

VICTORIAN  
YEAR BOOK  
1984



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# VICTORIAN YEAR BOOK 1984

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DEPUTY COMMONWEALTH STATISTICIAN

NUMBER 98

AUSTRALIAN BUREAU OF STATISTICS

VICTORIAN OFFICE

This edition first published in 1984 by the Victorian Office of the  
Australian Bureau of Statistics,  
Commonwealth Banks Building,  
cnr Flinders and Elizabeth Streets, Melbourne.

This book is in International B5 format,  
the text is set in 9 on 10 point Times Roman by Ruskin Press,  
printed on Brochure Opaque printing paper, with  
illustrations on Grenville Dull art paper,  
and bound in Brella Book cloth.

National Library of Australia card number and  
ISSN 0067—1223

Australian Bureau of Statistics catalogue number  
1301.2

Printed in Australia by Ruskin Press,  
and bound in Australia by Book Graphics Australia Pty Ltd.





(Frontispiece) *The Henty landing at Portland*, the 1934 Centenary prize winning painting by Archibald Colquhoun depicting the landing of Edward Henty at Portland on 19 November 1834.

*Royal Automobile Club of Victoria (RACV) Ltd*

(Front endpaper) *Batman's Treaty with the Aborigines*, a painting by John Wesley Burtt, 1890, showing John Batman "purchasing" land from the Aborigines in 1835.

*La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria*

(Back endpaper) The three buildings of the Victorian Arts Centre dominate the foreground of the Melbourne skyline as seen from Government House.

*Australian Information Service*

# VICTORIAN YEAR BOOK 1984

Number 98



**VICTORIA 150**  
GROWING TOGETHER 1984-5  
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## GENERAL INFORMATION

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### SYMBOLS

The following symbols mean:

n.a.	not available
n.e.c.	not elsewhere classified
n.e.i.	not elsewhere included
n.p.	not available for separate publication (but included in totals where applicable)
n.y.a.	not yet available
p	preliminary—figure or series subject to revision
r	figure or series revised since previous edition
. .	not applicable
—	nil or rounded to zero
—	break in continuity of series (where a line is drawn across a column between two consecutive figures)
	M, males; F, females; T, total

### OTHER FORMS OF USAGE

The following abbreviations are used for the titles of the Australian States and Territories and Australia: N.S.W. (New South Wales), Vic. (Victoria), Qld (Queensland), S.A. (South Australia), W.A. (Western Australia), Tas. (Tasmania), N.T. (Northern Territory), A.C.T. (Australian Capital Territory), and Aust. (Australia).

Yearly periods shown as, e.g., 1983 refer to the year ended 31 December 1983. Those shown as 1982-83 refer to the year ended 30 June 1983. Other yearly periods are specifically indicated.

Values are shown in Australian dollars (\$) or \$A) or cents (c) unless another currency is specified.

Data are presented in metric terms as far as possible.

Where figures have been rounded, discrepancies may occur between sums of the component items and totals.

### AVAILABILITY OF ABS PUBLICATIONS

The Victorian Office of the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) maintains an Information Service, which on request, supplies available statistical information and advice on which publications are appropriate, and a library in which all publications of the ABS are available for reference. Businessmen, government officers, students, and members of the public are invited to make use of these services.

Information regarding the availability of ABS publications can be obtained from the Information Services Section, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Box 2796Y, G.P.O., Melbourne, 3001, phone (03) 63 0181.

All publications issued by the ABS are contained in the *Catalogue of Publications* (1101.0), which is available from any ABS Office. A list of publications issued by the Victorian Office of the ABS is shown in APPENDIX E of this *Year Book*.

## INTRODUCTION BY THE GOVERNOR OF VICTORIA

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November 19, 1984, begins twelve months of celebrations for Victoria's 150th Anniversary. It celebrates a year in which Edward Henty, John Batman, and John Pascoe Fawkner made settlements at Portland and Melbourne. They laid the foundations of a State which to we Victorians today is cosmopolitan, beautiful, diversified, and progressive.

During those 150 years, growth has been rapid and Victoria's achievements remarkable. There are particular reasons for the State's rapid progress. On the one hand there is the legacy of British institutions and culture which provide a solid foundation for experiment and innovation. On the other, is the energy and inventiveness of its people who have come from all over the world. Their diversity of culture and experience has continually enriched all aspects of life. In addition, the country possesses a temperate climate, fertile soil for agriculture and grazing, and has yielded fabulously rich gold and mineral deposits.

While settlers of all nationalities dominate Victoria's history, their strong sense of "Growing Together", and their real enthusiasm for an indigenous culture have led to Victoria's splendid achievements in education, science, arts, law, building, and business.

This special 150th Anniversary edition of the *Victorian Year Book* provides a factual and statistical record of the State's growth and development. It celebrates a proud, golden past as "Australia Felix". It heralds a future in which Victoria's shining achievements will continue to enhance world history.



HIS EXCELLENCY REAR ADMIRAL  
SIR BRIAN STEWART MURRAY,  
K.C.M.G., A.O., K.St.J.

*Governor of Victoria*

## INTRODUCTION BY THE PREMIER OF VICTORIA

---

In its first 150 years of European development, Victoria has developed from one family of squatter settlers to a flourishing modern State which has attracted immigrants from all over the world. From 1834 until the discovery of gold in 1850, settlement was largely pastoral and the strength of this pastoral economy enabled Victoria to separate from New South Wales in 1851. In the ten years after the commencement of the gold rush, the population increased from 77,345 to 540,322. This influx of new arrivals was to lead Victoria into a period of rapid development and natural population increase, and it was appropriate that this was recognised by Federation in 1901 when Victoria became one of the six States making up the Commonwealth of Australia.

In celebrating its 150th Anniversary, Victoria can look back on a period of rapid development, and of hardships overcome when the solid foundation of present society was laid. Our citizens come from countries all over the world, some with civilizations thousands of years old, yet are prepared to join proudly in Victoria's 150th Anniversary. The Anniversary of a young State is an exciting event where people can feel that they have actually made vital contributions to change and development and can witness the maturing processes of the State. The very arrival of so many post-war settlers has occasioned significant changes in government policy and in service delivery which have had to expand to accommodate linguistic and cultural differences.

Side by side with the conscious improvements made to assist successful settlement of recent arrivals has been the awakening consciousness of the rights of the Aborigines, the descendants of the first people to settle in Victoria. Their long neglected problems are gradually being appropriately handled — the greatest improvement being that Aborigines themselves are now instigating and directing their own affairs.

The 150th Anniversary of Victoria is a time to pause and look at the successes and failures of the past and to apply all knowledge gained to the directions of the future. We already have a society in which many nationalities happily coexist despite considerable initial settlement problems and in which Victoria's original inhabitants are gaining deserved recognition. The official theme "Growing Together" of Victoria's 150th Anniversary in fact already happens here. We must all work to ensure it continues and be prepared to face the challenges of the future together.



THE HON. JOHN CAIN, M.P.  
*Premier of Victoria*

## FOREWORD

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This, the 98th edition of the *Victorian Year Book*, is a special edition marking the sesquicentenary of permanent European settlement in Victoria. It is complementary to the special 1973 edition which commemorated the publication of the first *Victorian Year Book* in 1873 and covered the development of the State from the first settlement to the early 1970s. This volume concentrates on the third 50 years of Victoria's history — from the centenary celebrations in 1934 to the early 1980s. An overview of the first 100 years of permanent European settlement is given in the Prologue.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics, as the central statistical authority for the Commonwealth Government, provides statistical services for the State Governments, under agreements between the Commonwealth and the States. As part of this responsibility it produces the *Victorian Year Book*, which seeks to present a comprehensive statistical and descriptive account of Victoria. While the descriptive material in the 1984 *Victorian Year Book* does not contain critical analysis and assessments, most of it has been written by authors whose knowledge of the period was, for the most part, both personal and authoritative, although views expressed in contributed material do not necessarily represent the views of the Australian Bureau of Statistics. The text has, as far as possible, been updated to March 1983.

The completion of this large task has been made possible only by the help, encouragement, and specific assistance of the many persons and institutions listed in the Acknowledgements. I wish particularly to acknowledge the support of Sir John Dillon who was the chief consultant for the project. I also wish to record my appreciation to the staff of the Victorian Office of the Australian Bureau of Statistics who have contributed to the production of this *Year Book*. In particular I am grateful for the efforts of Mr H. L. Speagle who, as Editor of Publications, in 1976 initiated the concept and guided this sesquicentenary volume through its long gestation period, and Mr W. M. Chamberlain, who became Editor in April 1983.

Mr Speagle was Editor of the *Victorian Year Book* from the time of integration of the statistical services of the State and the Commonwealth in 1958 until his retirement in April 1983. In 1961 the first *Victorian Year Book* under his editorship adopted a new format, with expanded text, illustrations, and maps, that has been maintained ever since. He also commissioned special articles on aspects of Victoria's physical environment and other topics. In paying this tribute to Mr Speagle it may be said that he set a high standard for such publications throughout Australia over the last quarter century, and made a lasting contribution to the statistical recording of Victoria.

ERLE BOURKE  
*Deputy Commonwealth Statistician*

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) is grateful to the following persons and institutions whose co-operation has made a substantial contribution to this book. At ABS's invitation they provided material, on an honorary basis, which has been incorporated with as little editing as is necessary to accord with ABS standards, style, etc.

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N. Bowden  
R. J. Cameron, C.B.  
J. F. Clarke  
The late I. M. Cowie  
Sir John Dillon, C.M.G.  
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The Hon. Sir Rupert Hamer, K.C.M.G., E.D.  
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APPENDIX B

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APPENDIX F

The State Library of Victoria



Lieutenant-Colonel David Collins, Royal Marines, (1756-1810), established the settlement at Sullivan Bay near Sorrento in 1803.

*La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria*



William Dutton (1811-1878), seaman and whaler, who had been in residence at Portland intermittently from 1828-29.

*La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria*



Edward Henty (1810-1878), who led the family settlement at Portland in November 1834.

*La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria  
Reproduced by permission of The Town of Portland*



Portland in 1835. Portland was the site of the first permanent European settlement in Victoria following the arrival of the Henty family in November 1834.

*La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria*

William Buckley (1780-1856), also known as the "Wild White Man", was a convict who escaped from the Sullivan Bay settlement and lived with the Aboriginals for 32 years, until discovered by members of a party left by John Batman at Indented Head.

*La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria*



John Batman (1801-1839), sailed from Launceston and settled the area where Melbourne now stands in May 1835.



John Pascoe Fawkner (1792-1869), whose agents also crossed Bass Strait and established a settlement on the Yarra River in 1835.

*La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria*



*Melbourne -  
sketch from Mr. Smith's Fence  
November 1836.*

A sketch of Melbourne in 1836.  
*La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria*



The action at the Eureka Stockade, Ballarat, 3 December 1854, where soldiers of the 12th and 40th Regiments of Foot, together with police, suppressed diggers protesting about grievances involving gold licences.

*La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria*



Captain Sir Charles Hotham, R.N., (1806-1855), was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Victoria on 22 June 1854, and Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Colony of Victoria on 22 May 1855.



The Hon. Peter Lalor (1827-1889) Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, formerly leader of the diggers at the Eureka Stockade.

*La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria*



The "Welcome Stranger" syndicate's mine at Bailieston, 1902.

*La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria*

The Poseidon Nugget (29,642 grams) found at Tarnagulla in 1906 was one of the largest nuggets found in Victoria.

*Department of Minerals and Energy*





Paddle steamers towed barges laden with wool and other cargoes from Murray River stations to river ports including the Echuca Railway Wharf (above) for dispatch to Melbourne.

*La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria*

Flinders Street, about 1912, showing the busy Pool of Melbourne opposite the Customs House.

*La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria*





The old Post Office, Melbourne, 1853.

*La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria*

Collins Street, Melbourne, looking east in the 1880s.

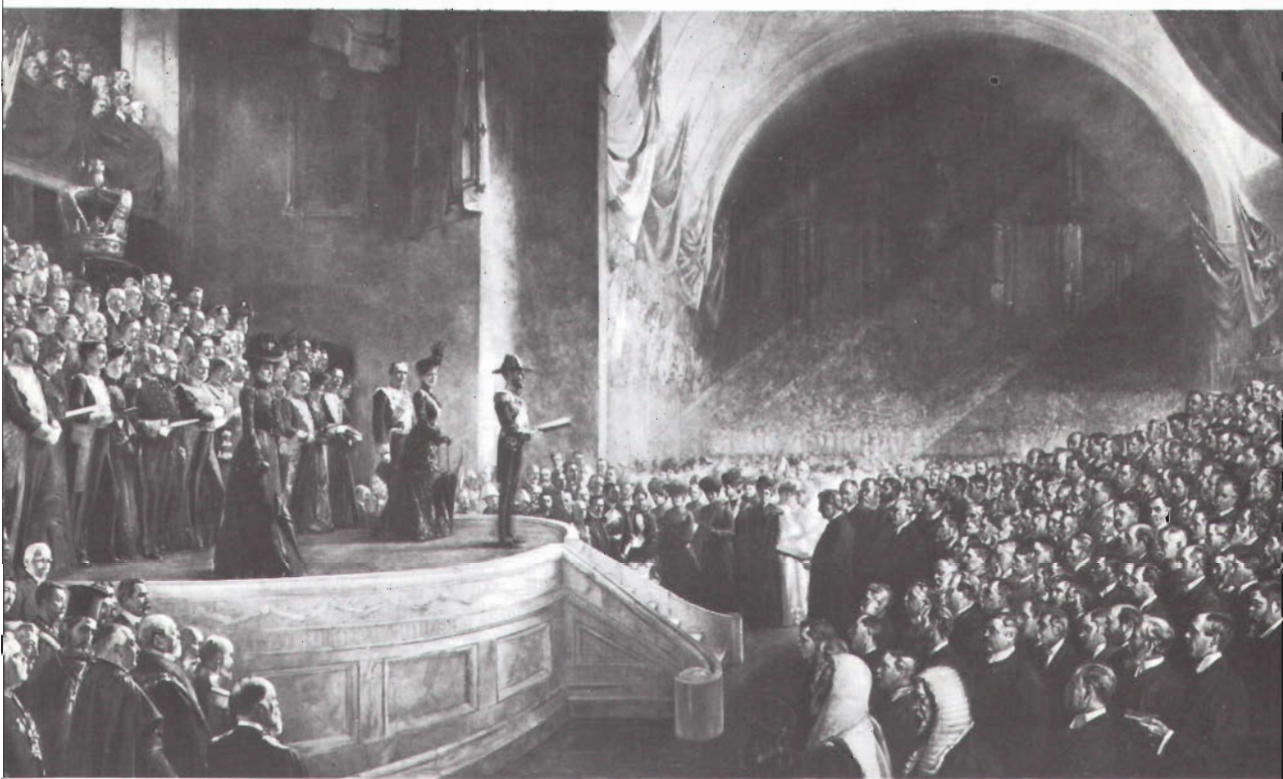
*La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria*





Captain William Lonsdale (1800-1864), was appointed Police Magistrate at Port Phillip by Governor Bourke in September 1836.

*La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria*



Opening of the first Commonwealth Parliament by H.R.H. The Duke of York at the Exhibition Building, Melbourne, 9 May 1901.

*National Library of Australia*



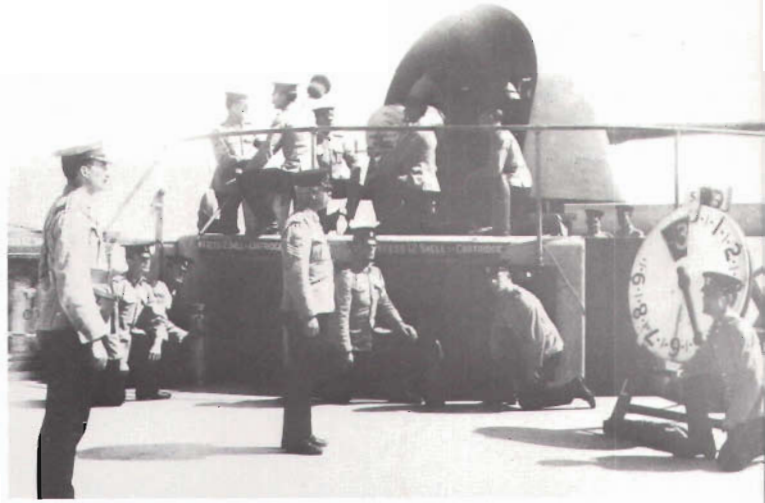
Charles Joseph La Trobe (1801-1875), was appointed Superintendent of the Port Phillip District in October 1839 and Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria on separation of the Colony from New South Wales in 1851.

*La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria*



The gun and crew at Fort Nepean which fired the first British shot of the First World War on 5 August 1914 to prevent the escape of the German ship *Pfalz*. The same gun fired the first British shot of the Second World War on 4 September 1939.

*Australian War Memorial*



(Right) Archbishop Daniel Mannix (1864-1963), Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne from 6 May 1917 until 6 November 1963, was the leading anti-conscriptionist in the First World War.

*The Advocate Newspaper*

(Far right) General Sir John Monash (1865-1931) commanded the Australian Army Corps on the western front in the First World War. He later established the State Electricity Commission of Victoria.

*La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria*

Riots during the Police strike of 1923. Special constables were organised under Sir John Monash to help restore order.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*





The procession led by H.R.H. The Duke of Gloucester after the dedication of the Shrine of Remembrance, 11 November 1934.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*



C.W.A. Scott and T. Campbell Black lead the parade through Melbourne after winning the Centenary London to Melbourne Air Race, 31 October 1934.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*

The final assembly of the Eucharistic Congress, 1934, with an estimated crowd of 500,000 people present.

*St Patrick's Cathedral, Diocesan Historical Commission*



## PROLOGUE

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### VICTORIA'S CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

On the morning of Thursday, 18 October 1934, Melbourne prepared excitedly to welcome His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, the third son of H.M. King George V, who was to preside over the celebrations marking the centenary of permanent European settlement in Victoria. Pedestrians, cyclists, and motorists — some 250,000 of them — crowded the Hobsons Bay foreshore from Sandringham to Port Melbourne.

The skies were overcast and threatening, but the progress of HMS *Sussex* up Port Phillip Bay with its naval and aircraft escort and the motorcade which brought the Royal visitor along Beaconsfield Parade and St Kilda Rd to the city stimulated enthusiastic displays of loyalty and affection. Declaring the celebrations officially open in a ceremony on the steps of Parliament House, the Duke released a silken Union Jack, the one unfurled by his mother, Queen Mary, as Duchess of York, for the opening of the first Commonwealth Parliament at Melbourne's Exhibition Building in 1901.

Neither the weather — October and November 1934 were Melbourne's wettest months for years — nor an inconvenient tram strike kept people away from the round of engagements at churches, racecourses, showgrounds, theatres, the Melbourne Cricket Ground, and the Exhibition, which the Centenary Council had planned for the Duke. At night large crowds flocked to the city to view the illuminations. The highlights of the celebrations undoubtedly were the victory parade of winners of the London to Melbourne air race, the dedication of the Shrine of Remembrance, and the finale of the Catholic community's Eucharistic Congress.

Sir Macpherson Robertson had donated \$200,000 — \$2,000 for each year of Victoria's history since settlement — for the building of a girls' high school, the Grange Road Bridge, a National Herbarium, and a fountain near the Shrine. To focus world attention on Melbourne and Victoria and to stimulate the British aeronautical industry, he suggested a 19,200 kilometre London to Melbourne air race with \$24,000 prize money. The pitting of ace fliers in such open and spectacular competition aroused immense popular excitement: British, Australians, Dutch, Italians, Germans, and Americans rushed to enter, and 60,000 spectators saw twenty aeroplanes leave from Mildenhall, England, on 20 October. Sir Macpherson's hope, that Empire men and machines would win, was fulfilled when C.W.A. Scott and T. Campbell Black flew their DH88 Comet *Grosvenor House* across the finishing line at Flemington racecourse within three days of leaving England. Seven planes had arrived by 31 October when a triumphal hour-long procession took place in Melbourne. Thousands of people flocked from the suburbs to join city workers in a display of adulation as the airmen rode in open cars to a State reception. The South Australian flier, C. J. (Jimmy) Melrose, the youngest and only "solo" pilot in the race, and the only Australian to have arrived, received a hero's welcome.

Those who assembled around the Domain from five o'clock on the morning of Armistice Day were of a different mood; by mid-morning a crowd of 300,000 surrounded the Shrine of Remembrance. After years of controversy over the appropriate form of a memorial to Victoria's soldiers of the First World War, protracted public fund raising, and almost six years' construction work at a cost of \$480,000, Victoria prepared for the dedication of the Shrine. The ceremony, described as "the most notable and profound expression of

community ritual experienced in the history of Australia", included the singing of the Old Hundredth, the reading of an ode specially contributed by Rudyard Kipling, two minutes silence, Last Post, Reveille, the Recessional, Chopin's Funeral March, prayers from the Anglican Archbishop, the National Anthem, and the release of thousands of white pigeons. The Duke of Gloucester dedicated the Shrine to the memory of the men and women who had served in the First World War.

Timed to coincide with the dedication of the Shrine as a protest against the alleged imperialist and militarist emphases of the centenary celebrations, the second National All-Australia Anti-War Congress called for disarmament and peace, and denounced fascism and imperialism. The Congress, sparsely attended and attracting little interest, was rescued from near obscurity by the derring-do of its guest speaker, Czech writer Egon Kisch. Declared a prohibited immigrant and refused permission to land at Fremantle by the Lyons Government, the RMS *Strathaird* carried him on to Melbourne where, just before sailing time on Tuesday 13 November, he jumped to the wharf, broke an ankle, and was carried aboard and confined to his cabin. In Sydney, after protracted legal proceedings, including a disputed dictation test in Scottish Gaelic, Kisch was freed to spend three months touring and lecturing anti-war meetings. The Kisch incident, apart from discrediting the attempt of the Lyons Government to suppress dissentient political opinion, drew attention to the Movement Against War and Fascism, strengthened the peace movement, and confirmed Melbourne as its centre.

Among those who had supported a war memorial of a more utilitarian kind, such as a city square or a new hospital, was the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne, Dr Daniel Mannix (1864-1963). Invited by the Centenary Celebrations Council to nominate the form of the Catholic contribution, Mannix announced a National Eucharistic Congress, to which His Holiness The Pope would send a Papal Legate, Cardinal MacRory, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland. The Congress theme would be "Catholic action", the name given by Pope Pius XI to a campaign to involve the laity in the apostolic work of the Church. Despite the opposition of some Protestant leaders, the Congress proved to be a great success and a moving display of religious devotion. The Catholic hierarchy of Australia and New Zealand came to Melbourne, and the Papal Legate was greeted at Station Pier and conducted by open car through throngs of schoolchildren to St Patrick's Cathedral. Vast crowds were attracted to special gatherings — and more than half a million people saw the procession of the Blessed Sacrament and knelt for the benediction, pronounced by Cardinal MacRory from the main balcony of Mt St Evin's hospital in Victoria Parade. During his brief stay the Cardinal praised the state of material well-being enjoyed by Australians but warned that the new paganism emanating from Russia called for united Christian resistance and the engagement of the laity of his church in "Catholic action".

The centenary celebrations were otherwise largely a secular and conservative paean for the establishment and progress of European settlement in Victoria. Aboriginal society was barely represented at the celebrations, the pioneers Batman and Fawcner were carefully distanced, and the Eureka Stockade, with its radical overtones of challenge to authority, was barely mentioned. The emphasis was focused upon conservative British-Australian values; the centrepiece was ANZAC; and the heroic original figure was that of Captain James Cook, presented as "the discoverer of Australia".

Russell (later Sir Russell) Grimwade (1879-1955), the industrialist and philanthropist, had grasped an opportunity to buy "Cook's Cottage" at Great Ayton, Yorkshire, and have it dismantled, shipped to Melbourne, and reassembled in the Fitzroy Gardens. Even though subsequent research discredited the relic as the seaman's childhood home, Cook's tenuous association with Victoria was seized upon by the Celebrations Council, for the first British sighting of the Australian coastline had been made in 1770 from Cook's *Endeavour*, subsequently Pt Hicks in Victoria.

#### EARLY EXPLORATION FROM 1788

Exploration and settlement of Victoria had been a by-product of the settlement at Sydney Cove, Port Jackson in 1788. Victoria was recorded as first traversed by Europeans in 1797 when the *Sydney Cove* was wrecked in the Furneaux Group; of sixteen crew

members cast ashore in a longboat along the Ninety Mile Beach, only three survived the nightmarish journey through Gippsland to Botany Bay. Matthew Flinders' observations of strong eastward flowing currents along the southern coast renewed speculation about the existence of a strait between New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. In 1797-98 George Bass discovered Wilsons Promontory and Western Port, and in 1798 Bass and Flinders sailed through the strait and circumnavigated Van Diemen's Land. Two years later James Grant sailing east to Port Jackson discovered and named the principal features of the Victorian coast, and in February 1802 Lieutenant John Murray entered the main harbour, which was named Port Phillip Bay in honour of the first Governor of New South Wales. French interest in the area spurred British exploration: Charles Grimes, Surveyor-General, surveyed the Bay in 1803 and followed the eastern (Yarra) river upstream to fresh water and a site he nominated as suitable for settlement.

Meanwhile a decision was made in London to place a settlement at Port Phillip. Lieutenant-Governor David Collins landed a party of some 470 persons from HMS *Calcutta* and HMS *Ocean* near Point Nepean about the present site of Sorrento in 1803. Apart from the complement of administrators and military, there were some 300 convicts, a few with their families, and a group of fifty or so free settlers. Daunted by the scarcity of fresh water and game and by the poverty of the soil, Collins removed his camp across Bass Strait to the Derwent in Van Diemen's Land early in 1804. However, the Union Jack had been flown, church services had been held, and there had been births and interments. Several convicts had fled into the bush. One of them, William Buckley (1780-1856), lived for thirty years with the Aborigines in the area of the Barwon River.

#### Early Aboriginal contacts

Aboriginal contacts with Europeans were few and fleeting until 1835, but even by the time Collins and his party were struggling to establish themselves at Sorrento, the British presence had had a devastating effect.

In 1788, there may have been as many as 100,000 Aborigines in the territory which became Victoria. This well watered corner of temperate south-eastern Australia perhaps supported higher Aboriginal densities than anywhere else on the mainland, and the richness and variety of the Victorian landscape — coastal, mountain, and plain — evoked a complex Aboriginal response. There were about 38 tribes, each varying in size but occupying recognised areas and speaking common languages; whether Aborigines operated as families, bands of families (20 to 60 persons), or tribes, depended on the bounty of nature, the seasons, and social and religious imperatives. Nomadism was combined with sedentariness, and camp sites served as focal gathering points. In parts of Western Victoria elaborate stone floored, dome shaped, and turf roofed shelters, and complex fish trapping and eel harvesting techniques, suggest semi-permanent occupation and sophisticated resource management. Aborigines rarely went hungry, for the environment generally offered an abundance of variety of plants and animals and the emphasis was on mutual help, sharing, and trading. Resources were not overexploited, but were carefully husbanded.

Aboriginal society and culture were complex, rich and intensely satisfying, characterised as they were by intricate but clear laws and obligations and endearing love of children, respect for learning and skill, and solicitude for the sick, the elderly, and the orphaned. A society which proclaimed in its every aspect the identity of man and nature was incomprehensible to one characterised by the exploitative spirit. And the European onslaught was facilitated by diseases, against most of which Aborigines had no immunity. Grimes noticed Aborigines at the Yarra in 1803 who had suffered the ravages of smallpox, the dreaded disease which had swept east and south from Sydney Cove soon after settlement, and possibly north from whalers and sealers operating in Bass Strait. Mortality rates are estimated to have reached levels of 50 to 60 per cent of the entire population, with pregnant women and young children being particularly vulnerable. Apart from the horror of such a scourge, the effect on the economy of a semi-nomadic society, dependent as it was on the young and able bodied, must have been catastrophic. About 1829, there was another epidemic, against which those born since the first epidemic would have had no protection. By the time of permanent European occupation the Aboriginal population was a fraction — perhaps only 10 to 15 per cent — of its original strength.

### Early nineteenth century exploration

There was a twenty year interlude in European exploration and settlement. In 1824, the native born explorer Hamilton Hume and the sailor and settler William Hovell, attempting to open a route from Lake George to Wilsons Promontory, penetrated to Corio Bay. They either did not realise or chose not to publicise their error, but they had discovered the Murray River and many of its tributaries, as well as extensive tracts of valuable grazing lands. A small official encampment, established on the eastern shore of Western Port for fourteen months from November 1826, attempted in vain to match Hume and Hovell's description of verdant plains around Corio Bay with the swamps and mud flats at Western Port. Official policy aimed to establish British claims, but wanted controlled settlement. Several land hungry Van Diemen's Land graziers applied for mainland grants but were refused. It was only a matter of time before they became the first permanent settlers at Port Phillip.

Sealers and whalers, operating initially from Port Jackson and later from Van Diemen's Land, had been familiar with the coasts and islands of Bass Strait for decades. Edward Henty (1810-1878), the son of a Sussex farmer who had shrewdly transferred his family and assets to the Antipodes during the recession which followed the Napoleonic Wars, became acquainted with the Portland Bay area as a result of a whaling voyage. His landing in November 1834 marked the beginning of pastoral settlement, but the Hentys had been preceded by the seaman and whaler William Dutton (1811-1878) whose intermittent occupation began in the summer of 1828-29. The Hentys' claim to be recognised as Victoria's first permanent settlers did not go undisputed, but they set an extraordinary example of successful family migration and collectively made a unique contribution to Victorian development.

Major Thomas Mitchell traversed western Victoria in 1836, calling it "Australia Felix", and his glowing reports of well watered and fertile land greatly strengthened the tentative southward moves of New South Wales graziers. Overlanders from Sydney, following the wheelmarks of the Mitchell party, were rivalled by the overstraiters from Van Diemen's Land. In comparison with the Hentys, the new land takers operated openly and brazenly.

Impatient with the obstruction of Sydney officialdom, John Batman (1801-1839) and his partners had formed the Port Phillip Association in Launceston to make peace with the Aboriginal people and establish a bridgehead for the pastoral advance. He entered the Bay in the *Rebecca* in May 1835, explored the Saltwater (later Maribyrnong) River, and negotiated by tribute his famous land "purchases" of more than 200,000 hectares from the Aboriginal inhabitants. The party rediscovered the Freshwater (later Yarra) River, which Batman followed and recorded as good deepwater — "the place for a village". Shortly, another group from Van Diemen's Land selected a nearby site. The agents of John Pascoe Fawkner (1792-1869), publican-cum-successful businessman who had accompanied his convict father to the Sorrento settlement in 1803, ascended the Yarra River in the *Enterprise* in August 1835, and were warned off by the Port Phillip Association as trespassers. The bitter debate as to which party and leader had been the founder of settlement obscured for many historians the fundamental point that Port Phillip owed its existence to private settlers acting from commercial motives in defiance of authority.

Governor Bourke regarded the occupation of Port Phillip as illegal, but he recognised realities and sent Captain William Lonsdale (1800-1864) as resident magistrate in 1836. Lonsdale found 224 Europeans living in a village of 43 huts, and the district held 40,000 sheep on stations as far as 130 kilometres inland. Bourke visited in 1837, confirmed the town site above the falls and on the north side of the Yarra River, and had the surveyor complete the layout of the settlement which he named Melbourne after the British Prime Minister. The first land sales were held in 1837, and Geelong was surveyed in 1838 and sales held there in 1839. The two towns grew rapidly as head stations to the vast Port Phillip sheep runs. Squatters promptly took up the lands of the Ovens and Goulburn Valleys under \$20 annual grazing licences. By the end of 1838 most of the Western District was occupied, and in the early 1840s pastoral settlement was extending into the Mallee and Gippsland. In less than a decade almost three-quarters of Victoria had been occupied. Some 76,000 free migrants had arrived by 1850, about one-third of these as assisted immigrants whose passages had been paid from the proceeds of land sales, and whose labour the squatters avidly awaited.

Unlike the settlements based on Sydney, where land grants had been employed to create a landed gentry over some four decades, Port Phillip was launched as a frontier society of leaseholders. A few sons of well established pastoralists took part in the southern land rush, but the successful were mainly men of small capital, from professional, mercantile, shopkeeping, or farming backgrounds. Scottish tenant farmers and their sons were prominent, and among them partnerships with imported capital were significant, notably Niel Black and Company at Glenormiston in the Western District, and George Russell of the Clyde Company, west of Geelong. Gentlemen settlers attempted to reproduce polite society on the English model, but they were overwhelmed by those for whom money-making was the be-all and end-all, and their ranks were decimated by the depression of the 1840s. Severe droughts in 1838 and 1840, a stoppage of funds from London, and falling stock prices led to a string of bankruptcies during 1841-1843. Dreams of imminent wealth vanished for many in the smoke of boiling-down works converting the once precious sheep into tallow. Conspicuous among the survivors were the single-minded, hard working sons of Scottish tenant farmers who added political influence to economic power, and in time comprised a sort of country gentry.

### **Aboriginal reactions to settlement**

The arrival of Europeans destroyed in the space of a decade in Victoria traditional Aboriginal society at least 40,000 years old. Squatters above all sought for their stock the lush and extensive grasslands which the Aborigines, using "firestick farming", had helped create. Sheep and cattle consumed or destroyed the very resources upon which they relied directly for their food, and the food and water upon which game depended. Europeans were guided to and advised about the resources they coveted, for their motives and the enormity of the threat they posed were not at first appreciated. Aborigines clearly expected their hospitality to be reciprocated, and when Europeans refused them food or raped their women, they retaliated.

Most Europeans died during attacks on property, including depredations to stock. By contrast Aboriginal deaths were not only, or even mainly, a consequence of such conflict and self defence, but involved indiscriminate shooting and poisoning of the unarmed, harmless, and innocent. Jittery settlers and outraged humanitarians exaggerated the killing on both sides. Almost certainly Aboriginal deaths from inter-tribal clashes and "pay back" warfare — the result, respectively, of forced Aboriginal encroachment on neighbours' lands and the interpretation of European violence as Aboriginal inspired sorcery — outnumbered those at European hands.

English public opinion briefly insisted that the home government require Colonial authorities to conciliate and protect Aborigines. Lonsdale arrived in Port Phillip with 500 red night caps, 200 check suits, and 250 blankets for them. In 1838, on the eve of intense frontier conflict, the Protectorate experiment began: Chief Protector G.A. Robinson, the man who had gathered at Flinders Island in Bass Strait the sad remnants of the Van Diemen's Land Aborigines, attempted with four assistants to mediate between settlers and Aborigines, encouraging the latter to accept Christianity and a settled life. The Protectorate did not address the question of justice, and it encountered implacable squatter hostility. The squatter-dominated Legislative Council of New South Wales accepted settler denunciations of the scheme, which was abandoned in 1850. Many squatters and their servants in Australia wanted the wealth to be won from the land, and squatters, investors, and the home government ultimately would brook no interference with that goal. Dispossession by force was dressed up as the right to occupy by reason of superior productivity. Already disposed to confound the primitive with the barbaric, squatters rationalised their avarice, fear, and guilt by regarding Aborigines as a non- or sub-human species eking out a brutal, short, and precarious existence.

The contradiction between what the settlers considered to be a civilising mission and the realities of frontier life was seen in the Native Police Corps of 1842-1852, a paramilitary force under the command of a Western District squatter which "pacified" Aborigines and apprehended wrongdoers. In fact, with the approval of La Trobe, the Superintendent of Port Phillip, this corps, a devastating combination of Aboriginal bushcraft and European military discipline and weaponry, exploiting inter-tribal enmities, engaged in attacks on the Aborigines.



## DEVELOPMENTS TO THE 1870s

**Early settlement of Melbourne**

Melbourne, a primitive straggling village with a population of 6,000 in 1839, its unmade streets alternately muddy or dusty, a town without a drainage or sewerage system, was cleaner and more substantial by the late 1840s. Princes Bridge was under construction, the Botanic Gardens were being laid out, and Superintendent Charles Joseph La Trobe (1801-1875), who had arrived in October 1839 and became Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria on separation of the Colony from New South Wales in 1851, had created wide boulevards on the outskirts of town. There were newspapers, bookshops, theatres, and musical and literary societies. On the other hand, society was cliquish and given to vituperative clashes between opposing interests, classes, and religious groups. Of the population of 77,345 at the Census taken in March 1851, almost half was Anglican, one-quarter Catholic, and 15 per cent Presbyterian. Sectarianism was rife, leading to numerous street clashes and riots.

Two broad convictions held this fragile community together — the need for separation from New South Wales, and adamant opposition to transportation of convicts. Most settlers opposed government from Sydney, and regarded the District's token membership of six representatives on the Legislative Council as an insult. Attempts to renew transportation to mainland New South Wales, either by sending to Port Phillip several thousand Pentonvillians, young offenders who had served portion of their sentences in an English gaol, or by permitting convicts with conditional pardons to cross from Van Diemen's Land, infuriated the Port Phillip colonists. Several shiploads of convicts were diverted from Melbourne following heated demonstrations. The Anti-Transportation Association was formed in 1849, and an intercolonial conference at Melbourne early in 1851 founded the Australasian League for the Abolition of Transportation and unfurled a silken banner displaying both the Union Jack and golden stars representing the Southern Cross. Separation as the Colony of Victoria came on 1 July 1851. Opposition both to transportation and to the immigration of former convicts continued, but the broad alliance of pastoral and urban forces rapidly disintegrated as these opposing interests wrestled to make the new colony in their own image.

**Gold discoveries and their immediate effects**

The discoveries of gold in mid-1851, first at Clunes and near Warrandyte and later in the year at Ballarat, Creswick, Daylesford, and Castlemaine came at a crucial moment in Victoria's history: the pastoral industry had recovered, the labour problem had eased, and squatters looked to security of tenure under eight and fourteen year leases; colonial society was stabilising and there were good prospects for balancing the sexes; Victorians were preparing for self-government, with the first Legislative Council to be elected in September. Now all was thrown into doubt by the stampede of labour from station, wharf, and counting house and a vast inrush of overseas migrants, attracted by the news of spectacular and easy riches. Almost 600,000 migrants came to Victoria between 1852 and 1861, including nearly 300,000 from the United Kingdom and 250,000 from other Australian colonies and New Zealand. Most of them tried their hand at digging — panning, puddling, cradling, or sluicing alluvial deposits found at or near the surface, pursuing the gold bearing gravel beds of old streams, or following the quartz reefs by shaft and tunnel.

Victoria produced 40 per cent of the world's gold output between 1851 and 1861, but few diggers acquired riches, and most lived a hand to mouth existence under appalling conditions. Unemployment and an acute shortage of marriageable women forced a huge emigration of adult males at the end of the decade, but a quarter of a million arrivals, largely from the British Isles, remained and injected into Victorian life an optimism and go-ahead spirit which had been perversely stimulated by the vicissitudes of mining life.

A host of gold towns was added to the network of townships which had sprung from punts and bush inns built at important river crossings in the pastoral age. Local government was stimulated; roads and bridges largely became the responsibility of road boards and municipal councils elected by property owning ratepayers from 1853-54. Gold boosted the agricultural sector after an initial loss of labour to the diggings: sheep and cattle were bred for meat, market gardening expanded, the area under wheat increased more than threefold to over 40,000 hectares in 1859, and barley for malting, hay and oats for horse

feed, and tobacco, became significant cash crops. The earliest factories were flour mills, bakeries and breweries, tanneries and candle works, and the skills most in demand included those of blacksmiths, wheelwrights, and saddlers. More sophisticated establishments — acid works, boot and shoe factories, and foundries — soon followed.

Melbourne emerged from its wooden hut and canvas tent stage and began to be built in brick: 1854 saw the laying of the foundation stones of the Public Library and the University, 1856 that of Parliament House at the Eastern Hill, 1858 that of a new Treasury, and 1859 that of the new Elizabeth Street Post Office. To the original inner ring of municipalities from Hotham (North Melbourne) clockwise to Emerald Hill (South Melbourne) there was added an outer ring by the early 1860s stretching from Essendon in the north-west to Brighton in the south-east, each specialising in a particular function; quarrying, brickmaking, market gardening, wharfage and storage, coach and railway wagon repairs, noxious trades, or suburban residential retreats. Melbourne held one-quarter of the Colony's population. Australia's first public railway, linking Melbourne with its port at Sandridge (Port Melbourne), was opened in 1854 by the Hobsons Bay Railway Company: thereafter, privately owned railway companies gave way to government control. The Victorian Government bought the Melbourne-Geelong line in 1859, built lines to Williamstown and Sunbury in the same year, extended the systems to Ballarat (via Geelong) and Bendigo in 1862, and to the Murray border at Echuca in 1864. Public services stimulated private enterprise. This was a central strand in the economic life of Victoria.

The immigrants who came for gold stamped their character on Victoria until the turn of the century. Drawn largely from the British urban middle and upper working classes, they were literate, skilled, and ambitious; believing in individualism and meritocracy, they championed equality of opportunity over equality of achievement. Goldfields life strengthened the immigrants' values. Feelings of superiority to assisted migrants, annoyance with criminal Vandemonian elements, and fear of patient Chinese competitors, made the diggers vehemently opposed to pauper, ex-convict, and coloured immigration. Normally peaceable and law abiding, diggers were pushed into rebellion at Ballarat in 1854 by an insensitive goldfields commissioner and a new Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Charles Hotham (1806-1855) who had been appointed in December 1853. In a skirmish at dawn on 3 December 1854 disciplined military forces overwhelmed the ill-armed rebels; about thirty diggers and five soldiers were killed. The incident was rapidly incorporated into a liberal tradition of resistance to tyranny, and the radical implications of Eureka surfaced only fitfully.

The gold rushes and the Eureka Stockade strengthened the democratic movement: the conservative squatter interest had drafted a Constitution Bill which created a bicameral legislature insulated against the influence of the "masses" by means of residence and property qualifications for members and electors, and five-year parliaments. Eureka brought not only reform of goldfields administration and abolition of the licence fee, but the equivalent in the £1 annual miner's right. The years 1856-1859 saw the introduction of secret ballot, manhood suffrage, the abolition of property qualifications for members of the Assembly, and triennial parliaments. Digger radicalism, however, was tempered by the widespread desire for a stake in society: the ordinary colonist only wished for the possibility to achieve a modest competency. What distinguished this society was its preparedness to use the powers of the State to achieve desirable social ends. As high unemployment consequent on the decline of goldmining made diversification of Victorian agricultural and manufacturing industries imperative, moves to create a prosperous yeomanry by "unlocking the lands" and to stimulate secondary industry by tariff protection dominated politics for a generation.

#### "Unlocking the lands"

Priced out of the market by the shortage of land and by intense competition at sales, would-be farmers looked to the expiry of pastoral leases, and opportunities to select blocks on an instalment purchase plan. Pastoralists, determined to safeguard their investments and secure their hold, generally defeated *bona fide* selectors under the Land Acts of 1860 and 1862. By 1865, almost 1.2 million hectares, mainly in the Western District and around the goldfields, had been bespoken; most had passed to the squatters. Acts of 1865 and 1869, which introduced free selection before survey with tighter residence and improvement clauses, and more flexible rental and repayment arrangements, were more successful in

promoting small-scale settlement. The experiences of squatters and selectors were vastly different, however.

Local wool sales and rapid payment for clips worked to the advantage of squatters, and sheep breeders instigated local shows from 1859 which led to the development of regional strains and specialised studs to supply them. Sheep numbers more than doubled between 1860 and 1894 to 13,098,725. On the other hand, knowledge of soil, climate, and suitable cultivation techniques came slowly to selectors; indebtedness to storekeepers for credit, and reliance on squatters for part-time work, brought constant strain. Yet railway transport and technical innovation revolutionised the small farmers' lives: from the mid-1860s rail lines were continued to a number of points along the Murray River, and in the 1870s the Wimmera was penetrated. The grain belt shifted north to the drier plains, and the area sown to wheat in Victoria increased from 65,000 hectares in 1860-61 to 595,000 hectares in 1893-94. A colony which had not been able to supply its domestic market with wheaten flour became an exporter of wheat second only to South Australia. By the 1880s, a basic pattern of Victorian land-use had emerged: it was distinguished by an expansion in cereal production, the establishment of flocks of dual purpose sheep, extensive horsebreeding and dairyfarming, and the formation of orchards, vineyards, and tobacco and hop farms.

An extensive lease system had been instituted to encourage pastoral settlement of the Mallee, a movement which was aided by the stump jump plough and scrub roller, and State-funded water trusts had begun experiments in irrigation along the Murray and Goulburn Valleys. Similarly, dairying was transformed by government support for butter, cream, and cheese factories, and by the introduction of the centrifugal cream separator and refrigeration in the 1880s.

#### **Manufacturing industry**

The diversification of Victorian manufacturing industry had been as remarkable as the development of the agricultural sector. A degree of natural protection afforded by the Colony's isolation, the practice of government and semi-government bodies awarding contracts to local manufacturers, and the calibre of the artisan element among the gold rush immigrants were largely responsible for Victoria becoming the most highly industrialised of the Australian colonies by 1891, but contemporaries readily attributed industrial pre-eminence to the policy of tariff protection of native industry. Customs duties with the professed aim of stimulating native manufacturing by placing local entrepreneurs at an advantage against overseas, and particularly British, competitors, were also used for raising revenue, and became wider and heavier in their application through the 1870s and 1880s.

By the 1880s, quite sophisticated workshops in provincial towns and metropolitan suburbs were supplying mining equipment, railway carriages and locomotives, agricultural implements, pipes, and fencing materials to the private and public sectors throughout and even beyond Victoria. Victorian employment in manufacturing industry was 25 per cent higher than that in New South Wales in 1891, and rather different in composition: food, drink, and tobacco claimed a relatively low proportion of manufacturing employees, and textiles, clothing, and boots and shoes a significantly larger proportion. Victoria was without black coal, and had no substantial deposits of iron ore, silver, lead, or copper; nevertheless, foundries and metal working establishments were prominent. Goldmining remained for twenty-five years the largest single industry, with wool becoming the chief export again only in the 1890s.

#### **DEVELOPMENTS FROM THE 1870s TO THE 1890s**

The prosperity of the 1870s and 1880s reflected the recovery of quartz mining and the expansion of agriculture and manufacturing, but it was sustained by a stream of British capital to the continent. Investment was channelled through Melbourne, and profits were reinvested from Melbourne in other colonies: pastoral properties in the Riverina, western New South Wales and outback Queensland, and in mining in the eastern colonies and Tasmania. Very considerable sums were spent in Victoria by government, municipalities, and instrumentalities on public works. At the April 1891 Census, Victoria had a population of 1,140,653, of whom 490,986 lived in the Melbourne metropolitan area. Nowhere were the fruits of colonial prosperity — full employment, rising real wages, and improved living

and working conditions — more apparent than in “Marvellous Melbourne”. Nowhere in Australia were the tendencies to urbanisation and development of the commercial, industrial, and tertiary sectors better illustrated. Melbourne’s population increased by over 200,000 in the 1880s, the city thereby absorbing almost three-quarters of the increase in Victoria’s population, and housing more than four out of ten Victorians. The transformation of the commercial centre — the City of Melbourne itself — was dramatic; public buildings of considerable beauty such as the Melbourne International Exhibition Building (1880-81), the Princess Theatre (1886), and the Grand Hotel (Windsor) of 1893 complemented earlier structures. The increasingly impersonal world of the city and a superb public transport network encouraged the flight to the suburbs; 65 kilometres of cable tramways were laid between 1885 and 1891; the suburban railway system reached Box Hill in the east and Frankston in the south, and efforts were made to extend it to Laverton and St Albans. Land speculators and building societies encouraged the dream of home ownership and tens of thousands of weatherboard and brick cottages sprang up on the suburban frontier.

