual work of any kind highly unpleasant, but on very hot days the wind can also be stifling as it blows on the driver’s face in a truck without air-conditioning. Clearly Soula preferred driving a truck to picking grapes because it was not unusual to be a female picker, whereas she received gratifying male attention as one of the few women truck drivers in the district.

Departures from the norm of gendered labour

In her narrative, the incidents and examples Mavis recounts from her youth as well as from her married years as a property-owner herself, all seem to bear out her contention that there was real equality of labour and opportunity in both the family environment in which she grew up and in her own family as n adult. At the same time, she seemed well aware that her experiences, such as loading and transporting animals and delivering grapes to the wineries, were not typical for women especially in the era in which she worked:

> ***Well I never noticed it that much but when I first started they seemed to think it was a bit much for a woman. They wanted to know how I managed it and I said it was just normal work, you keep your eyes open, you watch what the men do so you do the same.***

The gender-based differentiation of tasks, which was evidently assumed to be the norm in most of the vineyards owned by the women I interviewed, was all but absent from the task allocations in the enterprises owned by Mavis and her husband, Malcolm. Mavis declared that in her childhood on the farm owned by her parents, little distinction was made between men's and women's work. She also stated that during her own marriage there was a similar lack of differentiation between her responsibilities and those of her husband:

> We used to go out pruning especially when we was married. Malcolm and I used to go down here to the neighbours with contract pruning. When they brought out these electric pickers - the others were hand snips - then I was a little bit scared to use it. But my husband said you'd be okay as long as you were careful and kept your wits about you. I never had any trouble and never looked like cutting myself with them but it was twice as quick and easy.

Mavis shared the picking and pruning in their own vineyard. In fact, she recalled that one season about ten years ago she took on the whole responsibility for pruning their vines: 'He went away for a holiday one time and I did all the pruning here, finished it the day before he came home, he was away for a month.' While Mavis participated in the farm labour, Malcolm reciprocated by sharing several of the domestic tasks, including looking after the children. 'That's why I've got on so well with my husband, he helps in the house as well as I do outside'. Mavis retained overall responsibility for the care and nurture of her seven children even when she was working out of doors: 'I used to have the kiddies with me playing around in the vines while we were pruning or picking'. But Malcolm would help in their supervision and care:

> After loading grapes we used to take them in the trucks with us. Malcolm would take half with him and I'd take half and I'd say, "We'll soon be done". They'd say, "No, we're all right mum". They were out playing in the dirt so when we got home sometimes 2 o'clock in the morning, Murray would wash the kids and put them to bed. I'd go out and milk a cow.

The interchange of male and female responsibilities that is so conspicuous in Mavis' account of her working life, amounted to quite a radical departure from the normal divisions of rural labour. However, although overall quite an extraordinary achievement for the era, the arrangements devised by Mavis and Malcolm in their working lives were not completely unique in detail. While the various jobs in family vineyards are usually separated into those considered men's work and those deemed to be women's work, there are some occasions when the gender differentiation is waived. The women I interviewed often reported that on occasion, if not regularly, they were able to carry out tasks that were normally performed by men.

Although their roles were usually differentiated, there were occasions when Sandra assisted her husband in his work, or took over from him. She recalled in her interview that she had often been involved in the disposal of off-cuts from pruning, by pitchforking the cuttings into the burner, a task that was normally deemed to be his responsibility, presumably because it involved one of the farm machines:

> We had a tractor. It pulled this burner. At the back it had two wheels and it had slits on the side so the breeze used to go through and we'd burn all the cuttings ... my husband was sick one time so a neighbour up here, myself and one of the lads could drive tractors in the vineyards (they were only young but they could drive tractors) and we used to throw the cuttings in the burner.

Odette began using farm machinery as a young girl:

> I would have been about fourteen - that was a big monster of a tractor; my feet wouldn't reach down to the clutch. And you couldn't adjust that seat in those days. But I liked outside work and I liked driving - oh yes ...And then harvest time I'd be driving the tractor again cutting hay and stooking putting up sheaves in all nice shaped stooks.