### Aboriginals after the 1850s

During the forty years of material progress enjoyed by the immigrants which followed the discovery of gold, the remnants of Aboriginal society were dealt with peremptorily, erratically, even at times contemptuously. In 1851, there were 2,693 Aboriginals; by 1863 there were fewer than 2,000 full bloods and some 200 part Aboriginals. Disease and dispiritedness — in the form of high mortality, especially among women of childbearing age and infants, and low fertility — fed on government indifference. The dedicated and warm hearted protector William Thomas (1793-1867), Guardian of Aboriginals and the Colony’s sole full-time official for Aboriginals, urged the 1858-59 Select Committee on the Aboriginals to compensate their loss of territory by establishing a reserve and a system of schools and supply depots. From 1860, the Central Board for Aboriginals sought to arrest the decline of the race, protecting the survivors from the excesses of white “civilisation”, especially alcoholism and venereal disease, by encouraging them to live on stations; four were operated by missions at Lake Hindmarsh (Ebenezer), Lake Tyers, Wellington (Ramahyuck), and Lake Condah; two secular institutions were run by the Board at Healesville (Coranderrk) and Hopkins River (Framlingham). In addition, thirteen small reserves and seventeen ration depots were set up to assist Aboriginals who chose to remain outside these stations.

Aboriginals at Coranderrk experienced a measure of self control and independence, using the station as a home base from which they could make hunting and fishing forays and seek seasonal work in the white community. But elsewhere Aboriginals had little autonomy, the stations being organised on paternalistic and even authoritarian lines, with the object of destroying Aboriginal religion and culture. A mounting belief in compulsory removal and confinement was supported by antagonistic Europeans in whom the Aboriginals inspired feelings of repugnance and/or guilt or feelings of envy if they were successful agriculturalists.

The *Aborigines Protection Act* 1869 gave the Board for the Protection of Aboriginals wide powers over the domicile, child custody, and work contracts of all Aboriginals, including part Aboriginals. When removal could not be effected by persuasion, the force of the law was invoked, and despite Aboriginal resistance about one-half of Victoria’s Aboriginal population of 1,067 was located on stations by 1877. Such rigid segregation and patronising treatment destroyed dignity and initiative, created resentment and bitterness and together with poor diets caused high mortality. At the same time, many Aboriginals came in to stations seeking the food, shelter, and companionship not to be found in a menacing and often cruel European world.

Disquiet at full blood mortality, increases in the part Aboriginal population, and allegations of mismanagement and over-expenditure brought a Royal Commission in 1877, and in 1882 a Board of Inquiry into Coranderrk station. The expression of ideals of encouraging Aboriginal self-reliance neatly complemented the Board’s anxiety at the increasing “insubordination” of young part Aboriginals on stations. The outcome reflected the confusion of European attitudes and motives — fear of an increasing half-caste “problem”, repugnance of miscegenation, sentimental attachment to the pure Aboriginals as the last of the “noble savages”, and desires to remove part Aboriginals from the

influence of full bloods. In 1886, the Aborigines Protection Act re-defined as non-Aboriginals almost all half-castes below the age of 34.

About half the residents of stations were expelled to find homes and jobs elsewhere; they were expected to merge into the European community and disappear as a social entity. Meanwhile the State would "smooth the dying pillow" of the station Aboriginals. The Board thus crippled the stations by removing the young and able bodied. Families and communities were divided. Marriages between full bloods and part-Aboriginals were forbidden, and determined efforts were made to separate children from their parents by placing the children in European institutions and households. The policy of forced assimilation failed, not only because Europeans remained suspicious and hostile but because Aboriginals retained a pride in their ancestry and a determination to reunify their families and communities. They regrouped in shanty settlements on the fringes of the stations, reserves, and towns. Times were especially hard because expulsion from the stations and the withdrawal of State assistance came as Victoria plunged into a depression.

### End of prosperity

By 1889-90, it became apparent in Melbourne that "land boomers" and house builders were operating well in advance of demand; the Victorian economy faltered, and then collapsed as British funds dried up, balance of payments problems emerged, private investment declined, and the Victorian Government cut public works programmes. From mid-1891, a number of land finance institutions failed, and suspension of payments by building societies followed. Falls in wool, wheat, and silver prices tied Victoria to the world-wide recession, a severe drought exacerbated the situation, and in April-May 1893 all but one of the Victorian based trading banks closed their doors. Building and construction, and engineering were particularly hard hit; unemployment increased from 10 per cent in mid-1891 to some 30 per cent in 1893. Governments maintained strict economy, and private charity was unable to relieve much of the distress, so there was unprecedented suffering for several years. By 1894, there were more than 20,000 vacant dwellings in Melbourne, deserted by their erstwhile purchasers and vandalised by the unemployed for fuel and saleable fittings. Many men went bush on government funded swamp-draining or scrub-clearing projects, and there was a vast exodus in the late 1890s to the Western Australian goldfields.

Victorian optimism and pride had been dealt a heavy blow by the bank crashes. Severe droughts from the mid-1890s set back the cattle and sheep industries, but the shipment of perishable foodstuffs — butter, fruit, and even meat — was very significant to Victoria's economic recovery. The year 1880 had seen the delivery in England of the first consignment of Australian frozen meat, and 1881 the first shipment of butter; governments provided cool stores and freezing works in the 1890s. From 1887 the Chaffey brothers at Mildura had demonstrated the suitability of the Murray Valley for citrus groves and vineyards. Ninety State funded trusts were watering some 40,000 hectares by 1899, and fruit production became firmly located in the Goulburn and Murray Valleys. Cool storage, canning, and improved transport and shipping boosted the expansion of soft fruit orchards. The Wimmera and Mallee Domestic and Stock Water Supply System was inaugurated during 1901. The wheat industry benefited from the production of new varieties for drier areas, and the reaper and binder, and stripper, were supplemented by the stripper harvester.

Food and clothing were the first manufacturing industries to recover; contracts from the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, which had begun sewerage the Melbourne metropolitan area, and from mining companies and water supply authorities in Western Australia were central to the revival of the engineering trade; dry farming stimulated superphosphate and agricultural implement production; and by the turn of the century the brick making, quarrying, sawmilling, joinery, and furniture manufacturing industries had largely recovered.

### MOVE TOWARDS FEDERATION

Intercolonial business interests had for long disposed some Victorians to think nationally, and the depression of the 1890s increased the keenness of manufacturers to extend their markets beyond Victorian borders. Irked by tariff barriers erected by other colonies in

retaliation against Victorian protectionism, factory owners looked to intercolonial free trade behind a national tariff wall. Hard headed pragmatic calculation conjoined with the nationalist sentiment which had burgeoned in the 1880s now produced the strongest federationist spirit in the Australian colonies. Victorian Governments in the 1880s had campaigned for an assertive British presence in the Pacific to forestall Germany, France, and Russia. Frustrated by the Imperial Government's reluctance to annex New Guinea and all the South Sea islands, Victorians advocated Australian federation as a means of creating a united colonial view on the Pacific and claiming for the colonist an equal voice in the Empire. Victorian Governments above all sought a united colonial response to Chinese immigration in the 1880s, and demonstrated nationalist sentiment by abolishing Separation Day as a public holiday in 1883 and championing 26 January as a national holiday. The patriotic aim was to create "Greater Britain in these southern seas", and the old gold migrants and their children blended fairly easily their Imperial and Australian loyalties.

The driving force behind all this was the Australian Natives' Association (ANA), formed in 1871, and it was the ANA which revitalised the federation movement after the depression. At the Corowa Conference in 1893, Dr John Quick (1852-1932) carried a resolution which provided the *modus operandi* for the drawing up of a federal compact: the next convention should consist of delegates elected by the people and should draft a constitution for direct submission to the people by referendum. Alfred Deakin (1856-1919), who had already dedicated himself to the cause of federation for more than a decade, played a central role in the Conventions of 1897-98. Federation caught the public imagination far more in Victoria than in any other colony, and that enthusiasm was apparent from the overwhelming YES vote at the referendums in 1898 and 1899. Indeed, only in Victoria did the affirmative vote represent a majority of qualified electors. Deakin went to London as Victorian representative for the submission of the Commonwealth Bill to the Imperial Parliament, and after hard negotiations with the British Government, Royal Assent was given in July 1900. The Commonwealth was inaugurated at Sydney on 1 January 1901, and the heir to the throne, the Duke of Cornwall and York, opened the first Federal Parliament in a ceremony at the Exhibition Building, Melbourne, on 9 May 1901.

### Effects of Federation on Victoria

It had been agreed, in a last ditch compromise with New South Wales in 1899 that the Federal capital would be in that colony, although at least 160 kilometres from Sydney, and that until a suitable site had been agreed on, the new Parliament would meet in Melbourne. Thus Melbourne became the political centre of Australia for 27 years, and the city's economic revival was assisted by the establishment of the Commonwealth Public Service and the winning of a major share of early Commonwealth contracts. When Sir Edmund Barton, (1849-1920), the first Australian Prime Minister, retired to the High Court in 1903, Deakin became the first of eight Prime Ministers born or educated in Victoria, and the State was to provide a majority of the leaders of the non-Labor parliamentary parties. Indeed Victoria was to prove the great electoral stronghold of the Liberal, Nationalist, and United Australia Parties, as the conservative side of politics called itself in various periods. Prime Ministers, apart from Deakin (1903 to 1904, 1905 to 1908, 1909 to 1910), were Stanley Melbourne Bruce (1883-1967) (1923 to 1929), Robert Gordon Menzies (1894-1978) (1939 to 1941, 1949 to 1966), Harold Edward Holt (1908-1967) (1966 to 1967), John Grey Gorton (1911- ) (1968-1971), and John Malcolm Fraser (1930- ) (1975 to 1983). A minority of Labor's parliamentary leaders was drawn from Victoria, and these included two Prime Ministers — Joseph Henry Scullin (1876-1953) (1929 to 1931) and John Curtin (1885-1945) (1941 to 1945).

Victorian Liberalism had held the infant Labor Party in check during the 1890s, undercutting Labor's appeal by moving government from the simple provision of large-scale development works — land transport and communications, water, river and harbour improvements, and the like — towards social welfare policies. Factory conditions and the hours worked by women and minors had been regulated in the 1870s and 1880s; exploitation of labour during the depression strengthened the anti-sweating campaign, and created a movement for the definition of a minimum wage, first by instrumentalities and local government, and later by private employers benefiting from the protective tariff. In 1894,

the wages board system was inaugurated, with worker and business representatives meeting on an industry by industry basis to fix minimum wages and conditions, and thus share the benefits of tariff protection with employees. The social contract of capital and labour, a peculiar phenomenon of the Victorian scene for some thirty years, was thus given a new lease of life. In 1901, the Victorian Government introduced a modest non-contributory old age pension scheme. On the other hand, while unemployment fell almost continuously from 1895-96 until 1911, real wages after regaining their pre-depression level by 1901 thereafter were largely static until the outbreak of war in 1914. Restive trade unions, parsimonious government, and the withdrawal of radical Liberals to the federal scene led to sharpened political conflict in Victoria.

Customs and excise had become the exclusive province of the Commonwealth, so that Victoria lost its major source of revenue, retained most of the service areas requiring heavy expenditure, and, despite reimbursement by the Commonwealth, looked increasingly to income tax and probate and stamp duties. There was a resurgence of conservatism under Premier W.H. (later Sir William) Irvine (1858-1943), and his Reform Government was persuaded by the rural based Kyabram Movement to reduce the size of Parliament, cut back the Public Service, and curtail public borrowing. "Iceberg" Irvine froze the wages board system, and in 1903 provoked a strike of engine drivers by ordering railwaymen's unions to disaffiliate from the Trades Hall Council. The Labor Party and the trade union movement, facing a bleak future in the State context, tended to transfer their energies and hopes to the federal scene. The Commonwealth constitution and electoral system were more democratic than their Victorian counterparts (the position of the Legislative Council was strengthened by Irvine, and women were not given the vote in Victoria until 1908), and there seemed a prospect of achieving through a federal government nationally observed and enforced minimum wages and conditions of work.

#### **First decade of Federation**

Deakin dominated the federal political scene for most of the first decade. He played a central role in legislation to create an immigration policy, the High Court, a system of Conciliation and Arbitration, an Australian fleet, and provision for universal military training. However, his electoral base, particularly in Victoria, was severely eroded at each general election; the Labor Party was able to identify itself with a growing impatience with Deakin's timid nationalism and constitutional conservatism.

Deakin resisted attempts to extend federal conciliation and arbitration legislation to include State employees, such as Victoria's railwaymen. However, he was prepared to make tariff protection of industry conditional on the payment of "fair and reasonable" wages. The "New Protection" imposed excise duties on goods manufactured by protected industries; these duties would be remitted if the Court of Conciliation and Arbitration found that an applicant paid "fair and reasonable" wages. H.V. McKay (1865-1926), a small farmer's son who had invented and perfected in the 1880s and 1890s a combine harvester, and established in Victoria by the early 1900s the largest agricultural implement works in the southern hemisphere, applied for a declaration that he paid "fair and reasonable" wages. The judgement of Mr Justice Henry Bournes Higgins (1851-1929), which went against McKay, declared 70 cents per day for an unskilled male adult worker to be "appropriate to the needs of the average employee regarded as a human being living in a civilised community". McKay contested the decision in the High Court, where the excise legislation was declared unconstitutional. Deakin's "New Protection" policy lay in ruins, but Australia had its first definition of a basic wage. Deakin opposed any change to the Constitution, and merged the remnant of the Protectionists with the Free Traders in the Fusion of 1909. The widespread conviction that he had abandoned liberal principles and policies led to a landslide victory for Labor in 1910; Andrew Fisher led the Commonwealth's first elected majority Labor government from 1910 to 1913.

#### **FIRST WORLD WAR**

Australia was preparing for another election as European events moved the world inexorably towards war in July-August 1914. Speaking at Colac, Opposition Leader Andrew Fisher declared "Australians will stand beside our own to help defend her to our last man

and our last shilling". On 4 August Germany invaded Belgium, and when Britain declared war on Germany, Australia was automatically at war. The first British shot of the war was fired from Fort Nepean across the bows of the German steamship *Pfalz* as it made to pass through the Heads on 5 August. The captain turned his ship to Portsea where he, his ship, and its crew were placed under arrest.

At the Gaiety Theatre, Melbourne, on 15 August, vocalist W.W. ("Skipper") Francis caught the rush of Imperial patriotism when he presented a song which became the most popular among soldiers and civilians during the war. The audience made the rafters ring with the chorus of "Australia will be there."

The National Anthem was sung with fervour at public meetings, and Victorian men flocked in their thousands to the recruiting depots. On 25 September, under lowering skies and watched by a vast crowd, the first Victorian contingent — some 5,000 men — marched with fixed bayonets through Melbourne and past Parliament House where the Governor-General took the salute. In mid-October, with the men singing "Goodbye, Melbourne Town", the troopships steamed down Port Phillip to cross the Bight and rendezvous at King George's Sound. It was not until the end of April 1915 that civilians learned the destination of "their boys"; they thrilled to the glowing press accounts of the "Baptism of Fire" experienced on the Gallipoli Peninsula on 25 April, as part of an Allied offensive against the Dardanelles. The terrible cost of war was made apparent when the first casualty lists became available on the weekend of 1-2 May, and were published in the Monday papers. Australia, the Anzac legend was to proclaim, became a nation at Gallipoli, and the word "digger" became a byword for gallantry and self-sacrifice.

This unanimity and enthusiasm did not last. Victoria contributed 112,399 men to the Australian Imperial Force (AIF), but the carnage at Gallipoli and on the western front meant that naive fervour no longer motivated recruits after 1915. As the war that was expected to end within weeks stretched into years, and Imperial patriots contemplated conscription to boost flagging recruitment, William Morris Hughes, who had succeeded Fisher as Prime Minister in October 1915, came to regard victory as the paramount concern. His abandonment of Labor's domestic programme, especially of price controls at a time of pegged wages and soaring living expenses, soured his relations with the Labor movement, especially the trade unions. When he arrived in Melbourne in August 1916 from a trip to Britain he found the country divided over conscription and, by implication, the war. The powerful Australian Natives' Association had mounted a strong campaign for compulsion throughout the State, and had taken the question into the streets and factories of working class Melbourne. On the other hand, the Melbourne Trades Hall Council organised a special interstate congress of unions representing 97 unions, and nearly one-half the unionists in Australia declared by an overwhelming vote in May its loathing of conscription. The Easter uprising in Dublin had thrown the Catholic community into turmoil and forced a reassessment of loyalties. Hughes announced a plebiscite for 28 October, and the campaigns which followed split families, local communities, and the nation. The overall vote went narrowly against conscription, although marginally in its favour in Victoria, and the effect was to draw battle lines on the home front between those who saw Australian and British interests as inseparable and those willing to define separate Australian interests and give them priority. Anti-conscription feeling precipitated splits in the federal and most of the State Labor parties, including Victoria, and only one of Victoria's seventeen Labor parliamentarians followed Hughes when he walked out of the Caucus on 14 November. Hughes' supporters and the Opposition merged to form the Nationalist Party, governing on a "win-the-war" platform.

Worse was to come in 1917 when Hughes opened his second campaign for conscription, at Bendigo in the safe electorate to which he had transferred from Sydney. Dr Mannix, (1864-1963) Roman Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne, became Australia's most prominent anti-conscriptionist. The Mannix-Hughes duel was dramatic, with Hughes seemingly coming off second best. The Archbishop's argument that Australia was doing her fair share in the war, let alone his less temperate remarks, drove Melbourne's Protestant and business establishment to fury. Victoria swung against conscription, and the nation voted NO again. The conscription issue in Australia — and Victoria at both plebiscites was the most closely divided of the States — left a legacy of class bitterness, sectarian animosity, and political



venom which poisoned society for a generation. Appropriating to themselves the mantle of patriotism and loyalty by their very name, the Nationalists encouraged the process by which Labor moved left and became identified as a sectional and Catholic party.

### Effects of First World War: The 1920s

When the First World War ended in 1918 there was little prospect of the return to normality that many Australians desired. Anzac Day, commemorated by returned soldiers during the war and kept as a public holiday on 25 April from 1926, became the occasion for a patriotic demonstration. By the late 1920s some 25,000 ex-servicemen marched each year in Melbourne, and the city had become the national headquarters of the Returned Sailors', Soldiers' and Airmen's Imperial League of Australia (known as the Returned Services League or RSL from 1965). The Victorian born Gallipoli veteran Gilbert (later Sir Gilbert) Dyett (1891-1964) became its longest serving President, 1919 to 1946, and the League had for almost the whole period to 1934 more members in Victoria than in any other State. Although there was general support for the League's campaign for veteran welfare, its political conservatism and policy of soldier preference in employment tended to place it at loggerheads with the trade union movement.

The surface euphoria of life in Victoria in the early 1920s disguised quite serious political tension, class conflict, and sectarian animosity. When the "good times" began to evaporate from 1926-27, deep seated social ills were exposed. Ugly scenes on the waterfront and in the timber industry demonstrated determined resistance to what the Labor movement saw as calculated attacks on working class living standards. Large sections of the labour force had had their loyalty impugned in the conscription rows, had suffered severely during the war, and shared only marginally in the prosperity of the post-war years.

The fragility of the post-war social fabric was revealed in solid and respectable Melbourne in November 1923 when the police went on strike. Victoria's police force had been simmering with discontent for years: there was no pension scheme, and wages, leave entitlements, promotion and disciplinary systems, and working conditions were markedly inferior to those in most other States. Above all, the institution of plain clothes special supervisors — the police called them "spooks" — to keep men on the beat under surveillance and report any inefficiency or improper conduct was deeply resented as doubting constables' professionalism. On the eve of Gala Week — the highlight of Melbourne's racing calendar — a group of constables at Russell Street police station refused duty until the "spooks" had been withdrawn. Events moved rapidly over the next 48 hours: more than three-quarters of the metropolitan constabulary went on strike, and Premier H.S.W. (later Sir Harry) Lawson (1875-1952) sacked the offenders with a declaration that "this is mutiny".

A weekend of mob violence in the City of Melbourne began with sections of the public and strikers abusing and threatening "loyalist" police. Riots broke out on Friday evening, "two-up" schools flourished openly, and at the Town Hall "special constables" sworn in from volunteers had to use batons and fire hoses to repulse an attack by a mob. The criminal element, swollen in Cup week, emerged to intimidate, assault, and rob peaceable citizens. By Cup Day, order had been restored by 5,000 special constables organised under Sir John Monash (1865-1931). The wave of support for the Government's conduct betrayed a shocked realisation of the thin line between order and chaos and a widespread fear of anarchy. The strikers were never reinstated.

The outstanding political figure of the 1920s was Victoria's Stanley Melbourne Bruce, Prime Minister from 1923 to 1929, and later Viscount Bruce of Melbourne. His vision of an Empire strengthened by an internal circulation of migrants, capital, and produce struck a responsive chord in his home State, for Bruce's policies — closer settlement of the land, protection of manufacturing and agriculture, organised marketing of primary produce, State assisted migration, and development projects on a grand scale, planned, promoted, and financed by government — already had a secure place in Victoria.

### CLOSER LAND SETTLEMENT

The collapse of the Melbourne boom and the end of the 1880s, the depression of the 1890s, and the loss of population by emigration to other colonies had led to a resurgence

of the ideal of Victoria as the small farmer's idyll. Partly based upon a sentimental and nostalgic attachment to "natural" rural values as against the "artificiality" of city life, and partly upon an attempt to arrest Victoria's loss of population, the ambitious attempts to promote closer settlement were to prove immensely costly and inefficient.

It should be noted here that Aborigines in Victoria did not share in this generosity. Not only were their requests for land ignored, but by 1902 more than half of that in reserves had been returned to the Crown, and most supply depots were closed. The Board for the Protection of Aborigines, observing a steady decline in the number of its wards and confidently predicting that Aborigines would be extinct within twenty years, began to close the stations and group the survivors at Lake Tyers in east Gippsland. This site had originally been chosen because it was thought that such poor land would not attract European interest. The Board completed the transfer in 1926, withdrawing rations and using police powers where necessary to enforce its will. Although the 1910 Aborigines Act, reflecting a recognition that the policies pursued since 1886 had been inhumane, permitted the giving of assistance to part-Aborigines, the Board chose from 1926 to exclude them. Despite this treatment, the Aboriginal community in Victoria continued to recover and strengthen.

Between 1904 and 1938 Closer and Soldier Settlement cost \$140m, involving an unrecovered debt of \$62.8m (\$19.4m from closer settlement, and \$43.4m from discharged soldier settlement), most of which had still not been met at the outbreak of war in 1939. By 1909, almost \$2.8m had been spent on the compulsory acquisition of estates, their subdivision and reallocation among small farmers, and advances of capital. The Murray Government attempted to accelerate the rate of settlement by increasing the maximum value of allotments, the upward limit of assistance, and the period for repayment of advances and the principal. By late 1914, more than 200,000 hectares had been acquired, arrears totalled \$438,000, and only 2,579 lessees were settled. Governments persisted with closer settlement, despite a Royal Commission in 1914 which criticised the unsuitable nature of much of the land purchased, the allotment of areas too small to provide a living, and the inadequate means of would-be farmers. These strictures applied especially to dry farming areas, but even in irrigated areas the success of closer settlement was limited.

The atmosphere of the early post-war years was not conducive to rational rural planning. The immense debt of gratitude Victorians felt for their returned soldiers made them anxious to gratify those who wished to settle on the land. After 1917, the placement of discharged soldiers on agricultural holdings was given precedence under a succession of Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Acts. From the beginning this often well intentioned but short sighted scheme bore the seed of an immense human tragedy. The offer of parcels of land, advances of \$1,000 for improvements, low interest rates, and deferred payment of instalments, rent, and interest for three years proved overwhelmingly attractive to men whose lives had been shattered by the war, and who had dreamt of a stake in the country they had defended. C.J. Dennis (1876-1938), the popular versifier and "laureate of the larrikin", caught the impulse well in *Digger Smith* (1918), in which a former Collingwood larrikin appeared as the archetypal repatriated soldier anxious to make a fresh start.

Of the 75,000 or so soldiers who returned to Victoria, more than 21,000 applied, and under the influence of intense public excitement and enthusiasm for "our boys", 16,633 were approved by qualification committees. Between 1917 and 1932, some 920,000 hectares were acquired for soldier settlers at a cost approaching \$28m.

Most of the mistakes of the earlier years were now repeated under soldier settlement. Of 11,410 returned soldiers assisted up to 1932, only a small minority managed by then to repay their debts in full, some 628 had transferred or surrendered their leases, 4,583 leases had been cancelled, and a large number of the remaining settlers were in dire straits. Saddled from the outset with immense debts for land and advances, placed on blocks uneconomic in size, unable to raise capital to enlarge their farms, and frequently lacking the requisite skills, Victoria's soldier settlers from the mid-1920s faced serious declines in the value of their produce. Governments, reluctant to face facts, made further concessions, capitalising the arrears and extending the period for repayment of purchase money and advances. The State — and the Commonwealth as a partner in the venture — accumulated immense debts in terms of unpaid advances and interest.

Victoria was also an enthusiastic partner with the Commonwealth in a scheme of land settlement for British migrants. Empire Settlement Conferences had enthused about the virtues of a redistribution of the United Kingdom's population throughout the Empire — a transfusion of British blood from the heart to the extremities — in a co-operative venture jointly financed by Great Britain and the Dominions. In Australia's case the Commonwealth would dispense loan money, subsidising every migrant selected for farm settlement, and the States would implement closer settlement schemes. From 1922 Victorian Governments, aiming to attract 2,000 would-be farmers of some capital, boosted the State as "Victoria Unlimited" in the United Kingdom. The result was a failure which reflected poorly on Victorian and Australian reputations: of the 464 migrants placed on the land — mainly middle-class British ex-soldiers of small capital — more than half had vacated their blocks by 1933. These British migrants had received inferior land left over by citizen and soldier settlers and were not given the training and supervision Victoria promised them. Facing ruin they agitated for compensation through their British Overseas Settlers' Associations. The scandal was well aired before the Victorian and Commonwealth Governments agreed to pay compensation. Victoria had lost \$600,000 by writing off settlers' debts; another \$200,000 had to be found for cash compensation.

#### POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE 1920s

The complex political situation in Victoria had not encouraged stable and resolute government; in particular, the emergence of the Country Party holding the balance of power in the Assembly discouraged careful scrutiny of closer and soldier settlement schemes and State funding of services in rural areas. Farmers' and country factions had featured in Parliament since the 1880s, but only during the First World War did rural interests organise electorally on a widespread and concerted basis, to resist moves to increase Melbourne's parliamentary representation and to insist upon grower participation in State funded marketing boards to handle wartime wheat pools. Led by the militant Mallee farmer Percy Stewart (1885-1931), the Victorian Farmers' Union (VFU) of 1916 expanded its support from the marginal wheat lands of the north-west to Gippsland dairy country and Goulburn Valley irrigation areas. The VFU won seats in these regions mainly from the Nationalists, and rapidly circumscribed the electoral prospects of Labor which hoped to establish a rural base but had few firm seats outside Melbourne and the central goldmining towns. By 1920, the VFU had more than 500 branches and 15,000 members; after that year's general election its parliamentary representatives held the balance of power.

Between the end of the war and the 1929 election, Victoria had eight separate ministries, and much of the instability was due to struggles within the Country Party (as the VFU was known from 1927), between those, notably John Allan (1866-1936), prepared to enter composite or coalition ministries with other parties, and others, notably Percy Stewart and Albert (later Sir Albert) Dunstan (1879-1950), who seemed to oppose alliances in favour of support in return for concessions to a Country Party holding the balance of power. Stewart moved into federal politics, and his death in 1931 left the way clear for the astute Albert Dunstan. Born at Cope Cope in the Wimmera, the thirteenth of fourteen children of a farming couple, Dunstan had farmed in Queensland and in the Victorian Mallee, entering Parliament in 1920.

H.S.W. (later Sir Harry) Lawson, the Dunolly born and Castlemaine raised barrister and solicitor, led a Nationalist Ministry with country support between 1918 and 1924. Labor attempted to attract Country Party support by opposing any increase in the number of metropolitan Assembly seats and approving freight rate and rail fare reductions, compulsory wheat pools, and a butter price stabilising scheme, but the Labor Government of George Prendergast (1854-1937) was short lived. Although the Country Party held a mere thirteen of the Assembly's 65 seats, John Allan became Premier in the Country-Nationalist coalition of 1924-1927, and he secured an electoral redistribution which gave a rural-metropolitan voting ratio of 100 to 47. This arrangement lasted until 1944. The Country Party split over the issue of coalitions in 1927, the dissidents formed the Country Progressive Party, and the election that year saw the further fragmentation of the Assembly: the Nationalist seats reached an all time low of 15, Labor a high of 28. However, the first Labor ministry of E.J. Hogan (1883-1964) could satisfy neither democrats' calls for

electoral reform nor country demands for small farmer aid, and a Nationalist ministry shortly took office under Sir William McPherson, a prominent businessman and philanthropist.

### GROWTH OF MELBOURNE

The political influence of the Country parties between the wars was anachronistic in so heavily industrialised and urbanised a State as Victoria. In 1921, Melbourne held more than half the State's population (1,531,280), and the capital absorbed some 80 per cent of Victoria's population increase to 1933, giving it the highest concentration (55 per cent) in Australia. Melbourne's population exceeded one million in 1929, experienced a slight decline in the worst years of the Depression, and passed the million mark again in 1934 on the eve of the city's centenary. Her two largest residential suburbs, Caulfield and Camberwell, housed more Victorians than did the State's three major provincial cities — Geelong, Ballarat, and Bendigo.

Melbourne was a major city in world terms, and its growth reflected not merely commercial and logistic domination of the hinterland but the upsurge of the manufacturing sector and the attraction it exerted upon investors, immigrants, and a significant proportion of the State's young rural population. Cheap, fast and efficient public transport — a network of tramlines, and electrified trains by 1923 — encouraged Melbourne's expansion east and south towards the hills and the bay. The exodus from a congested city centre only compounded problems of traffic snarls, inadequate open space, air and water pollution and industrial blight, with which the decentralised system of local government and statutory authorities simply could not cope. The Metropolitan Town Planning Commission produced a comprehensive report in 1929, but the Depression and the Second World War, together with an unpropitious political situation, ensured that there was no concerted planning.

### Economic growth in the 1920s

Manufacturing industry was the great generator of urban and domestic prosperity in the 1920s. Between the end of the war and the peak year of 1926-27, more than 2,500 new factories opened in Victoria (an increase approaching 50 per cent) and the factory labour force expanded by almost one-third to an average of 161,639 persons, representing almost one in ten of the Victorian population. The value of manufacturing industry production was nearly three times that of agricultural industry in 1927-28. The stimulation given by the war to textile, chemical, pharmaceutical, rubber, and leather industries was continued by tariff protection, stiff increases encouraging import replacement and stimulating large scale foreign investment (for example, in textiles and chemicals), especially in the form of Australian subsidiaries of British companies. Victoria's low income tax was an incentive to business, and the State developed the Yallourn brown coal deposits to provide reliable and cheap power.

The New South Wales coalfields on which Victoria depended were plagued by industrial unrest and stoppages. The State Coal Mine at Wonthaggi from 1909 supplied some of the railways' needs. From 1917, expert committees had addressed themselves to the technical problems of brown coal mining and the production of electricity. In 1920, Sir John Monash, the distinguished Melbourne born civil engineer who had risen during the war to the command of the Australian Army Corps in France, was appointed general manager of the State Electricity Commission (SEC). The first power flowed to Melbourne in 1924, at the end of which year Yallourn had a capacity for 50,000 kW, and Newport station had already been constructed to supplement the city's requirements. The generation of power in factories changed dramatically: in 1930-31 electricity displaced steam as the principal motive power, and in 1938-39 just over three-quarters of the total rated horsepower was provided by motors driven by purchased electricity. Domestic consumption rose steadily, even in the worst years of the Depression, alerting the SEC to the attractive nature of electric power in the home. The Commission intensified its promotion of electrical home appliances. The average domestic consumption exceeded 500 kWh for the first time in 1936-37; in 1981 the average consumption was 5,500 kWh, an eleven-fold increase.

The establishment of the first motor vehicle assembly plant by a large-scale manufacturer — Ford Motor Company of Australia, at Geelong in 1925 — epitomised industrial

development in the 1920s, illustrating, as it did, the very considerable increase in the production of consumer durables, the trend to mechanisation and mass production, and the impact of foreign investment. Within a year, Ford employed 1,000 workers, and modern production line methods signalled the end of the custom built days of the motor car industry. From 1926 General Motors established assembly plants in all the mainland capitals. Chassis came from England and Canada, and Holden's Motor Body Builders made bodies from imported sheet steel at its South Australian plant, but Australian content — the percentage of Australian labour and material in the factory cost of complete cars manufactured locally — was already high in assembly plant construction and body building. Car assembly fed on industries supplying paints, varnishes and lacquers, fabrics, tyres, spark plugs, and batteries, and the tariff caused the rapid growth of an Australian components industry. In 1937, Australian content approached 50 per cent.

Melbourne was not merely one of Australia's major manufacturing centres; it dominated the financing, direction, and control of metallurgical and other basic industries throughout the continent, a position which was strengthened in the 1920s, barely touched by the Depression, and confirmed by the war. Broken Hill Proprietary Co. Ltd (BHP), established in 1885 with its headquarters in Melbourne, was in the process of moving from silver-lead mining to steelmaking on the outbreak of the First World War which was to make the company's iron and steel central to the Australian construction industry. Essington Lewis (1881-1961), the managing director, was the key figure in BHP's expansion. He divided his time between four States, but lived in Melbourne, where BHP had its headquarters, hundreds of kilometres from its mines and plants.

The other powerful Melbourne financial group centred on William Lawrence ("W.L.") Baillieu (1859-1936) and his associates. "W.L.", who had lost almost everything in the crash of the 1890s, moved into dealing in shares and mining property, and the mining of gold in Victoria, gold and copper in Queensland, and silver and lead at Broken Hill in New South Wales. Early in the 1900s, when BHP was downgrading its role at the Hill, "W.L." and his partners revived companies holding outlying leases, and financed a successful attempt to recover zinc from the vast tailings by the flotation process.

War accelerated the movement of this loose group of entrepreneurs into base metal refining, replacing German interests which had been the chief buyers of Australian lead and zinc concentrates and copper. Baillieu and Colin (later Sir Colin) Fraser (1875-1944), the geologist, mining engineer, and company director, presided over these companies. The zinc producing companies formed the co-operative Zinc Producers' Association, and Baillieu pledged the family fortune to float a \$2m loan in 1920 to support the Electrolytic Zinc Company of Australia. Again the various Broken Hill companies stood behind this gigantic venture. Herbert (later Sir Herbert) Gepp (1877-1954), the chemist who had assisted in establishing the viability of the flotation process, became general manager. The plant at Risdon, Tasmania, produced the first commercial zinc ingots in 1921, using hydro-electric power.

Known as the Collins House group after the Melbourne building it occupied from 1910, these entrepreneurs were established internationally by the 1920s. The foundation of their wealth was the Broken Hill lode. Broken Hill Associated Smelters acquired BHP's share in 1926, and progressively between the wars rival companies at Broken Hill closed or sold out, leaving Collins House in complete control by 1939. The group also entered paper making, as Associated Pulp and Paper Mills (APPM), which commenced production at Burnie, Tasmania in 1938. APPM, chaired by the politician, company director, and business associate of W.L. Baillieu, Walter (later Sir Walter) Massy-Greene (1874-1952), had its own forests, processed its own pulpwood, and pioneered the commercial use of eucalypt pulps in the production of fine writing and printing papers.

#### THE DEPRESSION

The power of Melbourne based finance and business expertise was thus paramount between the wars. However, by the late 1920s Australia's economic prosperity was faltering. After 1926-27, Victorian factory employment began its first sustained fall since the war, and international prices for agricultural produce were declining at an alarming rate. Vast borrowing to finance migration, closer settlement, manufacturing advance, and improvements in suburban and rural living conditions, had created a massive debt, with the interest

to be covered largely by earnings from exports or serviced by additional loans. Yet wage fixation and the regulation of industrial relations, rather than the condition of the economy, dominated the 1929 House of Representatives election. Bruce's intention of abolishing the Commonwealth Arbitration Court led to a massive gain for Labor, which won a most decisive federal victory. The Australian Labor Party (ALP) won 46 of the 75 seats, and for the only time an Australian Prime Minister lost his seat. James Henry Scullin, born near Ballarat, the son of a railway worker, and in turn a grocer and newspaper editor, became Prime Minister. In Victoria, the Labor and Country Progressive Parties reached agreement on a relief programme for workers and farmers, and combined to defeat the McPherson Government after the November election. The second Hogan Labor Ministry took office, holding 30 seats in an Assembly of 65.

The Scullin and Hogan Labor governments were swiftly overwhelmed by the massive economic and social problems of the Depression. Scullin found that almost one-half of the country's export income was required to meet external interest payments, and prices for wool and wheat were falling dramatically. Some answer to the acute balance of payments situation was sought in another round of tariff increases to discourage imports and a campaign for farmers to "grow more wheat". Anxious to arrest their declining incomes after bad seasons in 1927-28 and 1929-30, Victoria's farmers did just what Premier Hogan urged, sowing an extra 400,000 hectares in 1930-31 (and establishing a record of 1.86 million hectares which still stood at 1980-81). World prices continued their downward trend. Virtual cessation of capital inflow as a result of the London and New York financial crisis hit public works programmes. Throughout Australia from 1927 unemployment increased continuously, from some 7 per cent of trade unionists to a peak of 30 per cent in the second quarter of 1932.

Victorians were gripped by fear in the 1930s — fear of retrenchment and the loss of savings and property, the dependence on the charity of family and benevolent societies, and the descent into poverty. What hurt most was many parents' inability to feed and clothe their children adequately.

For the unemployed there was the demoralisation of the soup kitchen, of the dole initially administered by local ladies' benevolent societies, and dodging the rent collector or explaining to a bank or building society the inability to pay home instalments. At Christmas 1930, in one of his many outstanding charitable gestures, Sidney Myer (1878-1934), the successful merchant who had migrated to Melbourne in 1897, gave Christmas dinner to 12,000 persons, 2,000 more than had been invited. The Commonwealth Government in the winter of 1930 created a uniformed army of the destitute when it issued quantities of surplus military clothing, dyed a dull black. The city shelters for single men were closed, and the Broadmeadows Camp of the First World War opened in their place. This last initiative betrayed government and popular fear of the unemployed; spokesmen for the unemployed, especially communists, inspired distrust, alarm, and hatred.

Orthodox economic thinking in the 1930s, consistent with British financial interests which feared Australian default in respect to her debts and drastic devaluation, looked to balanced budgets, and to retrenchments and wage cuts to achieve them. Sir Otto Niemeyer visited as the representative of the Bank of England, and he trenchantly criticised what he considered Australians' inflated standard of living as a product of heavy borrowing and high protection. The Chairman of the Commonwealth Bank Board, Sir Robert Gibson (1863-1934), was to add his influence to the demand for balanced budgets, a policy endorsed by the "Melbourne Agreement" reached at the Premiers' Conference of August 1930, which authorised expenditure only on public works fully covering interest and sinking fund payments.

Prime Minister Scullin's attendance at the Imperial Conference took him out of the country from 25 August 1930 until 6 January 1931, and his absence affected the government badly. A groundswell trade union reaction opposing wage reductions, advocating increased government spending, and proposing reduction of interest on bonds crystallised about the person of the New South Wales Labor leader, J.T. ("Jack") Lang, who became Premier in October. The Acting Prime Minister, James Fenton (1864-1950), M.H.R. for Maribyrnong (Victoria), and Acting Treasurer, J.A. Lyons (1879-1939), a former schoolteacher and Tasmanian Premier, found themselves at loggerheads with elements in caucus demanding credit expansion and resistance to the claims of bondholders.

### Premiers' Plan and aftermath

The Premiers' Conference of February 1931 met in an atmosphere of trade union fury at the reduction of the basic wage by 10 per cent on the instruction of the Arbitration Court, a decision followed by Victoria's wages boards. Premier Lang's proposal for credit expansion, pegging of interest on internal bonds, and a moratorium on interest liabilities to Britain, was defeated, and only the Labor Premiers from Victoria and South Australia supported the Federal Treasurer's plans for modest credit expansion and assistance in the form of funds for public works for the unemployed and wheat bounties and financial relief for farmers. In the event the hostile Senate rejected Labor's Bills, and defections to the right and left deprived the Scullin Government of its majority. Sir Robert Gibson refused a request for credit expansion.

The end of the Scullin Government was imminent. Lyons and Fenton, advocates of orthodox finance, supported an Opposition "no confidence" motion, and thus placed themselves outside the Labor Party. May 1931 saw the formation of the United Australia Party (UAP) by the Nationalist Party and Lyons' followers; J.G. (later Sir John) Latham (1877-1964) stood aside as Opposition leader in favour of Lyons. As well as a reinforced and reinvigorated Opposition, the Scullin Government faced condemnation from every mainland State Labor executive. The Premiers' Conference of May-June 1931 adopted the Premiers' Plan, embodying reductions of government expenditure by 20 per cent, including wages and salaries and most war, invalid, and old age pensions. In November, the Lang Labor group supported an Opposition "no confidence" motion, and the Governor-General, Sir Isaac Isaacs, agreed to Scullin's request for a double dissolution. The Government was decimated at the election on 19 December. "Joe" Lyons' UAP had a majority in its own right — achieved on only three occasions by single parties in earlier federal elections. He was Prime Minister for more than seven years, at that time the second longest period of office in Federal history, and was succeeded on his death in 1939 by Robert (later Sir Robert) Gordon Menzies (1894-1978) in his first period as Prime Minister (1939-1941).

In Victoria and New South Wales political events were moving to a crisis. The Victorian Parliamentary Labor Party, in a minority in both Houses, and against a background of rising unemployment, inadequate relief, and an increasing incidence of eviction, was assailed by the UAP Opposition and the extra-parliamentary Labor party and the trade union movement. The Hogan Ministry's Bill to raise funds for unemployment relief was rejected by the Legislative Council, and the Government was forced to reduce the taxation on high incomes and impose taxes on those incomes as low as \$2 per week. Only married men qualified for sustenance payments. Single men might obtain free meals and a bed at government-subsidised shelters, if there was room; homeless single women had to apply to the Charity Organisation Society until a Women's Labor Bureau was established to provide two days' work a week at 75c a day; eventually local Ladies' Benevolent Societies were subsidised to supply one day's work a week for single women living with their families or relations.

Inadequacy of relief measures, the Government's failure to stop the Railway Commissioners retrenching employees, and police handling of demonstrations by the unemployed led to bitter criticism of the Hogan Ministry by the ALP Conference and the Trades Hall Council. Premier Hogan sided publicly with Lyons' "sound finance" men in the Federal Cabinet, but nevertheless he was prepared to increase unemployment relief taxes. When the Opposition insisted on a clause making work for sustenance compulsory, the ALP Conference and the Trades Hall Council called on Premier Hogan to repeal the Act or resign. The Ministry did not gazette the necessary regulations to implement the legislation.

The Lyons Government and the Victorian UAP Opposition pressured Hogan to observe strictly the Premiers' Plan of 1931; broadly speaking, the Labor movement regarded the Plan as a betrayal of the working class, and expected Hogan to repudiate it at the 1932 Premiers' Conference. In New South Wales, Premier Lang's contempt for the Plan and his policy of defaulting on overseas interest payments were polarising society. When he arrived in Melbourne in April 1932, and made a slanging attack on Melbourne financial interests, he was received in some Labor circles as something of a hero. On the other hand, Sir Stanley Argyle (1867-1940), UAP Opposition leader, declared that Victoria's public honour would be besmirched if the Premiers' Plan were not faithfully observed.

The fear of the Unemployed Workers' Movement brought attacks on the unemployed, one march being broken up by baton-wielding and mounted police, some of them drawing revolvers. New South Wales' secret, right-wing armies, notably the New Guard, had their counterparts in Victoria, but they kept a low profile. From the special constables sworn in to break the Melbourne police strike there had arisen the White Guard, organised on a permanent basis by the soldier and businessman Sir Cyril Brudenell-White (1876-1940). In 1930, the remnants formed themselves into a League of National Security, ready to employ its 30,000 members (early 1931) in any emergency to protect, as they saw it, law and order, life, and property.

In Victoria the resolution of political conflict had none of the drama of that in New South Wales. When Parliament met in April 1932, Premier Hogan was overseas. Acting Premier T. Tunnecliffe (1869-1948) refused to give an assurance that the Government would adhere to the Premiers' Plan, and the recently reunited Country Party voted with the Opposition to defeat the Ministry. The day before the election, the Governor of New South Wales, Sir Philip Game, dismissed Premier Lang from office when his Government attempted to block a Commonwealth Government move to seize State revenues to cover Lang's defaults. Labor in Victoria was annihilated, Premier Hogan resigned by cable, and Sir Stanley Argyle, interpreting the result as a mandate to implement the Premiers' Plan, took office. Labor expelled Hogan and four other parliamentarians, and the ALP Conference of 1933, endorsing the expulsions, directed that no leader of the State Parliamentary Labor Party was ever to form a government unless he commanded a majority in the Assembly. This directive was to be observed for more than ten years.

#### **Argyle Government and effects of the Depression**

The Argyle Government implemented between 1932 and 1935 policies of taxation and wage reduction and economies in expenditure. Opposed to expansive programmes of public works to absorb the unemployed, the Premier boasted his continuing adherence to the Premiers' Plan, and at the 1934 Loan Council meeting he said that most of Victoria's share would be spent on reducing the deficit, and only a quarter on unemployment relief. The Unemployment Relief Administration Act was described by the Minister, W.S. (later Sir Wilfred) Kent Hughes (1895-1970), as part of a plan to co-ordinate all social welfare services by creating a ten member Employment Council of Victoria, and a complete code for dealing with relief works, sustenance payments, ration scales and offences against the code. Lax administration, indiscriminate giving and the mixing of the "dissolute" with the "decent" poor were said to lead to the "demoralisation" of the recipients of relief.