Asked if she felt out of place doing what was generally considered men's work, she admitted:

> I think I might have been an odd one there. There were a few other scattered ones that used to help out on the farm like that. Like when I think of my cousins, that was my dad's youngest brother and he only had three girls in the family and they had a huge property and all they had was agricultural land. Of course all the girls had to help; they had to work very hard - turning the winnower when at harvest

> the stripper would come in and you'd have to separate the grain and the chaff and you had to turn this winnower. But there would have been a few round here too who had to help.

Odette said that she sometimes felt self-conscious about working with the large farm machines: 'I did somehow because I thought "how many other women are doing this?" If they'd seen me they must think I'm a real tomboy'. She went on to tell a self-deprecating story:

> There was one very funny experience I had - after it had been seeded we always had to go along with the harrows afterwards and there I was out in the paddock by myself, my big brother, he was looking after his customers serving fodder and that and I was going around merrily around this big forty-acre paddock, and from up that rise up there he saw the harrows had come unhitched, and were left on the other side of the paddock.

While Odette's varied contributions to the farm economy were quite evidently of considerable importance, and often conducted without her brother's supervision, she saw herself in a subsidiary role. She revered her brother, who was not only male and her elder, but had become the accredited farmer in the family. She frequently referred to herself as his helper. In carrying out her farm duties she seemed to see herself as having male characteristics, being something of a tomboy, somehow resembling a lesser male.

In their household and home paddock the women I interviewed carried out very similar duties to those of other rural women. These domestic tasks were, after all, traditionally designated responsibilities of married women whether living in the urban or rural sector. However, when they ventured outside the home paddock, for work or other purposes, they engaged in activities that were individually chosen or determined. No matter how worthy of social approval these activities might be, they were outside the normative boundaries of their society. Hearing the narratives of these women the listener might well assume that they were characterised more by diversity than conformity to social mores.

Contributions and strengths

Several of the interviewees made a strong claim that women bring particular skills and aptitude to the various kinds of work in the grape-growing, wine-production and wine-marketing sections of the industry. As pointed out earlier in the section of this Interview chapter dealing with workers in wineries, Winnie and others claimed that women brought particular aptitudes to their professional work. This theme was also expounded by co-owners of vineyards.

Having began her narrative with a clear affirmation of women's equal status with men, Andrea remarked that:

> There's been some very, very good wine makers and I think in the cellar door we outpace the men. I think we have a better reaction with people. Yes, I think we have a better rapport.

However, what she really seemed to be showing here was, not so much that women are equal to men in the workplace, but that they been able to make significant contributions in particular sections of the wine industry. Further into her interview, as has been noted, she revealed some awareness of gender inequality in her family vineyard as well as in the industry as a whole. In view of her evident reservations

about women's status, it might be assumed that the achievements of women have been made in spite of residual inequalities.

One of the main characteristics shown by women who work in vineyards and farms is the ability and willingness to work very hard. This is evident in Odette's description of the work involved in preparing cow feed:

> We had to dry feed the cows in the wintertime. There wasn't enough out there and they needed it, even in the summer time, too, when there wasn't much dry feed out there. That was always Saturday afternoon's job. The sheaves that were all nicely piled up in the big shed - we had to dry feed the cows up where they were being milked, so we took the sheaves from here and took them up to the area where the chaff-cutter is. It's still there. It's a special machine where I had to pick up the sheaf from the ground, put it up on the table, cut the string and wash it down so it went into a chute. And then it would be cut up by the knives, about three knives on that, and then that would go up an elevator, and it would land down in a special place where the chaff would be kept.

To survive the rigours of farm life as depicted in the narratives of the interviewees, women needed to be well endowed with patience, not to say stoicism. Linda said that a positive attitude is essential for a women working in a vineyard:

> I think if they're going to come home and work on the land they've got to be prepared to put up with what weather you get. You've got to go out when it's hot and you've got to go out when it's raining. I really couldn't imagine myself going out and doing another job because I've probably done it for so long and like I said I really enjoy training young vines.