From 1932, the Government set about making work for sustenance compulsory. Forced on the Hogan Government late in 1931, but opposed by the trade union movement, work for sustenance was gazetted by the Argyle Government and administered through local councils. All able bodied unemployed men had to earn unemployment relief by working on government provided projects; any who refused could be struck out. Unemployed groups opposed work for sustenance, initially because payment was below basic wage rates until August 1932, and Labor Councils boycotted the scheme. The Government armed itself with powers to call men up for sustenance work, and the inauguration of a programme of big city works in 1933 using the unemployed from inner suburbs brought on a large dole strike. Men refused the call-up until the sustenance rate was increased by 50 per cent, for dole payments were very low. The unemployed had been campaigning for two days' work for single men at basic wage rates, and three days for married men, increasing to six, depending on the number of children; agitation for classification of sustenance work as relief work with award rates and more employment led to another strike in 1935.

Despite the poor physical condition of the men, and the frequent hostility between them and their supervisors, many sizeable projects were mounted by State departments and instrumentalities. Those completed in Melbourne under the direction of the Public Works Department included the Yarra Boulevard at Studley Park and Fairfield (1933-1935), roads around Albert Park Lake, and the construction of Linlithgow Avenue and the approaches to the Shrine; in rural Victoria a major project was the Great Ocean Road, west of Geelong.

The threat of dismissal to join the vast army of unemployed virtually extinguished trade union militancy in the 1930s. Among the few employed who resisted wage cuts and



management attempts at speed-ups were sections of meat industry employees and miners at the State Coal Mine, Wonthaggi. This 13,000 strong community responded to the decision to reduce both the labour force and wage rates by 20 per cent in 1932 with a two months' stoppage. In March 1934, the dismissal of several coal wheelers brought work to a halt for four months in opposition to wage reductions, worker retrenchment, and speed-ups. R.G. (later Sir Robert) Menzies, Deputy Premier, Attorney-General, and Minister for Railways, was at first intransigent. Perceiving that the conflict was producing dangerous levels of miner and trade union solidarity and militancy throughout the eastern States, he made concessions.

A significant product of continuing high levels of unemployment was the hostility directed towards women in paid work, amounting to a sustained campaign by certain trade union leaders and politicians to drive women out of the paid labour force and into the home. There were demands for protection from the "threat of cheap female labour" by means of preference in employment for males.

The stereotyping of male and female employment had been institutionalised in Australia by the wage fixing authorities. Minimum and basic wages were to provide for a man, his wife, and several children, for it was assumed that most males would marry, set up a home, and bring up a family. These assumptions did not take account of the single, the widowed, and the deserted woman, perhaps with dependents, who had no alternative but to seek continuous paid employment. Working women, their needs being judged "temporary" and less essential than those of men, were paid in the main less than half the rates paid to males. Male workers resisted any intrusion of "cheap female labour" into "men's work", and the conviction was widespread that "women were taking men's jobs".

The most spirited and articulate response to this claim would be voiced by the feminist and trade unionist Muriel Heagney (1885-1974). Active in the Clothing and Metal Trades unions, Heagney had been an organiser in August 1930 of "Girls Week", a public fundraising effort designed to heighten general awareness of the plight of girls and women dismissed from their employment. From this emerged the Unemployed Girls' Relief Movement, which functioned in co-operation with Ministers in charge of sustenance under the Hogan Labor Government. Assistance was given to wage earning girls and women from families whose income, though meagre, was not received from sustenance. In co-operation with the Department of Education, from 1931 domestic arts courses were provided for girls leaving school, and many were placed in employment. The Argyle Government put this organisation aside. Unemployed Girls' Relief was renamed the Girls' Employment and Welfare Movement, with control in the hands of a male dominated Advisory Board. The sewing centres were closed, and the number of women eligible for assistance was limited to those from families in receipt of sustenance, and to destitute, homeless girls.

Depression economies also hit the State's education system hard. Salary cuts in 1930 and 1931 and the reduction in promotions had sapped teacher morale. A Board of Inquiry into the Education Department appointed by the Hogan Government in 1931 had questioned the proposition that secondary education should be freely available to all young people, and the Argyle Government hastened to introduce further economies. The *Education Fees Act* 1932 increased fees in high schools, and imposed them in other secondary schools. Although in 1933-34 one-third of the children liable to pay fees were exempted because of their necessitous circumstances, fees discouraged many from further secondary schooling. The demography of the school age population suggested that post-primary numbers would increase throughout the 1930s, but the high school population fell steeply after 1931 and recovered only in 1937. Junior technical schools experienced a steep decline in enrolments between 1928 and 1933. The adoption of the principle that the user should pay effectively restricted access to post-primary schooling.

Apart from effecting economies in unemployment relief and education, the Argyle Government took a stern look at the steadily increasing burden on the Treasury of closer settlement schemes. The *Closer Settlement Act* 1932 initiated a bold rationalisation of the farmers' economic position: the Closer Settlement Board was superseded by a five member Commission. Largely independent of Ministerial control, this Commission was to consolidate into one debt the liabilities of each settler — the balance unpaid on account of land and advances and all arrears of interest. The new scheme was designed to eliminate farmers'

dependence on government for operating costs, but it assured a huge eventual loss to the State in written off debts.

Indebted farmers were one of the very few groups for whom the State exhibited much compassion in the 1930s. The adjustment of their parlous position testified as much to the domination of the political process by sectional interests as it did to any popular acknowledgement that the farmers' condition was a product of ignorant, timid, and short-sighted policies. The Depression had deepened class, religious, and sectional animosities. Treatment of the Aborigines, the young, the aged, the sick, women and the unemployed, together with the unequal distribution of wealth and the constitutional and electoral system, meant that the second century of European civilisation in Victoria did not begin propitiously.

## VICTORIA FROM 1935 TO 1939

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### DUNSTAN GOVERNMENT

Sir Stanley Argyle had the satisfaction of presiding at Victoria's centenary celebrations beginning in October 1934, but his Government fell within weeks of the general election held on 2 March 1935. The United Australia Party (UAP) won 25 seats, the United Country Party (UCP) 20 (the largest number Country parties had ever held), Labor 17, and Independents 3 (including ex-Premier Hogan). Sir Stanley had earned the enmity of Labor for his policies of strict economy and retrenchment, so Thomas Tunnecliffe (Leader of the Opposition) offered the UCP his party's assistance to defeat the Government if the Country Party would deal with rural rehabilitation, abolish the dole, and offer full-time work to the unemployed. The new Country Party leader, Albert (later Sir Albert) Dunstan, accepted the Premier's offer of the Deputy Premiership, which would have made him Acting Premier during Sir Stanley's coming absence overseas. However, the UCP decided to withdraw from the coalition, the three Country Party ministers resigned, and Labor declared its intention of supporting any motion of no confidence in the Government. The Argyle Ministry was defeated on 28 March, and Lord Huntingfield commissioned Dunstan on 2 April.

The Dunstan Ministry was Victoria's — indeed, Australia's — first Country Party government unencumbered by coalition parties. Appearing before his party's annual conference at Ballarat, Dunstan declared that "the Country Party Ministry would not be sectional or narrow in its view. It would show no discrimination and was prepared to give the great City of Melbourne, where 54 per cent of the people of the State lived, the fair consideration to which it was entitled". The new Government's first act was to increase rates of pay for sustenance work, but Dunstan had made it clear to the Labor Party that his undertaking to provide substantially increased employment at award rates was conditional on his obtaining additional funds through the Loan Council. These extra funds were not forthcoming, and the Government could not mount the programme Labor expected. Indeed, Dunstan cut taxes further, and every budget from 1936 reduced the unemployment relief tax. The Labor Party, sensing a rapprochement between the Government and UAP Opposition — which urged more severe tax reductions — and reaction from the Legislative Council (where Country and Labor members remained a minority), maintained its support of Dunstan, who remained Premier from April 1935 until October 1945, apart from one week in September 1943 when John Cain (1887-1957) led a minority Labor Government. Dunstan had Labor support for almost seven and a half years, UAP support for another year, and led a Country Party-UAP government for two years. This period of more than ten years of relatively stable government was the longest Victoria had known since responsible government in 1855, and has been surpassed only by the Liberal Party from 1955 to 1982. Dunstan's record term as Premier has been broken only by that of Sir Henry Bolte from 1955 to 1972.

Under Dunstan, Victorian expenditure on social services, education, and the unemployed was the lowest in the Commonwealth. Minimal concessions were made to widows and their children, but the Government responded with alacrity to the needs of the hard core unemployed, men and women who had been denied training and retraining over a decade. On the other hand, giving clear priority to the recovery of agricultural industry, the

Dunstan Government made direct concessions to primary producers in the form of State relief funds, grants for the destruction of noxious weeds and vermin, and freight concessions on bulk transport by the Victorian Railways. From the late 1920s, improved roads and motor vehicles (and especially the introduction of the semi-trailer) had caused an expansion of private haulage and severe pruning of railway profits. Transport Regulation Board controls on motor vehicles were weakened from 1935, and the Victorian Railways were increasingly left to carry agricultural produce at uneconomic rates. Dunstan prided himself on his tight, balanced budgets — he produced his first surplus in 1937 — but the ever growing railway deficit became a financial “sleeper”. Reacting promptly to the crisis experienced by primary producers in 1938 as a result of the fall in overseas prices and the almost total failure of the wheat harvest, Dunstan found \$600m from Consolidated Revenue for farmer relief. Such spending, and the financial problems of the railways, guaranteed deficit budgets in 1937-38 and 1938-39.

#### AGRICULTURE

In agricultural affairs, Dunstan's outstanding achievements were in produce handling and marketing and farmer debt adjustment. Wheatgrowers were in the worst plight. Federal and State Governments had virtually abandoned them, and a 1934 survey of indebtedness revealed that the highest debts were among Victorian growers.

The Closer Settlement Commission established in 1932 faced a task of considerable magnitude and delicacy for the areas most affected lay at the heart of UCP support. It was to investigate and settle the affairs of some 10,000 occupiers, representing between one in seven and one in eight of all holdings in Victoria, and more than 10 per cent of the total area sown for crops. A basic task was to deal with those settlers whose positions were not recoverable and, by mid-1936, 1,656 cases had been dealt with, at a cost of \$133,291. The other necessity was to create viable farms by eliminating unsuitable lands, transferring settlers to more suitable areas, and enlarging blocks to make them a living proposition. By mid-1937, 2,361 settlers had been dealt with in these ways, and the Commission estimated that fewer than 2,000 settlers occupied “non-living areas”.

It was in the Mallee that the Commission had acted most decisively and dramatically. Aside from the huge outlay of State funds to develop Mallee farms, over a fifteen year period to 1936-37 seasonal advances (over \$13m) had greatly exceeded repayments (\$6.5m). The position was most acute in the Northern Mallee, the area roughly north of Ouyen, where almost \$8m had been advanced and only \$2.2m repaid. In the five years to 1937 the Commission eliminated 234,221 hectares of unsuitable Mallee land, which involved 773 settlers.

The revaluation and final adjustment, which commenced in July 1936 and was completed in August 1938, the Commission's term of office having been extended for the purpose, was a long and complex business. The leases of 3,805 settlers had been cancelled, surrendered or transferred, and more than 647,000 hectares, comprising 4,811 blocks, had been resumed: more than 200,000 hectares were converted to grazing licences in the Northern Mallee. Another 7,700 hectares were made available as temporary leases, and 33,870 hectares were sold, with the balance of 378,381 hectares going partly to accommodate returned soldiers and mainly to create viable living areas by means of transfers and enlargement of blocks. The Commission believed it had achieved its ideal of a contented rural community of farmers able to rear their families in frugal comfort and meet their commitments regularly, but it warned that its work would only succeed if the minority of inefficient settlers was not allowed to undermine the remainder. Those who, contrary to the spirit of closer settlement, sold their properties, should never again be eligible to take up land with State assistance. Even as the Commission completed its allotted task and admonished government with the lessons of the closer settlement fiasco, many hundreds of settlers who had received the benefit of debt adjustment were again drifting into arrears. Stay orders under the Farm Debts Adjustment Act were being used to prevent forfeitures of leases; farmers facing a bleak future held on desperately in the hope that something would turn up.

Farmers who did not come under closer settlement legislation had to wait longer for assistance. The relief offered up to 1934 by the Commonwealth UAP Government and by State Governments was quite inadequate. Moratoria declared under Farmers' Relief or

Assistance Acts had satisfied neither debtors nor creditors. Stay orders protected farmers' assets, but such suspensions of liabilities relied upon early and rapid improvement in world prices for primary produce. Such an improvement did not eventuate, so a generous plan of debt adjustment suggested by the Commonwealth Royal Commission on the Wheat, Flour, and Bread Industries in 1934 was eagerly accepted. The Commonwealth agreed to make \$24m available over three to four years to assist 30-40,000 of the nation's 260,000 farmers; the States, using existing agencies, would advance the relief as grants or loans. Cash would permit farmers to settle with their creditors, and reduce their liabilities.

The Commonwealth Government legislated in April 1935 — the Loan (Farmers' Debt Adjustment) Act — and the Dunstan Government followed promptly. Dunstan chose grants and, in addition to providing cash payments to creditors which acted as a strong inducement to agreement, his legislation included compulsory clauses to speed the whole process. Although poor administration meant that by the end of 1939 less than half the promised assistance had been distributed to the States, Victoria appears to have done quite well: of an expected \$5m more than \$3.6m had been received by the end of the first quarter of 1939. All the same, only 2,152 out of 4,422 applications had been dealt with, and even those assisted were left with substantial debts. The average debt before adjustment was \$10,084, and \$6,812 after adjustment. Droughts and consequent low yields in the northern hemisphere caused international wheat prices to rise, so no bounty or relief was paid for the harvest of 1936-37 and 1937-38. A fall in prices and drought followed; of the \$1m drought relief given by the Commonwealth Government in 1938-39, \$400,000 went to Victoria. It is not surprising that under conditions of erratic prices, variable seasons, and forced rationalisation the area under wheat for grain declined continuously from 1930-31 to 1935-36 and recovered only slowly thereafter.

If the situation of wheat farmers continued parlous through the 1930s, cattlemen and sheepmen, dairy farmers, orchardists, and vinegrowers appear to have enjoyed modest prosperity. Cattle numbers reached a pre-war record in 1935-36 (a record not to be equalled again until 1947-48), although poor seasons brought a downward trend until 1939-40. Milk and butter production records set in 1939-40 stood until 1948-49 and 1954-55, respectively. Sheep numbers and greasy wool production increased continuously from 1934-35, until checked by the drought in 1938-39. Despite the ravages of insect pests upon orchard fruit in 1934-35 and unfavourable seasons from 1934 to 1936 for certain districts producing dried fruits, Victorian fruit production prospered in the five years to 1939. The State accounted for about 70 per cent of Australian canned apricots, peaches, and pears, and new records were set in 1935-36, 1936-37, and 1937-38. In 1939-40, the total area of vineyards approached the previous record of 1923-24, and the production of raisins, sultanas, and currants in 1939-40 was exceeded once during the war and not again until the 1950s.

#### MANUFACTURING

In Australia as a whole, the resurgence of manufacturing employment from 1931-32 led the general recovery in employment, factory jobs expanding at a greater rate than the increase in the number at work. However, employment in Victorian manufacturing — 126,000 in 1931, when it stood at its lowest level since 1919 — did not regain its pre-depression peak of 161,639 until 1934-35. Between 1934-35 and 1938-39 factory employment increased from 170,000 to over 200,000. Despite the Ottawa Agreement of 1932, which committed Australia to preferential treatment of British imports, and tariff modifications in the early 1930s, most industries were still well protected by the "Scullin tariff" of 1930 and the 1931 devaluation of the Australian pound. Consumer demand first registered itself in sectors traditionally strong in Victoria — textiles, clothing, and food and drink — but the recovery became most pronounced in metals and machinery, and in chemicals, explosives and fertilisers, areas revived by the resurgence in mining, metal refining, motor body building and car and truck assembly, and factory and office construction. Central to most of these developments was the expansion and diversification of the iron and steel industry. These developments took place outside Victoria but they were directed from Melbourne.

Essington Lewis, managing director of BHP from 1936 to 1952, ensured his company's control of supply lines, fuel supplies, and of major steel using firms. Further collieries were bought, customers who had been encouraged to establish factories in Newcastle were

absorbed, and in 1935 BHP's only local competitor, Australian Iron and Steel Ltd, was taken over. BHP was able to operate on a scale and with such efficiency as to produce in this period the world's cheapest steel. Guaranteed and cheap local supplies of steel were vital to car and truck assembly, and suppliers of metal parts had been stimulated further by the "Scullin tariff". General Motors-Holden's Ltd (GMH), as the company became known with the absorption in 1931 of the motor body builders, was employing some 5,500 persons around Australia and some 2,000 in supply firms in 1935 when the decision was taken to build a new works at Fishermens Bend, Melbourne, on a 20 hectare site sold to GMH by the Dunstan Government. GMH had built truck bodies and assembled chassis in Melbourne, stimulating in the process Victorian suppliers of felt and fabrics, hardware, screws, nuts and bolts, springs, drop forgings, and extruded non-ferrous mouldings. Now the company planned to centralise at Fishermens Bend the entire Australian administration and parts service and the whole of its utility and truck building operation, and to assemble there all car and truck chassis for Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia. The Premier turned the first sod on the site on 14 February 1936 and just over seven months later, on 28 September, Prime Minister Lyons opened the plant and saw the first car driven off the assembly line. Other major developments followed. In 1937, International Harvester announced the purchase from the Geelong Harbor Trust of an 18 hectare site with road, rail, and water transport for the erection of plant to manufacture a full range of agricultural machinery; in 1939, ICIANZ unveiled plans for a \$1m plant at Deer Park for the production of synthetic ammonia and nitric acid.

Apart from overseas firms, there were also significant indigenous initiatives in rubber tyre, paper, and aircraft manufacture. Men with a flair for organisation and technical innovation were at the centre of each advance.

Frank (later Sir Frank) Beaufort (1891-1956) formed the Olympic Tyre and Rubber Company in 1933. The West Footscray plant, Australian designed and equipped to produce tyres and tubes for the retail outlets of the Beaufort Tyre Service, was operating within seven months, and by mid-1934 had achieved the target production rate of 1,000 tyres a month. The company introduced to Australia carbon toughened motor tubes and seamless tyres incorporating heat resistant cord. Beaufort was encouraged by War Office officials in London who warmed to his interest in the Australian manufacture of rubber insulated electric cable. Plant was purchased and shipped; late in 1939, a cable division of the company was formed, and production began early in 1940.

Around 1934 the Defence Department attempted to interest GMH in the manufacture of aircraft. L. J. (later Sir Laurence) Hartnett (1898- ), the managing director, was keen, but he advised a broader approach to a number of top businessmen, including Essington Lewis of BHP. Lewis visited Japan in 1934 and saw in the rapidly growing steel industry Japan's capabilities for the mass production of armaments and aircraft. He initiated as a matter of urgency at BHP, rationalisation of operations, further purchases of quarries and collieries, stockpiling of raw materials, and increased production. Between 1934 and 1936, Lewis and Harold Darling of BHP, W. S. Robinson of Broken Hill Associated Smelters (BHAS), and Hartnett of GMH formed a syndicate with a view to aircraft manufacture. They sent Wing Commander Lawrence (later Sir Lawrence) Wackett (1896-1982) to investigate overseas production, and he selected a single engine two-seater fighter bomber of the North American Aviation Corporation as the plane most suitable for Australia's initial manufacturing venture. Late in 1936, the Commonwealth Aircraft Corporation was formed, half the capital being subscribed by BHP, BHAS, ICIANZ, and GMH, and with Darling as chairman, Lewis as managing director, and Wackett as manager. Dunstan arranged a 12 hectare site at Fishermens Bend, Wackett secured manufacturing licences, and GMH built the factory in five months. On 27 March 1939, the first Australian built metal aircraft made its test flight from the small airfield beside the Fishermens Bend factory. The "Wirraway" was to play a vital role in the training of factory technicians and pilots.

In the same year, Australian Paper Manufacturers (APM), under the direction of Herbert (later Sir Herbert) Gepp, became the first company in the world to use shortfibred eucalypt pulpwood as a major raw material in paper production. Gepp created a research department at the Fairfield APM plant. Suitable pulpwood sources were located in Western Gippsland forests, and a pilot mill was established at Maryvale, near Morwell. The resultant

breakthrough freed the Australian paper industry from dependence on imported raw material. A full scale pulp mill, completed at Maryvale just a few weeks before the outbreak of war, shortly became Victoria's first integrated wood pulp and paper mill.

Dunstan in 1939 pointed up the factors which had assured Victoria a share of new manufacturing projects in the Commonwealth during the late 1930s: the State's central position for the distribution of goods in the south-eastern crescent of Australia, and the fact that Victoria was the lowest income taxed State of all. In addition, despite the inadequacies of the technical education system and the sad decline of apprenticeship, Melbourne could still offer a labour pool for assembly line production methods, a sophisticated metal trades base crucial to car assembly and aircraft production, and a ready made consumer market. The availability of large industrial sites at or near the centres of Melbourne and Geelong, well served by road, rail, and water transport, was also a factor of moment.

### SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Despite the revival in manufacturing industry between 1934 and 1938, there was a continuing serious level of unemployment. At the outbreak of war in 1939, the September quarter figures indicated that 11.2 per cent of trade union members in Victoria were unemployed. The Chief Inspector of Factories and Shops reiterated a common theme from 1933 — a pronounced shortage of skilled workers, notably machinists, in clothing, dressmaking, millinery, knitting and textiles, and also in engineering and its allied trades. On the other hand, there was always an excess of unskilled labour, a phenomenon pointing to a social problem which predated, but had been augmented by, the Depression and advancing technological change in industry — the existence of a pool of virtually unemployable men and women whose skills were obsolete or who had been forced onto the labour market at the earliest possible age.

The number of sustenance registrations stood at 27,468 in 1933, and declined until 1938. But even in the first year of the war, the figure was over 8,000. Rates of pay did improve, but because of the ceiling imposed on the amount of sustenance workers were entitled to draw, and the rationing of available work to spread it around, earnings remained low. Most work was pick and shovel labouring, and the poor state of health of many of the men, and the inexperience of the substantial minority of former clerks, shop assistants, and other white-collar employees, made much of it onerous. Work for sustenance brought only the barest of incomes; the basic allowance for the male worker, payments for dependent children, and permissible extra income (if work could be found) could have covered little more than food. Tens of thousands of Victorians were living in shocking circumstances of poverty and privation. Many thousands of single, deserted, widowed, ill, and pensioned persons were probably hovering at the barest level of subsistence.

By 1935, the criticism of those women fortunate enough to retain paid employment had not abated. Muriel Heagney answered the current propaganda in her provocatively titled book *Are Women Taking Men's Jobs?* She had been a founder that year of the Equal Status Committee of the Victorian Open Door Council, an international body which championed the unqualified right of women to whatever work they could handle, at rates of pay the equivalent to those received by men doing the same work. Heagney's argument that the increasing femininity of the labour force had been exaggerated appears to have been correct. Such increase in the femininity of the labour force as there was from the mid-1920s and into the Depression was the product of the more rapid collapse of fields of employment in which masculinity had traditionally been high — metals and machinery, for instance — rather than traditionally female spheres. Female participation in the factory labour force did not increase overall between the wars, and there was no appreciable movement of women outside their traditional occupations in manufacturing: about 80 per cent of women employed in Victorian factories worked in the clothing and textile trades (70 per cent) and in the preparation of food and drink.

Heagney denied that women were taking men's jobs, but she argued that the artificial demarcation of male and female employment was breaking down, notably in the field of office work, that women were rivals of men for the new positions, and that equal pay for equal work was an inviolable principle. She played a leading role in the creation of the Council of Action for Equal Pay in 1937, which held its first interstate conference in

Melbourne the following year. Little progress was made on the equal pay principle — Dunstan made his opposition known in no uncertain terms — and throughout the 1930s even the matter of the health of female industrial workers excited little interest from government. Feminists were suspicious of medical inspectorates which threatened to stereotype female workers and proscribe and curtail their employment prospects, but Dr Kate Mackay did much valuable work as the female medical inspector of factories and shops from her appointment in 1925. However, as an economy measure in 1933 Dr Mackay was transferred to another department, and she subsequently resigned. Her position was not filled in the 1930s, despite the expansion of the chemical, explosives, and paint industries, and the upsurge in juvenile labour.

From 1941, women would be encouraged to view factory and office work as a national duty; in the 1930s the community would not accept women's right to employment. Whereas the plight of the single female worker and of the woman with dependents excited little concern, the declining birth rate excited moral condemnation and fears for national security. Wage fixing systems enshrining the notion of the worker as a married man with no more than two or three children were seen as penalising large families and retarding population growth. Solutions were sought in systems of child endowment, rather than in any fundamental re-examination of the value of work and the remuneration of men and women.

Reflecting the Dunstan Government's wariness of potentially expensive schemes, the Select Committee on Child Endowment took four years to submit its recommendations. An interim report in 1936 on widows' pensions revealed that Victoria and Queensland were the only States not rendering direct financial assistance to distressed widowed mothers, and that the amounts paid on behalf of widows' children were the lowest by far throughout the Commonwealth and New Zealand. The allowances for children boarded out to their own or to foster mothers were insufficient to provide reasonably decent food, let alone clothing, shelter, and other necessities. Mothers who worked, it was confidently asserted, produced truant and delinquent children because they deprived them of wholesome home guidance. In order to give widows a chance, the Committee recommended widows' pensions of up to \$1 a week for those with dependent children, and average allowances to each child of 90 cents. At the end of 1939, under the *Maintenance (Widowed Mothers) Act* 1937 which had come into force in March 1938, some 900 widows with dependent children were receiving on average the weekly sum of 91 cents.

In 1940, the Select Committee, alarmed by Victoria's low birth rate, declining family size, and an ageing and urbanising population, recommended a graduated scheme of family allowances which might assist in reversing the trends. Whereas the wage fixing system penalised the family breadwinner who had more than two or three children, it was hoped that a system of child endowment would reward those who "did their duty to the community", and encourage those workers outside wages boards and the Arbitration Court, notably the unemployed, certain rural and white-collar workers, professionals, the self employed, and owners of small businesses to increase their families. Although child endowment was the responsibility of the Commonwealth Government, the Committee felt the State should take the initiative, and proposed a modest system of payments, graduated according to family size, for the fourth and subsequent children. The Dunstan Government, however, did not take the initiative, and Victorians received child endowment only when it was introduced by the Commonwealth Government in 1941.

## HOUSING

There was one initiative for which the Dunstan Government, moved and guided by social reformers, would be remembered — slum clearance and the provision of housing for the underprivileged. The Christian activist F. Oswald Barnett (1883-1972) formed a study group which throughout the 1930s drew public and parliamentary attention to the acute housing problem in Melbourne's inner suburbs. In July 1935, Barnett conducted the Premier, his Cabinet, and many Labor parliamentarians on a tour of the worst slums; Dunstan was reportedly very moved when he saw the appalling conditions under which a large minority of the urban working class was living. In 1936, the Government appointed a Housing Investigation and Slum Abolition Board to survey housing conditions in the Melbourne metropolitan area and make recommendations within the year. Barnett and his



disciples imbued the investigation with the fervour of their earlier moral crusade for the salvation of Victoria's slum children: their report was a remarkable blend of emotive description and sober statistics, illustrated with graphic photographs of the worst housing circumstances.

Pressure of time obliged the Board to concentrate its attention on sub-standard dwellings within an eight kilometre radius of the GPO, and 7,330 houses were selected on the basis of decrepit external appearance for detailed internal examination and inquiry into rentals, household composition, and earnings. The Board concluded that some 25,000 Melburnians were living in houses or areas which could be designated as "slum conditions" in terms of overcrowding of dwellings or persons, inadequate street and garden space, physical deterioration of premises (structural decay, bad drainage, dampness, poor lighting and ventilation, presence of vermin and rat infestation), and absence of essential cooking, bathing, and laundry facilities. Stress was laid on the association between such conditions and the pronounced incidence of infectious diseases, high infant mortality, and juvenile delinquency. The slum environment was said to affect not only those living in it, but the moral well-being and social stability of the wider community. Slumdom had to be eliminated for the benefit of society in general as well as its victims. The unemployed, the casually employed, the lower paid, unskilled workers, and pensioners, especially those with large families, had been relegated by market forces over which they had no control to the most depressed areas of the city. As such persons could not pay the full economic rental of decent and comfortable housing, and private enterprise was not interested in providing accommodation at less than full economic rental, it followed that the State should intervene, instituting a scheme of slum reclamation, house construction, and differential rentals. The Board recommended the appointment of a commission of experts to initiate action.

On 1 March 1938, the Housing Commission was constituted under the *Housing Act 1937*. The Commission's brief, as set out by the *Slum Reclamation and Housing Act 1938*, included the improvement of existing housing conditions, the determination of minimum standards with which new houses should comply, reclamation of insanitary areas, and the provision of housing for persons of limited means. Priority was given to the development of housing estates to which could be transferred the 4,000 residents of the worst 1,200 dwellings described by the Board of 1936-37, and large families facing acute accommodation problems.

The first estate was established from early 1939 on 22 hectares of sandy waste lands with a beach frontage at Fishermens Bend; 376 single storey semi-detached brick dwellings were planned, with a central shopping area, a community centre, 3.2 hectares of playground, and a road layout designed to minimise through traffic. By the end of the Commission's first full year of operations (1939-40), some 115 hectares were acquired for the erection of 1,925 dwellings in Spotswood, Maribyrnong, West Brunswick, Coburg, and Preston in the western and northern suburbs, in Newtown at Geelong, and in a number of country towns. Housing design was flexible according to family size and sex composition, but essentially tenants were offered cottages set in their own gardens in medium density estates, approximating the suburban home ideal to which most Victorians aspired. Rents were set according to tenants' ability to pay, a sliding scale reflecting income and family size. These policies represented a fine start to the Housing Commission's programme for the elimination of slums and the creation of decent housing conditions for Victoria's underprivileged.

## EDUCATION

Year after year through the 1930s administrators bewailed the effects of economies on education: building programmes were at a standstill, renovation and maintenance of schools and residences had been cut to the bare minimum. The accommodation backlog assumed crisis proportions, especially in technical schools, where from 1934-35 enrolments increased, stimulated by the recovery of manufacturing industry and the building trades, and the popularity of "practical" education. By 1935-36, all classes in junior technical schools were filled, and in the senior schools late afternoon in addition to evening classes were provided. The demand increased even though senior technical students paid higher fees than did those undergoing academic and commercial training in other post-primary schools.

In Melbourne in 1936, a meeting of State Ministers of Education asked the Commonwealth Government for \$4m over four years for the development of technical education; the

request was turned down. Attempting to keep abreast of modern industrial practice, the Victorian Education Department's technical division became a mendicant, dependent on the loan of new equipment from private enterprise. Technical education could not supply the industrial demand in areas for which it was even moderately equipped. Industrial surveys undertaken in the Melbourne metropolitan area revealed new and advancing fields in chemical engineering, textiles, ceramics, tanning, and the food trades. Lack of funds prevented adequate expansion to provide the new expertise, but a renewed building programme and equipment grants allowed some headway in the late 1930s. The generosity of Sir William Angliss (1865-1957) made possible the William Angliss Food Trades School, which was completed in 1940.

E. P. Eltham, Chief Inspector of Technical Schools, saw technical training as playing a key role in Victoria's economic recovery. His overseas trip to the United States of America, Britain, and Europe in 1935-36 confirmed his belief that compulsory part-time day and evening continuing education for young workers in industry was superior to voluntary evening training.

Some progress was made by the outbreak of war. The number of apprentices attending day school increased: several State instrumentalities (notably the Victorian Railways and the State Electricity Commission) and a few private employers not only released employees for more than the statutory period but paid their tuition fees. Eltham's ambition to extend this scheme to all young workers in industry and commerce up to the age of 18 was a long way from realisation, but in one area, however, he had a signal impact. His support for intensive vocational training for unemployed men who were victims of the Depression resulted in the appointment by the Government of a Youth Employment Committee. The Committee investigated the plight of unemployed youths aged 18 to 25 and by 1938-39 had received applications for training from 8,642 youths. Of the 2,300 recommended for training, 1,875 were catered for by 53 separate classes. It was, perhaps, too little, too late, but at least a proportion of the Depression generation was offered an opportunity to develop aptitudes and skills denied them so long.

These accomplishments were even more striking given the parsimony of the Dunstan Government. Visitors from overseas, and teachers returning from exchange duty, were struck by the failure to provide adequate equipment and reading matter for the schools, and the failure of the Education Department to subsidise funds raised by local effort. The Chief Inspector reported that, at the end of the decade, Victorian schools were the most inadequately equipped in the Anglo-Saxon world.

Fees were abolished or gradually reduced after 1936, but funds for building, equipment, and maintenance remained modest by comparison with needs. Promotion of teachers was resumed and most had their meagre salaries progressively restored, yet recruitment and pay levels remained inadequate. State school salaries were inadequate to attract the best talent to the service, let alone to keep it. Despite falling enrolments in primary schools, classes of 50 to 60 children were common in the Melbourne metropolitan area and larger country towns. Student teacher allowances had been abolished in 1932 and the last recipients graduated in 1935. The handful of scholarships offered was no substitute for a general scheme of student teacher allowances and pay on a professional basis; reforms were not made until after the war. A modest scholarship scheme to recruit technical teachers was introduced in 1938, but the first group of trainees would not be ready until 1942. Government economies had destroyed the secondary training structure, patchwork solutions in the late 1930s were inadequate, and the staffing situation worsened during the war.

Between June 1937 and February 1938 an epidemic of poliomyelitis swept through the schools. Then known as "infantile paralysis" because it struck at children in particular, the epidemic created alarm because of the high mortality rate and the permanent crippling of survivors. The occurrence of fourteen cases in and about two bayside suburban schools led to their closure on 14 July 1937. Affected and nearby schools were instructed not to issue transfer notes, and no schools were to admit pupils without them. Employing class rolls and room sketch plans, teachers assisted health authorities in tracing contacts.

In spite of the precautions, poliomyelitis occurred outside the defined area. Wholesale closure of schools was ruled out, because of the impracticality of isolating well children and the probability that they would as a result be scattered across the State. Yet when the

summer vacation commenced on 21 December 1937, 401 schools were wholly or partially closed. The holidays were prolonged to 15 February 1938, so that teachers transferring from infected areas would have a fortnight isolated from the children. There were fifteen deaths among the 106 adult cases, and 94 deaths among 1,990 affected children. The poliomyelitis epidemic was — and remains — the worst outbreak in Victoria's history.

#### OUTBREAK OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Victoria's second century of European settlement had opened unpropitiously when torrential rains on the eve of the centenary celebrations brought widespread flooding, left thousands homeless in country and city, and took eighteen lives. By the late 1930s, Victoria was in the grip of a severe drought: wool, milk, and butter production fell, and the wheat harvest of 1938-39 was almost a total failure. There was a slump in manufacturing, and unemployment passed 10 per cent. In January 1939, bushfires swept the State, taking 71 lives, devastating scores of rural communities, and consuming over 1,620,000 hectares of forest, pastoral, and agricultural land. The report of Royal Commissioner Judge Leonard Stretton (1893-1967) castigated the public for its apathetic attitude to fire prevention, scathingly indicted the Forests Commission and the Lands Department, and implied serious criticism of the Dunstan Government.

Devastated by floods in 1934 and by fire in 1939, Victoria managed in between a measure of economic recovery from the Depression. In retrospect, governments between the wars took few social initiatives, reflecting the political and economic conservatism of those years. There were few concessions to the less fortunate. Yet a society, socially divided as was Victoria's, responded with alacrity to the call for unity and self sacrifice when war came in 1939.

Australia, from allegiance to Britain, was drawn into the maelstrom as Europe moved towards war. Hitler's Germany had invaded the Rhineland in 1936 and Austria in 1938. The Australian public was indifferent to, or bewildered by, the train of events; the Lyons Government, regarded international communism as a greater evil than fascism; the Labor Parties — Federal and Victorian — were in a state of tension between "left-wing" elements supporting sanctions against fascism and "right-wing" elements emphasising resistance to Russian communism. Labor solved the problems posed by the Italo-Abyssinian war, the Spanish civil war, and Hitler's aggressions in eastern Europe by adhering uneasily to a policy of isolationism. Opinion among the committed hardened: in September 1937 some 4,000 attended the congress of the International Peace Campaign which urged collective security against the dictators. The League for Peace and Democracy held demonstrations against visiting nazis and fascists and in opposition to German aggression. In March 1939 the German army marched into what remained of Czechoslovakia. Anzac Day in Melbourne brought a sombre crowd of 100,000 to watch some 20,000 diggers parade. In May, 5,000 Catholic war veterans marched and 60,000 persons attended a Peace Rally, organised by the Central Catholic Peace Committee at the suggestion of the secretariat of Catholic Action as part of the Pope's crusade for world peace. Resolutions for peace were received by Prime Minister Menzies, Premier Dunstan, and the Lord Mayor, Cr A. W. Coles, to be conveyed to international leaders. Events in Europe swept to a climax: Britain had promised to come to the aid of Poland in the event of German attack, and war became inevitable when Germany invaded Poland on 1 September 1939.

By a chilling coincidence the Prime Minister was in Colac, as Fisher, the Leader of the Opposition, had been in August 1914, when the news broke of imminent war. Mr Menzies declared that "if Europe were again at war Great Britain was at war, and ... if Great Britain were at war, Australia was a belligerent country". Two days later, in a memorable nation wide broadcast, he informed his fellow Australians that as Great Britain had declared war upon Germany, Australia was also at war: "Australia is ready to see it through. May God in his mercy and compassion grant that the world will soon be set free from this agony"

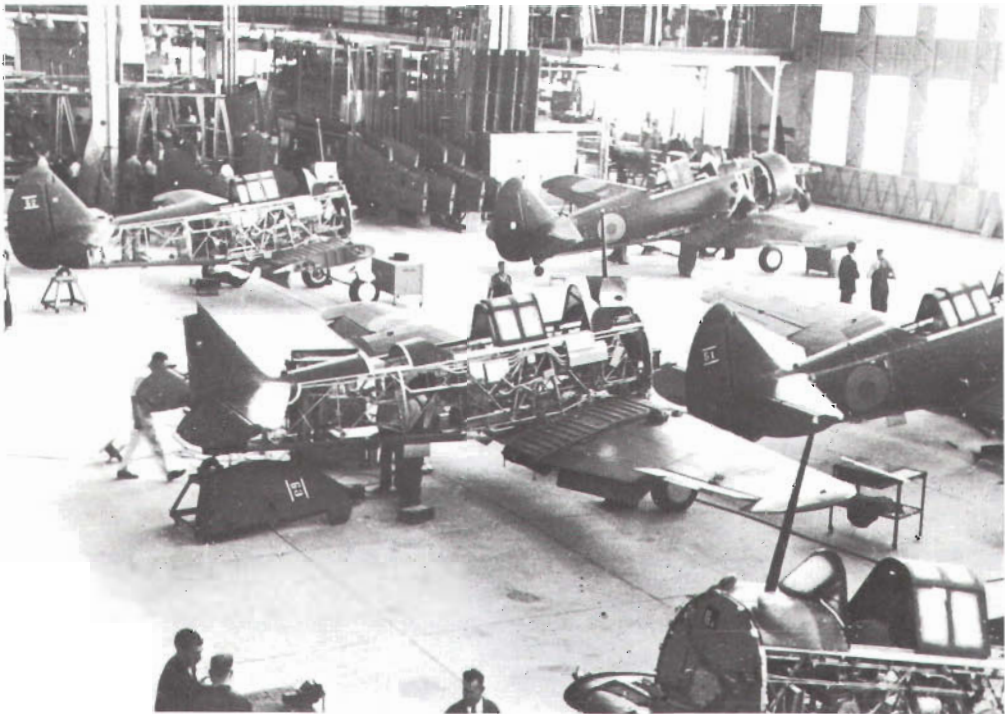


Huge crowds in Collins Street when the Second AIF marched through Melbourne in 1940.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*

Wirraway aircraft production during the Second World War at Fishermens Bend.

*Australian War Memorial*



Children at the Ripponlea State School filling in slit-trenches in an air raid precautions practice.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*



Australian Comforts Fund staff in Melbourne preparing parcels for servicemen at the war.

*La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria  
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American servicemen and members of the Women's Auxiliary Australian Air Force (WAAAF) at the Shrine of Remembrance during the Second World War.

*Australian War Memorial*



## 2

# VICTORIA AT WAR, 1939 TO 1945

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### INTRODUCTION

The years between 1939 and 1945 witnessed much change throughout the nation, unmatched perhaps by any previous period of comparable length. This accompanied the gradual progression from the established precedent of over half a century in dispatching forces to support Britain in foreign military operations, to the state of extreme emergency in 1942, when the threat of imminent invasion at home ushered in a period of total war. Total war as described by Professor D. B. Copland is a three-stage process: the stage of economic expansion to absorb idle resources; the transfer of resources and investment from civilian needs to war purposes; and the final stage, when the community has reduced its civilian consumption to the minimum, a period of stability maintained by stringent controls. These stages are evident in a survey of the military, political, economic, and social aspects.

In military terms, during this process, Australia became an allied headquarters, arsenal, and supply base, the importance of which was recognised by the enemy. In a sea campaign that was kept from the headlines by strict censorship, dozens of ships and hundreds of lives were lost off the Australian coast by the depredations of German raiders, minelayers, and U-boats, and the gunfire or torpedoes of Japanese submarines. Politically, the successful application of government controls was facilitated by the elevation of patriotic co-operation above party considerations. Economically, the marshalling of resources effected a vast increase in, and diversification of, output of strategic materials. Socially, ordinary persons were called upon to make great sacrifices in their determination to unite in eradicating the threat to national survival. This Chapter examines these aspects from the Victorian point of view.

### MILITARY ASPECTS

In Victoria in the depressed 1930s ex-servicemen of the First World War read with misgivings about the grave situation in Europe threatening the peace that had cost their generation so much. Some were engaged, ironically, as sustenance workers in constructing the approaches to the Shrine of Remembrance on St Kilda Road, Melbourne. As tension mounted after the Munich crisis, the announcement of war with Germany on 3 September 1939 was received by some with almost a feeling of relief. Although the theatres of operation were half a world away, the Royal Australian Navy (RAN) ships put to sea, military units were mobilised and shore batteries alerted, and Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) squadrons prepared for action. Yet during the period of the "phoney war" in 1940 there was some tardiness and complacency.

On the day after war was declared, in a strange coincidence, the first British artillery shot of this war was fired, as in the First World War, from a gun at Fort Nepean, to cause an unidentified vessel approaching Port Phillip Heads to acknowledge the recognition signal. During the war, the approaches to Melbourne were busy with the movements of grey warships, tankers, cargo steamers, and liners converted to troopships. The Williamstown Naval Dockyard launched and repaired many Allied vessels. The shore depots, oil installations, and loading terminals were disguised by camouflage and protected by gun emplacements from the danger of prowling enemy raiders.

In October 1940, the German auxiliary cruiser *Pinguin*, raider No. 33, captured a Norwegian tanker off Western Australia, renamed it *Passat*, and equipped it to lay 110 mines in Bass Strait, off Wilsons Promontory, Cape Otway, and elsewhere. A week later the British freighter *Cambridge*, carrying general merchandise from Britain, struck a mine off Wilsons Promontory and sank. The survivors were landed at Port Welshpool. Next evening the US freighter *City of Rayville*, with a cargo of lead, became the first US vessel to be sunk in the war when she struck a mine off Cape Otway. The surviving crew were rescued in dangerous conditions by fishermen from Apollo Bay. They were later thanked by the US Secretary of State, Mr Cordell Hull, on behalf of the President and the US Government.

Bass Strait was closed to shipping temporarily. The clearing of these mines added to the strains on the minesweeping force, and a requirement was issued for vessels over 800 tons to be fitted with paravanes, anti-mine devices towed by ships. The RAN had its first ship sunk in the war when the auxiliary minesweeper HMAS *Goorangai* was lost with all hands following a collision in Port Phillip Bay with the coastal liner *Duntroon* on 20 November 1940.

Early in the war a volunteer second Australian Imperial Force (AIF) was raised, and recruiting booths appeared at the Melbourne Town Hall and local centres throughout Victoria. Citizens were trained to be soldiers and new military camp names, such as Puckapunyal, appeared among the press items. Convoys transported them to the war areas and by 1941, with Australian soldiers fighting at Bardia, Tobruk, and other places in the Western Desert, Greece, Crete, and Syria, and sailors and airmen in the Mediterranean and European theatres, the war news in the daily papers was frequently interspersed with casualty lists.

After the Japanese entered the war in December 1941, the toll grew when the 8th Division was captured in the enemy's lightning advance through Malaya, Singapore, and the Netherlands East Indies (later named Indonesia) and the shielding screen of Australian and Allied ships and aircraft was lost. By early 1942, for the first time, Australians faced the possibility of invasion by an enemy only a few hundred kilometres away.

At the insistence of the Prime Minister, the Rt Hon. J. Curtin, AIF divisions in the Middle East returned to Australia, regrouping in the southern States before transferring to battle zones in the north. Enemy bombers attacked the mainland at Darwin and elsewhere from February 1942 onwards, and marauding enemy submarines cruised along the eastern and southern coastlines, preying on the vital shipping lanes linking Australia and the United States, and raiding Sydney Harbour in May. Enemy aircraft on reconnaissance from submarine mother-ships flew over southern Australian cities.

The Japanese submarines patrolled as far south as eastern Victorian waters, attacking the ship *Barwon* with gunfire, and torpedoing the *Iron Crown*, laden with manganese, off Gabo Island in June, with the loss of 37 crew members. The crew of a Hudson bomber of No. 7 Squadron RAAF saw *Iron Crown* blow up, and when the submarine surfaced it was straddled with anti-submarine bombs. During 1942 and 1943, the RAAF flew many long-range patrols and attacked submarines in the area. Although inconclusive, these actions forced the enemy to retreat, first to the Tasman and then further north. A German U-boat, however, was reported to be still operating in nearby Victorian waters as late as January 1945.

Emergency measures introduced for civilian protection at the height of the invasion threat in 1942 included the suppression of lights in a "brownout", and familiarisation with sirens and shelters and other air raid precautions. The Volunteer Defence Corps, the home guard organisation, mobilised veterans and youths. There were plans to evacuate children. Slit trenches were dug in backyards and school grounds and parks. Street signs and railway station names were removed. Aircraft identification silhouettes appeared in the newspapers. At night searchlights swept the sky.

With Britain's inability to contribute significantly to the defence of Australia, the Commonwealth Government looked to the United States of America for assistance. In March 1942, General Douglas MacArthur of the United States Army set up his headquarters in Melbourne, until he removed it to Brisbane in 1943 as the Allies advanced northwards. Thousands of American and other Allied servicemen were eventually based in Victoria, in camps, schools, and other public buildings. The 1st United States Marine Division, after

fighting at Guadalcanal, occupied Camp Murphy at the Melbourne Cricket Ground. In 1977 a plaque was unveiled, acknowledging "with grateful thanks the magnificent hospitality they received from the people of Melbourne".