Women's manual dexterity

It became clear in my study that the interviewees believe women have particular aptitudes and skills that enable them to perform especially well at certain specialised tasks, particularly those requiring manual dexterity rather than strength. In their interviews several respondents, including Linda and Odette, confirmed that tasks requiring manual skill, including grape-picking, as well as the tying-on of rods, were considered particularly suited to women, who seemed more careful and patient as well as more dexterous.

Andrea claimed that women offer particular strengths and abilities and are now indispensable in the industry:

> As far as women in the industry go, I don't think the guys could get on without us! I think we compliment each other. When you call into different wineries ... from some of the talk that you hear, you gather that even though the wife may not be a wine maker, she still contributes and has a say in what happens. That's my theory - especially if it's a small situation.

Thinking back to her youthful days as a grape picker, Mavis declared that women seemed to have a particular aptitude for this work:

> I still think to this day that women were quicker. Our hands seem to go better at picking grapes then men. They were usually better pickers, you would get more done in a row than what a man would. I think the hands are more flexible, that's why we always reckon they were better. Of course they couldn't do the carting and the lifting so you had to count both that way. Most of the women were better than the men for the picking part.

In Linda's family vineyard, the division of labour is quite distinct. She identified particular tasks in her family vineyard that are assigned to men or to women:

> The men won't tie-on; the men won't train the young vines. They're busy pruning, and you need strong hands for that. Tying-on is probably a job that they just

> wouldn't want to do. I don't know, I guess they've never done it ... there's probably ladies that prune as well as tie-on and there may be men that tie-on too, but in our family they don't do it.

Linda explained that 'tying-on' is done after pruning, and requires care and a delicate touch. Every vine is cut back to leave four to six long shoots or branches, called 'rods', and these are tied onto the wires in the expectation that they will shoot, grow longer and bear fruit.

Linda said that her particular responsibilities are 'tying-on, training the young vines, and picking, which takes about ten months of the year'. She said that she likes training vines:

> Although it gets a bit monotonous, it's just that great feeling to see those vines go from this little small thing, up and onto the wire. We trained them up and we got them onto that wire.

Linda said that when the vines are first planted they look like sticks, with perhaps a few little green shoots. After a while:

> It's just nice to see them when they keep growing and sprawl out and then they cut them back so we leave them grow for one year. The second year we go and train them up.

Clearly this is akin to the nurturing of children, and as such, it is task considered particularly suitable for women.

Odette, spoke in her interview of the tying-on she did when she was younger and worked in the family vineyard. She recalled how much care was required because the rods were so fragile: 'One would break off and that meant less bunches of grapes, didn't it!' She learnt by observation and experience how to carry out the work in different weather conditions and decided 'never to go out on a frosty morning because the rods are very crisp. Go out in the rain and you'd hardly ever snap them.'

Sandra, who, co-owned, a property purchased in the 1930s in the Barossa Valley, explained how she and her husband carried out separate roles while working as a team in their vineyard: 'My husband did the pruning and that, and I did the pulling-off. And then later on when he tightened the wires, then I had to tie them back on for the next year.' Pruning is a physically demanding and tiring job and therefore in most families it is considered appropriate for men to do, while pulling-off is a task that is often given to children, because it is not very difficult and has no direct effect on the vines or the crop. Tying-on is usually allocated to women, because it is an exacting task and one that requires dexterity rather than physical effort.

Women's increased participation

Traditionally the wine industry has been dominated by males, particularly in the wine-producing companies, in which, at least until recent years, there has always been a male-oriented culture. Since the days of early settlement women have been active in small vineyards, taking subsidiary roles and usually working with little or no recognition and without pay. Women have also acted as casual labourers, working for wages in vineyards owned by others. While jobs for women have been lost in the larger vineyards, the number of new family vineyards has sharply increased in recent years. As a result it may be observed, and it is confirmed by the interviewees, that many women are still occupied in family vineyards.