The Battle of the Coral Sea in May 1942 deprived the enemy of further opportunity to expand south. By the year's end Australians fighting in Papua had repulsed the landing at Milne Bay, stopped the Japanese land advance on the Kokoda Trail, and had pushed the enemy back across the Owen Stanley Range. AIF and Militia forces supported by RAN and RAAF units fought in the South-West Pacific battles throughout 1943, 1944, and 1945, and two AIF Divisions had recaptured Borneo by the end of the war. The RAN and RAAF also continued to serve in the African, Asian, European, Atlantic, and other theatres.

A build-up of Allied strength, the marshalling of local resources, the large-scale movements of forces, and the arrival of wounded, gave Melbourne the mixture of emotion and drama of a rest and recreation area in the midst of total war. War loans were publicised in Collins Street rallies. Marches stimulated recruiting and lending. The citizens greeted with warmth the veterans of the 17th Brigade from New Guinea, marching in jungle green, and the khaki-clad 9th Division, when it returned from the breakthrough at El Alamein in North Africa.

The length and breadth of the State had provided the location for important defence installations, including Victoria Barracks, Flinders Naval Depot, and Point Cook Air Force Base. The presence of barbed wire, sentries, and bugle calls proclaimed the occupation of racecourses and showgrounds and sporting fields as well as the regular services camps. Airmen flew operations from Laverton and East Sale. Catalina flying boats were based at Lake Boga. Commando units were formed secretly at Foster and trained at Wilsons Promontory. The main military hospital was at Heidelberg.

In addition to many personnel for the Navy and Air Force, Victoria had provided 205,758 personnel to the Army up to September 1945. This was 10.7 per cent of the State's population, and 28 per cent of gross Army enlistments from 29 per cent of the Australian population, a higher proportion than Victorian enlistments in the First World War. Some battalions previously raised in Victoria had been formed, e.g., 7th, 14th, 24th, etc., but as the war progressed State affiliations became less distinguishable.

Many Army commanders came from Victoria, including the Commander-in-Chief, General (later Field Marshal) Sir Thomas Blamey. Two Victorian soldiers and one airman won the Victoria Cross in Papua and New Guinea, heading a large tally of awards to Victorians for gallantry. Among thousands of Victorian casualties — killed, wounded, missing, and prisoners — were 7,844 Army fatalities alone, male and female.

### POLITICAL ASPECTS

During the war Victoria was governed, apart from one brief period, by the Country Party Government of Mr A. A. (later Sir Albert) Dunstan, but it was from the Federal sphere that the emergency controls were mainly imposed. Despite the fact that the likelihood of war had existed for some time, there had been little preparation for such a contingency, on the assumption that Australia would follow British direction, as it had done traditionally. In Victoria, however, there was a naval dockyard and a newly established aircraft industry, and motor vehicle and other industrial works capable of adaptation to war production. The breathing space afforded by the "phoney war" allowed the build-up of this industrial base and the administrative machinery to organise the nation's resources.

Only slowly were the people subjected to sacrifices. The Commonwealth Government, headed by the Rt Hon. R. G. (later Sir Robert) Menzies, was reluctant to introduce unpopular hardships because it held office only with the support of two Independents. Petrol rationing was introduced, and a system of price controls was set up, although shortages caused some increases in prices. There were controls on rents, foreign exchange, and trade. Import licensing and agreements for marketing of wheat and wool were implemented. The task of financing the war led to the government seeking new sources of funds, including pay-roll tax.

In late 1941, the Rt Hon. J. Curtin's Australian Labor Party gained office and, with the uniting effect of the Japanese entry into the war, Labor's policies won acceptance and national emergency measures were not resisted as they might have been in ordinary



circumstances. For instance, State income taxes had varied widely. In Victoria, the maximum rate on personal earnings was 42.5 cents in the dollar, while in Queensland it was 75 cents. Uniform taxation was introduced in 1942, and State needs were provided for after defence requirements had been met.

The Commonwealth organised manpower, called up men for the Armed Forces, and directed those not in reserved occupations to where they were needed. Women entered factories and took over other traditional male tasks, including some working on the land. After 1941, the number of women in factories and the auxiliary services soared. Rationing was required to preserve scarce resources and coupons were issued for tea, sugar, butter, meat, and clothing. Civilians carried identity cards. Many were required to work long hours. War bonds and savings certificates and stamps attracted their surplus earnings. Travel was curtailed. Private building virtually stopped. Private investment was checked and share trading was restricted.

After the passing of the immediate danger of invasion there was a reaction against the Commonwealth Government's controls. In 1944, a referendum to transfer to the Commonwealth power to control employment and production was defeated by four States to two (although Victoria's majority was slender). The government controls had been more stringent than in the First World War and the hardships greater than experienced in the USA, although they were far less than those suffered in Britain.

### ECONOMIC ASPECTS

The Victorian economy made a considerable contribution to the demands of total war. The agricultural sector suffered the problems of inadequate manpower, shortages of superphosphate when Nauru and Ocean Islands were captured, and drought during 1944-45. Although maintained at about pre-war levels for several years, grain production fell severely in 1944-45. A comparison of the following indicators for the war years is revealing:

#### AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION: VICTORIA, 1939-40 TO 1944-45

Year	Area utilised for crop	Production of -				Number of sheep
		Wheat	Oats	Barley	Butter	
	m. hectares	'000 tonnes	'000 tonnes	'000 tonnes	m. kg	million
1939-40	2.0	1,226.1	150.2	84.8	74.7	18.3
1940-41	1.8	367.9	47.6	26.9	70.9	20.4
1941-42	1.9	1,277.8	147.9	108.7	63.9	20.6
1942-43	1.6	1,137.7	120.4	28.9	57.0	19.6
1943-44	1.4	537.0	67.2	24.5	50.6	19.2
1944-45	1.7	95.2	24.2	8.2	48.0	16.5

It was to be expected, perhaps, that available resources would be devoted to manufacturing in a State with a large industrial base. Most of the 3,690 Australian-produced aircraft and 2,840 aircraft engines, as well as many ships, vehicles, guns, and a range of machine tools and other war equipment, and much food, were produced in Victoria.

Munition production had been pioneered in Australia when the Colonial Ammunition Co. Ltd commenced operations in 1888 at Footscray, becoming the Government Ammunition Factory in 1921. The Explosives Factory was established in 1911, and the Ordnance Factory in 1925, both at Maribyrnong. The only major armament factory outside Victoria in 1939 was the Small Arms Factory at Lithgow, NSW, established in 1912. War plans for new factories led to the decentralisation of munitions plants.

In 1940, the Department of Munitions was set up in Melbourne under Mr Essington Lewis, managing director of BHP. Munitions factories and establishments were operated at many Victorian sites: ammunition factories at Footscray and Mildura; explosives and filling factories at Maribyrnong and Ballarat; ordnance factories at Maribyrnong, Bendigo, Echuca, Horsham, Stawell, and Hamilton; and the laboratories and chemical defence factory at Maribyrnong. Gun ammunition factories were located between the filling factories at Maribyrnong and Salisbury in South Australia so that if one was bombed, the components could be transferred to the alternative establishment. A guncotton factory was placed at Ballarat because of its pure water supply and supplied both the Victorian and

South Australian factories. The explosives factory at Mulwala utilised Murray River water and fed New South Wales and Victorian explosives and filling factories. The ordnance factory at Bendigo was relatively close to forging plants at Melbourne and Castlemaine and was accessible by the factory at Echuca.

The figures for employment in such factories during the war are set out below and show the initial high concentration in Victoria:

#### EMPLOYMENT IN MUNITIONS FACTORIES: VICTORIA AND AUSTRALIA, 1939 TO 1945

At 30 June—	Victorian employment			Persons employed throughout Australia	Victoria as a per- centage of Aus- tralia
	Males	Females	Persons		
1939	3,949	570	4,519	5,073	89.1
1940	8,354	1,612	9,966	12,250	81.4
1941	13,496	4,238	17,734	26,205	67.7
1942	17,136	9,079	26,215	51,942	50.1
1943	14,390	7,645	22,035	60,991	36.1
1944	9,445	4,179	13,624	37,856	36.0
1945	8,052	2,967	11,019	28,398	38.8

Figures for employment and value of output and production give some indication of the steady growth of the manufacturing sector in Victoria during the war.

#### EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING AND VALUE OF OUTPUT AND PRODUCTION: VICTORIA, 1939-40 TO 1944-45

Year	Persons employed	Value of output (a)		Value of production (b)
		'000	\$m	\$m
1939-40	212	349	148	
1940-41	238	419	178	
1941-42	258	515	222	
1942-43	262	555	243	
1943-44	261	569	247	
1944-45	258	575	245	

(a) The value of factory output is the value of the goods manufactured or their value after passing through the particular process of manufacture and includes the amount received for repair work, work done on commission, and receipts for other factory work. The basis of valuation of the output is the selling value of the goods at the factory, exclusive of all delivery costs and charges and excise duties, but inclusive of bounty and subsidy payments to the manufacturer of the finished article.

(b) The value of production is the value added to raw materials by the process of manufacture. It is calculated by deducting from the value of factory output the value (at the factory) of those items of cost specified on the factory statistical collection form, namely, materials used, containers and packing, power, fuel, and light used, tools replaced, and materials used in repairs to plant (but not depreciation charges); the remainder constitutes the value added to raw materials in the process of manufacture, and represents the fund available for the payment of wages, taxation, rent, interest, insurance, etc., and profit.

Industrial disputes were comparatively mild and days lost due to strikes far fewer during the war than in the post-war years.

Commerce suffered with the sinking of vessels carrying imports *en route* from overseas, and with the restrictions on varieties of goods and attractive packaging, and implementation of ration quotas. Many businesses depended on women and juniors, and the continuation in employment of persons of retiring age. The controls on retail prices retarded increases between 1939 and 1945 to 34 points (22 per cent) for the six State capital cities retail price index numbers compared with 36 points (32 per cent) between 1914 and 1918 (base 1911 = 100). Although derived by linking a number of indexes that differ greatly in scope, and being for the six State capitals combined, it is considered that a comparable index for Melbourne would not vary significantly from these figures. A black market developed in certain lines of scarce goods, from nylon stockings to petrol coupons. The changing market structure following arrival of the Americans was reflected in the re-naming of chemists, confectioners, and milk bars as drug stores, candy stores, and soda fountains. Florists flourished and youthful entrepreneurs became shoe-shine boys.

The interstate movement of troops and goods was complicated by varying railway gauges, and highlighted the need for strategic highways. Interstate and overseas shipping fell in numbers of vessels entering and cleared from Victorian ports, and in net tonnage, although the amount of cargo shipped and discharged remained fairly constant. The composition of goods entering trade changed to essential war needs, and some overseas markets were lost or affected by shipping shortages.

INTERSTATE AND OVERSEAS SHIPPING AND CARGO: VICTORIA,  
1939-40 TO 1944-45

Year	Shipping				Cargo			
	Entered		Cleared		Shipped		Discharged	
	Vessels	m. net tonnes	Vessels	m. net tonnes	m. tonnes weight	m. tonnes measure	m. tonnes weight	m. tonnes measure
1939-40	2,658	7.1	2,672	7.2	1.3	0.8	3.1	1.7
1940-41	2,465	5.7	2,473	5.7	1.3	1.0	3.4	1.5
1941-42	2,154	4.5	2,139	4.5	1.2	1.0	3.8	1.4
1942-43	1,681	3.3	1,678	3.3	1.0	0.9	3.3	1.0
1943-44	1,494	3.0	1,499	3.0	1.1	0.9	3.0	1.0
1944-45	1,412	3.0	1,444	3.1	1.1	1.1	3.5	0.8

Reduction in normal imports had some beneficial effects. Local production received impetus, e.g., publishing increased despite the paper shortage affecting books, magazines, and newspaper production. Broadcasting also developed during the war and news broadcasts and commentaries were frequent. The media generally was used for stirring patriotic feeling, and was subject to strict censorship. The economy was expanded so vastly that by the end of the war the range of tasks to which the labour force turned had changed markedly.

SOCIAL ASPECTS

The disruption to the lives of ordinary persons in the war is evidenced in the vital statistics for the period. The population of Victoria grew from 1,883,000 to 2,015,000 between 1939 and 1945. Marriages continued to rise until 1942 but tapered to pre-war levels in the last two years of the war. Many girls left Australia as brides of US servicemen. Divorces by 1945 had more than doubled the pre-war figure. Births increased steadily during the war, but deaths peaked in 1942. Births continued to increase in the post-war period, deaths and marriages remained fairly constant, and divorces returned to the wartime levels after a peak in 1947. There were fewer males per 100 females of the population in all years up to 1950, reflecting in part the deaths of males in action.

DEMOGRAPHY: VICTORIA, 1934 TO 1950

Year	Population (a)			Births	Deaths	Marriages	Number of divorces — decrees granted
	Males	Females	Total				
	'000	'000	'000	'000	'000	'000	
1934	910	927	1,837	28	19	14	621
1939	929	954	1,883	30	20	17	805
1940	947	968	1,915	32	20	22	822
1941	965	982	1,946	34	21	21	842
1942	971	992	1,963	36	22	24	959
1943	980	1,002	1,982	39	21	18	1,383
1944	987	1,011	1,998	39	21	18	1,694
1945	995	1,020	2,015	41	20	17	1,759
1946	1,006	1,033	2,040	47	22	21	1,651
1947	1,017	1,046	2,063	47	21	20	2,294
1948	1,039	1,069	2,108	46	22	20	1,681
1949	1,072	1,097	2,169	47	22	20	1,780
1950	1,114	1,123	2,237	50	22	20	1,604

(a) Figures from 1939 to 1946 include all living Australian defence service personnel irrespective of whether they were within Australia or overseas, but exclude members of Allied Services and prisoners of war and internees from overseas. The population estimates from 1947 onwards include defence personnel in Australia and are exclusive of members of the forces overseas.

Some large schools were appropriated for military purposes and pupils were relocated. Most schools covered the loss of young male teachers with women and retired teachers. Many students spent time preparing school air raid shelters, assisted with harvests, or collected salvage items such as metals and rubber. In some schools the lists of old boys who had previously fallen were maintained, and throughout the war were added to as each year's school leavers joined the services and went overseas. There was also a corresponding rise in the proportion of female students at the University of Melbourne, partly due to the imposition of entry quotas on males.

Workers were subjected to long hours and shift work. The basic weekly wage in Melbourne for an adult male rose from \$8 in December 1939 to \$9.80 in November 1945, but the obligatory overtime and reduced supply of consumer goods led to high rates of savings in banks, war bonds, and war savings certificates. Savings bank deposits, for instance, grew from \$160.9m in 1939 to \$364.3m in 1945.

**BASIC WEEKLY WAGES AND BANK DEPOSITS:  
VICTORIA, 1939 TO 1945**

Year	Basic weekly wage — Melbourne, for Adult Males (payable from)	Savings bank deposits (at 30 June)	Trading bank
			deposits (average for year ended 30 June)
	\$	\$m	\$m
1939	Dec. 8.00	160.9	236.6
1940	Nov. 8.40	158.3	262.8
1941	Nov. 8.80	171.4	270.3
1942	Nov. 9.70	188.5	280.4
1943	Nov. 9.80	242.5	322.2
1944	Nov. 9.80	307.8	361.0
1945	Nov. 9.80	364.3	385.0

The restrictions on private transport were apparent in the figures for registrations of new motor passenger vehicles which progressively fell to a few hundred annually and did not fully recover until after the war. Owners unable to obtain sufficient petrol fitted gas producers or placed cars on blocks for the duration. As would be expected there was a related fall in numbers of road traffic accidents and persons killed and injured in the years 1942 to 1945. Conversely the numbers of railway and tramway passenger journeys peaked between 1943 and 1945 and have not ever achieved such levels since. However, railway stock and track deteriorated without replacement, although railway finances looked more promising.

**NEW MOTOR VEHICLES REGISTERED:  
VICTORIA, 1939-40 TO 1944-45**

Year	New motor vehicles registered during period (a)	
	Cars	Total
1939-40	11,613	17,386
1940-41	5,529	8,833
1941-42	1,244	2,834
1942-43	852	2,005
1943-44	527	3,833
1944-45	496	2,847

(a) Excludes defence service vehicles.

With the curtailment of deliveries housewives struggled home with shopping and people made do with austerity clothes and patched garments. There was less variety in food although no one was on starvation rations. For wives and mothers there was only meagre relief from the strains of work, as they raised families alone and worried about absent menfolk. Many found time for voluntary work, preparing dressings, making camouflage nets, performing hospital duties or charitable activities. Regular parcels were sent by municipalities and individuals to recipients, friends, or relatives in Britain, and the war zones. Morale was supported by traditional social outlets, such as churches, community

singing, hotels, theatres, football, and horse races, and despite the grave situation people went about their daily tasks with good natured acceptance and humour. The vast movements of Australians, and contact both at home and overseas with a wide range of nationalities, prepared them for a diminution of parochial attitudes after the war. The proximity to war destroyed forever any belief in security through isolation.

#### ROAD TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS, AND RAIL AND TRAM PASSENGER JOURNEYS: VICTORIA, 1939 TO 1945

Year	Road traffic accidents involving casualties (a)			Passenger journeys (b) (million)	
	Accidents involving casualties	Persons killed	Persons injured	Victorian Railways	Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board
1939	7,098	480	8,074	151.3	182.1
1940	7,561	515	8,723	166.7	185.3
1941	6,548	412	7,610	189.8	193.4
1942	5,240	396	5,836	205.5	233.1
1943	4,166	347	4,749	204.1	265.9
1944	3,764	266	4,219	205.8	278.5
1945	3,827	260	4,368	205.9	284.1

(a) Year ended 31 December for 1939. Year ended 30 June for 1940 to 1945.

(b) Year ended 30 June.

### THE YEARS SINCE

#### Repatriation

Gradually the troops, including prisoners of war, came home and the processes of repatriation and demobilisation enabled them to return to the labour force and the freedom of civilian life, although normal conditions were not fully restored until the early 1950s. Many required retraining under such arrangements as the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme, as well as physical recovery, and soldier preference ensured for them the work opportunities and settlement blocks that their service had earned. Fortunately most soldier settlers received productive land, unlike many returned soldiers in the same situation following the First World War. The resumption of peace was reflected in rising rates for births, and a period of economic growth.

#### Post-war reconstruction

The long era of post-war development resulted in part from efforts made *during* the war to plan a better society *after* it. The Commonwealth Government's attention was drawn to this requirement even in the years when the successful outcome of the war was anything but certain. There were at least two underlying reasons for this. First, Australia was served by some very able men in government during the war. Two Prime Ministers — the Rt Hon. J. Curtin and the Rt Hon. J. B. Chifley — were able to appeal to a wide spectrum of the electorate — what is now often described as the middle ground of politics.

Their decisions were given effect to by a very talented group of senior Commonwealth Public Servants, some permanent officers, others recruited from outside (especially the law, the banks, the universities, and State Governments), who not only understood the mood of the politicians, but also of the wider community. In the early years of the war (before December 1941) community support could not invariably be taken for granted. One very widespread conviction was the feeling that the cost of the war would need to be matched by the hope of a better society after it, especially as for most people in the early 1940s, the grim effects of the Depression were still subject to vivid recall.

For these reasons the Curtin Government established the Ministry of Post-War Reconstruction late in 1942; it consisted of the Rural Reconstruction Commission, the Housing Commission, and the Secondary Industries Commission. Although the most immediate concern of the Ministry was planning for the demobilisation of servicemen at the end of the war, their settlement of the land and in business, and their retraining for civilian occupations, it had more far reaching planning objectives: the achievement of full employment and the establishment of basic economic security for all (because of memories of the Depression), and planning for a greatly improved physical and social environment

both in the cities and in rural areas (due to recent recollections of the slums and rural poverty). In 1945, the Chifley Government published its White Paper on Full Employment.

Each of the three Commissions, in its own way and from its own viewpoint, endorsed the need for improved environmental and sociological planning so as to improve the lifestyle and community facilities of country people, the metropolitan landscape, the involvement of people in developing their own communities, and the decentralised areas for continuing and expanding the manufacturing facilities established in wartime. One regional form of expression in Victoria was the formation of the Murray Valley Development League in 1944.

It was the Rt Hon. J. Curtin who initiated moves for the Commonwealth and the States to co-operate and encourage the grouping of municipal authorities into broader regions so that the non-metropolitan areas of Australia could be more vigorously developed. The real threat of invasion in 1942 was a key contributing factor in his thinking about the need to decentralise Australia's population and develop the country's scattered resources. He wrote to the State Premiers in October 1943 and a conference of Commonwealth and State Ministers was held a year later, presided over by an enthusiastic Prime Minister. In Victoria this was the beginning of regional development (under the aegis of the Premier's Department) and the compilation of the State's Regional Surveys which were published progressively after 1944, the year in which Victoria also established the Town and Country Planning Board.

The co-operation between the Commonwealth and the States on regional planning had two far reaching and unexpected results: the eventual establishment of the Snowy Mountains Hydroelectric Scheme in 1949, and the Commonwealth-States Housing Agreement of 1945 to provide low-cost housing schemes for low income families. Other results were the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme which enabled ex-servicemen to train technically and professionally, and the Soldier Settlement Commission.

After the war the impetus waned and was not to be taken up again until 1973, when there was a brief resurgence of interest in urban and regional planning.

# 3

## STATISTICAL SERVICES

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### INTRODUCTION

This Chapter traces the development of the official statistical services in Victoria. In 1934, the collection of most statistics was the province of the Government Statist but as a result of wartime and post-war statistical demands, the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics (CBCS) played an increasing role in Victoria in collecting State economic statistics after the early 1940s. By 1945, the Victorian Office of the CBCS was permanently established in Melbourne and in 1958 the statistical services formerly carried out by the Victorian Government Statist were integrated with those of the CBCS in Victoria (as they were in other States under the Integration Agreements). In 1975, the CBCS became the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

The recording of statistics underwent marked changes between 1934 and 1984. In the first twenty-five years, responsibility for collecting and compiling official statistics in Victoria rested mainly with the Victorian Government Statist. From colonial times statistics relating to the various colonies (later States) and territories had been aggregated in various publications to give Australia wide totals, e.g., in T.A. Coghlan's *The Seven Colonies of Australasia*. The establishment of the CBCS, the ABS after 1975, enabled a somewhat closer degree of comparability, except for cases where incompatible legislation prevented the aggregation of State components into national totals. A small branch office of the Bureau was set up in Victoria in 1945 to perform some limited collection activities.

### OFFICE OF THE GOVERNMENT STATIST, 1934 TO 1958

Mr Oswald Gawler was appointed Government Statist on 1 March 1934, almost a century after the collection of the first official statistics in Victoria, then the Port Phillip District of New South Wales. After the gold rushes of the 1850s, Victoria became a world leader in statistical recording in the nineteenth century, with impetus from renowned officers in the position of Registrar-General, such as William Henry Archer, and the first Government Statist for Victoria, Henry Heylyn Hayter. Archer had produced statistics and reports on the progress of Victoria from the founding of the Colony, and developed *Statistics of the Colony of Victoria*, which dates from 1852, and was renamed the *Victorian Statistical Register* in 1874, appearing annually until discontinued as a wartime economy in 1916. The *Victorian Year Book*, introduced in 1873 by Hayter, has continued to be produced, with some minor interruptions, as the main publication of the Office of the Government Statist and, following the integration of the statistical services in 1958, the Victorian Office of the Bureau.

The Office of the Government Statist, part of the Department of the Chief Secretary, was situated at 295 Queen Street, Melbourne, in a palatial bluestone building typical of the late Victorian style of architecture, although its foundation stone is dated 1902. With its high ceilings and courtyard, its open fireplaces and gas-light brackets still in evidence, it expressed the imperturbable influence of governmental administration in a more leisurely age. There were few changes in the tenor of office activity until the early 1950s when a greatly increased demand for statistics began to change all statistical activity in Australia. Until then, however, the historic setting of the office reflected the nature of its statistical efforts which seemed to be directed towards the painstaking recording of history.

By the 1930s the subject matter and methods employed had altered little since the early days, apart from difficulties consequent upon government restraints in the Depression. Staff and funds were not available for the expansionary and innovative collections and techniques that were to become a feature of statistical recording after the Second World War. With few modern mechanical aids, dilapidated furniture, out-of-date telephones, and little incentive, dedicated clerks produced accurate statistics in pen and ink copperplate writing on traditional pale blue foolscap or larger sheets of tabulating paper. The titles of certain collections still showed direct descent from the previous century — “interchange” instead of trade; “accumulation”, later simply finance — and the *Blue Book* of notable officials was still laboriously compiled and checked by hand for inclusion in the manuscript update of the *Victorian Statistical Register*, which was no longer printed after 1916.

As well as publishing official statistics, the one person performed the role of Government Statist and the functions of Registrar of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, as well as of State Actuary, which involved the overseeing of the State Superannuation Fund and the activities of Friendly Societies. A Chief Clerk controlled the whole office but this was later changed to place the responsibilities under three Assistant Government Statists in charge of the Statistics Branch, the Registration Branch, and the Actuarial Branch, respectively. Calculations were usually done manually and it was not until the advent of accounting machinists and a telephonist-typist that the Office employed women. Before the Second World War, the hand writing of extracts and typing of certificates were undertaken by males.

Until the 1950s, the statistical functions were separated into five sections : agricultural and pastoral; factories; public finance, private finance, trade, and transport; vital, population, and social; and municipal. The distribution of forms for the collection of the agricultural and pastoral census was carried out by members of the Victoria Police in the various country areas. They entered such items as area under crops and numbers of livestock into field books provided by the Office, and summarised them into collectors books, which were forwarded to the Office when all necessary information had been completed. The details were checked and the information tabulated by counties and districts. Cards were later forwarded to individual farmers requesting them to supply particulars of the yield from certain crops such as potatoes and onions.

For factory statistics details were collected, again with the assistance of the Police, from all factories in Victoria on a form seeking such information as the number of persons employed, and output. Public finance statistics utilised the Treasurer’s Finance Statement and the Report of the Auditor-General, augmented by further data from these offices, where necessary. Private finance included information on Fire, Marine, and General Insurance, Building Societies, and various Co-operative Societies. Trade statistics were obtained from details collected from the Department of Customs and prepared by the Commonwealth Statistician, and transport statistics depended on published reports of relevant authorities, including the Victorian Railways, the Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board, and the harbour trusts.

Statistics on births, deaths, and marriages were based on registrations, after transcription of data including usual residence, sex, and age, on to summary sheets or cards. Deaths were classified according to cause of death on cards which were sorted, counted, and recorded by hand on tabulation sheets. Details of Victorian population were available as a result of census collections by the CBCS. Labour statistics included wage rate indexes and average weekly earnings, from 1913 and 1941, respectively, and statistics on industrial disputes and trade unions from 1913. For municipal statistics a form was sent to each city, town, borough, and shire in Victoria and the details of local government activities, such as building permits issued, provided further useful indicators about social and economic conditions in the State.

In the early 1940s, the preface to a *Victorian Year Book* stated that it aimed at presenting information to assist “legislators, publicists, and others in formulating policy for the further development of the natural resources of the State and for promoting the welfare of the people; to provide essential data for economists, sociologists and students generally in their researches; to furnish producers with facts and figures relating to their own and allied industries, and to inform the public on matters associated with the life and industry of the people in general and of Victoria in particular”. Comparability was given prominence.



"If changes are made, due regard is paid to this feature, which is preserved as far as practicable, or discarded only because a new form of presentation possesses merits which outweigh the advantage of comparability." (*Victorian Year Book* 1941-42). Apart from the *Victorian Year Book*, other publications were produced, including *Municipal Statistics* (annually), *Building Permits* (monthly), and *Fire, Marine and General Insurance* (annually). The *Quarterly Abstract of Statistics*, embracing a brief summary of a range of statistics, was published between 1946 and 1958.

The Second World War added considerably to the burdens of the Office. Before the war, the Agricultural and Pastoral section had a staff of about eight, Factories section six, and the other three sections two each. Some permanent officers served with the Armed Forces and were replaced with juniors or temporary assistants. In 1934 the statistical staff numbered fewer than eighteen, in 1939 and 1940 seventeen, and thereafter remained below twenty, with individuals absent for various periods of war service. In 1944, for instance, three were with the Forces and two on loan to the Commonwealth. Another effect of the war was that some information, such as the statistics of overseas trade and shipping movements, was restricted by censorship and publication of data was delayed for a variety of reasons. The *Victorian Year Book* 1941-42 did not appear until 1944 and the Preface explained that "at various stages of collection and compilation, statistical work has necessarily been deferred for special wartime tasks of greater urgency. Suppliers of information, including Government Departments, companies, firms and individuals all experience staff difficulties. Pressure of other work in this office has fallen upon a depleted staff..." There was a gradual return to the normal pattern in the decade following the war although the *Year Book* fell progressively behind schedule in the 1950s, requiring a combined edition for 1952-53 and 1953-54, and a single issue embracing the years 1954-55 to 1957-58.

In 1954, Mr Gawler retired and Mr V.H. Arnold became the Government Statist, at a time when the Commonwealth moves to integrate the State and Commonwealth statistical services were already under discussion.

Apart from some changes to questionnaires, the adoption of new international classifications in some areas (e.g., the Sixth [1948] Revision of the International List of Causes of Death), and some relaxation of wartime restrictions which curtailed trade and shipping and other statistics, the post-war period remained one of recovery and restoration of the statistical service. Between 1954 and 1958 several changes occurred, including the development of new collections relating to mortgages, industrial accidents, and hospital morbidity. A *Victorian Pocket Year Book* was first published in 1956 and new publications were developed to meet the emerging demand for up-to-date data.

The volume of data could only be handled efficiently by mechanical data processing methods and in 1958 the Government Statist decided to use the Powers-Samas system for tabulating factory returns. After integration of the Commonwealth and State statistical services in 1958, the Office was equipped with Hollerith machines and output was produced at a greatly increased speed in what was a transition phase before a computer was installed in 1965.

Population censuses had been traditionally held in the years ending in 1 but that intended for 1931 had been delayed by the Depression until 1933, and that for 1941 by the war. Therefore, a Census was held in 1947, and another in 1954, midway between 1947 and 1961, in order to space more appropriately the measurement of the rapidly changing population characteristics in the post-war era of high migration and mobility, and return to the normal year ending 1. Since 1961 Censuses of population and housing have been held at 5-yearly intervals.

#### COMMONWEALTH BUREAU OF CENSUS AND STATISTICS, 1945 TO 1958

The year 1945 marked the beginning of a new era in Australian statistics with the publication of the first official set of Australian National Accounts in *Estimates of National Income and Public Authority Income and Expenditure*. This was the forerunner of the present day system of Australian National Accounts.

Estimates of Australian national income for the period 1929-30 to 1935-36 had already been published by Clark and Crawford in 1938. The development of new collections of

data, e.g., retail statistics, investment (including building) and other "business" statistics, made possible the production of estimates of gross domestic product based on the expenditure approach.

The need for representation close to the main centres of economic activity led to establishment of branch offices of the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics in State capitals. In July 1945, the Victorian Office was established and occupied two floors of a building at 8 Elizabeth Street, Melbourne (an ex-department store then known as Craig's Building). A staff of 72 clerks (mostly temporaries) processed the Occupation Survey 1945, a quasi-census of persons aged 18-64 years, which was aimed at assisting the Commonwealth Government to redeploy the labour force in the immediate post-war period. Punching of the data for processing in Canberra was undertaken by staff situated in the basement of an office at the north-west corner of Queen and Little Collins Streets, Melbourne.

On completion of the survey, six permanent male clerical members of the survey staff moved to that Office, but returned to Elizabeth Street in 1947. Except for a period of four years from 1949 when the Bureau was located in the Nicholas Building at 37 Swanston Street, Melbourne, while major reconstruction was undertaken, and for a short period from 1968 at 200 Little Collins Street, Melbourne, when Craig's Building was demolished and the Commonwealth Banks Building constructed, the Victorian Office remained on the Elizabeth Street site.

Among the tasks undertaken by the small group of Commonwealth staff that developed under the Officers-in-charge, first, Mr S. Begley and then Mr F.W. Sayer, was the processing of returns relating to post-war reconstruction training courses for ex-service personnel, the establishment of a building operations collection direct from contract builders at quarterly intervals, a collection of important items of monthly production, and the supervision of staff engaged in the collection of prices data. Prior to integration with the State statistical service in 1958, further developments occurred in the measurement of business and economic activities. The quarterly building operation statistics were extended to include owner builders; and a monthly building approvals collection was established. The first retail census was undertaken in respect of the year ended 30 June 1948 and the quarterly sample investment surveys (stocks and capital expenditure) commenced. Some collections sought to provide an understanding of current economic conditions; such information as monthly new motor vehicles registered became regarded as important economic indicators.

Following the precedents (consequent upon Federation) such as centralising overseas trade statistics based on uniform Customs legislation, and the transferring of postal administration to the Commonwealth, the Prime Minister (Rt. Hon. J.B. Chifley) began discussions with the Premiers in 1949 to integrate the statistical services of the Commonwealth and States by agreement. Tasmania had already transferred its statistical service to the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics in 1924 and the other State Governments now agreed progressively to the arrangement that their statistical needs would be similarly met as a condition of relinquishing direct control of their own statistical offices. After further negotiations the Statistics (Arrangement with States) Act became law on 12 May 1956. Integration was finally accomplished when the Integration Arrangement with Victoria came into effect on 15 September 1958, the date on which the Victorian Government Statist became Deputy Commonwealth Statistician and Government Statist. Former State staff engaged on statistical duties were given the option of becoming Commonwealth officers or remaining State officers.

## INTEGRATED STATISTICAL SERVICES, 1959 TO 1983

### Introduction

The staff in 1958 numbered about 100 across four divisions: two — Primary and Secondary Production; and Demography, Social Conditions, Finance, Trade, and Transport — having been absorbed from the old Government Statist's Office; one — Business Statistics, Building, and Employment — maintaining the activities of the former State Office of the Bureau; and the fourth — Research, Development, and Publications — supporting the overall subject matter service capability of the new organisation. The ABS

strove to keep pace with the many rapid economic and social developments. The broad acceptance of the recommendations in the *Report of the Committee on Integration of Data Systems*, April 1974 (the Crisp Report) resulted in the creation of the ABS in 1975 as a statutory authority, and in the establishment of the Australian Statistics Advisory Council. During the 1970s, it also became increasingly apparent to the Victorian Government that there was a need for greater co-ordination of the statistical efforts of State Government agencies. A Statistics Co-ordinating Group was established in 1977 to advise on State statistical priorities and to improve the co-ordination of data collection activities of State agencies. At the same time there has been a concerted attempt to rationalise statistical resources and make greater use of administrative data available to both Commonwealth and State agencies.

Mr V.H. Arnold was succeeded by Mr N. Bowden, as Deputy Commonwealth Statistician in 1974, who was in turn succeeded by Mr W. McLennan, in 1979. Mr I.M. Cowie, was appointed Deputy Commonwealth Statistician in 1980 and held this position until his untimely death in August 1982. He was succeeded as Deputy Commonwealth Statistician in November 1982 by Mr Erle Bourke.

### **Economic statistics**

Conceptual changes to existing collections and innovations, particularly in business statistics, came very soon after 1958. The development and use of sample survey theory and techniques enabled the Bureau to improve the data service it provided. As surveys need only collect information from some of the respondents required to participate in a corresponding census, they can provide more timely information with acceptable levels of accuracy at less cost than a census.

Business statistics, originally compiled by a staff of two, largely comprised capital expenditure, stocks, and new capital raisings. After 1958 the surveys were expanded both in scope and size, and were held at quarterly intervals. A sample of businesses provided data on capital expenditure on plant and equipment and buildings during the preceding quarter and an estimate of anticipated expenditure for the following quarter. This produced information for ascertaining an important component of investment for National Accounts purposes, while the anticipated expenditure indicated the confidence felt by Australian business. Similarly, stock surveys were undertaken concurrently, the details showing the degree of processing undertaken (finished goods, work in progress, etc.). In addition, the Office of the Registrar of Companies furnished details of the names of firms with the total amounts of capital raised or intended to be raised. Surveys subsequently introduced included overseas investment in Australia; private finance surveys; anticipated imports; surveys of interest, rent, and royalties; private superannuation funds; and others. The development in business statistics largely reflected the continual refinement of techniques to estimate National Accounts, the balance of payments, and the flow of funds estimates. Further data on retail sales and other indicators at quarterly intervals made possible the Quarterly Estimates of National Accounts. Retail sales in particular commenced to be used as a significant economic indicator and as such were compiled at monthly intervals. The broadening range of economic and business statistics illustrated the search for greater scope and further refinements of statistics. However, major problems in the presentation of statistics were then becoming apparent.

In retrospect, official statistics while widely used lacked a cohesive conceptual framework. There were many influences, however, which suggested the need for a completely revised approach to economic statistics. Economists and other planners in advanced countries were developing models of the economy which could be expressed in mathematical terms. These models required more detailed understanding of the relationships that exist between the sectors of the economy than was available from previous collections. It was becoming more difficult to accept the demarcation between the previously defined sectors of mining, farming, factory production, retail, etc. For the most part collections commenced in a different century retained concepts for comparability of presentation at the State level that were no longer appropriate.

Thus was initiated the development of a system of integrated economic statistics as then existed in countries such as USA and Canada. The 1963-64 exploratory wholesale census demonstrated some of the difficulties that required to be overcome in developing an

integrated system. The Census of Group Employers conducted in 1965 not only made possible the Industry and Destination Zone Coding of the 1966 Population Census, but also provided a data bank of detail on corporate relationships and activities conducted at various locations. This information was used in developing the Australian Standard Industrial Classification and a central register of businesses as the base for most economic collections commencing with the 1968-69 Integrated Economic Censuses. These censuses collected data on enterprises and establishments engaged in mining, manufacturing, electricity and gas, wholesale, retail, and selected service industries. Except for the mining and manufacturing censuses and the agricultural commodity census which have generally been held annually, sectors have been approached on a rotating basis to relieve the burden on respondents. (See pages 369-89 of the *Victorian Year Book* 1971, for a full description of the 1968-69 Integrated Economic Censuses.)

### Social statistics

During the 1960s and 1970s while output of most types of social statistics continued, some problems were encountered. For example, difficulties were experienced with crime data, and the publication of hospital morbidity data was suspended in 1975. Furthermore, the compilation of certain national statistics was hindered by differences between the States' administrative and legal arrangements. The CBCS also assisted in research into many social issues including the preparation of a report for the hearings of the 1965 Royal Commission of Inquiry on Liquor in Victoria, and a report in 1973 on the Effectiveness of Seat Belts in Motor Vehicle Accidents.

While maximum use has been made of available information, developments in the use of household surveys to provide estimates of population characteristics have helped to overcome some of these problems arising from State differences. Quarterly household surveys of the population in six capital cities in Australia, which commenced in November 1960, were expanded to cover all areas of Australia in 1964, and have been conducted monthly since February 1978. While this population survey system was originally designed mainly to collect labour force data, such as employment, unemployment, and related characteristics, it has since been used to collect many other population statistics. In the 1970s it has been extensively used to enable the Bureau to expand and improve, particularly in terms of comparability between States, the range of social statistics produced. Important surveys included the 1972 Immigration Survey, a survey of incomes conducted in 1973 for the Henderson Poverty Inquiry, the Household Income and Expenditure Surveys for 1974-75 and 1975-76, and the General Social Survey in 1975. The success of using population surveys, which involve trained interviewers personally interviewing household members to collect the required information, has resulted in a comprehensive survey programme covering many social topics during the 1980s. The flexibility of the personal interview has been further demonstrated by its application in many of the ABS's surveys of business including the Agricultural Finance Survey, and the Construction Industry Survey.

### Computing facilities

The Victorian Office acquired its first computer, a Control Data 3200 in 1965, and replaced its mechanical tabulation equipment which had been used to process data on punchcards from 1959. By early 1966, because a number of other government departments were using the CBCS computing facilities, a Control Data 160A computer was installed to handle non-computing functions such as printing and transfer of data on punchcards and papertape to magnetic tape. In 1967, a Control Data 3300 computer was installed because of the increased demands of the CBCS and government departments.

In the meantime, the CBCS's computing facilities in Canberra were being increased and updated with the installation of a Control Data 3500 in 1972 and a Control Data Cyber 72 in 1974. At that time, the Cyber 72 was the largest computer installed in the Southern Hemisphere. These two machines were linked via DATEL lines to the Victorian Office.

By the mid-1970s, computing equipment was available which meant the CBCS computers were virtually obsolete and plans were prepared for updating its computing facilities. In May 1980, these plans came to fruition when a FACOM M200 was installed in Canberra, and subsequently linked to all State Offices by a communications network.

By 1983, the Victorian Office had on-line access to up-to-date computer facilities including data base and data manipulation software. This was designed to enable the Victorian Office to offer a more timely response to requests for statistical information.

#### **Victorian Year Book**

The *Victorian Year Book* has featured two major series of special articles since 1961 when it was restructured and brought up to date by covering the years since 1958. From 1961 to 1975 the theme was Victoria's Physical Environment, and since 1976 it has been Victoria's Environment and Man. Under the editorship of Mr H.L. Speagle since 1958, special articles (many contributed by eminent experts), photographs, and maps were introduced, as was an expanded statistical and textual coverage. Mr Speagle also edited the two special editions of the Year Book, for 1973 and 1984, respectively, each being an eight year project. In 1973, the whole edition was given over to commemorating the centenary of the publication of the first *Victorian Year Book* in 1873 by tracing the history of the State's development since early settlement.

#### **CONCLUSION**

As in so many other areas of community activity where technological progress has been dramatic over the last 50 years, statistical activity in Victoria has shown many significant changes. Essentially it has grown from a manual to an electronic operation underwritten by the historic developments in microchip and computer technology. The approach of the ABS has likewise changed from concentration on production of statistics to a wider consultative process with users and respondents. The ABS by the 1980s was regularly consulting with user groups, initiating user reviews, accessing data, and encouraging statistical liaison. It had also been using the methodology of sampling techniques since the 1960s to augment its census collections. As far as statistical output was concerned, the new technology enabled the ABS to present data on magnetic tape and microfiche as well as on various new forms of the printed image.

# 4

## NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

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### INTRODUCTION

The fifty years since 1934 have seen the emergence of many new community attitudes towards the natural environment and its conservation. This Chapter contains an outline history of the nature conservation movement in Victoria followed by sections on significant institutional developments connected with the natural environment. It also includes sections on the contribution of the Australian Bureau of Meteorology whose headquarters are located in Melbourne, and Antarctic exploration which was directed for most of the fifty years from Melbourne. Since 1962 (with the exception of the special edition in 1973) the first Chapter of each edition of the *Victorian Year Book* has contained a special article on the environment in two series: Victoria's physical environment (1962 to 1975) and Victoria's environment and man (since 1976).

### NATURE CONSERVATION MOVEMENT

#### Background

Conservation is not a modern phenomenon and an understanding of it goes back well beyond the last fifty years. The expansion of cities in Victoria after 1850, the development of agricultural irrigation in the 1880s, and the droughts of the 1890s all emphasised the need for reliable water conservation; subsequent problems of siltation in reservoirs and channels was soon traced back to soil erosion in the catchments.

Indeed, as far back as the late 1920s the Victorian Branch of the Australian Natives Association already promoted public and political awareness of the interrelationship of soil, water, and forests. Even before the Hume Dam was completed, the Forests Commission was worried by "excessive ... clearing ... at the heads of the highland catchments" and in 1936 urged "immediate steps ... to determine the optimum use of all land throughout the State". Also, in the following year the Australian Natives Association sponsored a major scientific symposium on the subject and published *Australia's Grave National Problem, Soil Conservation*. The Victorian Government formed an Erosion Investigation Committee which concluded that "most erosion can be attributed to the mistreatment by man of the soil and other natural resources in his endeavour to collect the greatest return in the shortest time ..."

#### From 1934 to 1939

Public awareness of the problem grew in the 1930s. Thus the Australian Forest League regarded as "distinctly objectionable" two Parliamentary Bills of 1937. One would have curbed the Forest Commissioners and Water Commissioners who "might feel bound to oppose settlement ... where it would ... result in erosion, flooding and siltation". The other Bill would have increased settlement on high quality forested lands. However, the League did not object to a third Bill for the removal of about 400,000 cubic metres of pulpwood per year from the Yarra and Thomson River catchments because the old Mountain Ash and young Ash was "second grade timber, unsuitable for saw-milling". Significantly, the Forest Commissioners at the time suggested— with some foresight— that "a forest conscience within the community [could be stimulated] through the

development of the recreational use of the forest estate". Forty years later the success of this very idea would make decisions about removing pulpwood much more difficult.

The Forest League in those years comprised public figures, politicians, professional foresters, and representatives of commerce and industry and could resolve many problems by discussion within its own ranks. Contentious issues included the cleaning and thinning of inflammable "waste" from forests; the logging of water catchments; alienation of forests for agriculture; grazing in forests and "spoliation of our fern gullies". Most problems were viewed in simple terms of the need to save the three great economic resources — soil, timber, and water.

In 1935 another body, the League of Youth, issued a Handbook aiming to win public support for governments "to carry out the policy and work necessary to make Australia safe for all time to come and its heritage of beauty and loveliness secure". The League planned to work mainly through the schools but, with no clear idea of the processes by which its high ideals could be attained, it wasted away within a decade. On the other hand, the Gould League of Bird Lovers had already been founded in 1909 with the simple idea of instilling in every child a love and respect for birds, and had continually increased its scope and adapted its methods to accommodate new ideas of conservation and education.

The role of education in conservation has been a recurring theme and numerous avenues have been explored. In 1935, a Native Fauna Section was set up in the Melbourne Zoo "with the aim of building up an educational institution to popularize and thus help in the protection of native creatures". An education officer was not appointed until 1969 but by 1982 there was an education staff of 15.

Many writers, photographers, and artists contributed to a popular interest in natural history and conservation ideals and in 1938 there appeared *Wild Life — Australia's Nature Magazine* which together with radio talks and innumerable public lectures, was to establish the editor, Crosbie Morrison, over the next 15 years as the greatest educator and publicist for nature conservation Victoria has known.

At the time, many amateur naturalists frequently expressed concern about such matters as grazing in national parks, lack of adequate protection for wildflowers and birds of prey, the felling of trees along highways, and the effect of decentralisation policies on "the bush". They were very conscious of a lack of precise and systematic knowledge of flora and fauna and in the absence of any better solutions to their problems they often suggested more restrictive laws and harsher penalties. However, a more positive approach, even in the absence of detailed knowledge, was to set aside areas of natural bushland where it was assumed nature would flourish. A National Parks Association had already been founded in 1908 but lapsed with the advent of war in 1914. Its ideals were preserved by individuals and specialist committees within the Field Naturalists Club and the Town and Country Planning Association.