The concentration of women in different parts of the wine industry appears to be changing. The number of women employed in casual jobs may well have declined: unfortunately statistical verification is not readily available from institutions such as the Australian Board of Statistics or the various wine industry boards. In general, however, the indications are that women continue to make a substantial economic contribution to the industry with their labour and expertise and their involvement appears to be increasing overall.

Reporting her observations of employment for women workers in vineyard, Andrea said:

> There are some people who only pick, only prune and some go through right through the whole gamut of vineyard work. They train vines, they plant vines, they bud vines. Most of the contractors have teams that just do those basic main things.

She explained that the workers in her vineyards are all casuals:

> Most people just want to do the picking and pruning because they like the outside work. But of course you can set up your own teams yourself and you can be in charge of the teams. And they do graduate to that.

Asked what proportion are women, she said that:

> With pickers it would be fifty-fifty and we try to always use local people so they don't have to travel far, and they prefer that too ... With pruners it is more weighted on the male side ... In my imagination it's the strength of hand.

Speaking generally about women working in the wine industry, and referring in particular to wineries, Linda affirmed that wine making was by tradition considered men's work: 'I think it was always a male thing but women have decided to get in there and do it as well now'. Asked whether she thought there were more women active in the wine industry at present than in earlier times, Linda said, 'I think there's more probably in the winery side of it than there was ten years ago.' Linda said that in the Barossa Valley there had always been women working in family vineyards 'like I do, otherwise we'd have to employ people to do it'. She also declared that increasing numbers of women are working on other people's properties for wages, and suggested that this may reflect women's efforts to achieve gender equality.

While Linda is aware that the employment of women in family vineyards had a long history, she said she was not sure that it would continue into the future:

> I don't know whether you'll find as many wives working in the vineyard because probably if you're not born and bred there it's easier for them to go out and get an easier job away from the vineyard.

The wine companies, however, have provided increasing opportunities of employment for women. Linda speculated that the entry of women to wine-making careers was a result of broader social changes:

> When you think about eight years ago, the wife stayed at home and the husband went out and worked, so whether it's from that and because society's changing so much that more women are getting into it.

Here Linda seems to be unconsciously equating wine making, which is not done in her family, with middle-class social status. The concept of domestic life that she expresses is rather conventional, even stereotypical, and seems more in keeping with the employment, behaviour and values of the English middle-class as documented by Davidoff and Hall (1987) than with the work she does herself, which is really the work of a rural labourer.

Andrea declared that 'from what I hear there are more women' showing an interest in working in the wine industry. 'I think it's easier for women to do anything now whereas once upon a time it wasn't as easy ... Nobody looks sideways at a female winemaker now'. She explained that women's right to participate in the industry is more widely conceded, and the fact that they have special skills and abilities to offer is being recognised. 'The acceptance of women being able to do whatever they want to, I think is the main thing, and the skills of the women. We're not just dumb blondes any more!' She insisted that the increasing numbers of women involved in the industry is not confined to wine making:

> No, in other areas like growing vines and everything and I guess that stems too from helping their husbands and helping their families and even in wine appreciation groups you notice there are more women now. The older ones will say, "I don't drink red wine and I only like sweet wines", but the young ones are into any wine and tasting any wine.

Seeking to explain why young people are more interested and knowledgeable she speculated:

> Well I'm not sure why, but the young people certainly spend more money on things like this and they do eat out more and they're mixing where wine is served. Perhaps more are having wine in the home and as they are getting older they're appreciating it more.