Above all, the devastating fires in January 1939 revealed the vulnerability of the community's basic resources, and a Water Commissioner, H.H. Hanslow, used public and political pressure to force the Victorian Government to set up a Soil Conservation Board in 1940. This move may well have been helped by a symposium on conservation organised in 1938-39 by the Surveyor General, C.T. Clark, and attended by representatives of many professional organisations. Its proceedings were subsequently published.

### **From 1939 to 1945: the Second World War**

The shock of the 1939 fires was expressed in Judge Stretton's classic report and had an important effect on the thinking of J.S. Turner who had come to take up the Chair of Botany at the University of Melbourne in the previous year. Turner was a plant physiologist by training who duly became a plant ecologist. The experience of Black Friday convinced him that the more scientific management of the environment would come from a better understanding of plant ecology. Over the next four decades he was in the forefront of many conservation assessments and battles both in Victoria and other States.

The Second World War overshadowed many domestic problems but actually emphasised the importance of soil, forests, and water in the national economy. The war also publicised the achievements of modern applied science and technology and created new expectations of the role which the newly emerging "ecologists" could play in conservation.

In 1944, the Save the Forests Campaign was founded and a council elected representing 30 member organisations with over 100,000 members. Two years later it had 51 member organisations, all concerned in some way with rural life. The Campaign produced press articles, radio broadcasts, information leaflets, films, and slide shows. It contacted Members of Parliament and municipal councils and issued a booklet *Victorian Forest Facts* to help speakers and writers. In the mid-1940s, the Forest League urged the inclusion of forestry in the school curriculum and the Save the Forests Campaign requested the Victorian Government to set up 50 forestry camps where secondary school boys would spend three weeks a year to "train up a new generation that from love of the good earth and knowledge of the issues involved, will conserve our most valuable asset—the Forests", but neither scheme was adopted. Towards the end of the war, there was a report by the Rural Reconstruction Commission and this strongly endorsed the need for better decision-making about land-use.

There were further serious bushfires in 1944. The lack of a co-ordinated approach to the protection and management of soil, water, and forests was again emphasised in 1946 by the Royal Commission to inquire into forest grazing. Judge Stretton described the three resources as an inseparable trinity: "If one is injured, the three must share the injury". His most far-reaching recommendation was that a land utilisation authority should be created charged with the duty of protecting all land. Effective legislation was finally passed in 1949 to set up both a Soil Conservation Authority (which replaced the Soil Conservation Board) and a Land Utilization Advisory Council. The first meeting of the Council recommended that the Authority should determine the proper use of all land in the catchment of the Hume Reservoir. Over succeeding years the Soil Conservation Authority was to play a decisive and prolonged public role in alerting the community to the serious dangers of erosion and the need to prevent it. Under the leadership of R.G. Downes new techniques and approaches were brought into service to achieve this end.

#### From 1945 to 1955

After the war ended in 1945 (the same year as the Dunstan Country Party Government was defeated), many conservationists in Melbourne and Geelong became more preoccupied with problems associated with urban growth and industrialisation. There had already been several schemes to plan and limit the growth of Melbourne and surround it with a Green Belt, and a new metropolitan planning scheme was introduced in 1949.

Also, after 1945, government agencies employed more graduates in forestry, biology, and agriculture, but naturalists perceived the need for a more co-ordinated survey of the State's biological resources and wanted better use made of the clubs' own "devoted but unorganised enthusiasts". As conservation matters assumed more political consequence, some of these professional scientists were reluctant to become too closely associated with the amateurs. Club members for their part felt that many government scientists were hindered by official policies, and opportunities for co-operation were not generally sufficiently exploited.

In 1946, the National Monuments sub-committee of the Field Naturalists Club was reconvened, and Crosbie Morrison and J. Ros Garnet organised a conference which set about compiling information on existing parks and devising a clear policy on park development. Garnet in 1949 saw "National Reserves" as places where the traditional skills and aims of the field naturalist and professional ecologist would meet. The Town and Country Planning Association was proceeding somewhat independently but on similar lines and separate reports from the two organisations attracted wide public interest. In 1953, a new National Parks Association was formed which continued to present evidence to the Victorian Government in favour of a properly administered system of parks. However, it was not until 1956 that a National Parks Authority was established consisting of the heads or senior representatives of land and resource management departments, tourism, and community interests in fauna and flora, parks, and skiing. Morrison was appointed first Director of National Parks, but his death in 1958 was a serious loss to conservation in its broadest sense.



## NATIONAL PARKS: VICTORIA, 1956 to 1982

Year (a)	Number of parks	Area (b) (hectares)
1956	13	127,300
1961	16	130,000
1966	18	150,100
1971	23	205,900
1976 (c) —		
National parks	25	226,300
Other parks	14	57,400
Total	39	283,700
1981 —		
National parks	28	497,600
Other parks	30	298,700
Total	58	796,300
1982 —		
National parks	30	685,800
Other parks	33	299,300
Total	63	985,100

(a) At 30 June.

(b) Areas to nearest 100 hectares.

(c) Second category "Other parks" introduced into the National Parks Act in 1975.

The Save the Forests Campaign always stressed the relevance of its activities to soil and water conservation. The influence of ecology on resource management also made it clear that no one resource or small group of resources should be considered in isolation from others. The Campaign, therefore, extended its scope and was reconstituted as the Natural Resources Conservation League in 1951.

#### From 1955 to 1965

In 1955, the new Bolte Government embarked on a policy of industrial and commercial development but the Premier was also well informed about conservation. He was a successful farmer and Minister for Water Supply in 1949 when he introduced the Soil Conservation and Land Utilization Bill. He was a keen hunter and resolved the protracted problems with national parks legislation. The harvesting of living resources is one of the most contentious aspects of conservation planning, and hunting in particular has always been controversial.

A decline of game birds in the 1950s was seen by many as due to excessive harvesting. Others recognised it as due to loss of habitat. In 1958, the Victorian Field and Game Association was formed to work for the protection of wildlife habitat, game management, and a more disciplined approach to hunting. Members sought the provision of water for wetland management and a game licence fee to be used for wildlife conservation generally. They worked closely with politicians and government departments and took up some of the initiative which the naturalists had lost. In 1959, the Premier established a Wildlife Reserves Investigation Committee representing Departments of Water Supply, Forests, Soil Conservation, Lands, and Fisheries and Wildlife.

Morrison's nature magazine — *Wild Life* — ceased publication in January 1954; it had combined popular appeal and scientific accuracy. However, the Natural Resources Conservation League launched its quarterly magazine *Victoria's Resources* in 1959. Invited articles from acknowledged experts created an authoritative journal which proved a valuable education medium.

In 1937, the Forests Commission welcomed "a growing appreciation of the beauty and charm of the native flora and fauna ..." and recognised that "the forests belong to the community and have to be administered with a view to procuring the maximum benefits for the greatest number of people". However, in 1952, after the disastrous fires of 1939 and 1944 and the war, reconstruction of the timber industry became the prime concern and a statement of policy sounded more prosaic and single minded: "(a) protection, conservation, development and utilisation of the State's indigenous hardwood resources.

(b) the creation and maintenance of an adequate area of softwood plantations". The only concession mentioned was that water conservation would be considered in forest management planning.

The same utilitarian view of forests was held by the State Development Committee which from 1957 to 1960 investigated the utilisation of timber resources in watersheds, even though by then the idea of multiple use of public lands was in vogue. The Committee said, "the aim of management of any forested catchment should be to obtain the maximum productivity of both water and timber". However, the Board of Works continued its traditional policy of excluding commercial logging from catchments and twenty years later some of its reserves would be recognised as the last extensive forests near Melbourne in almost natural condition. The other commercial aspect of forest use, the clearing of native forests for pine plantations, provoked adverse public reaction in the 1960s.

In 1957, the Forests Commission already had 14 reserves for conservation purposes other than timber production and established its first Forest Park specially for recreation. An Environment and Recreation Branch was set up in 1970 and by 1981 there were 16 Forest Parks and 103 other reserves under the Forests Act.

Environmental concern for pollution was voiced soon after the war. Fishermen and naturalists complained about industrial effluents in Port Phillip Bay in the early 1950s and the *Health (Amendment) Act* 1954 dealing with stream pollution and the *Clean Air Act* 1957 reflected increasing concern for human health. Traditional rabbit poisons had long been regarded by naturalists as a serious danger to native fauna and new synthetic pesticides such as Dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT) in the 1940s and Sodium Fluoroacetate (1080) in the 1950s revived concern. As a result of representations, an interdepartmental committee was established in 1960 to advise the Department of Agriculture on technical problems associated with the use of many new pesticides.

Two years later Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* portrayed the problems in a new light. The book had a world wide influence and described how cheap toxins made it economic to spray vast areas even if only an infinitesimal proportion of the chemical was actually involved in killing the pest. The rest was absorbed into soil and water, settled on plants, blew about in the air, was absorbed through skin and lungs, or ingested with contaminated food. The chemicals were designed to be poisonous. The ecologist's idea of an integrated world with interdependent components was brought home in a startling new way.

Carson's book elicited repugnance for the idea that unbridled technology, spurred only by economics, could lead to wholesale poisoning of natural systems and it had an important influence on conservation in the 1960s and 1970s. Further concern resulted in a Committee of Inquiry being set up in 1964 to examine the overall problems of pesticide use and one result was the appointment of a permanent Review Committee to provide continuing advice on the use of pesticides in Victoria. The problem of pollution was to attract even more attention in future years.

#### From 1965 to 1975

Victorian society in the 1960s enjoyed increased and hitherto unattained standards of affluence, leisure, educational standards, and scientific and cultural awareness. Thus, in 1961, the Royal Society of Victoria held the first of ten major symposia on the natural history of the State. Over the next 16 years they contributed to the growing interaction between traditional scientific disciplines.

Studies of soil, water, and minerals did not quite fit into the biologists' concept of ecology and the word "environment" was now used more to suggest the interdependence of all the components of natural systems which needed conserving. Thus, in 1965, R.G. Downes, then the Chairman of the Soil Conservation Authority, and later to become Victoria's first Director of Conservation, warned that too many so-called conservationists were concerned only with one particular resource. He felt that irrational extremists were causing confusion and he advocated more environmental education so that the community could understand the conflicts implicit in the use of different resources and how such conflicts could be resolved. Victorian Jaycees held a conference in 1967 on "Conservation — design for living in our environment" and A. Dunbavin Butcher, then Director of Fisheries and Wildlife, told them: "we must protect the integrity of the environment ... it

is the limited thinking of people who try to identify conservation with one isolated activity ... which could finally negate all the efforts of the conservationist”.

This was to be the decade of environmentalism but over-use of the word deprived it of any precise meaning and much “environmental education” in colleges and schools had little to do with an holistic approach to conservation. However, the establishment of Monash University in 1961 enabled Professor A.J. Marshall, who occupied the foundation Chair of Zoology, to reawaken academic interest in the Victorian fauna and its ecology, and this in turn led to a postgraduate degree in Environmental Science from 1973.

At the secondary school level, the Natural Resources Conservation League published *Man, the Earth, and Tomorrow* for secondary schools in 1969; two years later the Environment Studies Association was formed to encourage field investigations; and the Gould League broadened its scope and introduced the publication *Survival* in 1972. The Environment Teachers Association was formed in 1977 to promote an interdisciplinary approach.

Many engineers, architects, and planners now appreciated that their individual developments could not be pursued without regard for the natural context in which the work would be set, but there was a hint of defensive reaction in 1969 when the Town and Country Planning Association called its seminar “Conservation and Development— Who said you can’t have both?” In the same year the Chief Justice of Australia, Sir Garfield Barwick, observed that “Probably no social issue has dominated [the] media recently more than the pollution of our environment”.

The conservationists’ traditional concern for soil, water, forests, and wildlife now shaded imperceptibly from polluted streams and beaches to such issues as industrial waste, noise abatement, visual pollution, and suburban streetscapes. Thus by 1964, there were about forty community groups in the State interested primarily in fauna and flora and about fourteen concerned with other aspects of conservation. In the next 10 years, some eighteen more fauna and flora groups emerged and at least thirty-nine new groups interested in other conservation issues. Although industrial and engineering enterprises had flourished, there had also grown an awareness of the “environmental” links between industry, international trade and politics, world population growth and poverty, the consumer economy, and pollution.

Many persons, especially young adults, expressed dissatisfaction in the 1960s with traditional values and “big government” by rejecting social conventions and adopting a simpler “life style”. This accorded well with the conservation of material resources but it became difficult to distinguish genuine conservationists from others who used pseudo-conservation arguments to embarrass the Government or promote their own interests. These opportunists provoked much cynicism and reaction against conservation and in April 1969 the Natural Resources Conservation League convened a meeting of established conservation organisations to form a body capable of presenting a reasoned and co-ordinated viewpoint to the community and the Government.

Then an event happened which acted as a catalyst for the whole conservation movement. In May 1969, the Minister for Lands decided to develop virgin land for farms in the Little Desert and the Kentbruck Heath in western Victoria. The League mobilised the societies and at a meeting of the Save Our Bushlands Action Committee in August, 1,100 persons heard the Little Desert scheme criticised on scientific, aesthetic, ethical, and economic grounds. Strongly felt opposition which was reflected in the political parties, the public, as well as the media forced the Victorian Government to abandon the scheme.

In the midst of the controversy the Victorian Government introduced the Land Resources Bill but it lapsed when a State election intervened. For the first time, election policies stressed environmental issues. The Liberal Party, was returned to office with a reduced majority, and this was in part attributed to the emerging importance of conservation. Following this, it established the Land Conservation Council and the Environment Protection Authority (EPA) in 1970. The EPA became a significant and politically sensitive agency because of its close involvement with industrial development in such areas as air pollution, noise pollution, and emission standards. The Natural Resources Conservation League’s plans materialised in June with the inauguration of the Conservation Council of Victoria, a non-official body representing 76 voluntary organisations. The lapsed Bill reappeared with many improvements and was enacted in 1970; it set up the Land Conservation Council

whose task it would be to recommend the future use of all public land in Victoria. This Council comprised a permanent chairman, the heads of eight government resource agencies, a primary producer, and two nominees of the voluntary organisations. The Land Conservation Council's clear procedures encouraged maximum public participation and many amateur organisations and individuals made major contributions. The National Parks Association published Frankenberg's *Nature Conservation in Victoria* in 1971 and Johnson's *The Alps at the Crossroads* in 1974.

Conservation problems were by now cutting across conventional departmental boundaries and in 1973 a Ministry for Conservation was established to bring together the Environment Protection Authority, Fisheries and Wildlife Department, Land Conservation Council, National Parks Authority, Port Phillip Authority, Soil Conservation Authority, and the Victoria Archaeological Survey.

Water pollution became the next area of environmental concern. A proposal in 1967 to discharge sewage into Port Phillip Bay caused fierce opposition. The Board of Works and the Fisheries and Wildlife Department studied the physical, chemical, and biological characteristics of the Bay and this developed into the first integrated ecological study of a major Victorian region. Others were to follow. In this case the Port Phillip Conservation Council and Environmental Research Associates criticised the inadequacy of plans to limit urban and industrial growth in the catchment.

The next area due for attention was Western Port Bay, where significant industrial development did not commence until 1965. During 1971, the Conservation Council compiled a record of features of significance within the catchment and major local industries contributed \$400,000 to a \$1.5m study from 1973 to 1975 before development proceeded under the direction of the Western Port Bay Regional Planning Authority and a Co-ordination Group representing local councils, industry, conservation groups, farmers, and government departments.

Other large developments came under increasing scrutiny. Trade union bans caused long delays and substantial changes to the building of the Newport Power Station after 1972 because of potential pollution; in fact, the project was finally reduced to half the size planned. Likewise environmental studies led to the re-siting of a proposed dam on the Mitchell River (1972) and the abandonment of one at Yarra Brae (1974). *The Environmental Effects Act 1978* aimed to consider the effects of all such major works and "to give those with an interest in the proposal or who are likely to be affected by it, an opportunity to express their views".

During the 1970s, there was renewed concern about the familiar problems of soil and river bank erosion, land salting, tree deaths, and loss of waterbird and fish habitats. By then they were seen in a new light as symptoms of fragmented land and water management.

The *River Improvement Act 1948* had set up local trusts to concentrate on local flood relief and erosion control, but with no responsibility for management of the higher catchments, beneficial stream values, or the effects of their works down river.

In 1952, Sir Ronald East suggested drainage authorities to manage whole catchments. The LaTrobe Valley Water and Sewerage Board was established in 1954 but a provision for similar river boards with jurisdiction over whole catchments was deleted from the Drainage of Land Bill in 1975. In the same year, a Standing Consultative Committee on River Improvement was set up, representing the Conservation Council of Victoria, The River Improvement Trusts Association, and six government agencies, but in 1981 the Public Bodies Review Committee favoured some more formal basis for the control or co-ordination of all water management on a regional basis.

Another controversial matter was the economic use of community resources. Forests, fish, and minerals are State-owned resources which can be harvested or mined for private profit, usually upon payment of a licence fee or royalty. By the 1970s, the voluntary organisations had developed professional and technical skills comparable with those available to government and could make sophisticated assessments of the effects of resource based industries. One of the most controversial was the supply of pulpwood to the packaging industry.

Much evidence was amassed and presented supporting claims that intensive forestry techniques would be needed to supply the timber promised to the industry; that this would have serious consequences for the native fauna and flora; that the industry consumed

much energy and caused serious air and water pollution; that the high capital investment would be used to justify increasing demands for raw materials to make possible industrial growth; and that royalties were set low as a subsidy to attract industry but did not compensate for the disadvantages and hidden costs borne by all Victorians. Public awareness about natural resources had been fostered by several State instrumentalities. For example, poor control of pulpwood operations in other States had caused visual and ecological damage and the idea that Victoria's trees should be converted into foreign wastepaper aroused widespread dismay. In 1980, the Forests Commission issued the draft outline of an environment effects statement for harvesting pulpwood in the Shire of Orbost and planned to conduct experimental harvesting in East Gippsland during 1981. Subsequently there was a looming argument on wood-chipping in the Otway Ranges. This debate had not been concluded by March 1983.

On the wider horizon, most Victorians had for many years appreciated national parks for their recreational amenities (even if naturalists expected more esoteric benefits). Most Victorians are city dwellers, and the relative affluence in the 1960s and early 1970s brought with it money, cars, leisure, petrol, and a vision of "quality of life". The Victorian Government's policy was to increase the area devoted to national parks. Thus the time became right for the Land Conservation Council to recommend an adequate system of national parks. This developed during the 1970s; in 1970, the National Parks Service administered 23 parks with an area of 200,000 hectares; by 1980 there were 55 parks comprising 774,000 hectares.

#### Since 1975

Dramatic rises in the price of fuels in the late 1970s created a new awareness of the need to use energy wisely, and the Conservation Council of Victoria sponsored a major review of energy conservation strategies in 1978. The late 1970s brought greater concern with the economic issues of recession, inflation, and unemployment. The apparent conflicts between conservation and development were symbolised by an aluminium smelter planned for Portland. In 1983, major issues were soil salting, forest management, and general land-use planning.

#### THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF VICTORIA

The year 1934 was the 80th anniversary of the formation of the Victorian Institute for the Advancement of Science and the Philosophical Society of Victoria. These societies merged in 1855 to form the Philosophical Institute of Victoria which in 1859, by Royal Assent, took the name "The Royal Society of Victoria". The Society's object, unchanged over the years, is "The Advancement of Science" which it has pursued by holding scientific meetings, by the publication in its *Proceedings* of scientific research, and by the maintenance of its library, which now holds about 25,000 volumes.

Membership of the Society, which has a general rather than a specialised scientific outlook, includes scientists in many disciplines in addition to many men and women in other walks of life who have an interest in scientific matters. In 1934, there were 200 members; this increased to 250 in 1947 and then to 650 by 1980. The Society's Hall, situated on land granted to the Society by the Victorian Government for scientific purposes in 1857 and bounded by Victoria Street, La Trobe Street and Rathdowne Street, was built in 1859 to the design of Joseph Reed. It was extended and remodelled in 1953 following an agreement with the Australian Regional Council of the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists (now the Australian College) for tenancy of portion of the extended building and joint use of the Lecture Hall, Library, and Supper Room. The extensions were formally opened on 25 August 1954.

In December 1956, a Symposium on "Australia's part in the International Geophysical Year in the Antarctic" was honoured by the presence of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, who presented 23 Polar Medals.

Until 1940, ordinary meetings of the Society were usually devoted to readings of research papers, but thereafter an increasing number of invited lectures, covering a wide range of subjects, was delivered. An important part of the Society's activities in recent years has been to arrange and publish a series of Symposia dealing with regions of Victoria, intended

to bring together the many aspects of scientific information on each geographical area and to stimulate further research. The regions covered have been the Victorian High Plains, the Basalt Plains of Western Victoria, the Victorian Mallee, East and West Gippsland, Bass Strait and its coasts and islands, Western Port Bay, the Otway Region, the Murray-Darling River System, and the Coasts and Continental Shelf of Victoria.

The Society's Centenary Year in 1959 coincided with the Centenary of the publication of Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species*. A Symposium "The Evolution of Living Organisms" held in the Society's Hall was attended by distinguished scientists from Australia and overseas, and papers presented were printed in a special publication. A Centenary Monument was erected on the western boundary of the society's grounds in the shape of a granite boulder, a "glacial erratic", brought from Mawson, Antarctica, by the Antarctic Division of the Commonwealth Department of External Affairs; the inscription on it marks the Society's special interest in Antarctic exploration. The Governor of Victoria, Sir Dallas Brooks, unveiled it on 7 December 1959, and a silver medal, to be awarded annually for excellence in scientific research in, or on, Australia in various fields, was instituted at the same time.

The Philosophical Institute of Victoria had, in 1857, set up an Exploration Committee, which made arrangements for the Burke and Wills Expedition from Melbourne on 20 August 1860. The centenary of that occasion was marked on 20 August 1960 by the laying of durable wreaths at the Burke and Wills monument, which then stood in Spring Street, between Little Bourke Street and Lonsdale Street. These wreaths were later conveyed by air to Nappa Merrie homestead and laid at the memorial cairn at Cooper Creek.

#### ROYAL BOTANIC GARDENS AND NATIONAL HERBARIUM

Among the many gifts to the Government at the time of the Centenary of the State in 1934, the donation by Sir Macpherson Robertson of a new herbarium to the Botanic Gardens gave a great impetus to taxonomic botany. It enabled the transfer of the National Herbarium collections in the Domain with their irreplaceable Mueller material, to the Gardens, and made possible the amalgamation of these collections with the much smaller horticultural herbarium of the Gardens.

Within the Gardens proper, maintenance of W.R. Guilfoyle's concept has been rigidly followed, and since 1934 two matters of great horticultural importance have arisen. First, with many of the larger trees now exceeding a century in age, the inevitable signs of over maturity or senility are appearing. By 1983 this became apparent among the trees in the oak lawn, and while these species require several hundreds of years to reach maturity in their natural environment, the more attractive climate of southern Australia has brought them to maturity in a much shorter period.

Second, the greatly overcrowded environment of trees and shrubs along the southern boundary of the Gardens has resulted in an almost impossible environment as far as the native flora is concerned. With the upsurge in the cultivation of native plants in the last two decades, the demonstration to the public of desirable garden species has become most important. The Victorian Government in 1969 purchased, near Cranbourne to the south-east of Melbourne, an area of approximately 160 hectares of virgin heath country on which to establish a native plants annexe to the main Gardens in Melbourne. The Miss M.M. Gibson (Gardens) Trust, established in 1945, has taken over a great part of the responsibility of developing this project, by purchasing additional surrounding land to provide further soil types to that of the original land, and to act as a buffer against the intrusion of undesirable elements to the main site. The Trust has also committed itself financially to the development of the project.

On the horticultural side of the Gardens, the occurrence of three droughts in 1967-68, 1972-73 and 1982-83 brought to the fore the necessity of an adequate, reliable water supply. This was not a new problem — it had been encountered by all Directors since the foundation of the Gardens in 1846. Very early, water was pumped from the Yarra River but this soon became too saline to use; then Yan Yean domestic supply became unreliable; later the pumping of water from above Dight's Falls (where it was beyond tidal influence) held the situation under control until the reticulation pipes collapsed; and finally there was a return to the domestic supply, with its stringent restrictions during hot summers. An

electric pump installed near the reservoir in 1975 and replacement of the old reticulation provided adequate water under pressure up to the highest levels of the Gardens.

The provision of trained gardening staff is of greater importance to a Botanic Gardens than any other public park system. They are custodians of plants which, in many instances, have specific requirements for correct growth in pruning, watering, and fertilising. During the first century of the Gardens, many of the gardeners had had English training in the profession before coming to Australia, with the additional ability of being able to impart their practical knowledge to those with whom they worked. This experienced group of gardeners started to diminish in the 1950s and 1960s, and were not replaced. Gardening was declared an apprenticeship trade; this was followed later by lawn management, horticulture, and other branches of gardening. Garden training was commenced at Oakleigh Technical School and was proclaimed as a trade in 1966. This was later enlarged by the proclamation of nurseryman, turf, and landscape gardening trades. Although but a first step to providing relief to the Botanic Gardens, advanced training is planned later for those who, following the apprenticeship course, fulfil a stated period of practical experience enabling them to proceed to the advanced course.

In 1958, the approval by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II for the Gardens to use the title Royal, and become the Royal Botanic Gardens, gave considerable prestige to the Gardens, and resulted in closer links between the similar Royal Gardens at Kew in England, and Edinburgh in Scotland.

The greatest benefaction that came to the Gardens since 1934 was the setting up of the Miss M.M. Gibson (Gardens) Trust in 1945. In that year, Miss Maud Gibson formed a Gardens Trust with a sum of \$40,000 in memory of her father, a prominent resident of Melbourne. The interest derived from this fund was to be used for the "maintenance, development and improvement of the flora in the Melbourne Botanic Gardens, or otherwise for the benefit of such Gardens". The success of the Trust so influenced Miss Gibson that, in 1965, she decided to form another Trust, the Botanic Gardens Branch Research Trust, the purpose of which was to conduct research work associated with the Botanic Gardens and the National Herbarium. She commenced this Trust with a gift of \$10,000, to which she added considerable sums in later years.

The encouragement of publications and the growth of field work into native flora together with the much greater interest in the development of the Cranbourne Annexe, are examples of the types of useful work that can be conducted by such a Trust. In the main, the long-term benefits of the Trusts are that they act as "pump primers".

A survey of the visitors to the Royal Botanic Gardens carried out by the University of Melbourne in 1976-77 established an interesting profile of the persons who visited the Gardens. The mean age of adult visitors to the Gardens was 37 with 68 per cent ranging from 25 to 49 years. The mean age of a first visit was 12 years with 68 per cent ranging between 6 and 19 years. The sex ratio of adult visitors was 49 per cent male to 51 per cent female. Only 6.5 per cent of the adult visitors were not fluent in English. Forty-nine per cent of the adult visitors came from Melbourne suburbs that are not adjacent to the Gardens, 43 per cent came from adjacent suburbs, 4 per cent came from overseas, 3 per cent from interstate, and 1 per cent came from Victorian country areas. A related study showed that the number of visitors was approximately 1 million per year.

During the last two decades certain administrative decisions have affected the Gardens. First, there was a Parliamentary Inquiry into the Gardens in 1969 and this attracted considerable interest. Legal protection was mooted in May of that year in the report of the Legislative Council which quashed an entrepreneurial proposal to use part of the Gardens to build a licensed restaurant. In 1972, an appeal to prevent a "high-rise" building from proceeding on the residential perimeter to the Gardens led to the control of building heights to preserve the landscape quality and amenity of the Gardens through amendments gazetted on 15 September 1976 to the Melbourne Metropolitan Planning Scheme. National Trust protection in the early 1970s led to the classification of the Director's residence built in 1854 and the older lodge near "H" gate. The National Heritage Commission is proceeding to add the entire Botanic Gardens to the National Register.

The new kiosk, built on the site of the first kiosk destroyed by fire on 3 November 1970, opened in 1976. The old tea pavilion, on the verge of collapse, was demolished to make way for the new kiosk, but the remaining shelters in the Gardens have been fully

restored. Other restoration has included the removal of 3,600 cubic metres of silt from the eastern end of the Ornamental Lake in 1975; the de-silting of the Nymphaea Lake in 1977; the replacement of the fountain and placement of seven stones in the form of the "Southern Cross" as pedestals for living sculpture; the dismantling and re-fabrication of the Nareeb Gate; and the replacement of the fence commencing at the western end of Alexandra Avenue to prevent theft and vandalism. Paths and drains were also being renovated to prevent further silting of the lake and maintain healthy plant life.

The islands in the Ornamental Lake have gazetted names to commemorate persons whose craft skills have contributed substantially to improve the Gardens for the enjoyment of visitors.

A survey of the Gardens, made under the direction of the Surveyor General of Victoria between 1974 and 1976, and drafted at scales of 1:500 and 1:2000, led to the fine printing of a coloured, contoured plan of the Gardens for sale to visitors in 1980. This survey also made possible a complete horticultural census of the Gardens and provided information for better management, accurate labelling, and the education of visitors. The number of named species and cultivars growing in the Gardens by 1979 stood at 8,794 and is the only complete twentieth century listing of plants in any Australian botanic gardens. It is noteworthy that *Melaleuca ericifolia*, *Eucalyptus camaldulensis* by the lake, and *Themeda*, *Drosera*, *Bursaria*, and *Eucalyptus melliodora* on the ridge still survive from the days prior to European settlement. The most recent innovation is an "historic roses" garden established in 1978.

Further interest in the Gardens was achieved through exhibitions and shows held in the Herbarium in collaboration with the Royal Horticultural Society of Victoria since 1974.

Technological innovation in gardening has slowly accelerated. Patent one horse mowing machines boasted for lawn maintenance in the *Victorian Year Book* 1888-89 were in use until 1950 when the Gardens' horses were replaced by a tractor. The old gang mowers were replaced in 1976 by the first self-propelled fully hydraulic mower, complete with cutter, fertiliser spreader, and aerating equipment. Soil acidity and salinity have been controlled so that the lawn feature of the English landscape can continue to be appreciated by visitors who are still permitted to walk, sit, and picnic on these lawns. Durban grass, introduced from Adelaide Botanic Garden in 1977 is becoming established in the densely shaded soils where all other turf has failed.

The Gardens acquired new areas at Werribee Park and Cranbourne in the 1970s. The former was part of the redevelopment on the Werribee Park estate where a garden area, which will be the mature version of the designer's vision, is being recreated, and the latter has enabled the Gardens to initiate a new era in the development, display, and study of native flora.

Scientific work in the National Herbarium virtually ceased with Mueller's death in 1896, and an irreparable loss of records and equipment preceded the move in 1934 to the present building which was used by troops during the Second World War. Botanical work started again in the 1940s and the old Observatory was gazetted as the site for a new herbarium in 1979.

The plant collections of the National Herbarium and the library remain the largest and taxonomically most important single collection in Australia. By 1980, visiting botanists from interstate and overseas had increased to 59, and 92 Victorians visited the Herbarium to study and carry out research there. The demand for published, definitive taxonomic botanical studies has increased since 1955; this continues to be met by the journal *Muelleria*, published and distributed annually. The identification service provided by the Herbarium became popular; time spent on drug and forensic plants has more than doubled each year during the 1970s and reflects the dramatic increase in the use of these plants within the community.

A botanical illustrator, appointed in 1978, has provided much material for an illustrated flora of Victoria. Following the Matthew Flinders Bi-centenary Celebrations, an annual scholarship at postgraduate research level has been awarded to encourage the study, conservation, and appreciation of Australian flora.

Specialist skilled botanists, aided by the Gardens' first computer (acquired in 1974) have made possible floristic surveys of native plant communities and horticultural plants. These surveys have helped local government and statutory authorities, concerned over the quality



of the native flora for land management, and the quality of urban and industrial space, through gardening.

#### ROYAL BOTANIC GARDENS: CENSUSES OF PLANTS, VICTORIA, 1883 TO 1979

Census date	Number of genera	Number of species	Number of individual plants
1883	1,537	5,560	n. a.
1948 (a)	951	3,140	n. a.
1979	1,711	8,794	30,518

(a) Excludes nursery collections.

#### MUNICIPAL GARDENS

By 1934, there were many excellent municipal gardens in Victoria and almost without exception, they had been established within the concept of traditional English landscape design. A large number of towns and cities had some form of central garden built on similar lines to those of early Melbourne, such as the Royal Botanic and Fitzroy Gardens, and usually established on Crown land as the result of application from interested local community groups. Both the construction and maintenance of such gardens were the responsibility of British trained gardening artisans and the materials used were similar to those of their native land, despite the difference in climate and local flora.

This State wide movement was based on aesthetic values, and gardens were planned for passive use only. Sporting fields and playgrounds were treated as distinct amenities and the use of public gardens for such active pursuits was usually prohibited.

Between 1934 and the commencement of the Second World War, when Victoria was recovering from the Depression, municipal gardens attracted very limited public funds, but numbers of men were employed in government and municipal open space projects under the unemployment scheme of that period. While these men were not skilled in gardening, the large numbers available at no cost to the relevant authorities were able to contribute considerably to the development of several new parks and gardens, for example, the King's Domain and Shrine Reserve in Melbourne.

Because of limited finance and labour during the war and the years immediately following, there was a marked decline in the standards of municipal gardening. There was a severe shortage of skilled personnel since neither gardening nor horticulture were recognised as trades or technological disciplines. The British trained gardeners had retired and the majority of the young men who had entered the industry in pre-war years, on returning from the services, found more lucrative positions. Landscape architecture was not recognised and there was a general lack of appreciation of horticultural standards by the authorities. The cumulative effects were the deterioration of existing gardens, and mediocrity in the development of the many new municipal parks being established to meet the needs of a rapidly expanding post-war population.

In the 1950s, two factors emerged which had a significant influence on municipal open spaces. The first was keen interest in town planning with the associated allocation of minimum standards in the provision of parks, gardens and reserves, and in 1954, the enactment of the Melbourne Metropolitan Planning Scheme. The second was the advent of the shorter working week. This, together with more money for leisure activities, resulted in an increased demand for recreation facilities, with the emphasis on sports grounds and children's playgrounds. Thus, the majority of new municipal reservations was oriented towards active recreation, and gardening as practised in former years was largely neglected.

The next generation saw changes. Improvements in town planning and greater public awareness of their implications increased the provision of public open spaces. A 1966 amendment to the Local Government Act (section 569B, sub-section 8A) gave local government planning authorities power to acquire 5 per cent of all new sub-divisions or its equivalent value in money, and the 1956 legislation had already enabled the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works to develop its metropolitan parks system of some 4,500 hectares in the outer Melbourne suburbs.

The Youth, Sport and Recreation Act of 1972 provided for the establishment of a Ministry which further emphasised the use of public open spaces for all forms of recreation.

Authorities came to employ landscape architects, who used the more sophisticated skills made available through the newly introduced apprenticeship in horticultural trade practices, and thus improved design in parks and gardens landscape. However, in contrast to the earlier English gardenesque planning, a new garden design concept had emerged with a distinctive Australian character, using mainly indigenous plants in natural settings.

With respect to the earlier gardens, a small group was classified as of significant historic value by the National Trust of Australia (Victoria). Nevertheless many have deteriorated, some now being used for recreation purposes. Those in Port Fairy, Kyneton, and Camperdown have become caravan parks.

In 1976, the Victorian Government launched the "Garden State" concept which sought to draw attention to and extend the importance of trees and gardens in Victoria. By the beginning of the 1980s, the acceptance of this concept as well as the growing community pressure for an improved quality of life helped amenity and environmental horticulture to flourish, and, after fifty years, new municipal gardens were being constructed, two examples being found in Doncaster and Greensborough. However, they were being planned as part of complete recreation parks systems and contain a large component of an Australian style landscape.

### HORTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Prior to 1934, almost all the skilled horticulturalists and gardeners employed in Victoria were trained in Britain under a very comprehensive apprenticeship system operating in the large estates of that country. It was these artisans who, coming as migrants, supplied the skills to design, develop, and maintain Victoria's earlier gardens and establish plant nurseries to supply their needs. Few Australians were found in these fields, other than those descendants who carried on the family trade in both nurseries and in public gardens.

The only training school in Victoria in 1934 was the Victorian Department of Agriculture's School of Horticulture situated in the Burnley Gardens. This had been established in 1891 after the Victorian Government had taken over the control of the Burnley Gardens from the Royal Horticultural Society of Victoria. The original course was of two years full-time duration, leading to the Certificate of Competency in Horticulture, and until 1930, the majority of students were women, some of whom, such as Edna Walling, became well-known in the landscape design field in Australia.

In the early 1930s, efforts to increase the numbers of male students were successful, and from that period to the commencement of the Second World War, a considerable number of boys trained in the school, entered parks and gardens departments and other horticultural fields. However, despite this, gardening was not recognised as a trade, and during this period, as the flow of British trained migrants stopped because of the Depression, there was a dearth of qualified and experienced gardeners. Limited efforts were made by horticultural authorities to develop some form of gardening trade apprenticeship in order to improve the standard of horticultural practices, but nothing had been achieved by the commencement of the Second World War.

After the war, training in Victoria was still limited to the Burnley School of Horticulture, the number of students being boosted by its involvement in the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme. During the period 1946 to 1948, 102 ex-servicemen and women were trained in courses ranging from two to five terms' duration.

In the early 1950s, further moves to have gardening proclaimed as a trade were made. However, it was not until after 1966 that gardening, as carried out in municipal councils, racing clubs, golf clubs, foreshore trusts, and cemetery trusts in the metropolitan district of Melbourne, was proclaimed as a trade, and training instituted at the Oakleigh Technical School.

In 1971, turf management was added and the proclamation was extended to cover the whole State. However, in 1975, the Act was altered to include all gardening practices, and re-named to that of "Horticultural Trades", having four sections, namely, gardening, turf management, nurseryman, and landscape gardening. In 1979, a second apprenticeship school teaching the same subjects was established in Royal Park as an annexe to the Collingwood Technical College, serving the northern and western suburbs of Melbourne, and in 1981 "Flower Growing" was proclaimed a non-compulsory trade and a course was commenced at the Oakleigh Technical School.

Since 1971, apprentices from the country have been trained in the Melbourne centres under a block release system, and provision was also made for those persons over the age of 21 and working in horticultural trades, to obtain a trade certificate.

At the tertiary level, the school at Burnley was re-named the "Burnley Horticultural College" and the qualification upgraded in 1958 to a three year course with entry at Fifth Form level, leading to a Diploma of Horticulture. In 1967, the course was again modified to that of Diploma of Horticultural Science, and in 1980 entry was lifted to Higher School Certificate level or its equivalent, the qualifications being upgraded and re-named Applied Science in Amenity Horticulture and in Nursery Management. In 1983, this College was amalgamated with the five State Agricultural Colleges and became part of the Victorian College of Agriculture and Horticulture, which was administered under the Victorian Post-Secondary Education Act by a Council responsible to the Minister of Education.

In an effort to meet urgent demands, the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology in 1965 established a course leading to a Graduate Diploma of Landscape Design. This was aimed at teaching diplomates and graduates from such disciplines as architecture, engineering, interior design, and horticulture, the fundamentals of landscaping and in 1982 this was replaced by an undergraduate course in Landscape Architecture. Further, in 1978, the Centre of Environmental Studies of the University of Melbourne established a graduate course at Master's level in Landscape Architecture, and in 1982 the Centre was absorbed into the new School of Environmental Planning.

### HORTICULTURE AS RECREATION

A survey by the Ministry for Youth, Sport and Recreation established that in 1976 horticulture was the most popular form of recreation for 26 per cent of Victorians. The following table derived from information furnished by establishments which undertake the propagation, cultivation, or growing-on of nursery produce for sale, illustrates the increasing popularity of home gardening as a form of recreation:

NURSERY STATISTICS: VICTORIA, 1974-75, 1977-78, AND 1980-81

Year	Establishments	Area used for nursery activity (including covered areas)			Employment (a)			Wages and salaries paid	Total purchases	Total sales
		Total	Hot houses (b)	Shade houses (c)	Proprietors	Employees	Total			
	number	hectares	'000 sq m	'000 sq m	number	number	number	\$'000	\$'000	\$'000
1974-75	355	952	187	151	n.a.	n.a.	2,004	n.a.	2,996	17,659
1977-78	321	933	317	137	633	1,301	1,934	n.a.	6,854	30,596
1980-81	437	1,624	384	192	902	1,798	2,700	16,668	10,290	49,367

(a) Includes both full and part-time workers and casual employees.

(b) Covered with plastic film, etc.

(c) Covered with shade cloth.

## NATIONAL MUSEUM OF VICTORIA

### Introduction

The Museum was established when the classic voyages of discovery were still being made. Species were considered to be independent entities, and the aim was to catalogue them all. There was a great interest in the species of animals, plants, minerals, rocks, and fossils discovered; the Museum was the place to exhibit them. Similarly, much interest was shown in the differing ways of life of the peoples of the world, and in the Museum exhibits showing the many kinds of artefacts manufactured by them.

While the changes in outlook took place gradually in the scientific world, the changes in approach to the Museum's work developed significantly under various directors and their staff. The activities of the Museum can be summarised as acquisition of collections; research on these collections to give them greater meaning; making the knowledge obtained available by exhibits, publications and school education programmes; and answering inquiries from the public.

### Trustees

In addition to the Public Service organisation operating under the Permanent Head through the Director, Trustees are appointed by the Victorian Government to manage and

control the Museum. In 1934, the one body of Trustees supervised the four institutions in the complex of buildings occupying the block bounded by Swanston Street, La Trobe Street, Russell Street, and Little Lonsdale Street, namely, the Public Library, the National Museum, Museum of Applied Science, and the National Gallery. The title "National" survives from the time when Victoria was an independent Colony. In 1945, three separate groups of Trustees were appointed for the Library, the Gallery, and the two museums, and in 1950 the National Museum was given Trustees of its own.

### Exhibits and education

Until the end of the 1930s, the Museum was chiefly interested in cataloguing the species of the natural world and classifying them. After the war the exhibits were refurbished and this gave opportunity for the new ideas to find expression. The development of a science of genetics made it clear that living species have a dynamic relationship with their environment, so there emerged the new science of ecology. However, in 1934, the word "ecology" had still not appeared in the Shorter Oxford Dictionary. In the leading museums of the world, the new approach to natural history found its expression in the true to life diorama—the explicit reproduction of samples of the environment illustrating the relationships between species and their surroundings.

Simple dioramas were built in 1928 (lion) and 1930 (polar bear), while the first modern diorama was constructed in 1939. This portrayed the Aborigines of the Yarra Yarra tribe, and depicted a camp site near Healesville. A great amount of physical and other work went into this first effort: for example, every leaf of the trees and bushes was made by hand, and service groups were brought in to assist the small Museum staff. Subsequently, other methods were devised for preparing natural vegetation for this purpose.

The National Museum then prepared a series of dioramas to present some of the more significant birds and mammals of the region, in lifelike recreations of their natural habitats.

In the fossil gallery an exhibit was prepared on the evolution of the horse, while a special structure in the mineral gallery demonstrated the luminescence of certain minerals under ultra-violet light. In the Upper McAllan Gallery an exhibit was prepared on the cultures of man. Between 1957 and 1962, a number of special exhibits was prepared for the main hall, and for the mineral and fossil galleries.

During the 1960s and 1970s, improvements continued in the exhibits (for example, the Aboriginal display in the North Rotunda). In particular, it proved possible to review the valuable collections which included housing them properly, seeing to their preservation, and initiating more satisfactory cataloguing as well as improving the organisation of the Museum and defining the responsibilities of staff members. Overseas journeys for senior staff to study other museums and to advance their research were introduced. This activity, and the acquisition of some important collections, were greatly assisted by the Scientific Fund.

Continuing research in ecology has shown that the simple concept of the diorama is not the whole story. One change in the environment may have quite extensive and unforeseen results through chain reactions. Thus evolved the concept of the ecosystem which entailed conserving a whole ecosystem in order to preserve an environment. This is the concept now finding expression through the work of the Museum.

The value of the displays as an educational resource for schools was recognised when the Council arranged in 1960 for Education Department teachers to be seconded to the Museum. In 1982, there were six teachers running the Education Office of the Museum, organising the visits of school groups, producing printed materials to supplement the displays, and conducting lessons in the museum and other educational programmes.

One of the most significant events in recent history was the establishment of the "Friends of the Museum Society" in 1979, dedicated to giving assistance to the Museum and serving as a bridge between the Museum and the community. The Society provides a core of volunteers helping curators care for the collections, and guides for the public exhibitions.

In 1980, the Council adopted a new policy document for the Museum's educational and exhibition programmes. Two separate programmes were recognised: redevelopment of permanent displays and the introduction of a temporary exhibitions programme.

Since that time the Museum has presented to the public four or five temporary exhibitions each year on a variety of topics. A flexible display facility was developed in 1980 for a

series of didactic displays on the theme "Extinction is Forever" which deals with topical conservation issues. The first of these dealt with the concept of "rare and endangered species" using the Carnivora as an example. The second, presented in 1981-82, dealt with the plight of marine mammals. The third, in 1983, dealt with ecological problems associated with Victoria's arid and forested lands. These displays were much used by schools as resource material.

The "Friends of the Museum Society" supported a display entitled "The Million Dollar Exhibition", bringing out for public viewing some of the treasures from the collections. Another significant display, presented in 1981, in collaboration with the Victorian Aboriginal community, dealt with the material culture of Aboriginal Society in south-eastern Australia at and since the time of European settlement. Financial support for some of these temporary exhibitions was provided by the private sector.

The "Dinosaurs from China Exhibition" in 1982 was the first effort by the Museum to bring a large exhibition from overseas. Over 200,000 visitors viewed this exhibition and it heralded a new era in the Museum's public programmes.

At the same time, the staff began planning major renovations to the permanent displays. New exhibitions entitled "Australia's First People" and "The Story of Victoria" were designed with the help of outside consultants engaged by the Council. In both cases, the exhibitions attempt to present the material and social culture of Man in environmental context to achieve a blend of human and natural history.

### Collections

While important collections are made by staff members during their field work, the greater part of the collections has come from donations from individuals and organisations, and by purchase of important materials.

It was estimated in 1982 that the total number of samples in the collection was well in excess of two million. Most are well documented and the scope and quality of the material make the collections a highly significant portion of the nation's cultural heritage. The introduction in 1982 of computer processing for accessing and retrieving data associated with the specimens assisted in the management of the collection.

### Research

A great deal of research is done in the Museum, and this is published in its *Memoirs*, or in recognised scientific journals. In 1940, an important fossil Aboriginal cranium was discovered at Keilor, a Melbourne suburb, and this created wide interest. Later a skeleton was found nearby at Green Gully. In 1947, the President of the Trustees, Sir Russell Grimwade, organised a scientific expedition that crossed the Nullarbor Plain to Western Australia.

Anthropology is an area of active research in the Museum. Studies relate mainly to the social anthropology and material culture of Australian Aborigines. Financial support has been received in recent years from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies and the Australia Council. In 1982 and subsequent years, the Museum participated in archaeological and anthropological studies in Papua New Guinea in association with La Trobe University.

After the building of the Chowilla Dam on the Murray River had proceeded for two years, the Trustees decided that a salvage research effort should be made on the vast inundation area. Although the building of the dam was later cancelled, a great amount of valuable information and material was collected, and the research report was published as *Memoir 34*.

Later, in 1979, the Council extended this environmental research programme by establishing a Biological Survey Unit which conducts environmental studies, mostly on freshwater habitats and invertebrate faunas. The results of this work are submitted as reports to various Government agencies and also published in the scientific literature. The Council established a new publication series, the *Reports of the National Museum* in 1982, as the vehicle for environmental reports of this kind.

The main thrust of the Museum's research in natural history is in taxonomy. Since 1978, a vigorous research programme has been strongly supported by grants from such bodies

as the Australian Research Grants Committee, the Australian Biological Resources Study, and the Australian Marine Science and Technology Advisory Committee.

Through these research programmes the Museum contributes to the development of knowledge about the human and natural history of the region.

## BUREAU OF METEOROLOGY

### Before the Second World War

Since its inception in 1908, the headquarters of the Australian Bureau of Meteorology has been located in Melbourne. By the mid-1930s, the number of Bureau staff located in Melbourne was about 40, of an Australian total of probably fewer than 90 persons. Sections housed in the headquarters building "Frosterley" (at the corner of Victoria and Drummond Streets, Carlton) at that time included administration, research, aviation services, climatology, and forecasting. In the head office forecast section—which also served as the Victorian forecast office—a board of meteorologists deliberated daily upon the pressure pattern and its likely changes, and produced in addition to the Victorian metropolitan forecasts, advisory forecasts for the whole of Australia—for aviation as well as for public use. Prior to 1939, observations upon which the forecasts were based were generally taken only at 9 a.m. and 3 p.m.

Regular and accurate atmospheric observation forms the basis of all atmospheric science, as much in the "upper air" as at the earth's surface. To probe the winds at higher levels and obtain a partial three dimensional snapshot of the state of the atmosphere, the flight of a small hydrogen filled balloon was followed daily through use of a theodolite, for a number of years, from a platform on the roof of the Carlton headquarters.

Early in the 1930s, the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) also assisted forecasters by recording temperatures at each 300 metre level—to about 5,000 metres—with thermometers strapped to the wing struts of a small aeroplane. By the late 1930s, the "pilot" balloon observations of upper winds had reached 3,000 metres or higher.

Research into weather fronts, during and after the First World War, by a Norwegian meteorologist, Wilhelm Bjerknes, was followed by an awareness of the importance of cold fronts in the 1930s. Observations of large-scale weather systems—in contrast to point observations—also became important, but were hampered by the vast expanses of uninhabited land and of the ocean.

Much of the expansion of the Bureau through the years before the Second World War era was associated with the developing aviation industry. Late in 1936, an expert was brought from England to investigate its requirements and the nucleus of an aviation meteorological service was formed in 1937 as a result. Graduates from the first forecasters' course, attended by senior Bureau officers, became officers-in-charge at the newly established airport weather offices. One of these was situated at Essendon aerodrome. In contrast to the earlier situation, in which all aviation forecasts came from the Carlton headquarters, the new system involved aviation forecast offices which were largely autonomous.

### Wartime arrangements

The increasing demand for aviation services eventually led to a reorganisation of the Bureau in 1937 and 1938. An expanded training programme for aviation purposes also assisted the Bureau's preparedness for the subsequent war effort. In July 1939, when war appeared imminent, a conference between the Bureau's executive and senior Armed Forces personnel on meteorological requirements in war recommended that, as the needs of the RAAF were paramount, the meteorological organisation should be transferred to the Department of Air. The transfer took place, first on a civilian basis on 1 July 1940, and later, in April 1941, by a full transfer to the RAAF Directorate of Meteorological Services. Because of increased workloads, staff numbers were raised to about five times those in peacetime employment. In Victoria, meteorological offices were established during the war period at the Laverton and East Sale RAAF bases, and at Mildura.

Early in the war, forecasts for the general public continued to be issued to the press, as well as by telegraph to several country centres for display at post offices. After the RAAF had taken over the meteorological functions, it was decided for security reasons, that an

embargo should be placed upon public weather forecasts. The embargo continued until late 1944, though some "severe weather" warnings were still issued to the public. Information for the military forces was also passed twice daily to the "war room", and coded advisory forecasts and situation statements were broadcast to military bases.

The supply of meteorological information to the Armed Forces was concerned largely with tropical areas. Supporting research was therefore geared to meet this need, and a series of Research and Development Bulletins, published from Melbourne, attracted much interest. The Bureau's climatological expertise also provided farmers with advice on weather aspects of food production.

Wartime developments in many other fields have also proved valuable over a long period. One of these is radar, used by meteorological services for "wind finding" and to locate and study characteristics of rain areas. Another is the "radiosonde", consisting of a small radio transmitter coupled to pressure, temperature, and humidity sensors, and flown attached to a balloon. This device was introduced into Australia in 1943 when regular upper air observations commenced from Laverton and forward campaign areas.

### Post-war developments

After the war, major structural changes became necessary in the Bureau. For example, although the number of wartime staff exceeded those of peacetime, immediate post-war demands for service were still difficult to meet. This was a result partly of many wartime meteorological officers returning to their previous occupations, and of a heightened demand for meteorological services, particularly from the aviation industry. Whereas pre-war flying was confined to daylight hours, aviators after the war required an around the clock service. Demand for a climatological service also came as a result of the post-war rural resettlement schemes. The Bureau's six State directors became chairmen of Climatological Consultative Committees, whose members included representatives of weather and climate sensitive industries. Particular projects included involvement in the Murray River development plan, and the setting of climatological safety limits for marginal wheat growing areas.

The Victorian office was still essentially part of the head office structure at this time, forecasting being the only separate "regional" function. Other facets, such as administration, climatology, and the installation and maintenance of field equipment were supervised by head office personnel. The aviation offices were also under head office control, although close liaison existed between them and the forecasting section.

If one of the bases of meteorology, and of forecasting in particular, is a good observing system, then equally fast and reliable communications for observations, forecasts, and warnings are also necessary. During the 1950s, communication methods became an important consideration for the Bureau. Television transmissions commenced in Melbourne in 1956; the commercial networks and the Australian Broadcasting Commission both telecast weather information either direct from the forecast office, or, using Bureau forecasters, from their own studios. In 1957, another new dissemination method for weather information was introduced: the automatic telephone forecasting service. In its first week of operation, an average of 20,000 calls per day were received, and an extra ten telephone lines had to be added to the original thirty to cope with the traffic. Likewise just as weather flags were flown above the Bureau and two newspaper offices in the 1930s, weather "beacons" were erected in 1958 — one on the MLC insurance building in the city, the other on the CUB building in Carlton.

In 1955, the original Meteorology Act of 1906 was superseded. The new legislation formalised Bureau responsibility for the supply of information and advice, and for the advancement of meteorological science. In addition, it reaffirmed the Bureau's traditional role in the collection and processing of data and the issue of forecasts and warnings. In the reorganisation of functions and staffing which followed, the Victorian office was granted a greater degree of autonomy, although its physical location was still within the head office building. Victorian aviation offices were also transferred to regional office control.

To improve the standard of service, a "fire weather" organisation was established at head and regional office levels in 1956, and a hydrometeorological service was organised in head office. Among other demands, this new service catered for forecasts of flooding

for the developing Snowy Mountains Scheme. A regional office flood forecast group commenced in 1967 and a special "fire weather" meteorologist position was created in the region in 1964.

Together with greater specialisation in consultative services, data processing methods and observing systems advanced rapidly during the decade to 1970. Wider use came to be made of weather radar in Victoria, with an installation at Mildura in 1963 and the replacement of Laverton's old 1949 radar by newer models in 1962 and 1966. The regional office at last moved away from "Frosterley" to Tilley's building in La Trobe Street, Melbourne, in late 1961, and in 1964, radar, controlled from the regional office, was installed at the University of Melbourne for the purpose of weather watching.

### New technologies

Perhaps the most significant single advance in weather observing came with the launching of the first weather satellite, by the United States of America, in 1960. For the first time, weather analysts and forecasters were able to see an instantaneous weather picture covering many thousands of square kilometres. In the early stages, pictures would be taken only in daylight hours but later developments, using infra-red sensors, allowed for both day or night photography. In 1977, the launching of the Japanese geosynchronous satellite advanced meteorological observing further by providing time lapse style photography over the one area.

In line with the world wide developments in automatic computation and data processing, an automatic data processing group was established in the Bureau's Melbourne head office in 1962. Computer specifications were issued in 1965, and the first high speed facility was installed in 1968, with an identical back-up unit the following year. For the regional forecaster, the introduction of the computer meant that use could be made of many different mathematical "models" (mathematical approximations to the real atmosphere), each giving forecasts of weather patterns almost entirely free from manual intervention. Early methods often involved subjective rules, but improvement in modelling, both overseas and in Australia, has contributed towards a slow but gradual improvement in forecast accuracy.

The growth in public awareness of advancing technology paralleled a significant shift in public attitudes towards the environmental balance, and in particular to the problem of air pollution. The Bureau at regional level studied the atmospheric air pollution potential and results of its findings were presented at a conference on clean air in 1972. Requests for information and advice on the application of meteorology to various industrial and agricultural problems are investigated by the "Special Services" section, which was formed in the region before the second move of the office, this time to the Commonwealth Centre, at the corner of Spring and La Trobe Streets, Melbourne, in 1966.

The search for oil and gas in Australia also led to a specialised forecast service within the Victorian region. In 1969, the Esso and BHP companies hired specialist American forecasters to supply a wave forecast service for the oil and gas platforms in Bass Strait. The forecast unit was located at East Sale and worked with regional office meteorologists who subsequently assumed the forecast role. This unit was transferred to the Victorian office in 1973. Prior to such a formalised service, regional office forecasters, from about 1965, provided regular weather advice for drilling operations, based largely upon studies of winds and waves carried out by Bureau staff.

In 1968, a new meteorological office opened at Moorabbin airport to service the needs of light aircraft operators, and in 1971 Tullamarine became the main Victorian aviation forecast centre. In 1973, the expanding and more specialised operations of the Bureau in Victoria were brought together in one location — the Regional Forecast Centre, situated in the Commonwealth Government Centre, Melbourne. This forecast office then included staff preparing forecasts for the public, for shipping and aviation, for oil and gas platforms, as well as other special forecasts for flooding, fire, and the like. The airport offices became largely briefing locations for aircrew with this change, with some RAAF meteorological training at East Sale. During 1982, a new era commenced when a computer system called AROS (Automated Regional Operations System) was installed. This system allows for the composition and editing of forecasts and warnings and access to a sophisticated forecast guidance system through a number of interactive VDU terminals. The computer checks



and plots all incoming observations for the forecaster as well. AROS has been designed to improve the forecaster's decision making capabilities. In addition to the forecast area, the regional office contained a "Facilities" section, responsible for the installation and maintenance of equipment; an Administration section; and the Special Services section.

### ANTARCTICA

The foundations for Australia's claim to Antarctic territory were laid by the two expeditions led by Sir Douglas Mawson — The Australasian Antarctic Expedition (1911-1913) and the British-Australian-New Zealand Antarctic Expedition (1929-1931). The formal steps taken to establish the claim were an Order-in-Council of the British Government of February 1933 and the Australian Antarctic Territory Acceptance Act of 1933 (proclaimed August 1936).

Australia's Antarctic activities were permanently established when, in 1947, the Australian National Antarctic Research Expeditions (ANARE) were established with headquarters in Melbourne under the Commonwealth Department of External Affairs. An Antarctic Division of the Department was set up late in 1948.

Group Captain Stuart Campbell, RAAF, was seconded from the Department of Civil Aviation in 1947 to become Officer in Charge of the ANARE. In the first year, two sub-Antarctic research stations were established (Heard Island in December 1947 and Macquarie Island in March 1948) using HMAS *LST 3501*, while HMAS *Wyatt Earp* made a voyage of reconnaissance to the coast of Antarctica early in 1948. At the end of the year Stuart Campbell returned to his position with the Department of Civil Aviation and Phillip Law succeeded him as leader of the ANARE. Australia's Antarctic endeavours were to be directed from Melbourne until 1981 when the headquarters moved to Hobart.

Between 1949 and 1953, the efforts of the ANARE were aimed at: (1) the development of scientific programmes at the two island stations; and (2) preparations for ultimately establishing a station in Antarctica. The ANARE Planning Committee, comprising representatives from interested departments, authorities and academic bodies, as well as the Armed Services, set up sub-committees to work out continuing programmes of research and investigation in various scientific disciplines.

The Antarctic Division Headquarters in Melbourne were developed to provide logistic, scientific, and personnel support for the expeditions and a wide and unsuccessful search was made for an ice-going ship suitable for an Antarctic venture. Experience was also gained on the Norwegian-British-Swedish Expedition to Dronning Maud Land and on the French Antarctic Expedition to Adelle Land.

During 1950 to 1952, the Antarctic Division collaborated with the Australian Shipbuilding Board on the design of a new Antarctic ship and sought Commonwealth Government approval to have it built in Australia. However, in 1953, these plans were abandoned when it was learned that a Danish firm, J. Lauritzen Lines, had just built an ice-strengthened ship for the north Greenland trade. The Planning Committee agreed to, and the Commonwealth Government approved of, the charter of this vessel for an expedition to establish an ANARE station on the Antarctic continent in 1954.

In the Lauritzen ship *Kista Dan*, Law led an expedition that established Mawson Station in MacRobertson Land in February 1954. A wintering party of ten men was left behind. In succeeding years the station was considerably extended and its complement increased to some 26 men.

When scientists throughout the world proposed the International Geophysical Year (IGY) of 1957-58, emphasis was placed upon two major programmes — exploration and research in Antarctica, and space research. The stimulus of world wide competition, and the political pressure exerted upon Australia's Antarctic claims by the establishment of Antarctic bases by other nations, resulted in a major expansion of ANARE activities. The Heard Island station was closed in 1955 and a new station, Davis, was built in 1957 for the IGY. At the end of the IGY, in 1959, Australia took over the United States of America station, Wilkes. Later, in 1969, this station was abandoned and Australian activities in the region were transferred to a new base, Casey, built nearby.

Apart from the four years from 1965 to 1968, when Davis station was temporarily closed, Australia has continued to maintain the stations at Macquarie Island, Mawson, Davis, and Casey.

The chartered Danish ships, *Nella Dan* and *Thala Dan*, and the Danish ship *Nanook S* provide the logistic support, but this was later augmented by the air transport of personnel, via New Zealand and the United States of America McMurdo station, to Casey. This air link ceased late in 1981.

Australia's Antarctic programmes span a wide range of disciplines. Exploration and mapping played a major role in the first twenty years, when some 4,000 kilometres of coast and some 800,000 square kilometres of territory were mapped. Fixed wing aircraft and helicopters greatly assisted the work. Most of it was carried out during summer ship voyages but for several years ANARE aircraft were flown and maintained at Mawson by RAAF personnel seconded to the expedition.

Field work in glaciology, geology, zoology, botany, gravity, and marine sciences, demanded complex and extensive logistic support and planning. Observatory work at the stations embraced meteorology, geomagnetism, seismology, upper atmosphere physics, and cosmic rays. Investigations were also carried out in human biology, medicine, and psychology.

In 1968, the Antarctic Division was transferred from the Department of External Affairs to the Department of Supply, where it remained until 1972. In that year it was placed under the Department of Science, which after some changes in nomenclature, became known as the Department of Science and Technology.

International co-operation in Antarctica stands high. The Antarctic Treaty nations meet at Treaty Consultative Meetings every two years. Their work has resulted in a conservation regime in Antarctica unmatched by that of any other continent. Nations active in Antarctica send delegates to the Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research (SCAR) which also meets every two years. In Australia, the Australian Academy of Science established in 1958 a committee (the Australian National Committee on Antarctic Research) to act as the national contact with SCAR and advise the Commonwealth Government on possible future scientific programmes.

In 1979, the Department established a committee with the title of the Antarctic Research Policy Advisory Committee to review Australian research policies in the Antarctic and the surrounding oceans, to recommend priority areas for research into the potential resources of Antarctica, and to advise on the role to be played by the Antarctic Division.

## GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

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### INTRODUCTION

This Chapter traces the main developments in the government and administration of Victoria since 1934. It covers constitutional developments, the changing role of the Monarch's Representative, the legislature and Parliamentary practice, the personal contributions made by the Governors and the Premiers (because the personalities of these leaders played an important role in the changing social and political perspective), the executive and government administration, the electoral system, and Victoria's relationship with the Commonwealth.

### CONSTITUTION

From 1855 until its repeal in 1975, Victoria had a Constitution which, although principally the work of the first Legislative Council of Victoria, was nevertheless a statute of the Parliament at Westminster. That Constitution Act gave power to the Parliament of Victoria, among other things, to amend the provisions of the same and this was frequently done over the next 120 years. On 22 October 1975, Her Majesty The Queen assented to the new Constitution Act of Victoria which, for the first time, gave the State of Victoria a Constitution entirely enacted by its own Parliament. It re-enacted with minor changes many provisions previously existing and, recognising the Supreme Court of Victoria as part of the State's essential legal framework, contained provisions relative to the Court within the Constitution, and repealed the separate provisions of the Supreme Court Act. At the same time a separate enactment constituted a Parliamentary Offices Committee, comprising the Presiding Officers and senior Members of the Parliament; this was designed to increase the independence and autonomy of Parliament in relation to certain aspects of staffing.

#### **Constitutional developments**

In 1934, Victoria was governed under a Constitution providing for a bicameral Parliament and an executive government responsible to that Parliament. Some fifty years later, that basic structure still remains but there have been great developments and changes in the law and practice of the Constitution. More than thirty Acts directly affecting the Constitution have been passed by the Parliament, many dealing with comparatively minor matters of electoral law but many making profound changes.

During the period the Legislative Council has been converted from a House elected on a restricted franchise to one of universal adult suffrage. It remains a powerful Upper House. The *Constitutional (Reform) Act* 1937 provided a system for the resolution of deadlocks between the Houses. In substance, while it provided for a double dissolution in the case of deadlock, such a double dissolution could only occur after the Assembly had been dissolved and faced the people. The end result was that there has never been a double dissolution. It may be that the procedure is so structured that it is unlikely that the Legislative Council would ever be forced to a double dissolution. If the Council's view is

supported by the people when the Assembly is dissolved, that will be the end of the question, and if the Council's view is not supported by the people at the Assembly elections, the Council can withdraw its opposition to the disputed measure.

The strength of the Council's position is illustrated by the manner in which it constrained the Cain Government to advise the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly in 1947 in order that the people might vote on the proposal of the Commonwealth Labor Government to nationalise banking in Australia. This, of course, was a matter over which the State Parliament had no legislative power. The Cain Government did not control the Legislative Council and the Opposition persistently refused to grant Supply until Mr Cain reluctantly advised the Governor to dissolve the Assembly. The Cain Government was defeated at the ensuing election.

Again, in 1952 the Legislative Council constrained the McDonald Government to go to the polls by refusing Supply to enable an election to be held allegedly on the issue of electoral reform. The political circumstances on this occasion involved the Governor refusing a dissolution to McDonald and the resignation of the McDonald Government, the commissioning of a government under the Hon. T. T. Hollway who obtained Supply but was immediately defeated on a "no confidence" motion, the refusal of a dissolution to Hollway, and the recommissioning of a government under McDonald on condition that he would advise an immediate dissolution of the Assembly. The ensuing election resulted in a victory for the Labor Party and led to various constitutional questions being litigated in the Supreme Court in the case of *McDonald v. Cain* [1953] VLR 411.

In 1978, provision was made for the first time for a pension to be paid to Governors who had served for at least five years in that office or who retired because of ill-health. In 1979, the Constitution was amended by making provision requiring that a system of local government be established and maintained throughout Victoria and Phillip Island. It also dealt with the qualifications for electors at municipal elections and for membership of municipal councils, and regulated the power of Parliament to enact laws as to the dismissal of municipal councils, and the suspension of municipal councils. These provisions are probably of greater political and symbolic importance than of legal consequence but for the first time in Australia and, indeed, in any Australian jurisdiction, local government was recognised as an essential part of the constitutional fabric of the State.

### **Australian Constitutional Convention**

The Australian Constitutional Convention met for the first time in Sydney in September 1973. Its establishment was the result of resolutions passed by the Victorian Parliament in 1969 and 1970, although the concept of a review of the Commonwealth Constitution by a body as representative as possible of the Australian political spectrum was not new. It was hoped that recommendations for change emanating from a widely representative body would be more readily accepted by the electorate than had referendum proposals in the past.

The Convention initially comprised twelve delegates from each of the States, sixteen from the Commonwealth, and two from the Northern Territory, drawn from all major parliamentary parties and appointed by resolution of their respective legislatures. It was agreed early in the Sydney session that three representatives of local government from each State and two from each of the mainland territories should be included also, with limited speaking and voting rights. The Australian Capital Territory representatives became full delegates in 1975.

The agenda for the Sydney session did not intend that substantive recommendations should be made but only that the areas of the Constitution in need of change should be identified and referred to Standing Committees for examination and report. Four such were established. The Melbourne session met in September 1975. It was not fully representative, as some delegates from some States did not attend.

The third plenary session met in Hobart in October 1976. A full complement of delegates attended, to consider an agenda of thirty-three items, many of which had been re-submitted following the Melbourne session. Twenty resolutions were passed by this session, including a draft Constitution Alteration Bill to enable an interchange of powers between the Commonwealth and the States. Three resolutions subsequently formed the basis of

successful referendum proposals in 1977: the principle that a casual vacancy in the Senate should be filled by a member of the same political party; the introduction of a retirement age for Federal judges; and the enfranchisement of electors in the mainland territories in referendums. A fourth, proposing simultaneous elections for the Senate and the House of Representatives, was narrowly lost.

The Convention met again in plenary session in Perth in July 1978. It considered an agenda and four additional reports, including those on local government, section 92, the judiciary, and the Senate and Supply.

No referendums followed this session; however, its recommendations resulted in legislation being passed by the Commonwealth Parliament requiring consultation with the States on the appointment of High Court justices. The recognition of local government in State Constitutions, beginning with Victoria in 1979, also originated in the deliberations of the Convention at its Hobart and Perth sessions.

#### ROYAL EVENTS SINCE 1934

In the fifty years from 1934 to 1984, there were many memorable Royal events whose impact on the community was strengthened by the development of the media, especially of television after 1956.

To celebrate the centenary of Melbourne in 1934, King George V sent one of his sons, Henry, Duke of Gloucester, to represent him. In the following year the King died and was to be succeeded by Edward VIII (who had himself visited Australia as the Prince of Wales in 1920). However, Edward VIII abdicated in 1936 and his brother Albert was crowned King George VI in 1937. His reign witnessed the Second World War and after his death in 1952 he was succeeded by Queen Elizabeth II who, in 1954 was the first reigning Monarch to visit Australia. She paid further visits in 1963, 1970, for her Silver Jubilee in 1977, 1980, and in 1981.

There has been a discernible change in style of Royal Visits to Victoria, especially in the 1970s and 1980s. They have become less formal and increasingly part of the normal pace of community activity. The "Queen's walk" whereby she could meet some of the people lining the streets has been an innovation begun in Melbourne in 1970 and later copied in her visits to some other countries.

#### THE GOVERNORS OF VICTORIA AND THEIR REPRESENTATION OF THE CROWN SINCE 1934

##### The Office of Governor

Historical work on the Governors of Victoria is not easily found. This section was written for this volume by Mr H. L. Speagle who has based his account on such official records as were available, interviews with persons who had known or worked with various Governors, and his own personal knowledge of most of the incumbents. He was greatly indebted to the late Sir Edmund and Dame Mary Herring, who took up official residence at Government House for varying periods between 1945 and 1972.

The representation of the Crown in Victoria dates back to the beginning of European settlement in what was at first known as the Port Phillip District. Governor Bourke proclaimed this area as part of the Colony of New South Wales in 1835. He took immediate responsibility for its government until the appointment of Captain William Lonsdale as Magistrate in 1836 which was followed by that of Charles Joseph La Trobe as Superintendent in 1839. When the settlement became the Colony of Victoria in 1851, La Trobe became Lieutenant-Governor and when representative government was granted in 1855, Sir Charles Hotham became the first Governor.

The resident representation of the Crown in the State has thus been continuous since early settlement. During periods between the departure of a retiring Governor and the arrival of the newly appointed Governor, the Lieutenant-Governors have served as the Monarch's Representative, as they have when the Governors were unable to carry out their duties, for example, during periods of illness or absence from the State.

The Constitution Act of 1975 defines the Governor's position in section 6: "The Governor appointed by Her Majesty shall be Her Majesty's representative in Victoria".

In Victoria the ultimate executive power rests in the Crown and the Governor exercises this from authority derived from the Letters Patent, the Commission of Appointment, and the Governor's Instructions issued under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet. As the Monarch's Representative he summons and prorogues Parliament, and at the beginning of each session outlines the Government's legislative programme in his opening speech. In the name of the Monarch he gives the Royal Assent to most bills which have passed all stages of Parliament. As head of the Executive he makes many appointments to important State offices, official proclamations, and exercises the Royal prerogative of mercy. All these functions are carried out on the advice of his Ministers, but he exercises discretion in the formation of a new Ministry and the granting of a dissolution of Parliament.

The formal specifications of the Governor's position, however, do not give anything like a full picture of his position in the community. It is the less tangible aspects of his position which make his representation of the Monarch widely apparent: his speeches and his visits to various places and groups; his encouragement of many forms of voluntary endeavour; his unique position to see the State as a whole and share the benefits of his perception with his Ministers; and the opportunity of embodying in his demeanour the qualities of moral leadership that the community esteems in the Crown. Living as he does in a residence near the centre of Melbourne, he has been seen to be the Monarch's resident representative by a large proportion of the population and in his ceremonial functions symbolises the relationship between the Crown and the community.

From the achievement of representative government in Victoria it has been the practice for the Governor to at least appear to be the direct selection of the Monarch from a list of names of suitable persons recommended by the Sovereign's advisers—in the early years the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and then successively the Secretary of State for the Dominions; for Commonwealth Relations; and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

The practice followed by the State for many years was that when the term of the Governor was coming to a close, the Premier would address a memorandum to His Excellency either asking him to submit the Government's recommendations for the extension of his term, or requesting him to ask the Secretary of State to take the necessary action to nominate a successor. Of course it was customary for the Secretary of State to inform the Government of the name of the person it was proposed to submit to give them the opportunity to express a view if for some reason they thought it inappropriate that such a person should be appointed.

In more recent times it has been the practice of the State Premier to nominate the Governor. In earlier years a list of suitable persons was submitted by the United Kingdom authorities; later, in accord with the trend to appoint Australian citizens to Vice-regal office, he put forward his own nominee to the Sovereign through the normal channels.

As times have changed during the last fifty years, so has the community's perception of the Crown's representation in the State. Attitudes towards the office in the 1980s are not the same as in the 1930s. Indeed, the Government's growing obligation over the 50 years in meeting the costs of Vice-regal representation has been one factor in drawing the responsibilities of Government House closer to those of the community.

Many Royal events and celebrations — especially in the earlier years of the period — prompted strong expressions of loyalty, many of which changed during the period. These could take the form of Loyal Addresses to the Monarch which were conveyed through the Governor. It was also customary to display a Royal portrait in government offices, defence establishments, civic reception areas, and other places whose official situation or ceremonial purpose rendered them prominent. Naturalisation ceremonies, for example, were held in the presence of a Royal portrait and most artistic performances in the earlier years began or ended with the rendering of "God save the Queen". This practice gradually fell into disuse later in the period, especially in the 1970s. Many educational and community organisations applied for and obtained the prefix "Royal" for incorporation in their title. All such aspects of community life sought to express a link of loyalty with the Crown. The link was also preserved by the Governor's obligation to forward regular official Dispatches to the Monarch through the Colonial Office and its successors. In these he recorded the significant events which took place in Victoria.

The Governor not only forwarded various expressions of loyalty (this was merely one of his duties), but above all he was the Pro-Consul, the Monarch's resident representative

in Victoria. As such his position in the State was analogous to that of the Monarch's in the United Kingdom. How the incumbents of the gubernatorial office carried out this duty is a revealing interaction of the personal style of each responding to changing circumstances. In varying degrees each helped to develop the representation of the Crown to match social changes and to lock ever more firmly the office into, rather than onto, the community, so that at the end of the period the gracious patrician stance had given place to recognition and encouragement of community effort. Thus over the years the interpretation of the office came closer to the people, as did the Government's share of financial responsibility; whereas Lord Huntingfield himself was expected to, and in fact did, pay a substantial part of the expenses of his office, this type of responsibility began to wane in later years and finally ended altogether.

### **Lord Huntingfield**

*(14 May 1934 to 4 April 1939)*

Lord Huntingfield took up his office in May 1934 nearly three years after the departure of his predecessor, Lord Somers.

There were several obvious reasons for the non-appointment of an overseas Governor immediately following the retirement of Lord Somers. In the first place the Australian Labor Party was anxious to see an Australian appointed to the office; second, Mr E. J. Hogan, the Premier, found it difficult at that time to find a person who would be acceptable not only to the Labor Party, but also to the British Government.

In the circumstances, the Premier indicated that, in view of the economic Depression which was adversely affecting the whole of the Commonwealth, the Victorian Government considered it expedient to defer the appointment of a Governor until conditions improved. During the interregnum the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William Hill Irvine, carried out the functions of the Governor.

Mr Hogan and his Government resigned in May 1932 and Sir Stanley Argyle assumed office. By the end of 1933 there were some indications that the economy was improving and the Nationalist Government was anxious that steps should be taken to secure another Governor from overseas. The necessary action was taken and, in May 1934, Lord Huntingfield arrived and assumed office. Possibly, the Secretary of State in London was aware of the growing feeling for an Australian appointment, because it transpired that Lord Huntingfield not only was born in Australia (in Queensland) but had maintained business connections with Australia for some years.

His own parliamentary experience was to prove valuable in his representation of the Crown during a difficult period. From 1923 to 1929 he had been Conservative M.P. for the Size Division of East Suffolk and Parliamentary Private Secretary to the President of the Board of Trade from 1927 to 1929.

Lord Huntingfield was the first Governor to occupy Government House after it was returned to the State when the Commonwealth Government moved to Canberra. When he arrived in Victoria in May 1934, his first major task was to take his part in the State's centenary celebrations and to be host to His Royal Highness The Duke of Gloucester who was to visit the State as the King's representative for the celebrations and was also to dedicate the Shrine of Remembrance. After the celebrations — which were a source of some community rejoicing at a time when Victoria was still suffering the effects of the Depression — Lord Huntingfield set about discharging the Governor's duties in the years when the gradual improvement in economic conditions coincided with the growing threat of war in Europe. The other highlights of his term were the functions which took place on the occasion of the Coronation of King George VI in 1937.

The Governor's style was the outcome of his background. He was the last of the British patricians to occupy the office; holding a hereditary title and having substantial means, he came into a community whose ways were really quite new to him. People who knew and observed him considered that he carried out his duties quietly, thoroughly, and punctiliously; he was a man who showed a great sense of dignity and courtesy in all he did and this was reflected in the respect with which he invariably treated all kinds of people, whatever their station or occupation. This natural quiet style concurred with the

circumstances of the day and accorded with the outlook of his Premier after 1935, Mr A. A. (later Sir Albert) Dunstan, who was not given to encouraging the mounting of splendid social occasions.

Both Lord and Lady Huntingfield encouraged many social and charitable organisations, the latter being particularly interested in those connected with women and children. In fact all the wives of Governors played an important role in encouraging community organisations and generally carrying out many functions of Vice-regal representation.

At Government House the Huntingfields entertained official visitors to Victoria and gave dinner and garden parties; and they visited country properties whose owners were in turn invited to Government House in the company of select guests including members of the diplomatic community. In comparison to present custom their life at Government House generally tended to be remote not only from the community at large but even from the Government and Parliament of the day. This relationship, as noted above, was to be reversed at the end of the period covered by this volume.

### **Sir Winston (later Lord) Dugan**

*(17 July 1939 to 20 February 1949)*

In July 1939, Lord Huntingfield was succeeded by Major-General Sir Winston (later Lord) Dugan, who had been Governor of South Australia since 1934. He had risen through the ranks in the British Army and had already become acquainted with Australian troops in the First World War. Personally selected by King George VI after the accepted line of practice, Sir Winston Dugan's tenure of office was largely conditioned by the Second World War. When he arrived in Victoria he was conscious of the economic problems which were still facing Australia and soon after his arrival had to represent the Crown to a community at war. The normal social life of Government House virtually ceased; it now became the centre for providing entertainment for the services and hospitality to visiting military dignitaries. The encouragement Sir Winston and his wife gave to many patriotic, charitable, and social organisations was notable; the stables at Government House became the setting for some women's voluntary work during the war and the ballroom was given over to the Red Cross for its war work. Both Sir Winston and Lady Dugan set a high example of public duty and encouraged good causes, especially projects for the welfare of soldiers and their dependants.

Sir Winston Dugan's aim was to represent the King in such a way as to continue and inspire Imperial loyalty during the war, and his speeches were directed to this end. His style was impartial and unassuming; his kindly and dry sense of humour was appreciated by all, not least by those he visited in distress. He had a great gift of getting to the gist of a problem and always consulted the experts on technical and constitutional matters, especially in the political crises of his latter years which were to tell on him. His use of the Vice-regal train enabled him to travel as far as was possible under wartime and post-war conditions. He won the respect of the community and was reappointed a number of times so that he almost saw out a decade of office. After the war he introduced the observance of Empire (later Commonwealth) Youth Sunday to impress on Victoria's young people the meaning of the British Empire (later Commonwealth), especially the responsibilities and privileges of membership and the moral values inherent in this. The Dugans contributed generously to the decoration of the rooms in Government House. After their departure extensive renovations were undertaken and the Governor's salary and allowances reviewed.

During Sir Winston Dugan's term, the Victorian Government had sought the release from the Army of Lieutenant-General Sir Edmund Herring in order that he might take up the posts of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and of Lieutenant-Governor. When Sir Winston Dugan departed in February 1949, Sir Edmund Herring assumed the Vice-regal duties and carried on until the arrival of the new Governor on 17 October 1949. This was the first of many extended periods during which Sir Edmund acted as Governor until his retirement in 1972.

The selection of Sir Winston Dugan's successor followed a new pattern and is a significant landmark in the history of Vice-regal representation in the State. The Premier at the time was Mr T.T. Hollway and he felt that the Victorian Government should be



permitted to take a more positive part in the selection of a Governor. Nevertheless, he still considered a suitable person from Britain would be more appropriate at the time than a local man.

When he was in London in 1948 for a conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, the Premier took the opportunity of discussing a suitable successor to Sir Winston Dugan with the Commonwealth Relations Office and certain distinguished Australians then living in London. In due course he and his advisers met Sir Dallas Brooks and on his return home the Premier took the appropriate steps for the submission of the recommendation for Royal Approval.

### **Sir Dallas Brooks**

*(18 October 1949 to 7 May 1963)*

By the time Sir Dallas Brooks arrived in October 1949 many basic social patterns were already in the process of changing. Victoria was not the same place as it had been when his predecessor arrived 10 years previously; there was a more egalitarian outlook, less tolerant of pre-war social restrictions and more aware that changes were due in the community. Many ex-servicemen who pursued extra studies after 1945 were now ready "to do things". This trait was especially noticeable among the new Members of Parliament first elected in 1955 who were not inhibited by precedent. The policy of large-scale immigration and beginnings of industrial expansion were to exert far reaching influences on the social life of the community; the first modification to traditional ideas about loyalty became apparent in the late 1940s when the British Empire yielded to the British Commonwealth. In Victoria, as in other States, the growing influence of the Commonwealth Government in economic management was being felt since the advent of uniform taxation in 1942 and this trend was to become increasingly important.

Thus for many reasons the arrival of Sir Dallas Brooks marked a watershed in the representation of the Crown in the State. He had been Commandant General of the Royal Marines and had had extensive experience in intelligence work and public relations. As a very young man he had fought alongside Australian troops at Gallipoli where he had won military distinction. King George VI, who personally appointed him, knew that the Crown had become a little remote from ordinary people and asked him to bring the Crown closer to the people. The King had been kept well informed about the social changes taking place in Australia and this perception and the instructions emanating from it set the stage for Sir Dallas Brooks' incumbency. His style of filling the office was quite different from that of his predecessors; he set out to refurbish the image of the Crown in a more democratic manner and so visibly re-ignite loyalty to it amid times of social change by making Government House part of the community. He sought information about the main areas of activity in the State and travelled, visiting districts by the Vice-regal train, or later, as the roads improved, by car. His work was aided by two well publicised events — the Royal Tour of 1954 and the Olympic Games in 1956; the latter did more than any other event in this century to place Melbourne on the world map.

The widening of the social contacts of Government House which he set out to encourage was helped by inviting to balls, receptions, luncheons, dinner parties, young persons' and garden parties, a wide range of persons who represented all parts of the State and many different kinds of activity. As time went on more generous financial treatment was accorded to the Governor and for the first time he did not have to bridge the gap between allowance paid and expenditure made from his private resources.

Both he and his wife became patrons of many charitable organisations. These contacts together with the many persons he met in his sporting and other contacts made him well-known. His appearances at many functions and celebrations, and his speeches which reflected the abiding place of the Crown as well as the growth and changes in the community (they were always well publicised by the media, including television after 1956), enabled him to project his attractive personality onto the community and to make the Crown the visible unifying influence in the State. At the end of his several terms of office in 1963 the Governor's position in the community was strong and clear, and Sir Dallas Brooks had indeed won affection as well as carrying out his Monarch's mandate.

One of the difficult tasks he had on arrival was to acknowledge the instability of

Victorian politics and the frequent changes in Ministries. Although he always tried to bring sympathy and understanding to the personal relationships inherent in various political situations, there was a severe test on the Governor in the constitutional crises leading, in 1952, to the Premier's reluctant resignation. After 1952, more stability came to Victorian politics and from 1955 until he retired in 1963 Victoria had only one Premier.

Sir Dallas Brooks was also the first Governor to observe the growing influence of post-war Commonwealth policies unfold during his incumbency and he sought to understand the implications of this on his representation of the Monarch in Victoria. In this he was helped by his own experiences when acting as Administrator of the Commonwealth of Australia. Unlike the Governor-General of Australia, who since the passing of the Statute of Westminster has been appointed by the Monarch on the advice of the Australian Ministers of the day, the Governor of Victoria (and of the other States) has continued to be appointed by the Monarch on the advice of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, or his successors in conjunction with the Premier of the day. These two methods of communication with the Monarch — the one direct, the other through the Commonwealth Relations Office — did not always make for perfect alignment in a period when the respective responsibilities of the Commonwealth and the States were less clear than before the war.

When it became apparent that Sir Dallas Brooks would retire in 1963, the Premier, Mr H. E. (later Sir Henry) Bolte, and his advisers decided to raise the question of a new appointment at the Commonwealth Relations Office during a world tour they had planned to promote Victoria's industrial and financial interests. The Under Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and others made possible informal meetings with distinguished persons and in due course Sir Rohan Delacombe came to be recommended for Royal appointment.

#### **Sir Rohan Delacombe**

*(8 May 1963 to 31 May 1974)*

The concept of visibly widening the representation of the Crown in the community which owed so much to Sir Dallas Brooks' efforts was consolidated and extended in a systematic and efficient manner by his successor, Sir Rohan Delacombe. A soldier who ended his career in the British Army as General Officer Commanding the British Sector in Berlin (a position which demanded considerable diplomatic skill), he came to Victoria in 1963 knowing that he was following a man whose personality had left its mark on the community. In a quiet way he set out to learn about all facets of life in Victoria and began to map out his official visits which took him to every municipality in the State at least twice. As his predecessor in his later years had concentrated more on the metropolitan rather than the rural parts of the State, Sir Rohan Delacombe decided to redress the balance. The success of these visits depended not only on him but also on his wife who lent him great support, and on the extensive work done by the staff at Government House.

In his varied round of visits, he had to make many speeches. With these he took great trouble, carrying out sufficient research to ensure he knew the background to the particular institution and then giving praise and encouragement where warranted, and even sometimes tactfully suggesting where certain improvements might be made. He saw the two sides of his office in a rapidly changing community, displaying due formality and ceremonial where these were clearly indicated and at other times putting people at their ease and making things as natural as possible. Like his predecessor he understood the importance of the media in reporting his visits and speeches. He always helped the reporters and photographers who came to cover his functions, realising that they too had a job to do and this co-operation was readily appreciated.

His visits to centenary celebrations, schools, colleges, universities, factories, hospitals, roads, rivers, dams, farms, municipalities, and sporting events were to give him an enviable knowledge of Victoria which he was able to share with his Ministers. Executive Council meetings were no formality; here documents were scrutinised for inconsistencies and problems discussed, and advice, where necessary, given. To keep himself informed about the ongoing work of government, he instituted a system of regular calls at Government House which gave him the opportunity to talk to his Ministers and their Permanent Heads.

Like his predecessor he entertained generously and brought an even wider circle of guests to Government House. The older "society" functions now gave way to functions where guests were invited because of their personal merits and the contribution they made to the well-being of the community. More clearly than ever before, one of the Governor's main functions had become to recognise ability and achievement. This broadened the Governor's role in the community: the patronage of good causes and the recognition of service became paramount. Sir Rohan and Lady Delacombe were patrons of over 150 societies and through their wide contacts continued to make the Crown a practical reality to persons in every walk of life and age group.

At the end of an 11 year incumbency (it had been extended several times) the representation of the Crown was securely grounded in the community and the general expectation of the next occupant being an Australian hardly raised any discussion. In an undramatic way Sir Rohan Delacombe, as the last British Pro-Consul, left the Governor's position firmly established as a result of the distinction with which he carried out his duties and the deep knowledge of Victoria which he brought to bear on his tenure of office.

#### **Sir Henry Winneke**

*(1 June 1974 to 1 March 1982)*

During the 1960s there had developed again, though much stronger than on previous occasions, the feeling that the time had arrived when a local man should be appointed Governor. Sir Henry Winneke's qualifications for the position were unique: he was a Victorian by birth and upbringing, and had been constitutional adviser to the Government as Solicitor-General since 1949, then Chief Justice of Victoria from 1964, and Lieutenant-Governor from 1972.

His deep knowledge of the legal and constitutional aspects of the Governor's office enabled him to make his own contributions to the work of Executive Council meetings, of which he only missed two during his tenure of office. He had legislation and other items of business sent back for review if necessary; the agenda was invariably voluminous, an aspect of State Government not always fully recognised. On two occasions he reserved bills for the Queen's Assent: the *Constitution Act 1975* and the *Constitution (Governor's Pension) Act 1978*. As Visitor he also approved the Statutes of the four universities and the Victoria Institute of Colleges (before its amalgamation with the State College of Victoria), and in 1979 conducted an Official Visitation to the University of Melbourne.

Sir Henry continued to develop the social side of the Governor's office. He and his wife were, respectively, patron and patroness of many organisations and by their visits encouraged a diversity of community endeavour in sport, welfare organisations, loyal societies, clubs, and professional organisations. With his staff he continued to plan meticulously the visits to every municipality in the State, usually arranged within recognised regions. He returned hospitality at Government House where visitors to various functions were, as often as not, representatives of municipalities and community groupings. There was also the continuing large number of callers, official visitors, and guests as well as attendance at official dinners with their inevitable calls on the Governor's speech making virtuosity.

During Sir Henry's term of almost eight years, Her Majesty The Queen visited Victoria three times. Victoria's ongoing constitutional framework remained stable; the Governor's office continued as the guardian of the State's "essentialities". Sir Henry's low-key style had unobtrusively matched the Governor's office to the evolving demands of the day.

#### **Sir Brian Murray**

*(1 March 1982—still in office)*

The appointment of Rear Admiral Sir Brian Murray was one of the last acts of the Thompson Liberal Government. He was sworn in on 1 March 1982 and the Cain Labor Government was elected on 3 April 1982. Sir Brian, a Victorian, served in the Royal Australian Navy from 1939 to 1978, seeing service in the Second World War, Korea, and Vietnam. He commanded five of Her Majesty's Australian Ships and was Deputy Chief of the Naval Staff on his retirement.

Upon his appointment as Governor, Sir Brian modified several social conventions at Government House which no longer seemed appropriate to changing times. He continued the trend, seen since the Second World War, of bringing the representation of the Crown ever closer to the changing concerns of the community. A still broader spectrum of invitees included members of the Aboriginal community, youth groups, and a wide range of leaders in industrial, union, professional, and political life. They were able to meet informally to share their varying perceptions of community concern.

Outside Government House, Sir Brian and Lady Murray continued to attend many functions and pay official calls. They travel extensively throughout Victoria and visit many commercial, industrial, and rural enterprises and research establishments, taking a special interest in the wine industry. The Governor's close links with the Services, especially the Navy, have been maintained; he also holds honorary rank in the Australian Army and the Royal Australian Air Force.

Like many of his predecessors, the Governor has taken a keen interest in many sports, especially the racing and breeding of horses, and the Governor's golf, cricket, and tennis teams. As a former Scout he has encouraged scouting and other youth activities, such as Lord Somers' Camp, the Boys' Brigade, and St John's Ambulance.

Besides supporting His Excellency in his diverse roles, Lady Murray has herself undertaken extensive visits to hospitals, social service establishments, the Red Cross, and the Girl Guides (of both of which she is President). As a former professional teacher, she has shared the Governor's interest in schools, colleges, and the universities. Also, her personal concern for the arts has given encouragement by her visits to training groups and many performances. Altogether Sir Brian is Patron to some 160 organisations, Lady Murray is Patron to 60, and they share Joint Patron to a further 30. As supporters of the National Trust, the Governor and Lady Murray have been strongly concerned to promote the continuing renovation of Government House and its grounds as one of the great trusts belonging to the people and the State of Victoria.

#### **Lieutenant-Governors**

Lieutenant-Governors since 1934 were Sir William Hill Irvine (1918 to 1935), Sir Frederick Mann (1936 to 1944), Sir Edmund Herring (1945 to 1972), and Sir John Young (since 1972). They carried out the Governors' duties, when necessary, and, as Chief Justice, were able to advise the Governors on legal and constitutional aspects of their office.

### **PARLIAMENT OF VICTORIA**

#### **Elections and financial legislation**

The right of persons to claim a vote at elections for the Legislative Assembly because of dual property qualification was not finally abolished until 1939. The removal of property ownership qualifications for Council membership and the establishment of adult franchise (for those aged over 21 years) for Council elections were enacted in 1950 by the Labor-supported Country Party Government. Other details of electoral qualifications are set out in the section on the Victorian Electoral System.