Support groups and networks

As mentioned earlier in the Introduction chapter, one of my objectives when formulating this research project was to assist women in the industry to establish or strengthen existing support networks. However, one of the outcomes of the interviews was that the women I interviewed all denied having any knowledge of informal social or professional networks or organised support groups for women in the wine industry. Moreover, the women I spoke to did not believe such groups were necessary or desirable. Andrea, for instance, said that she did not know of any industry support groups for women where they can discuss issues, adding that she did not feel that such groups were needed: 'I think they should be able to discuss and interact with the men. I think it's an industry that you can all work together in'.

Asked if there have been other times in her career when there were issues she has felt she could not bring up with the men she was dealing with, Andrea declared:

> We have our own grape-growers association and sometimes I feel that some of the men are so touchy that in some areas things can't be brought up and that's a shame. They haven't been open enough to discuss everything, but that's just my opinion ... Um, Yes with standards - standards of cellar door and standards of wine. It's a very touchy subject and some people feel it's a criticism instead of all helping one another.

She considered that the conflicts on the issue of standards arose from a difference of outlook between men and women: 'Yes, maybe their priorities are slightly different.' Differences in male and female standpoints are apparent in her descriptions of the divergent approaches to standards. She suggested that 'there was a kind of competitive thing going' among the men that was fundamentally incompatible with the co-operation preferred by the women.

The interviewees who live on Kangaroo Island seemed more aware of the importance for women of communication and support networks. While there is a Kangaroo Island Wine and Grape Growers Association that meets formally at more or less regular intervals, several of the growers interviewed expressed the view that

one of the undesirable effects of working in relative isolation on the Island is the difficulty that can sometimes be experienced in obtaining information and practical advice. Karen said that the winery on the mainland that crushed the fruit sent from their vineyard and bottled their wine had also provided valuable assistance and advice:

> Yes, they have been very supportive all along ... They'll come over when we ask them but they do try and come once a year anyway, and we go [to the mainland] ... to the growers' day.

Reconciling vineyard work and domestic responsibilities

In her interview, Odette gave a succinct characterisation of the unequal division of labour in the traditional family. Asked whether she was aware of any distinctions between men's and women's work, she declared that 'The boys would never do any housework - I think that was the only division'. The unfair distribution of work within marriages became a focus of attention of several feminist writers in the mid 1970s whose work was discussed in Chapter 2. As noted earlier, it seems that the widely-held perception of recent improvements in the gendered division of labour within heterosexual relationships, amounts in reality to little more than media-driven rhetoric. Several recent studies show that an imbalance of domestic work may still be prevalent within young married couples, even when both partners work full-time in the public arena.

For rural women, labour in the vineyard or farm did not replace their domestic duties, but was taken on as an additional responsibility. Fiona, one of the interviewees who lived in the Riverland, said that when she lived with her parents-in-law before she and her husband established themselves on their own block of land, her mother-in-law worked very hard both in her household and on the property. During vintage, for instance she would provide meals for the pickers while maintaining the household:

> She did everything. She'd do the work in the morning like the housework, then she'd come down and do the lunches ... and she did picking as well. She was a very fast picker and a very clean picker ... she worked extremely hard and was out all day.

Linda said in her interview that even when working long hours in the vineyard, her domestic responsibilities continued:

> You fit them in between. We pick five days of the week during vintage ... if my husband has to shift vehicles at night for machine picking you do a bit of that. You come home and cook some tea then if you have to go out, shift a few more trucks. Like I said, it only goes for six to eight weeks so it's not too hard, you just adjust and do the best you can with everything else.

Looking after the children and cooking meals, for instance, are two responsibilities that can not be neglected, even at the busiest seasons in the vineyard:

> We usually have a cooked meal at night. Like now I've got to pick my son up from school, I pick him up at three-fifteen and then you come home. So you've got a bit more time to do stuff during the winter months than what you have during picking, where you pick until four and then you shoot home to get tea for your husband, so you can go out and start picking at six-thirty, seven o'clock at night.

Soula, like Fiona and Linda, worked long days in the vineyard, but then needed to cook the meals and take care of the children when she returned to the house. The terms in which Linda, Fiona and Soula speak of their daily routines are very similar to the words of women cited by Brown, as in Chapter 2.