In April 1953, Leaders of the Country Party obtained Writs out of the Supreme Court seeking declarations by that Court that the Electoral Districts Bill, not having passed both Houses with the concurrence of absolute majorities as is required for certain constitutional amendments, could not be lawfully presented to the Governor for Royal Assent. In May, the Full Court of the Supreme Court dismissed the actions and the Bill was assented to on 3 June.

Before 1961, elections for the two Houses were held at different times; a fixed period of six years applies to membership of the Legislative Council with elections for half the membership held every three years, while the Legislative Assembly has a three-year term which can be subject to curtailment by an earlier dissolution. In 1961, the term of the Legislative Assembly was to expire close to the day when the Council elections were due to be held. The Government secured the passage through Parliament of a Bill for both elections to be held on the same day to reduce expenses to the Consolidated Fund and annoyance to the electors. Since that date, conjoint elections have been held on each occasion, there having been no early dissolutions of the Legislative Assembly.

Acting constitutionally, the Legislative Council rejected several Appropriation Bills in earlier years, but a new weapon was added to the armoury of that House when, in 1947, it rejected three successive Supply Bills of the Labor Government. Tactics similar to those of 1947 were used again in 1952 when the Labor Party joined with the Liberal and Country Party in the Legislative Council to oust the Country Party Government following Country Party refusal to increase the number of metropolitan Assembly seats.

The old established practice of dealing with financial matters in the Legislative Assembly in Committees of Supply and Ways and Means was discontinued in 1973. Bills for raising taxes and for expenditure from the Consolidated Fund are now introduced in the same way as non-financial Bills. The financial initiative remains with the Crown as Standing Orders restrict to Ministers the introduction of taxing proposals and retain the constitutional requirement for a Governor's Message in respect of expenditure. The Treasurer's Budget Speech is now delivered in the House on the Question "That the (Appropriation) Bill be now read a second time" instead of in Committee of Supply.

### Parliamentary privilege

In dealing with the manner of raising and disposing of privilege complaints, the Legislative Assembly follows the procedure of the United Kingdom House of Commons. This procedure requires that written notice be given to the Speaker, who then decides whether or not the requirements are satisfied for the matter to be accorded precedence in the House; a refusal does not prevent the complaining Member giving notice of a substantive motion. The Legislative Assembly has since 1974 regularly appointed a Privileges Committee to investigate complaints referred to it by the House; since 1974 it has received two referrals. The only privilege case ever to be dealt with by the Legislative Council occurred in 1969. No Committee was appointed; the House ordered a reporter and the editor of a daily newspaper to be brought before the Bar of the House regarding an article critical of a witness before a Council Select Committee and subsequently censured them.

### Parliamentary Committees

Although the Public Accounts Committee was first appointed by the Legislative Assembly in January 1895, the Victorian Parliament made limited use of Committees generally until the 1950s, when it appointed several Standing Committees to oversee specific areas of Government activity as well as Select Committees to investigate individual matters. The appointment of a Public Bodies Review Committee in 1980 broke new ground within Australia, in that it was empowered to commission consultants and employ researchers, and its recommendations were to take effect unless Parliament resolved specifically to overturn them. Other Committees such as Statute Law Revision, Subordinate Legislation, and Public Accounts and Expenditure Review continued to function until April 1982. In July 1982, the Victorian Parliament legislated to replace the existing Committees with Joint Investigatory Committees called Economic and Budget Review, Legal and Constitutional, Natural Resources and Environment, Social Development, and a restructured Public Bodies Review Committee. From time to time the Victorian Parliament continues to appoint *ad hoc* Joint Select Committees. Two such Committees were investigating the salinity of water and land, and the mortuary and related industries, in 1983.

### Joint Sittings

In the 1960s and 1970s, Joint Sittings of the two Houses became common as legislation setting up tertiary educational institutions provided for the appointment of Members of Parliament to the respective governing bodies, such Members to be chosen at Joint Sittings of the Council and the Assembly. Joint Sittings had been held since Federation to fill casual vacancies occurring in the representation of Victoria in the Senate. In 1942, a Joint Sitting was held to discuss taxation and Commonwealth Constitution amendments; subsequently, the Premier and Leader of the Opposition attended a Constitutional Convention in Canberra.

## GOVERNORS OF VICTORIA SINCE 1934



Captain the Rt Hon. William Charles Arcedeckne Baron Huntingfield, K.C.M.G. — assumed office 14 May 1934.

*Spencer Shier, Melbourne*



Major-General Sir Winston Joseph Dugan, G.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O. — assumed office 17 July 1939.

*National Library of Australia*



General Sir Reginald Alexander Dallas Brooks, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., D.S.O., K.St.J. — assumed office 18 October 1949.

*Athol Smith*



Major-General Sir Rohan Delacombe, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O., K.St.J. — assumed office 8 May 1963.

*Australian Information Service*



Sir Henry Winneke, A.C., K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., O.B.E., K.St.J., Q.C. — assumed office 1 June 1974.

*Australia's Information Service*



Rear Admiral Sir Brian Stewart Murray, K.C.M.G., A.O., K.St.J. — assumed office 1 March 1982.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*

PREMIERS OF  
VICTORIA  
SINCE 1934



Sir Stanley Seymour Argyle, K.B.E.,  
— held office 19 May 1932 to 2 April  
1935.



Albert Arthur Dunstan — held office  
2 April 1935 to 14 September 1943,  
18 September 1943 to 2 October 1945.



Ian Macfarlan, K.C. — held office  
2 October 1945 to 21 November 1945.



Thomas Tuke Hollway — held office  
20 November 1947 to 3 December  
1948, 3 December 1948 to 27 June  
1950, 28 October 1952 to 31 October  
1952.



John Gladstone Black McDonald —  
held office 27 June 1950 to 28 October  
1952, 31 October 1952 to 17 December  
1952.



John Cain — held office 14 September 1943 to 18 September 1943, 21 November 1945 to 20 November 1947, 17 December 1952 to 31 March 1955, 31 March 1955 to 7 June 1955.



Sir Henry Edward Bolte, G.C.M.G. — held office 7 June 1955 to 23 August 1972.



Rupert James Hamer, E.D. — held office 23 August 1972 to 5 June 1981.



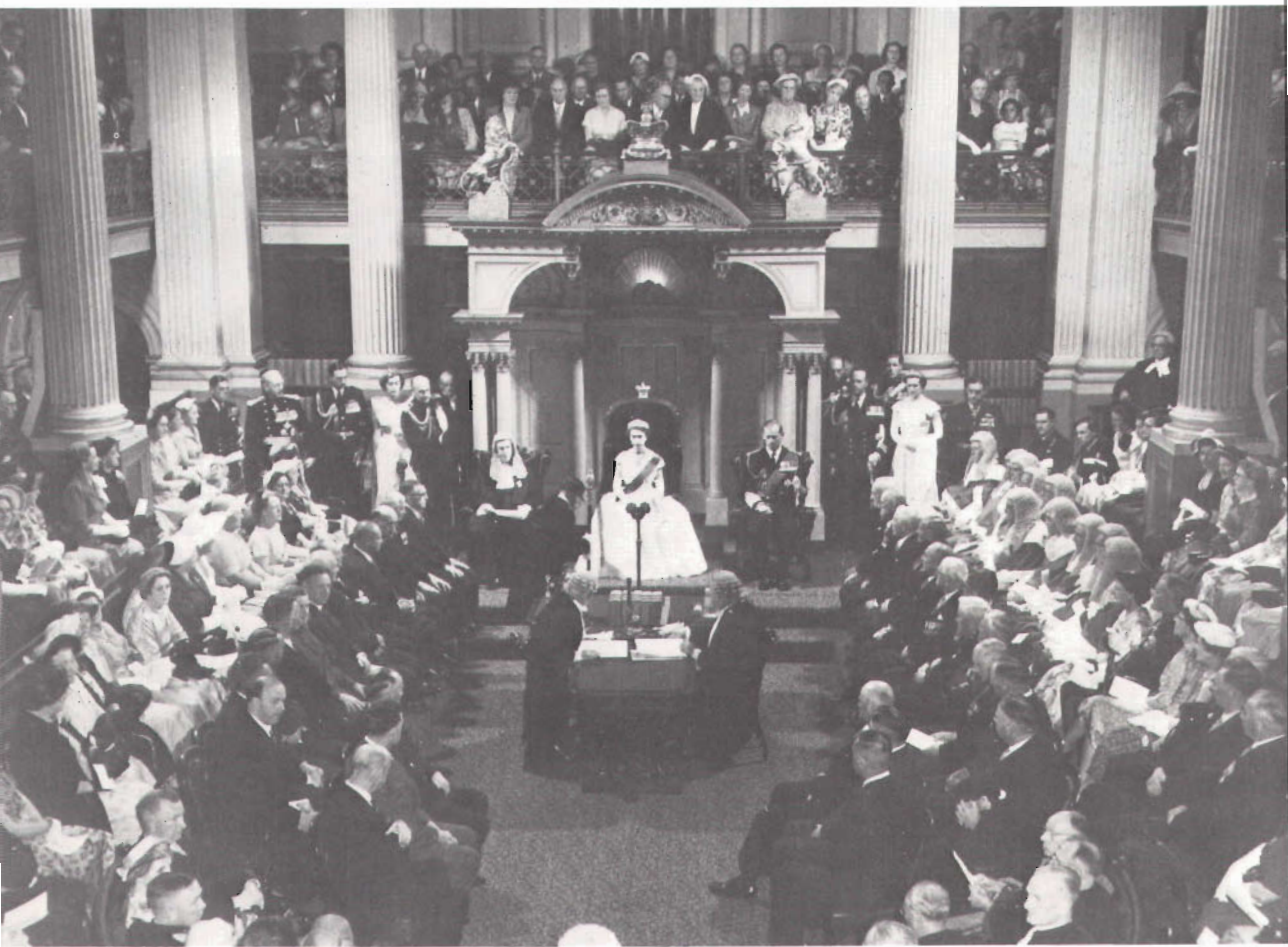
Lindsay Hamilton Simpson Thompson, C.M.G. — held office 5 June 1981 to 8 April 1982.



John Cain (son of the former Premier, John Cain) — assumed office 8 April 1982.

*Photographs courtesy of the Department of the Premier and Cabinet*





H.M. The Queen opening the Victorian Parliament in 1954—the first time ever by a reigning monarch.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*

Rt Hon. Richard Gardiner Baron Casey, being sworn in as Governor-General of Australia in 1965.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*



### **Members' interests**

A Joint Select Committee on Members' Qualifications, in 1974, recommended a code of ethics for Ministers and Members and, in December 1978, the Victorian Parliament enacted legislation requiring all Members to provide to the Clerk of the Parliaments a return of their own and their immediate family interests. A summary of these returns is tabled in both Houses, as such a procedure allows public access to information. Members are required to make a return not only of pecuniary interests but also of their membership of political parties, and political, trade, and professional bodies. The register is private but the summary of the returns made by the Members is tabled in each House of Parliament as soon as possible.

### **Question Time**

The long established practice of placing Questions to Ministers on notice in both Houses of Parliament was extended when the Legislative Assembly, in 1969, and the Legislative Council, in 1976, adopted Questions without notice at the beginning of each day's sitting. An objective was that, not only would the proceedings be more informative and topical and require Ministers to be fully aware of matters within their Ministerial departments, but that Questions on notice would decrease in number. In the event, Question Time became better attended, but there were still many Questions on notice.

### **Sessional Orders**

Both Houses usually adopt, at the beginning of each Session, Orders declaratory of hours of sitting and/or precedence of business. Different Orders apply to each House. During 1942, the Houses adopted daylight sittings by resolution of the Assembly and by Sessional Orders of the Council. From 1944 to 1973, the Legislative Assembly conducted its business without Sessional Orders.

## **VICTORIAN PREMIERS SINCE 1934**

### **Background**

Between 1934 and 1983, Victoria has been governed by 17 different ministries. The era has been marked by contrasting periods of stability and instability. During the period 14 September 1943 to 17 December 1952 there were ten different ministries. By contrast, Sir Albert Dunstan was Premier for a period in excess of 10 years (except for a short break of five days). Sir Henry Bolte's term exceeded 17 years while the term of Sir Rupert Hamer exceeded 8 years. During the period under review ten men occupied, for various terms, the office of Premier. This appraisal of the work of the Premiers was written by Sir John Dillon, who served Victoria successively as the Elected Member of the Public Service Board, City Stipendiary Magistrate, Under Secretary, and the first Ombudsman, and Mr H.L. Speagle.

### **Stanley (later Sir Stanley) Seymour Argyle**

*(19 May 1932 to 2 April 1935)*

In 1934, Sir Stanley Argyle was in his third and final year as Premier; he had come into office in 1932 as a result of an election fought on the issue that the previous Hogan Labor Government had failed to guarantee the continuation of the Premiers' Plan. There was little the Argyle Government could achieve because of the stringent financial policy it had undertaken to pursue in the depths of the economic Depression. One exception, however, was the construction of a large portion of the Yarra Boulevard as part of the unemployment relief programmes. Sir Stanley, who had earlier been active in municipal government, was a sound conservative politician.

**Albert (later Sir Albert) Arthur Dunstan**

*(2 April 1935 to 14 September 1943, and 18 September 1943 to 2 October 1945)*

Between 1924 and 1952, no party had a majority in the Legislative Assembly and inevitably the period was one of compromise government. The Argyle Ministry was a composite Ministry in which Mr A. A. Dunstan, Deputy Leader of the Country Party, was Minister for Lands. On 27 March 1935, although the electorate had returned the Ministry to office at the 2 March election, Mr Dunstan (now Leader of the Country Party) and his colleagues resigned from the Ministry. He caused a sensation when he moved a motion of "no confidence" in the government of which he had been a former Minister. The motion was carried with the support of the Labor Party. Dunstan came into office on 2 April 1935 as Premier in the first wholly Country Party government Victoria had ever had, the Labor Party having given an assurance that, although it would not share in the Ministry, it would support it. The arrangement was greeted with derision by many who forecast that the Dunstan Ministry would not survive more than a few months. But they failed to recognise the political shrewdness of the new Premier, who was to confound his critics and prove an astute politician. In difficult circumstances he frequently expressed his view of politics: "he hoped that wiser counsels would prevail".

Dunstan was then aged 56. Short, stout, balding, he devoted himself to the task of ensuring that he maintained his occupation of the Treasury benches. Victoria was the lowest income taxed State in the Commonwealth and he saw this as a means of attracting outside capital and investments, thus affording a measure of economic relief to the State. To this end he pursued a policy of minimal taxation which, however, meant a very low scale of social services and a poorly paid and depressed Public Service and teaching service, the members of which had no access to wage fixing tribunals. Their salaries were in fact prescribed by statute. Dunstan's Ministry was marked by years of controversy between himself and the Public Service. A demand for restoration of salaries which had been reduced as a result of the Premiers' Plan, was rejected on the ground that "having regard to the price of butter fat" the State could not afford it.

Dunstan legislated to alleviate many of the problems of farmers arising from the Depression and he survived the demands made upon him by the Labor Party by temporarily meeting many of their requests in part (for example, staff representation on the Public Service Board) and promising more in the future. He survived three elections in 1937, 1940, and 1943 with the continued support of the Labor Party. As a result of the 1943 election his party still held the greatest number of seats, 26 Members; Labor held 24; the United Australia Party (UAP) 13; and the Independents 2. However, the patience of Labor was now exhausted. Dunstan had done little to correct the inequality of electoral boundaries by which a country vote was worth two and even three times a metropolitan vote. This was to be the dominating issue in Victorian politics for the next few years, during which time he was able to pass legislation for the settling of disputes between the two Houses of Parliament.

John Cain, the Leader of the Labor Party, feeling that the time was ripe, moved a motion of "no confidence" in the Dunstan Ministry on 11 September 1943. The UAP amendment to the Labor "no confidence" motion was carried and Dunstan tendered his Ministry's resignation to Sir Winston Dugan, the Governor. The Governor then commissioned John Cain to form a Ministry.

But Dunstan was not beaten yet. He quickly came to terms with Tom Hollway, Leader of the UAP, for the formation of a composite Ministry and after only five days in office Cain was supplanted by Dunstan.

The composite Ministry was never a particularly happy one. In 1945, a split in the UAP on the issue of redistribution resulted in Parliament refusing to grant Supply to the Dunstan composite government. The Governor determined to dissolve Parliament. His message to Parliament was that he "proposed to dissolve Parliament from the date some three or four days ahead in order to give Parliament sufficient time to provide Supply". However, the Opposition, supported by dissident Liberals, refused to grant Supply to the Government and indicated that it was prepared to give Supply only to Mr Ian Macfarlan so that he could lead a caretaker government until after the election. Dunstan was constrained to resign and thus his long term as Premier came to an end.

His tenure of office was not lacking in achievements. He had legislated for the Soil Conservation Board, State Relief Committee, Housing Commission, a grant of land at Fishermens Bend for GMH, and various marketing boards. Some suitably experienced Country Party Members were appointed to statutory boards to express the needs of country areas. Amid all this he had experienced the effects of the latter period of the Depression, the Second World War, and a catastrophic coal strike. He legislated for pay-as-you-earn taxation, yet saw the introduction of Uniform Tax which was to reduce so drastically the status and independence of Victoria. In retrospect, he can be seen as the bridge between the Victoria of the Depression and the post-war era.

#### **Ian Macfarlan**

*(2 October 1945 to 21 November 1945)*

The new Premier, Ian Macfarlan, entered Parliament in 1928 representing the electorate of Brighton. He immediately gained office in the McPherson Ministry holding the posts of Attorney-General and then Solicitor-General. He subsequently held the portfolios of Chief Secretary, Attorney-General, and Minister in Charge of Electrical Undertakings in the Argyle Government from 1932 to 1935. In 1943, he accepted office in the Dunstan composite Ministry occupying the posts of Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, and Minister of Health from 18 September 1943 to 2 October 1945. Late in 1945, together with a number of "Liberal and Country Party" Members (the words "and Country Party" had been added to the name "Liberal") he joined with the Labor Party to refuse Supply to the Dunstan composite Ministry. He accepted a commission to form a stop-gap Ministry, being the only Member who could obtain Supply from Parliament. Macfarlan found it difficult to enlist sufficient Members to form a Ministry, which, when finally sworn in, comprised eight Members of the Legislative Assembly and two Members of the Legislative Council. However, there was little general support. The overall result at the ensuing election was a resounding win for the Labor Party, as well as the loss of his own seat in Brighton. Ian Macfarlan was an experienced and capable Minister who had discharged his several Ministerial posts efficiently. During his administration the Victorian Public Service was granted a five day week.

#### **John Cain**

*(14 September 1943 to 18 September 1943, 21 November 1945 to 20 November 1947, 17 December 1952 to 31 March 1955, and 31 March 1955 to 7 June 1955)*

John Cain was a Member of the Victorian Parliament for forty years and represented Northcote (formerly Jika Jika) for the whole period. He was Leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party for 20 years, during which period he was Premier four times. Quietly spoken, courteous, and a persistent pipe smoker, he was popular with Members of all parties. He was rarely photographed without his pipe which gave him a "father" image. At no time was his leadership under challenge. When in September 1943, he considered the time had come to sever Labor support from the Dunstan Ministry, he moved a motion of "no confidence" in it which was carried. Commissioned as Premier, he held office for only five days. He was commissioned again on 21 November 1945 and remained in office until 20 November 1947. His final term as Premier began on 17 December 1952 and was completed in June 1955. It included the first visit of a reigning Monarch to Victoria in 1954. In both the two longer periods his Ministry was marked by sound administration and it is ironical that the defeat of his Ministries in 1947 and again in 1955 was in no way concerned with the administration of his government but rather with events quite outside it. In October 1947, the Opposition parties combined in the Legislative Council to refuse Supply to the Cain Ministry. The basis for this action was solely to test the issue of bank nationalisation (a Commonwealth issue) which had been proposed by the Chifley Labor Government.

John Cain was confronted with the alternative of seeking a dissolution or fighting the Council. He recognised that by seeking a dissolution it would be the Members of the Assembly which faced the electors and not the Members of the Council and that the issue

before the electors would be one quite irrelevant to his own administration. However, he felt constrained to seek a dissolution from the Governor, Sir Winston Dugan, which was granted on 9 October 1947. The election was held on the principal issue of bank nationalisation and the Cain Government was soundly defeated.

At the general election held in December 1952 the Labor Party was returned with a majority in its own right in the Assembly, for the first time.

Following the split in the Labor Party in 1955 and the expulsion of 18 members of the Parliamentary Labor Party who subsequently formed the Democratic Labor Party, the Cain Ministry was defeated at the May 1955 elections. Again, the defeat of the Cain Ministry was brought about by the loss of some hundreds of thousands of traditional Labor votes due to a dispute which had its origin in the Federal Labor Party in 1954-55. This "split", as it came to be known, arose from ideological differences within the party and affected both the Federal and State branches. Eventually it gave rise to the Democratic Labor Party (DLP) which became a significant element in Federal and State politics; the direction of its preferences had an important effect on the outcome of elections from 1955 to 1972.

John Cain died in August 1957, aged 70, having established himself as a highly respected, skilled parliamentarian and able administrator, and having earned the reputation as one of the noteworthy Premiers in the history of the State. Among the many significant Acts passed during his Ministry were the *Workers Compensation Act 1946*, *Public Service Act 1946* (which established independent representative tribunals for the Public Service, teachers, and police), the *Soldier Settlement Act 1945*, the *Factories and Shops (Annual Holidays) Act 1946*, the *Building Operations and Building Materials Control Act 1946*, the *Electoral Districts Act 1953* (which was assented to on 3 June 1953 following an unsuccessful challenge in the Supreme Court designed to prevent Royal Assent being given), and the *Childrens Welfare Act 1954*. The Commonwealth-States Housing Agreement was signed in 1946.

#### **Thomas (later Sir Thomas) Tuke Hollway**

*(20 November 1947 to 27 June 1950, and 28 October 1952 to 31 October 1952)*

At 25 years of age Mr T. T. Hollway was the youngest Member ever to enter the Victorian Parliament. At the age of 41 he was the youngest Premier to occupy that office in Victoria. His first Ministry was a composite Ministry formed with the Country Party of which Mr J. G. B. (later Sir John) McDonald was the leader. On 3 December 1948, Hollway dropped the Country Party Members from his Cabinet and continued in office with the support of four rebel Country Party Members. He obtained a dissolution in 1950 and following the May 1950 election, McDonald, with the support of the Labor Party, ousted Hollway from office. The events which led to Hollway's return as Premier for the record short term from 28 October to 31 October 1952 were without precedent in Victorian political history. Hollway wanted two-party government which meant the elimination of the Country Party. He was mainly responsible for his party's name change from "Liberal" to "Liberal and Country" Party. This aroused intense opposition not only from the Members of the Country Party, but also from country Members of his own party. On 21 December 1951, Hollway was defeated as leader by Mr L. Norman. On 24 September 1952, he was expelled from his party, following the failure of a "no confidence" motion moved by him against the McDonald Government on the issue of proposed electoral reform.

On 21 October 1952, a reasoned amendment (reciting "in view of the electoral System, etc.") to the second reading of the Supply Bill moved by the Leader of the Labor Party in the Legislative Council was carried, effectively blocking Supply. McDonald unsuccessfully sought a dissolution on 28 October 1952 and on the same day the Hollway Ministry, consisting of eight Ministers, was formed. The Supply Bill passed the Council on that day. On 29 October 1952, a "no confidence" motion in the Hollway Government was carried, 33 to 31.

Hollway unsuccessfully sought a dissolution and on 31 October 1952 the Governor recommissioned McDonald to form a government and dissolved the Assembly. At the general election held on 6 December 1952, Hollway defeated Norman (the new Liberal

leader) for the electorate of Glen Iris, but at the next general election on 28 May 1955 he was defeated in a contest for the seat of Ripponlea. The defeat ended his political career.

During his term as Premier, Hollway had to grapple with two major issues: industrial disruption (especially through a tram strike and interruption to coal supplies), and electoral redistribution. In an endeavour to cope with the first, his Government passed the *Essential Services Act* 1948 which successive governments have from time to time either proclaimed or threatened to proclaim in times of industrial unrest, but it was his campaigning for electoral redistribution on the basis of two State seats for one Federal seat ("two for one") which was the ultimate cause of his expulsion from politics.

#### **John (later Sir John) Gladstone Black McDonald**

*(27 June 1950 to 20 October 1952, and 31 October 1952 to 17 December 1952)*

John Gladstone Black McDonald was born in Scotland and came to Australia at the age of 13. He succeeded Sir Albert Dunstan as Leader of the Country Party and although the leader of the smallest of the three major parties, he was commissioned as Premier in June 1950 having been assured of Labor Party support.

Sir John was a man with very high principles, strong, determined, and a popular leader. His special interest was irrigation. Almost his final act before handing over the reins of government to John Cain in 1952 was to sign the contract for the building of the Eildon Dam. Mental health care was also of great concern to him, and he established the Mental Hygiene Authority. During his tenure of office, the adult franchise was granted to the Legislative Council and the development of the State's brown coal deposits was furthered.

He held office in those turbulent years when Victoria was notorious for its political instability and he demonstrated time and again his political acumen without which he could not possibly have survived. The events which led to his resignation as Premier on 28 October 1952 and his re-commission as Premier on 31 October 1952 have been noted above.

#### **Henry (later Sir Henry) Edward Bolte**

*(7 June 1955 to 22 August 1972)*

Elected Deputy Leader in 1952, after the decimation of his party through internal dissension, Henry Bolte was elected leader following the loss of his leader Trevor Oldham in an air crash. He was the fourth leader in the space of 18 months and led a party of 11.

Prior to the 1955 elections the Victorian Parliament was seething with intrigue and dissension. There were five parties: Cain Labor, Barry Labor, Liberal and Country Party, Liberal, and Country Party. People had grown tired of politicians fighting each other. Mr Bolte had an easy, natural style and the facility of interpreting the mood of the people and saying publicly the things that they were saying privately. He also had natural political flair, a determination to succeed, political astuteness, and a willingness to listen to his advisers. His relations with the media were good.

Television (which began in 1956) was an ideal medium for him. Through it he could be seen and heard and he captivated his audience with his directness, lucidity, and naturalness. A lover of sport, particularly cricket and racing, the Victorian public warmed to him, as he reflected many of the characteristics of the electorate at the time. Further, he had a Deputy Premier in Arthur (later Sir Arthur) Rylah who as Chief Secretary and Attorney-General not only served him with unstinting loyalty but was also industrious, competent, and respected by Members of all parties.

Implementing the recommendations of two Royal Commissions into racing and liquor, he established the Totalizator Agency Board, relaxed the liquor laws, and introduced 10 o'clock closing. (Legislation previously had compelled Victorian hotels to close at 6 p.m., a requirement which dated back to 1916.) His was the first government in the world to pass legislation compelling motorists to wear seat belts. Despite his "common touch", he supported and financed the State's Regional Art Galleries and the Victorian Arts Centre in St Kilda Road is regarded as one of his finest memorials.

Mr Bolte was determined to develop Victoria as an industrial State and he led many successful overseas missions. Western Port and Portland were developed. During his term of office natural gas and oil were discovered in Bass Strait off the Victorian coastline between 1964 and 1967.

As a strong advocate for capital punishment, he was involved in violent controversy when Ronald Ryan was hanged in February 1967. He was the last person to hang in Victoria for murder.

In 1972, the economy was buoyant and the State was passing through a period of development and prosperity unequalled in its history. It was at this point that he decided it was time for him to retire, especially as he recognised the basic changes in outlook in the electorate since 1955. His leadership was under no threat but he believed that it was time for him to go. He had assumed leadership at a time when his party was wracked with dissension. From a situation where Victorian politics had never been so unstable, he had given Victoria 17 years of stable government. He had served a record term of 6,288 days as Premier — more than twice the previous record of Sir Albert Dunstan (3,088 days). He won all elections between 1955 and 1970, with significant second preference support from the Democratic Labor Party, on the basis of never more than 40 per cent of the primary votes.

Some of the notable events occurring in terms of the Bolte Ministries were the staging of the Olympic Games in Melbourne (1956), establishment of the National Parks Authority (1956), the Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Scheme Agreement (1958), the opening of the all-weather deep-sea harbour at Portland (1960), the opening of Monash University (1961), the standard gauge railway track from Melbourne to Albury (1962), the establishment of the Victoria Institute of Colleges, and the La Trobe Library (1965), the eligibility of women for jury service (1966), the opening of La Trobe University (1967), the establishment of the Aboriginal Welfare Board (1967), the first stage opening of the new Arts Centre (1968), the signing of the Dartmouth Dam Agreement (1970), and the establishment of the Road Safety and Traffic Authority (1971). Between 1955 and 1972 his Government passed 2,440 Acts.

### **Rupert (later Sir Rupert) James Hamer**

*(23 August 1972 to 5 June 1981)*

There was little surprise when Mr R. J. Hamer succeeded Sir Henry Bolte. As Minister for Immigration from 1962 to 1964 he had encouraged immigration, fostered family support and the teaching of English to migrants, and moulded policies aimed at integrating migrants into the community. These early initiatives later found fruition in the establishment of the Community Services Centre in 1975 and the Ministry of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs. From 1964 to 1971 he was Minister for Local Government, a portfolio which gave him a wide knowledge of the State and enabled him to plan the future of the children of the post-war baby boom. This promoted his encouragement of decentralisation and deepened his knowledge of urban problems, some of which he studied abroad in 1968. One later result of this experience was the careful expansion of freeways with the least possible disturbance to existing facilities. As Chief Secretary and Deputy Premier from 1971-72 he administered a wide range of social and cultural activities and the cumulative effect of this decade of Ministerial experience etched the outline of policies he was to espouse as Premier.

Mr Hamer had had a background in law and Army administration, which gave him a great interest in public administration generally. He instituted the Bland Inquiry into the Victorian Public Service which was eventually responsible for the new Public Service Act of 1974. He also encouraged women to hold an equal place in the Public Service and initiated the legislation which gave equal opportunity to all in employment. The establishment in 1975 of the State Co-ordination Council was designed to streamline the policy-making process of the State by articulating the effects of departmental initiatives on other aspects of State administration in the early stages.

Just as Sir Henry Bolte's tenure of office broadly coincided with the unique period of economic development in the 1950s and 1960s (though largely unplanned), so Mr Hamer's first years of office coincided with a general community demand for "quality of life"

administration and a new approach to systematic, overall planning. These included "the Garden State" concept, an understanding of the basic data which would contribute to the conservation of the physical environment, preservation of historical buildings and commemoration of historic events, the encouragement of the arts and leisure activities, the decentralisation of population, and the sensitive planning of economic development, including overseas opportunities.

On a personal level the Premier — through a Private Member's Bill — successfully sponsored the legislation abolishing capital punishment in 1975. He was also responsible for the establishment of the Office of Ombudsman in 1973. In the later 1970s he initiated a trade and cultural link with the Province of Jiangsu in the Chinese People's Republic as well as with the Aichi Prefecture in Japan, encouraged tourism, approved several coal-to-oil feasibility studies for the La Trobe Valley, and encouraged the planning of future high technology industries which would bring employment.

Between 1972 and 1975 increased funds were available from the Commonwealth Government. These were used for urban and regional planning (especially Albury/Wodonga), tertiary education, a significant increase in national parks, migrant facilities, and various cultural activities, as well as one initiative which was to embarrass the Government seriously in 1978 — the method of the purchase by the Victorian Government of large tracts of private land for the Housing Commission, which was the subject of adverse comment by a Board of Inquiry.

This was the first major political setback in his Premiership and was followed by two others in the following three years: the public disaffection by two party Members and the strong feelings promoted by proposals to build a casino. Some of the Premier's former supporters criticised him for his handling of these matters. Further, the general policy of "quality of life" gradually met with disenchantment in the late 1970s; funds from the Commonwealth Government to the States after 1975 declined in real terms; and inflation, unemployment, and a weakening manufacturing sector (especially significant in Victoria) began to affect the State.

The end of Mr Hamer's Premiership had an element of tragedy unique in Victoria's history. First, the economic prosperity which had been able to underwrite "quality of life" policies waned. Second, the planning machinery for preserving the environment came to be blamed for obstructing the very economic development of the State set out in his own "New Directions Policy" of December 1980. He was blamed on both counts; those who supported him on conservation issues no longer did so; and he was criticised for going abroad on a business mission at a time when there was high tension about financial relationships with the Commonwealth. After frenetic media publicity in his absence in May 1981 he made an early return and announced that although he made an unpublished decision to retire in August 1981, it would now become effective from 5 June 1981.

Mr Hamer combined an unusual range of qualities in the roll of Victorian Premiers. Many of his initiatives (such as in the arts, planning, and conservation) became fully evident after his period of office.

### **Lindsay Hamilton Simpson Thompson**

*(5 June 1981 to 8 April 1982)*

The Victorian Liberal Government was now seen to have fallen on difficult days but hoped that the election of Mr Lindsay Thompson, the Deputy Premier since 1972, would retrieve some stability for it. In the event this did not happen and the ten months of his office were marked by attempts to infuse credibility into a government that seemed to have lost the enchantment of the electorate as a result of the Housing Commission land deals, the unhappy transition from Mr Hamer, and the feeling that in a democracy, other political initiatives should be given a chance after 26 years. Lindsay Thompson had been elected to the Legislative Council in 1954 and transferred to the Assembly in 1970. He held the Education portfolio from 1967 to 1979, a very long term which covered the areas of both educational expansion and contraction, as well as prolonged and acute periods of industrial unrest. He became Treasurer and Minister for Police and Emergency Services in 1979.

The significant events of his short tenure of the Premiership were his successful handling



of a strike which threatened Melbourne's milk supplies and foodstuffs by invoking the Essential Services Act; the encouragement of public transport travel; and legislation on matters including drug trafficking, road safety, and industrial safety. The reversal of a decision to introduce a trial period of extended shopping hours earned his Government a reputation for indecision. It was defeated at the general election on 3 April 1982; steep interest rates (which were affecting home buyers) and the stability of political leadership were two issues which featured in the campaign.

On a personal level, Lindsay Thompson was a high principled, courageous, courteous, and hard working politician whose ill fortune it was to become Premier when the Liberal Government had been continuously in office for almost 27 years.

### John Cain

*(8 April 1982 — still in office)*

Almost 27 years of Liberal Party Government ended on 2 April 1982 with the election of a Labor Government led by John Cain, the namesake son of the father who had been Premier four times between 1943 and 1955.

The change occurred as economic conditions were seriously declining. In its first year of office, the hallmarks of the new government were more clearly noted for its way of doing things rather than for suddenly implementing a large number of new initiatives. Two major aspects of its first year in office were the establishment of the Department of Management and Budget (to plan and monitor State Government activities on the basis of economic rather than accounting concepts) and the progressive implementation of changes to the Victorian Public Service arising from an independent inquiry established by the previous government. It also continued the work of the Public Bodies Review Committee begun in 1979. This was an historic re-appraisal of the role of the statutory authorities, which have for so long been a characteristic of Victorian public administration.

The Premier's personal style of leadership was "low profile", modest, and in search of "consensus", but not lacking in strength of purpose. Both his Cabinet and Parliamentary majority were comparatively youthful and this in March 1983 reflected what appeared to be a watershed in Victoria's social and economic history.

### OMBUDSMAN

In 1973, the Premier of Victoria announced his Government's intention to establish the office of Ombudsman and the *Ombudsman Act 1973* was passed in the same year. In countries with the Westminster system of government the basic functions of an Ombudsman are to receive complaints from citizens who feel aggrieved by the administrative actions of government departments, statutory bodies, or municipal councils; to investigate such complaints; to find the facts behind the complaints as a result of these investigations; and, on those facts, to express opinions whether the actions complained of were contrary to law, unjust, unfair, etc. The Ombudsman does not have jurisdiction to investigate the actions of the judiciary and in Victoria he may investigate complaints concerning actions taken by officers and employees of councils but not actions taken by councils. He is also empowered to make recommendations and to report the result of his investigations, opinions, and recommendations to Parliament. However, he has no power to direct the rectification of a wrong.

The Premier's action in 1973 was the culmination of an increasing demand especially in the 1960s for the establishment of the office of Ombudsman in Victoria. This was brought about by the increasing range of government administration, the growing development of social welfare services, and the claims that many citizens were suffering injustices as a result of administrative actions taken by government departments. Opposition to this demand had been expressed by the previous Premier who held the view that the office was unnecessary, because members of the public could use the services of their local Member who, by letters to the responsible Minister, or by questions in the House or adjournment motions, could do something to improve or rectify the complainant's grievance against a government department or public statutory body. However, those who sought to establish the office of Ombudsman pointed out that the local Member had no power to send for departmental files nor to interrogate witnesses; he could therefore not obtain the facts.

The announcement that Mr J. V. (later Sir John) Dillon, C.M.G., who had recently retired as Permanent Head of the Chief Secretary's Department had been appointed as Victoria's first Ombudsman was criticised at first because some felt that a retired public servant who served the government for many years as a permanent head could hardly be expected to investigate the actions of his colleagues and indeed even actions of his own former department.

The new Ombudsman was also confronted with a series of Supreme Court Writs from a certain department whose actions, following the receipt of complaints, he proposed to investigate. The department concerned objected to his jurisdiction to do so. The Ombudsman was then subjected to further criticism on the ground that he was litigious. To this criticism he replied that where he believed he had jurisdiction to investigate a complaint he would do so, unless the Supreme Court ruled otherwise. After an initial two years in office no further writ objecting to his jurisdiction was issued. The impartiality of the Ombudsman was recognised. The office gradually became established and consolidated; indeed its effectiveness was found to lie in the action of the Ombudsman reporting to the Victorian Parliament quarterly as well as annually (being the only Australian Ombudsman to do this) and in the subsequent publication of extracts of his reports in the mass media. It thus became rare for an Ombudsman's recommendation not to be implemented.

Between 30 October 1973 and 30 June 1980, the Ombudsman's office received approximately 13,000 written complaints and 23,000 personal and telephone complaints and requests for advice and assistance.

#### STATUTES AND REGULATIONS

By 1934, the Victorian Parliament had enacted 4,209 Acts. Between 1934 and 1982, the Parliament had enacted more than 5,500 Acts. The last Act passed in 1982 is numbered 9,771. This evidence of the legislative output is comparable to the experience in other Australian jurisdictions but the Victorian profusion came first and has continued unabated since at least 1955.

In 1958, the Victorian Parliament continued its record of consolidating all the public general Acts in force in the State into 233 Acts and thus carried on the work begun by Sir George Higinbotham and Sir Leo Cussen. The 1958 Consolidation was undertaken by the late R. C. Normand, the former Parliamentary Draftsman.

On the completion of the Consolidation, Normand reported to the Government that it was his view that it might never be possible again to consolidate and re-enact all the public general laws of Victoria at the one time. He based his view partly on the increased expenses involved in the printing and publishing of such a work, and partly on the increased pace of the legislative machine which was becoming so great that a consolidator could hardly prepare a consolidation that would not be seriously out of date before publication. As a result, the State has adopted a system of frequently reprinting Acts incorporating all amendments made up to the date of the reprint. To enable the reprinting system to work, the style of drafting was changed to that of direct amendment to the existing laws in place of the British system of periodical consolidation that had been used before 1958. It supplements this practice with an on-going programme for the review of important statutes which are re-enacted in a consolidated and revised form from time to time. Since the general consolidation of 1958, Parliament has revised and re-enacted in a consolidated form more than 36 of the public and general Acts of the State.

Perhaps the most important achievement of the Parliament was to enact in a consolidated form a Constitution for Victoria. This completely replaced the original Constitution for Victoria which was in the form of a Bill scheduled to an English Act by an Act of the Victorian Parliament.

There has been a great change in the appearance of the Statute Book partly because of the adoption of decimal currency and metric measures as well as changes of drafting styles involving the use of figures rather than words; concise direct references in figures to other provisions; and a greater use of mathematical-type formulae.

These developments should improve the speed at which reprints are published and reduce the ever growing costs of publications. It should also provide at virtually no cost a complete machine-readable text for use in connection with the legal information retrieval system of

the Statutes and Regulations of Victoria. Before the end of the 1980s, the whole of the living written law of Victoria is planned to be available in such a machine-readable form.

The Parliament has also considerably altered the law and practice relating to the making and promulgation of Regulations. In 1962, the Subordinate Legislation Act established a new system for the publication of Regulations. They are no longer published in the *Government Gazette* but are published separately in a series known as *Victoria Statutory Rules* which incorporate tables and indices.

In 1956, a Joint Committee of the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly known as the Subordinate Legislation Committee was established by Act of Parliament. That Committee has reviewed all Statutory Rules. The Committee can report to Parliament if it is of the view that any rules are not within the Regulation-making power conferred by the Act or are not in accord with the general object of the Act pursuant to which they purport to be made, or that the form or purport of the Regulations calls for elucidation. When the Committee makes an adverse report the Parliament can disallow the Statutory Rule. This power has been exercised on numerous occasions. The Committee has also used its influence to persuade Ministers to undertake a revision and re-promulgation of Regulations made before 1962, with a view to making all current Regulations available in the published volumes of *Victoria Statutory Rules*. The existence of the Committee has done much to improve the form of Regulations and has certainly made the executive government very conscious of the need to regulate within the powers conferred by Parliament.

The functions of the Committee have been transferred to a legal and constitutional committee by the *Parliamentary Committees (Joint Investigatory Committees) Act 1982*.

#### VICTORIAN ELECTORAL SYSTEM

The passing of the Constitution Act in 1855 granted Victoria responsible government and established a Parliament of two Houses — the Legislative Council (Upper House) and the Legislative Assembly (Lower House). The qualifications of Members and the qualifications of electors for both Houses were restrictive and required property qualifications in all instances. The restrictive qualifications were a matter of some controversy and within a year of the meeting of the first Victorian Parliament after responsible government, the property qualification for membership of the Legislative Assembly had been abolished and universal suffrage for electors of the Legislative Assembly had become law.

#### Qualifications of Members

The qualifications required for Members and electors of the Legislative Council were amended from time to time, but restricted qualifications still applied in both cases in 1934 and, although legislation in 1937 reduced the value of the property qualification of Members from \$100 to \$50, and reduced their minimum age to 21 years, it was not until the passing of the Legislative Council Reform Act in 1950 that a milestone in the history of the electoral system was achieved, and those seeking reform saw the culmination of their efforts in the final removal of the property qualification provisions. Qualifications for membership became the same for both Houses and adult franchise (persons aged over 21 years) applied to Victorian Parliamentary elections.

Some of the provisions disqualifying persons from being capable of being elected were also repealed in this period, the main items being:

1935 — Members of the Public Service and Railway Service were permitted to nominate and contest elections without first resigning from the Service. Later this provision was extended to include members of the Police Force and Teaching Service.

1961 — Naturalised citizens were enabled to be elected Members without additional residential qualifications.

1970 — Ministers of religion became capable of being elected.

1972 — Removal of disqualification of Members if guilty of committing a felony under the age of 18 years.

1973 — Minimum qualifying age for Members and electors for both Houses reduced to 18 years. This brought electoral legislation into line with community views to regard persons in the 18 to 21 year age group as adults.

1979 — Repeal of the provision disqualifying imprisoned persons from being electors. This enabled persons in prison to vote at future elections.

The removal of some of the restrictive qualifying provisions for electors and the widening of the franchise, particularly for Legislative Council elections, resulted in an increase in the number of persons entitled to vote. This, together with the natural growth in population and the increase caused by migration after the Second World War, is shown in the following enrolment figures for selected years:

**NUMBER OF ELECTORS ENROLLED BY STATE ELECTIONS: VICTORIA,  
1934 TO 1982**

Legislative Council		Legislative Assembly	
Date of election	Number of electors enrolled	Date of election	Number of electors enrolled
9.6.1934	469,395	2. 3.1935	1,099,251
21.6.1952	1,395,650	6.12.1952	1,402,705
30.5.1970	1,827,595	30. 5.1970	1,827,595
3.4.1982	2,453,642	3. 4.1982	2,453,642

The above enrolment figures indicate not only the increase in the total enrolments over the period from 1934 to 1982, but also the marked difference between the total enrolment for Legislative Council elections and Legislative Assembly elections in 1934 and 1935 because of the restricted Legislative Council franchise at that time.

### Redistribution

Increases in enrolments, particularly in outer suburban areas because of housing developments, necessitated the undertaking of redistributions to correct imbalances between electorates. Redistributions of Legislative Council Electoral Provinces were carried out in 1936, 1965 (country area only), and in 1975; redistributions of Legislative Assembly Electoral Districts were undertaken in 1945, 1953, 1955, 1965, and 1975.

The number of Members in the Legislative Council was increased by the 1965 and 1975 redistributions and the membership of the Legislative Assembly was increased as a result of the redistributions in 1953, 1965, and 1975. The membership of each House after the election which followed each of these redistributions was:

**VICTORIAN PARLIAMENT: NUMBER OF MEMBERS**

Legislative Council (a)		Legislative Assembly (b)	
Year of election	Number of Members	Year of election	Number of Members
1967	35 (c)	1955	66
1976	40 (d)	1967	73
		1976	81

(a) 34 Members in 1934.

(b) 65 Members in 1934.

(c) Increasing to 36 Members after the 1970 election.

(d) Increasing to 44 Members after the 1979 election.

The relevant legislation providing for each of the redistributions, except the 1953 and 1955 Assembly redistributions, divided Victoria into zones and required the Redistribution Commissioners to divide each zone into a specified number of electorates having approximately equal enrolments within each zone. Legislation for the Legislative Assembly redistributions of 1953 and 1955 was based on a policy referred to as "two for one" which required each Commonwealth Electoral Division to be divided into two Legislative Assembly Electoral Districts of approximately equal enrolment. After the 1953 redistribution was completed the Commonwealth Electoral Divisions were altered as a result of a Commonwealth redistribution in 1955, and a further State redistribution was necessary.

### Conduct of elections

The conduct of elections for the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly was made more uniform by amendments in the 1930s relating to Legislative Council elections which applied compulsory voting, provided for results at general elections to be determined by preferential voting, and abolished plural voting. The Legislative Council franchise had permitted a person possessing the required property qualifications in respect of properties either within the one Electoral Province, or in a number of different Electoral Provinces, to be enrolled and vote in respect of each such property. Under the amendment referred to, a person enrolled more than once was permitted to record only one vote.

Since 1934, there has been a continuing review of electoral law and procedures aimed at ensuring that facilities are provided to enable all enrolled electors to record their vote, to maintain secrecy of their vote, and to ensure a true result of the election. Many features introduced to increase the facilities for voting reflected changes in community attitudes and in the lifestyle of electors, as a greater proportion of electors availed themselves of the increasing opportunities to travel within Australia and overseas. The desire to preserve secrecy of each elector's vote is reflected in amendments which repealed the requirement that the elector's enrolment number be written on the back of the ballot-paper before being issued to the voter, and eliminated the counterfoil attached to a postal ballot-paper bearing details relating to the voter, which was replaced by a declaration envelope.

Blind or illiterate voters were permitted to nominate some person to mark their ballot-papers for them, which widened the previous provision under which only a polling official could perform this task for such a voter. The law was also amended to allow persons unable to sign their name in their handwriting but who could sign by means of a mark, to vote by post and to accept their mark as their signature.