It can be seen from the women's narratives that they were all able to manage a fragmented day, made up of multiple tasks and responsibilities in varied sequences. Occasionally they were even able to mix their different tasks, carrying them out simultaneously. Sandra recalled that during the early years of her marriage she took her six-year-old daughter and three younger boys into the vineyard while she worked there:

> Well, I used to go out with the children when they were young. They had to sit and play in the vineyard and I used to go out. A lot of the times most probably when they were little I couldn't go, but once they were school-age then I used to go out nearly every day with my husband.

Explaining what the children did while she worked, she said that they would:

> Play around with the sticks. They had little sticks and tractors and they would go in and out like dad would do - like we'd do with the vines. They would make out they were pruning, they had all these little sticks and they would go up the road and they'd used to cultivate and that.

Conclusion

The women I interviewed in the Barossa Valley, the Riverland and Kangaroo Island, represent a range of occupations within the wine industry. Their stories and observations indicate a long history of women in an important component of the South Australian economy, and yet very little has been written about them or their contributions to the industry. My careful detailed analysis of the interviews indicates that women are expected to carry out their domestic tasks as well as seasonal work such as picking or pruning. My interviews confirm that women's contributions to the industry have been substantial and consistent up to the present day. Women's labour, whether paid or unpaid, and although never adequately recognised, has always been an integral and essential part of the wine industry, as it has been of the rural economy as a whole.

I held interviews with women who are co-owners of vineyards, working without pay, as well as salaried wine makers and other employees in wineries, and with casual wage-earners in vineyards, such as those working in grape picking and other jobs. The interviews have been examined for insights into the duties of these women in their homes and home paddocks, in relation to various jobs undertaken as extensions and variations of their domestic routines. The interviewees' home duties have been compared with those of women in the wine industry in the past, and also with the domestic responsibilities of women in other industrial and social contexts, urban and rural, in Australia and in other countries. Consideration has been given, also, to changes and developments in gender relations, attitudes about employment, and the career structures of women, reflecting more general changes in social mores, and the continuing and increasing involvement of women in the industry.

Women, as well as men, were instrumental in creating the colony of South Australia, participating in the enterprises of settlement such as the establishment of dwellings and farms. As in other rural enterprises, from colonial times to the present day, it has been customary for women to contribute their labour to family vineyards in the context of the prevailing gender and power relations of the family. The patriarchal structure founded on the traditional family, which is dominated by the male but maintained through the work of a subsidiary female, was, and in some

sections of society still is, considered to be a basic element of the social order.

My research shows that women have made substantial contributions to the establishment and development of the wine industry, carrying out important roles that range from vineyard labour to winemaking, from managing a family vineyard to controlling and operating a winery and distillery, from selling wine at a cellar door to sales management in a large company. From a few areas of employment in the industry, such as cellar work, women have been all but excluded on physical grounds, while in others, such as grape picking, they have been numerically and physically equal to men.

In the wine-producing areas of South Australia, women and men occupy different spaces, and in these spaces perform different functions that are determined by gender and are socially constructed. Women's private domestic domain is distinct from the public space located outside the home, which is dominated, though not exclusively occupied, by males. In the grape-growing regions, the private sphere occupied by women, the domestic domain symbolised by the home paddock, defines their identity and limits their activities. It is the focus of many of their responsibilities, and the site of much of their work and activity. However, economic necessity has legitimised the extension of the home paddock to include more distant parts of the property, such as vineyards, as appropriate places for women to work. Women have always been involved in grape growing and wine making in the Barossa Valley, the Riverland, and other viticultural regions of South Australia. While the primary responsibility of those women who lived on family vineyards was considered to be their domestic tasks within the house and in the home paddock, they also made important contributions to the development and continuation of the grape-growing enterprise. The vineyard was often considered an extension of the home paddock, in which the women shared the work and participated in the management and decision-making, usually in a subsidiary capacity. This intrusion into the public space was sanctioned by grape-grower husbands, and deemed to be part of the women's supportive role, even if it occurred on a regular basis and not only at busy seasons such as harvest time.

The economic contribution made by women in the rural sector is significant, not least because of the unpaid labour provided by housewives on family properties such as vineyards. To work in the family vineyard, women might have to move some distance from the house to a site that was not within the boundaries of the home paddock, and therefore was in the public space. In some cases women's work in the public domain, away from the home paddock, took the form of off-farm employment. While participation by women beyond the extended home paddock, must be subject to their husbands' approval, in some instances economic necessity has compelled the men to acquiesce in their wives taking paid work away from their family properties. Nevertheless, in spite of the conspicuous part many rural women take in farm and vineyard labour, and even in supplementing the family income by off-farm work, their contributions have never been adequately acknowledged.

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Conclusion

Women have made a significant contribution to wine production in South Australia, as they have to other rural industries and their important role has been neglected by historians, authors and the media. Even now women's achievements are only slowly being recognised in the wine industry as in other rural sectors.

An extensive review of the literature indicates that until the 1970s, women's sociological history was an area largely neglected by historians. However, in the last thirty years, women's history has been a serious focus of Australian research as it investigates women's place in society and women's contributions to the formation of the nation. Pioneers of Australian women's history such as, Miriam Dixson, Beverley Kingston and Anne Summers, challenge the assumption that women have shared the benefits of post-colonial Australian economic growth, and refute the principal themes of the dominant masculine historiography. The Australian author, Marilyn Lake identifies some important writings in the development of feminist historiography. She refers to the observation by the American women's historians Linda Kerber, Alice Kessler-Harris and Kathryn Kish Sklar of a shift in recent feminist writing from the discovery of woman to a study of women as political and social activists.

In my research, interviews and a textual analysis of primary sources provided extensive and continuing evidence of women's contribution in the wine industry from colonial days in the Barossa Valley to recent times on Kangaroo Island. Documentary evidence and the interviews indicate that women have been expected to work in various tasks outside the home, as well as managing the house and rearing children. The interviews I conducted with 25 women in the Barossa Valley, the Riverland and Kangaroo Island, over a wide range of occupations in the wine industry, indicate that they combined their work in the vineyards and wineries with their household tasks.

Women's domestic responsibilities were not confined to the house. The women's domain included the suburban backyard or its rural equivalent, the home paddock. Two of the rural woman's main tasks in the home paddock, the hand rearing of animals, and gardening or vineyard work, were extensions of the nurturing role of the housewife and mother. Women have always laboured in farm and vineyard, as they do now, taking on substantial and important roles. In the vineyard, as in other farming properties, the home paddock could be extended at times of peak activity, and on these occasions, the vineyard was perceived as a place where a woman could work. It is evident that the home paddock could be expanded, in effect, to encompass women's socially sanctioned participation in activities that were normally considered men's work.

The literature indicates that there are socially constructed private spaces for women and public spaces for men, but my research offers the idea that domestic arrangements and vineyard work are often much more fluid than convention suggests and respond to labour requirements during the year, such as picking and pruning.

This thesis has shown that throughout South Australian history, women such as Ann Jacob from the Barossa Valley were an essential part in establishing the wine industry. In the Riverland, women worked in Village Settlements in the late 1890s, and during World War I and World War II, they established vineyards as part of the Returned Soldiers Settlement Schemes. The Australian Women's Land Army was an essential work unit during World War II and women picked grapes and vines in the Riverland. Post war migration saw an influx of migrants from Europe, particularly Italy and Greece who brought with them a strong cultural tradition of making and drinking wine. On Kangaroo Island grapes were grown as early as 1836; but it has only been since the 1980s that many women have taken an active part in viticulture on the island.

South Australia has a long history of wine-making and although women have made an essential contribution to its establishment and continued development, much of their work has been overlooked, by the public and within the industry. It is anticipated that this research will give appropriate recognition to these women.