Postal voting facilities were extended from time to time as follows:

- (1) Special provisions for members of the Armed Forces on active duty during the Second World War;
- (2) appointment of Postal Voting Officers at various locations interstate and overseas to enable Victorian electors to record their votes; and
- (3) additional grounds entitling electors outside the State, travelling, with conscientious scruples against voting on a Saturday, in prison, detained at work, or caring for a sick or elderly person, to vote by post.

The 1960s saw rapid advances in the use of computers, and an electronic data processing system was developed to replace the manual processes for preparing and maintaining electoral rolls with a system taking full advantage of computer facilities to produce the rolls of voters for use at an election.

In 1961, when the ensuing Legislative Assembly General Election and the Legislative Council Periodical Election were due to be held at about the same time, a decision was made to hold them together on the same polling day as a "Conjoint Election". As a result of the successful conduct of the 1961 Conjoint Election, all Legislative Assembly General Elections and Legislative Council Periodical Elections thereafter were conducted as "Conjoint Elections".

For many years representations had been received for a reduction in polling hours and, in 1979, legislation was passed giving effect to these representations. Polling places were now open from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m.

The increased scope of publicity campaigns from all candidates brought about additional provisions seeking to control and authenticate election campaign material, including the power to issue a Supreme Court injunction restraining the publication of any material offending against the requirements of the law.

### Re-counting of ballot-papers

Amendments passed relating to the final result of an election provided that all ballot-papers could be recounted in certain circumstances before the declaration of the result of the election. The establishment of a Court of Disputed Returns gave the right to any candidate or elector to have the conduct of an election reviewed if he considers the result was affected by matters which must be stated by him in a petition to the Court. The Court

of Disputed Returns was called upon to consider petitions relating to three elections in 1956, 1970, and 1973, respectively.

#### VICTORIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PERIODICAL ELECTIONS: 1934 TO 1982

Date of election	Number of Members to be elected	Number of candidates	Total enrolment	Percentage of voters (contested Provinces)	Percentage of informal votes
9.6.1934	17	24	469,395	(a) 29.43	1.69
12.6.1937	17	31	447,694	78.78	1.46
15.6.1940	17	26	471,843	75.78	1.58
12.6.1943	17	21	465,637	71.07	2.55
15.6.1946	17	31	517,719	73.95	2.03
18.6.1949	17	32	550,472	77.86	1.43
21.6.1952	17	36	1,395,650	92.14	2.27
18.6.1955	17	42	1,430,130	91.52	2.08
21.6.1958	17	45	1,488,293	92.54	1.72
15.7.1961	17	57	1,554,856	94.38	3.18
27.6.1964	17	53	1,635,311	94.39	2.96
29.4.1967	18	62	1,723,981	94.28	3.69
30.5.1970	18	61	1,827,595	94.48	3.92
19.5.1973	18	63	2,088,984	93.51	3.81
20.3.1976	22	54	2,267,282	92.74	3.14
5.5.1979	22	64	2,350,407	93.22	3.53
3.4.1982	22	70	2,453,642	93.86	3.13

(a) Prior to the introduction of compulsory voting.

#### VICTORIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY GENERAL ELECTIONS: 1935 TO 1982

Date of election	Number of Members to be elected	Number of candidates	Total enrolment	Percentage of voters (contested Districts)	Percentage of informal votes
2. 3.1935	65	142	1,099,251	94.39	1.66
2.10.1937	65	124	1,136,596	93.96	1.37
16. 3.1940	65	126	1,162,967	93.41	1.56
12. 6.1943	65	155	1,261,630	87.00	2.59
10.11.1945	65	164	1,276,949	87.98	2.08
8.11.1947	65	148	1,345,530	93.44	1.33
13. 5.1950	65	156	1,362,851	94.40	1.14
6.12.1952	65	150	1,402,705	93.59	1.81
28. 5.1955	66	206	1,422,588	94.02	2.19
31. 5.1958	66	206	1,478,065	94.23	1.78
15. 7.1961	66	224	1,554,856	94.41	2.45
27. 6.1964	66	217	1,635,311	94.40	2.31
29. 4.1967	73	273	1,723,981	94.27	3.16
30. 5.1970	73	261	1,827,595	94.57	3.19
19. 5.1973	73	269	2,088,984	93.54	2.90
20. 3.1976	81	259	2,267,282	92.68	2.54
5. 5.1979	81	268	2,350,407	93.30	3.01
3. 4.1982	81	271	2,453,642	93.97	2.61

#### EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT

In Victoria over the last 50 years, in line with developments throughout the world, there has been a great increase in the role of government and this has been paralleled by the growth in the size of the executive arm of the government in the range of Ministries, the size of the Public Service, the number of quasi-autonomous statutory bodies (always important in Victoria since the nineteenth century), and in the range and scope of the powers conferred by the Parliament upon the executive through the power to make regulations and to exercise discretions. The position of the statutory bodies was examined by the Public Bodies Review Committee established by Parliament in 1980.

In 1934 the Constitution authorised only nine Ministers, of whom seven had to be Members of the Legislative Assembly. The following table shows changes since 1934:

VICTORIAN GOVERNMENT: NUMBER OF MINISTERS

Year	Number of Ministers
1934	9
1947	10 (8 to be Members of the Assembly)
1950	12 (4 at least to be Members of the Council)
1954	14
1964	15 (5 at least to be Members of the Council)
1970	16 (12 to be Members of the Assembly)
1973	17 (13 to be Members of the Assembly)
1976	18

This situation, where the number of Ministers is doubled, may be contrasted with the situation of membership of the Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council.

The number and description of Departments and Ministries has varied greatly during the period, but several completely new Ministries have been established. These have included the Ministries of Housing, Conservation, Local Government, State Development, Community Welfare Services, Arts, Consumer Affairs, Youth, Sport and Recreation, and Planning. However, this increase in the number of Ministries is very small compared with the growth in the number of quasi-autonomous bodies that have been established for various governmental purposes. There has been a reaction to this growth and in 1979 Parliament established a Public Accounts and Expenditure Review Committee of the Parliament, and the following year the Public Bodies Review Committee which has taken as its first task the review of the operation and the continued need for such statutory bodies. Most, if not all, of these statutory bodies are not staffed by Public Servants employed under the Public Service Act.

VICTORIAN GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT:  
1943 TO 1982 (a)  
( '000)

Year	Males	Females
1942-43 (b)	56.7	16.8
1946-47	74.9	15.6
1949-50	89.2	17.7
1954-55	95.4	22.3
1959-60	102.5	29.7
1964-65	114.2	31.1
1969-70	119.3	38.0
1974-75	144.0	87.8
1979-80	154.2	108.1
1980-81	154.4	110.9
1981-82	154.6	114.6

(a) Figures include employees of Victorian Government marketing boards and public hospitals from June 1971.

(b) Year ended August.

NOTE. The figures in this table may not be completely comparable as periodic adjustments were made to the coverage of the State Government sector and revisions made to the figures when new benchmarks were established after each Population Census.

In 1974, the legislation relating to the Victorian Public Service was completely revised and re-enacted to give effect to the recommendations of Sir Henry Bland made in a series of reports to the Victorian Government in 1973-74. The broad effect of Sir Henry's recommendations was to improve the educational standards of the Service by a greatly increased recruitment of graduates and for renewed emphasis on ability and potential in relation to promotion. At the same time there has been a very large increase in the number of women employed in the administrative and professional branches of the Victorian Public Service. The result is that the composition and style of the Victorian Public Service is now completely different to that which obtained in 1934.

**Government administration and departmental developments**

*From 1934 to 1946*

In 1934, the Victorian Public Service was recovering from the effects of the Depression. There had been two salary cuts; one in 1930 and another in 1931, which were not fully restored until 1936. Recruitment to the Clerical Division (later renamed the Administrative Division) from secondary schools through the annual competitive entrance examination, which had ceased after 1929, was resumed in 1934. On 30 June 1934, the Victorian Public Service (that is persons employed under the Public Service Act) comprised 3,893 permanent and 1,602 temporary staff employed in ten departments. Matters related to salaries and wages and conditions of employment, recruitment, appointments, promotions, and discipline were administered by a Public Service Commissioner but his determinations or recommendations in these matters required the approval of the Governor in Council before becoming effective. Salaries and wages were as fixed in Schedules to the Public Service Act. Promotion was slow and based on seniority and fitness, seniority being the dominant factor. Preference to discharged servicemen applied on first appointment to the Victorian Public Service.

Much of the State's administration, particularly in developmental or utility functions, has been in the hands of statutory authorities which were outside the Public Service Act, such as the State Electricity Commission, the Victorian Railways, the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, the Country Roads Board, and the Melbourne Harbor Trust (renamed the Port of Melbourne Authority in 1978). In 1939, two of the statutory authorities, the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission and the Forests Commission, were, by legislation, brought under the Public Service Act as the Water Supply Department and the State Forests Department, respectively, continuing to be administered by their respective Commissions. By 1939, there were 13 departments, including these two and the Premier's Department, which had been re-established in 1936, and the Victorian Public Service numbered 7,506 (including 240 ex-railway officers who had been on loan to the Victorian Public Service during the Depression years and had been transferred to the permanent staff of the Victorian Public Service in 1938).

The *Public Service Act* 1940, which came into operation on 19 May 1941, abolished the office of Public Service Commissioner and constituted a Public Service Board of three members, the then Public Service Commissioner becoming its first Chairman. The Chairman and the government member of the Board were appointed by the Governor in Council and the third member was elected. The elected member changed according to the matters being dealt with by the Board. When the Board was dealing with matters that concerned General Division officers of the Mental Hygiene Branch of the Health Department, the elected member was an officer elected by the General Division officers of that Branch. When the Board was dealing with matters that concerned the Victorian Public Service generally, the elected member was an officer elected by the permanent officers of the rest of the Victorian Public Service. When the Board was dealing with matters that concerned the Teaching Service, the elected member was elected by the teachers on the permanent staff of the Education Department. The Board was not independent in the exercise of its powers. Its decisions and recommendations still required Governor in Council approval before becoming effective.

From 1940 to 1946, largely the period of the Second World War, there was little development of the Victorian Public Service. Many officers were away on active service and others were seconded to Commonwealth departments. Considerable effort was devoted to assisting the Commonwealth, directly or indirectly, in functions associated with war administration; State department resources were depleted; and activities dominated by the necessity to support the war effort. In 1942, over 600 officers and employees of the State Taxation Office were temporarily transferred or lent to the Commonwealth in connection with the introduction of uniform income tax. When uniform income tax became permanent after the war, most of these members of the Victorian Public Service remained with the Commonwealth.

In August 1941, the Victorian Public Service received its first general salaries revision, apart from the reductions and restorations during the Depression, since 1926. The Government provided a sum of money and allocated it in accordance with recommendations made by the Public Service Board.



The *Discharged Servicemen's Preference Act* 1943 which came into operation on 21 March 1944 accorded preference in appointments to, and promotions in, the Victorian Public Service to suitable and competent applicants who were discharged servicemen. The provisions of this Act were applied until the High Court in the *Wenn Case* in 1948 declared the Act, in the light of Commonwealth legislation, to be no longer operative. From this time, by Board policy, discharged servicemen received preference where other factors were equal. In practice this related to first appointment.

#### *From 1946 to 1970*

The year 1946 marked a fundamental change in the system of management of the Victorian Public Service. The *Public Service Act* 1946 removed teachers from the jurisdiction of the Board and placed them under a separate Teachers Tribunal. The Public Service Board was reconstituted with the same membership as previously but with two elected members, changing, as before, according to whether the Board was dealing with Mental Hygiene Branch matters or the General Service. The Chairman was appointed by the Governor in Council, but held office until he reached the age of 65 years and no longer. The significant change in the 1946 Act was that the Board was given independent power to make final decisions on salaries and wages and conditions of employment for the Victorian Public Service (subject in some matters to principles laid down in the Act and subject only to disallowance of its regulations by Parliament), and in recruitment, appointments, classifications, promotions, and discipline. The Board thus became the independent salary and wage fixing tribunal for the Victorian Public Service and, subject only to the provision for disallowance of its regulations by Parliament, political considerations and pressures no longer directly influenced or determined remuneration, classification, and conditions of employment. Other features of the 1946 Act were the giving to the Board of advisory functions in relation to the promotion of efficiency in departments and to the oversight of methods of conducting business in departments; the provision of long service leave; and the establishment of relative efficiency as the principal determining factor in promotion. Parliament's power under the 1946 Act to disallow Board regulations was never exercised.

In the years following the Second World War, recruitment was a major problem. Renewed activity and expansion in industry and commerce generally and in government functions led to intense competition among employers, both public and private, to secure a share of the persons offering for employment. Despite some temporary improvements from time to time, largely as a result of economic circumstances, this situation continued for some years and it was a long time before the Board was able to raise the pre-requisite educational standard for the Administrative Division and also to obtain the full benefit of other measures initiated to overcome the problem in this and the professional area.

Indicative of moves to improve efficiency, the Board, in 1958, established sections for "O and M" (Organisation and Methods was the phrase used to describe the critical examination and re-design of the organisation of administrative units, systems, procedures, and methods of conducting business in departments) and for Training; in 1969, it introduced electronic data processing.

#### *From 1970 to 1983*

For various reasons, the Victorian Public Service during the 1970s experienced a period of rapid and, in many instances, fundamental change in policies, structure, functions, attitudes, composition, and operation. As government policies developed existing functions or took new directions to include new roles which were being recognised as essential and appropriate for government action, existing departmental functions expanded and new functions had to be administered. Other changes in the Victorian Public Service resulted from government policy, from the response to changes in community attitudes or to changing requirements in the Victorian Public Service, from initiatives of the Public Service Board or of departments, or from claims by the Public Service Association. Changes in economic conditions also had an impact, particularly on salaries and wages and conditions of employment and the recruitment and retention of staff.

Changes in the Victorian Public Service itself in this period are exemplified in the following summary: in May 1973, restrictions on the permanent employment of married women were removed; early in 1974 the direct recruitment of graduates to the Administrative Division was commenced; in January 1976, the standard of educational qualification for admission to the entrance examination for the Administrative Division was raised to the Higher School Certificate level; in September 1972, women were admitted for the first time to the entrance examination for the Administrative Division; in June 1975, women received the full application of the principle of equal pay for work of equal value and became entitled to equal opportunity with men for appointment and promotion; in August 1975, personnel exchange schemes with other Public Services were initiated; an extended cadetship scheme for tertiary study was established; a performance improvement programme was instituted; in August 1974, paid maternity and paternity leave were introduced; in December 1975, a Staff Development Centre, and in 1978, a Public Service Medical Centre were established; and a Consultative Committee of representatives of the Board, the departments, and the Victorian Public Service Association was set up to maintain a continuous review of the *Public Service Act 1974*.

An event of fundamental importance was the establishment of the office of Ombudsman in 1973.

During the 1970s, too, the Victorian Public Service was the subject of the first general public inquiry since the Wallace Ross Royal Commission of 1926. In 1973, Sir Henry Bland was appointed a Board of Inquiry for this purpose. The Board of Inquiry submitted four Reports. The first was devoted substantially to the reform of the *Public Service Act 1958*, the second primarily to organisational and administrative arrangements relating to conservation, environmental and land-use planning matters, the third primarily to the Education Department, and the fourth dealt with the higher machinery of government and picked up a number of matters dealt with in the previous reports.

The first report led to the *Public Service Act 1974* which came into operation on 1 August 1975. The principal features of this Act included the vesting of broader management functions in the Public Service Board; the setting up of a new Divisional structure in the Victorian Public Service; the relieving of the Public Service Board of the duty of dealing with all promotions appeals; the introduction of more flexible provisions for appointments to the higher positions in the Victorian Public Service from outside the service; and the revision of disciplinary procedures. The Public Service Board's determinations as to salaries, wages, and conditions of employment were still subject only to disallowance by Parliament but its regulations with respect to any matter which related to the organisation, management, or discipline of the Victorian Public Service were now subject to Governor in Council approval. No Board determinations under the 1974 Act have been disallowed by Parliament.

After reviewing the first year of operation of the 1974 Act, the Public Service Board, in 1977, re-organised its Office into eight divisions, namely, Administration, Claims and Industrial, Conditions of Employment, Electronic Data Processing, Management Services, Recruitment and Staff Development, Staffing and Classification, and Research and Special Projects. The latter Division's role was to undertake a management review programme, co-ordinate manpower planning activities, provide an extended research resource to the Board, and advise the Board on machinery of government matters. This re-organisation was the means by which the extended functions laid down by the *Public Service Act 1974* could be effectively administered.

The emphasis placed by the Victorian Government on co-ordinating the large and complex body of the machinery of government (including the statutory authorities) was indicated by the establishment of the State Co-ordination Council in the Premier's Department, under the *State Co-ordination Council Act 1975*. The Council consisted of the heads of all the State departments and of some of their branches and the major statutory authorities.

The continuing and increasing pressure on the existing staff resources of the Victorian Public Service together with financial constraints on staffing (maximum staff ceilings were imposed in 1970 and again in 1978, although there were always controls over the creation of new offices) intensified attention to efficiency and the most economical planned use of available manpower.

In 1977, a significant change was evident in the intake for base grade administrative

positions. Candidates for the entrance examination had almost three years more employment experience or education or both than candidates for previous examinations and about 30 per cent of those who passed the examination were graduates. There were three reasons for this: the general increase in the level of education in the community; the effect of economic conditions on employment opportunities; and the raising by the Board of the minimum pre-requisite educational standard for the examination.

At the same time, competition was increasing under the scheme for the direct appointment of graduates to base grade administrative positions and, by 1979, the proportion of graduate applicants with honours or higher degrees was significantly larger than in any previous year. The Victorian Public Service entered the 1980s with intensified constraints on expenditure and growth, increasing public scrutiny of resources directed to the public sector, and increased demand from the public for services. This combination emphasised the necessity for the Victorian Public Service to increase efficiency in public administration. The office of the Public Service Board was re-organised to increase the provision of assistance to Departments.

Two features of recruitment during the 1970s were the substantial increase in the age and educational level of recruits and alterations to selection methods. By 1980, approximately one-half of base grade officers appointed to the Victorian Public Service were women and, on average, all recruits were older than their counterparts in prior years, better educated, and many had superior work experience. Staff ceilings and a freeze on recruitment in the first half of 1980 affected the number of recruits in all areas. However, in one particular area, that of cadetships, there was a steady decline in recruitment due to the ready availability of qualified, experienced individuals.

During 1979-80, two changes affected the machinery of government in Victoria. The Public Bodies Review Committee was established in March 1980. As a Parliamentary Committee it was given wide powers to review the efficiency, effectiveness, structure, and role of Victoria's Public Bodies. In December 1979, the Parliamentary Public Accounts and Public Expenditure Review Committee was established. Its purpose was to examine budget allocations to departments and ensure the strictest economy in the use of the State's financial resources.

At 30 June 1982, the Victorian Public Service comprised 30,830 officers and employees. In addition, there were 8,447 persons employed in the various departments under exemption from the Public Service Act.

### *Conclusion*

In 1934, there were virtually no outside consultants to the Victorian Public Service. By 1983 changing social, economic, and technological conditions had gradually caused the Victorian Public Service to expand in line with growing governmental responsibilities and had shown the requirements for specialised expertise from outside as well as inside the Victorian Public Service. This has brought about more flexible methods of appointment, the use of advisers, and a less distinct demarcation between Ministerial initiatives and their professional implementation. The public has come to expect a much wider range of services from governments and greater control over the many statutory authorities in the State. The Victorian Government has also been expected to impose much greater co-ordination of policy in public administration. Historically, the appointment by Parliament of the Public Bodies Review Committee was a major development in public administration under the Westminster system.

## COMMONWEALTH — STATE RELATIONSHIPS

### **Effects of Commonwealth legislation**

Despite the many changes in Victorian constitutional law leading towards a more democratic situation in both Houses of Parliament, there has been probably more significance for government in Victoria in developments in the Commonwealth Constitution. These developments spring partly from constitutional amendments effected at referendums, partly from decisions of the High Court giving a new or expanded meaning to the provisions of the Constitution, and partly from the success of successive Commonwealth Governments

in exploiting the financial dominance of the Commonwealth and in utilising more fully the legislative powers conferred upon the Commonwealth Parliament by the Constitution.

In 1934, the States had far more influence than they have today. Federal political news was of comparatively minor importance, while news about State politicians, police rounds, crime, and accidents usually ranked ahead of Federal affairs. Fifty years later, the position was completely reversed. The steps that led to this reversal in the location of influence in Australia during the last half century are indicated below.

The first important decision by the High Court occurred in 1921. In its judgement in the *Engineers Case*, the High Court ended the narrow restrictive interpretations of the Constitution which had prevailed until then. Again, in 1926, the case of *Victoria v. The Commonwealth* (1926) enabled Victoria to test the validity of the Federal Aid Roads Act. The High Court unanimously ruled that "if a Commonwealth law is one providing for a grant to a State, the terms ... [of] that grant are matters entirely within the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth Parliament". By virtue of this decision, the Commonwealth could encroach, under certain conditions, on the powers originally reserved to the States by the founding fathers.

The first important Commonwealth legislation concerned the establishment of the Loan Council. Its effects were to consolidate and ultimately to legalise the Commonwealth's dominant financial role. The 1927 Financial Agreement set up the Loan Council to determine the borrowing programme — and thereby the capital works programmes — of all governments in Australia. It also paved the way for the establishment of the Commonwealth Grants Commission in 1933. However, the onset of the Depression meant that capital expenditure was reduced, so that the effects of the Loan Council agreement and the decisions of the High Court were masked until after 1933, when Australia began to emerge from the Depression.

Another factor to be considered was the role played by Public Servants. The first generation of Commonwealth Public Servants was seconded from the various State Public Services. Nurtured in the atmosphere leading to the Constitution they, as much as their political masters, believed in a limited role for the Commonwealth Public Service. A change began in the late 1930s with the introduction of graduate recruitment into the Commonwealth Public Service. During the 1940s, the growth of the Commonwealth Public Service was accelerated by a considerable intake of graduates and academics, many of them with positions directly related to the war effort, which needed to be controlled by the Commonwealth Government. Many believed in the need for a strong central government and developed policies to fit those requirements.

The significance of the Commonwealth Parliament to the average elector was also greatly increased when that Parliament obtained through a referendum a very wide power with respect to the provision of social service benefits in 1946. The central feature of Commonwealth-State relations since 1934, however, is the change in the financial position of the States following the High Court's decision in 1942 in the first *Uniform Tax Case* brought by South Australia. In that case the Court held valid a series of steps which in effect removed from the States the power to levy income tax and reposed it exclusively in the Commonwealth. Uniform taxation was again challenged by Victoria in 1957. In that case Owen Dixon, C.J., summarised the effect of the High Court decision as follows:

"It is apparent that the power to grant financial assistance to any State upon such terms and conditions as the Parliament thinks fit is susceptible of a very wide construction in which few if any restrictions can be implied ..." (1957) 99 CLR, 575 at 605.

Thus, although uniform taxation was initially a wartime measure, the Commonwealth has been held to have the power to continue it. In 1977, proposals were made by the Commonwealth to enable the States to impose an income tax by way of surcharge upon Commonwealth income tax. However, these proposals did not find favour with the States and by 1983 had not been implemented.

After 1942, the States could only raise funds from sources such as stamp and probate and gift duties, land and entertainment tax, and licence fees upon the sale of liquor, tobacco, or petrol. Apart from revenue of this sort, the States had to rely upon what was given them by the Commonwealth, mainly by way of financial assistance grants (initially called tax reimbursement grants). These grants have been accompanied by special grants,

made under section 96 of the Constitution, to which detailed conditions have been attached requiring them to be spent in a particular manner. The tone of Premiers' Conferences changed to one which provided an occasion for the Prime Minister to indicate the funds available for allocation among the States for the forthcoming year both of general and specific purpose grants.

By this means the Commonwealth has effectively been able to influence policy within the States in many areas which are otherwise within the States' exclusive legislative competence. Thus the Commonwealth has been able to take some initiatives in matters such as education, roads, transport, health, and housing.

These extensions of Commonwealth authority had followed the realisation that the Commonwealth could wield power over domestic matters as a result of the many measures taken during the Second World War under the defence power. Further, while the *Uniform Tax Cases* marked a shift in *de facto* power from the States to the Commonwealth, over the last fifty years the legislative powers given by the Constitution to the Commonwealth have been expansively interpreted by the High Court and the powers so expanded have been acted upon extensively by the Commonwealth.

Generally speaking the effect has been that influence has gradually moved from the States to the Commonwealth Government. Each Federal political party has tended to promise greater benefits to the electors, mostly by entering new fields of activity which the Constitution had originally reserved for the States. An example of this was the School Science Laboratories promise in 1963 by Senator John (later Sir John) Gorton, who became Prime Minister of Australia in 1967. This election promise resulted in the creation of the Commonwealth Ministry of Education for the purpose, mainly, of administering the restrictions and conditions associated with these Grants. This heralded the more frequent use of section 96 grants by the Commonwealth which has already been noted.

The power given to the Commonwealth to make laws with respect to foreign corporations and trading or financial corporations formed within the limits of the Commonwealth has been held to extend to the regulation of a large number of corporate activities and has been used by the Commonwealth to regulate trade practices over a wide area. Jurisdiction over trade practices in the early 1980s formed a large part of the jurisdiction of the Federal Court of Australia, which is one of the courts set up by the Commonwealth as part of a Federal judicial system, independent of the State courts.

Similarly, the power to make laws with respect to marriage has been given a wide interpretation and that power supports Federal legislation conferring jurisdiction upon the Family Court of Australia in respect of a wide range of matters involving divorce, maintenance, and custody. The Family Court is another court in the Federal judicial system and it exercises its jurisdiction to the exclusion of a similar jurisdiction previously exercised by the State Supreme Courts.

The establishment of a Federal Court of Australia in 1976 as well as of a Family Court of Australia in 1975 has reduced the jurisdiction of State Courts and in the case of the Federal Court, has been perceived to create difficult problems in relation to conflict of jurisdiction. On the other hand, the apparent willingness of the Commonwealth to cooperate with the States in removing continuing restrictions on their legislative power under paramount Imperial legislation was seen to be of great value to the States.

A significant field of influence over the State is the Commonwealth's ability to make laws with respect to external affairs. The extent of this ability is still uncertain but with the attainment of nationhood by Australia and the proliferation of international treaties and other international arrangements, the Commonwealth has claimed the right to make a considerable intrusion into areas hitherto thought to be of internal concern only and hence matters for the States. The case of *Koowarta v. Bjelke-Petersen and others* in May 1982 has been significant in this matter. Conflict has been averted by allowing the States the opportunity to implement international obligations within their traditional areas of concern.

In 1975, the High Court held in the *Seas and Submerged Lands Case* that the Australian territorial sea, which had been thought to form part of the territory of the individual States, was within the sovereign power of the Commonwealth. State boundaries were held to stop at low water mark. It was this decision more than any other which prompted the Commonwealth and the States to engage in an exercise in federalism based upon the co-

operative use of powers rather than their full exploitation. Thus the Commonwealth has by legislation reversed the effect of the decision in the *Seas and Submerged Lands Case* and given back to the States legislative power over the territorial sea to a distance of three miles and to vest title in the sea bed within the same area.

There have been some recent important national schemes involving both State and Commonwealth participation in the 1970s and 1980s. Perhaps the most significant is the national companies and securities scheme which involves the establishment of the National Companies and Securities Commission for the regulation of companies and the securities industry in Australia by means of interlocking State and Federal legislation. Other inter-governmental bodies exist, however, many of which pre-date the new policy and are evolving or have evolved administrative schemes upon a co-operative basis. Another important change followed the June 1982 meeting of the Loan Council, where it was agreed that major electricity authorities would no longer need to obtain Loan Council approval to borrow, as had previously been the case. This gave increased independence to the States in financing major developments.

There is one other aspect of Federal-State relations in which Commonwealth activities have been curtailed rather than expanded, although in this instance without a corresponding increase in the ambit of exclusive State powers. In *James v. The Commonwealth* the High Court held that the Commonwealth, as well as the States, was bound by section 92 of the Constitution, the section which guarantees absolute freedom of trade among the States. The full significance of this decision was seen in the *Bank Nationalization Case* in which Commonwealth legislation to nationalise private banks in Australia was held to be largely invalid as the result of the application of section 92. Moreover, with the Commonwealth bound by section 92, the States cannot look to the Commonwealth to achieve what they cannot do themselves in areas such as the marketing of commodities.

In June 1982, negotiations extending over three years came to finality with agreement by all States to sever the remaining constitutional links, other than recognition of the Crown, between Australia and the United Kingdom. Implementation of the decision will require simultaneous legislation to be passed by the Commonwealth and United Kingdom Parliament, with the concurrence of the States in both cases.

### Conclusion

Commonwealth-State relationships have changed in pattern during the last fifty years. Before the Second World War all relations tended to be conducted only at Premier-Prime Minister level, and each State government was very jealous of its prerogatives.

During the war decisions necessarily had to be made by the Commonwealth and in the 1950s and 1960s a greater measure of trust grew between the Commonwealth and the States. This was the beginning of the notion of co-operative federalism and allowed for the relationship to be conducted at Ministerial as well as Prime Ministerial level. Its results were seen in such fields as company legislation and soldier settlement. The Advisory Council for Inter-governmental Relations publishes a *Register of Commonwealth-State Co-operative Arrangements* which is updated regularly.

## VICTORIAN REPRESENTATION IN THE COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENT SINCE 1934

### Representation — Constitutional and legal provisions

The Commonwealth Parliament consists of Her Majesty The Queen (represented by the Governor-General), a Senate, and a House of Representatives. The maximum term of the House of Representatives is three years and a general election follows its dissolution or expiry. Senators are elected for six years with half of the Senate retiring every three years. A half-Senate election and a general election for the House of Representatives do not have to be held jointly. In the event of a double dissolution (that is, a simultaneous dissolution of both Houses under section 57 of the Constitution) a general election for the House of Representatives and a full Senate election are held concurrently.

Under the Commonwealth Constitution, each of the six original States were equally represented by six Senators, regardless of their population, and so Victoria was represented

by 6 of the 36 Senators from 1901 to 1949. The *Representation Act 1948* increased the equal number of Senators elected by each State to 10, and at the 1949 half-Senate election, 7 Senators were elected from each State to comprise a Senate of 60.

The Constitution provides that the number of Members of the House of Representatives shall be as nearly as practicable twice the number of Senators and that the number of Members of the House in each State should be in proportion to the population of each State. Consequently Victorian representation in the House of Representatives has varied according to changes in the Victorian proportion of the total population of the six Australian States and has reflected the 1948 increase in the size of the Senate.

Under the Constitution and the *Representation Act 1905*, the number of Members to be chosen from each State is determined by ascertaining a "quota", calculated by dividing the total population of the six States of the Commonwealth by twice the number of Senators. The total population of the State is then divided by the quota to determine its number of Members. Until 1964, if there was a remainder greater than one-half of the quota, one more Member was to be chosen for that State. The *Representation Act* was amended in 1964 to delete the words "greater than one-half of the quota", thus allowing one more member to be chosen in the State if there was a remainder less than one-half the quota.

Following a High Court decision which invalidated the 1964 amendments to the *Representation Act*, the *Representation Amendment Act 1977* restored the provision that one more Member shall be chosen in the State only if there is a remainder greater than one-half of the quota.

Section 122 of the Constitution entitles Parliament to allow the representation of Territories in either House of the Parliament. The *Senate (Representation of Territories) Act 1973* granted two Senators each for the Australian Capital Territory and the Northern Territory (first elected at the 1975 elections) resulting in a total of 64 Senators for the Commonwealth. However, the Territories' populations and Senators are not taken into account when calculating the House representation entitlements of the six States.

### House of Representatives — redistribution and representation

Of the 20 Victorian Members of the House of Representatives in 1934, 10 Members represented metropolitan electoral Divisions and 10 Members represented non-metropolitan (rural and provincial) electoral Divisions.

The 10 metropolitan Divisions were Balaclava (Caulfield-St Kilda), Batman (Fitzroy-Northcote), Bourke (Carlton-Coburg), Fawcner (Prahran-Toorak), Henty (Brighton-Oakleigh-Sandringham), Kooyong (Camberwell-Kew), Maribyrnong (Essendon-Footscray), Melbourne (inner city), Melbourne Ports (South Melbourne-Williamstown) and Yarra (Collingwood-Richmond). The 10 non-metropolitan Divisions were Ballaarat, Bendigo, Corangamite (west-central), Corio (Geelong), Echuca (north-central), Flinders (south-east), Gippsland, Indi (north-eastern), Wannon (south-western), and Wimmera (north-western).

On 5 July 1934, the House of Representatives rejected the report of the Distribution Commissioners which proposed 11 metropolitan and 9 non-metropolitan Divisions. The Federal election of 15 September 1934 was conducted on the boundaries set under the previous 1922 redistribution in Victoria.

The Distribution Commissioners made a Second Report on 20 December 1934, proposing 10 metropolitan and 10 non-metropolitan Divisions. This Report was accepted by the House of Representatives on 14 May 1936. The average enrolment for metropolitan Divisions was 57,405 electors and for non-metropolitan Divisions 49,337 electors. The rural Division of Echuca was abolished but the rural seat of Deakin was created to the east of the metropolitan area. The elections of 23 October 1937, 21 September 1940, 21 August 1943, and 28 September 1946 were all held on these boundaries.

The next redistribution was held in 1948, following the expansion of the House of Representatives from 74 to 121 Members with full voting rights and of the Senate from 36 to 60 under the provisions of the *Representation Act 1948*. Under the 1948 redistribution, proclaimed on 11 May 1949, the number of Victorian electoral Divisions was increased from 20 to 33. These 33 Divisions were comprised of 18 metropolitan and 15 non-metropolitan Divisions. The average number of electors in each Division fell from 67,592

to 40,965. The average enrolment for metropolitan Divisions was 43,125 electors and for non-metropolitan Divisions 38,373 electors.

The new electoral Divisions created in the metropolitan area were Isaacs (St Kilda), Higinbotham (Sandringham-Bentleigh), Darebin (Preston), Gellibrand (Footscray-Williamstown), Hoddle (Carlton-Collingwood), Higgins (Caulfield-Malvern), Chisholm (Camberwell), and Wills (Coburg). The new rural electoral Divisions created were Murray (Goulburn Valley), La Trobe (Dandenong-Ferntree Gully), McMillan (West Gippsland), Mallee (North-western), and Lalor (north of Melbourne). The elections of 10 December 1949, 28 April 1951, and 29 May 1954 were held on these boundaries.

Victorian representation remained at 33 for the 1955 redistribution, which abolished the inner suburban Divisions of Bourke and Hoddle and created the Division of Scullin in the same area, as well as the outer suburban Division of Bruce (Ringwood-Ferntree Gully). The elections of 10 December 1955, 22 November 1958, 9 December 1961, 30 November 1963, and 26 November 1966 were held on the 1955 boundaries.

Victorian representation in the House of Representatives was increased to 34 (of a total of 125) in 1968. The 1968 redistribution abolished outright the two inner suburban Divisions of Fawcner (Prahran-Toorak) and Yarra (Hawthorn-Richmond), while the name of the abolished Division of Scullin (formerly based on Fitzroy-Carlton) was given to the Division of Darebin and the name of the abolished Division of Isaacs (formerly based on St Kilda) was given to a new outer suburban Division based on Mentone and Sandringham. Other new outer suburban Divisions created were Burke (Broadmeadows), Casey (Ringwood-Mitcham), Diamond Valley (north-east suburbs), and Holt (Dandenong-Springvale). The Division of Higinbotham was renamed Hotham. The elections of 25 October 1969, 2 December 1972, 18 May 1974, and 13 December 1975 were held on the 1968 boundaries.

Distribution Commissioners were appointed on 24 September 1974, and their Report, which proposed the abolition of Wimmera and the creation of a new outer suburban metropolitan Division based on Doncaster-Templestowe, was tabled in the House of Representatives on 13 May 1975. The House approved the redistribution on 22 May, but the Senate rejected it on 27 May 1975. The Electoral Redistribution (Victoria) Bill 1975 gave legislative form to the Distribution proposals contained in the Distribution Commissioners' final Reports and was twice passed by the House, but twice rejected by the Senate.

Victorian representation was reduced to 33 in 1977. The 1977 redistribution abolished the rural Division of Wimmera. After the 1977 redistribution the average number of electors in each Division was 69,748. The elections of 10 December 1977, 18 October 1980 and 5 March 1983 were held on the 1977 boundaries.

## COMMONWEALTH ELECTORAL LAW SINCE 1934

### Method of voting and scrutiny

The *Commonwealth Electoral Act* 1918 introduced preferential voting for the House of Representatives requiring voters to mark the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, and so on in the order of their preference for all candidates on the ballot-paper. The *Commonwealth Electoral Act* 1919 introduced optional preferential voting for the Senate requiring voters to mark the order of their preferences up to twice the number of candidates to be elected plus one. The *Commonwealth Electoral Act* 1934 brought Senate procedures into line with those for the House of Representatives requiring full preferential voting.

A House of Representatives candidate must obtain an absolute majority of formal votes to be elected. If no candidate obtains a majority of first preference votes, the preferences of the candidate with the fewest votes are distributed to continuing candidates. This process is repeated until a candidate has received an absolute majority of first and transferred preferences.

A preferential system was used for the Senate scrutiny from 1919 to 1948 which usually resulted in the election of all the Senators for a State from the one party grouping on the ballot-paper.

In 1948, a system of proportional representation was introduced for the Senate election scrutiny, when Senate membership was expanded from 36 to 60 by the Representation Act. With the introduction of proportional representation, party representation in the



Senate has much more closely reflected the respective percentages of the vote cast for the parties standing candidate at Senate elections. Under this system candidates must gain a quota of votes to be elected. This is obtained by dividing the total number of formal votes by one more than the number of Senators to be elected, then adding one. Consequently when 5 Senators are to be elected, the quota is one-sixth of the formal vote, plus one. Both major party groupings normally obtain at least 2 quotas and therefore elect at least 2 Senators at each half-Senate election. Consequently Senate major party representation has been relatively evenly balanced since 1949.

#### Senate casual vacancies

A casual vacancy occurs when the place of a Senator becomes vacant before his term of service has expired. A replacement Senator for a State is chosen by the State Parliament. Until 1977, any such Senator appointed to fill a casual vacancy served only until the next Federal election, even if this election occurred before the end of the term of the previous Senator. The Constitution was amended in 1977, inserting the requirement that Senate casual vacancies be filled by a nominee of the same political party as that of the Senator whose place had become vacant. This amendment also provided that the replacement Senator serve out the full term of the previous Senator.

#### Voting age

The *Commonwealth Electoral Act* 1918 was amended in 1973 to lower the voting age from 21 (as it had been since 1902) to 18.

### ELECTION AND REFERENDUM STATISTICS

The following tables show details of Federal elections and referendums held since 1934:

#### Elections

#### FEDERAL ELECTIONS HELD SINCE 1934, PRIME MINISTERS AND THE LEADERS OF THE OPPOSITION AT THOSE ELECTIONS

Polling day	Prime Minister	Leader of the Opposition
15 September 1934(a)	Lyons, Rt Hon. J. A.	Scullin, Rt Hon. J. H.
23 October 1937(a)	Lyons, Rt Hon. J. A.	Curtin, Rt Hon. J.
21 September 1940(a)	Menzies, Rt Hon. R. G.	Curtin, Rt Hon. J.
21 August 1943(a)	Curtin, Rt Hon. J.	Menzies, Rt Hon. R. G.
28 September 1946(a)	Chifley, Rt Hon. J. B.	Menzies, Rt Hon. R. G.
10 December 1949(a)	Chifley, Rt Hon. J. B.	Menzies, Rt Hon. R. G.
28 April 1951(b)	Menzies, Rt Hon. R. G.	Chifley, Rt Hon. J. B.
9 May 1953(c)	Menzies, Rt Hon. R. G.	Evatt, Rt Hon. H. V.
29 May 1954(d)	Menzies, Rt Hon. R. G.	Evatt, Rt Hon. H. V.
10 December 1955(a)	Menzies, Rt Hon. R. G.	Evatt, Rt Hon. H. V.
22 November 1958(a)	Menzies, Rt Hon. R. G.	Evatt, Rt Hon. H. V.
9 December 1961(a)	Menzies, Rt Hon. R. G.	Calwell, Hon. A. A.
30 November 1963(d)	Menzies, Rt Hon. R. G.	Calwell, Hon. A. A.
5 December 1964(c)	Menzies, Rt Hon. R. G.	Calwell, Hon. A. A.
26 November 1966(d)	Holt, Rt Hon. H. E.	Calwell, Hon. A. A.
25 November 1967(c)	Holt, Rt Hon. H. E.	Whitlam, Hon. E. G.
25 October 1969(d)	Gorton, Rt Hon. J. G.	Whitlam, Hon. E. G.
21 November 1970(c)	Gorton, Rt Hon. J. G.	Whitlam, Hon. E. G.
2 December 1972(d)	McMahon, Rt Hon. W.	Whitlam, Hon. E. G.
18 May 1974(b)	Whitlam, Hon. E. G.	Snedden, Rt Hon. B. M.
13 December 1975(b)	Fraser, Rt Hon. J. M.	Whitlam, Hon. E. G.
10 December 1977(a)	Fraser, Rt Hon. J. M.	Whitlam, Hon. E. G.
18 October 1980(a)	Fraser, Rt Hon. J. M.	Hayden, Hon. W. G.
5 March 1983(a)	Hawke, Rt Hon. R. J. L.	Peacock, Hon. A. S.

(a) A general election for the House of Representatives and a half-Senate election.

(b) A general election for the House of Representatives and a full Senate election (following a simultaneous dissolution of both Houses).

(c) A half-Senate election.

(d) A general election for the House of Representatives.

### Referendums

There have been 20 referendum proposals put to the electorate since 1934, of which only 5 have been successful, although a majority of Victorian electors have voted for 9 of the proposals.

#### REFERENDUMS: AUSTRALIA, 1934 TO 1977

Subject	Date of referendum	Percentage of Victorian voters in favour	Percentage of Commonwealth voters in favour
Aviation	6 May 1937	65.10	53.56
Marketing	6 May 1937	46.58	36.26
Post-war reconstruction and democratic rights	19 Aug. 1944	49.31	45.99
Social services	28 Sept. 1946	55.98	(a) 54.39
Organised marketing of primary products	28 Sept. 1946	52.37	50.57
Industrial employment	28 Sept. 1946	52.08	50.30
Rents and prices	29 May 1948	44.63	40.66
Powers to deal with communists and communism	22 Sept. 1951	48.71	49.44
Parliament	27 May 1967	30.87	40.25
Aboriginals	27 May 1967	94.68	(a) 90.77
Prices	8 Dec. 1973	45.18	43.81
Incomes	8 Dec. 1973	33.44	34.42
Simultaneous elections	18 May 1974	49.19	48.30
Mode of altering the Constitution	18 May 1974	49.22	47.99
Democratic elections	18 May 1974	47.71	47.20
Local government bodies	18 May 1974	47.38	46.85
Simultaneous elections	21 May 1977	65.00	62.22
Senate casual vacancies	21 May 1977	76.13	(a) 73.32
Referendums (Territories)	21 May 1977	80.78	(a) 77.72
Retirement of judges	21 May 1977	81.43	(a) 80.10

(a) Referendum carried—majority of electors and a majority of States in favour.

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## LOCAL GOVERNMENT

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### INTRODUCTION

The Victorian municipal system was founded on the practice and traditions of English local government although its subsequent development has been more limited in scope. The system was established by voluntary incorporation between the mid-1850s and the mid-1860s, although urban and rural local government developed under separate legislation. It was not until 1874 with the passage of the Local Government Act that the two streams were brought together under a single statute.

The 1874 Act scheduled existing city, town, borough, and shire boundaries; the municipal system then comprised some 170 districts. The provisions of earlier legislation for council organisation and electoral franchise were confirmed in the 1874 Act. The size of councils was set at between 6 and 24 councillors in an unsubdivided municipality and a maximum of 3 councillors per subdivision in a subdivided district, and provision was made for the indirect election of the mayor or shire president. Property qualifications were established for council membership with elections to be held annually for one-third of council; voting entitlement was restricted to owners or occupiers twenty-one years and over and there was a plural voting system. These early councils were empowered to make an extensive range of by-laws to encourage good rule and government in their districts and to undertake a wide range of functions including the maintenance and control of roads; construction and maintenance of sewers and drains; and the provision of lighting, baths and wash-houses, recreation areas, schools, libraries, gymnasiums, and gardens. Finance for these activities came mainly from the levying of a general rate and councils were also empowered to borrow money for specific works and undertakings. A State endowment was also received by each municipality.

The *Local Government Act 1874* provided the legislative base for the future expansion and development of local government administration in Victoria. Although considerably amended and consolidated from time to time, the Act remains the basis of Victoria's present system of local government.

### MUNICIPAL SYSTEM IN 1934

#### **Structure and organisation**

By 1934, sixty years after the passage of the 1874 Act, the municipal system had extended to the point where local government in Victoria was served by more than 2,000 councillors (including Aldermen in the Cities of Melbourne and Geelong) in 196 municipal districts, of which 31 ranked as "cities", 4 as "towns", 21 as "boroughs", and 140 as "shires".

Most of the few remaining unincorporated areas of the State had been quickly brought under local government administration following the passage of the 1874 Act while the successful petitions of many communities for severance from existing rural shires under the legislation before 1900 had further fragmented the municipal structure. At the same time, the growth in revenues in several urban districts had also encouraged many councils to seek enhanced municipal status. The criteria for the attainment of town and city status remained unchanged from the 1874 legislation.

Some amalgamation activity, however, had occurred following a 1914 amendment to the

Local Government Act which provided for the dissolution of any municipality in which rate revenue had fallen below a certain limit (\$600 in the case of a borough and \$3,000 in the case of a shire).

The legislative provisions concerning council organisation had changed little since 1874, while the passage of time had also witnessed the firm entrenchment in the legislation of Victoria's property-based municipal franchise. The provisions first enacted in 1863 relating to property qualifications for council membership, the restriction of voting entitlement to property owners or occupiers, and the system of plural voting remained prominent features of Victorian local government.

Administrative arrangements of municipalities varied significantly. The Local Government Act still required that councils appoint "a municipal clerk, engineer, treasurer and such valuers, collectors and other officers as are necessary". Since their establishment, however, some very small rural municipalities had employed only the one full-time officer — along with a consulting engineer and part-time health inspector who served a number of neighbouring councils — with few support staff, while busier metropolitan councils had a full complement of designated officers and larger technical and administrative staffs. The combined office of municipal clerk-engineer remained quite common, particularly in country municipalities.

### **Extension of municipal powers and responsibilities**

The problems created by the needs of a growing population, increasing urbanisation, the expansion of industry, and developments in communications and transport (in particular the advent of the motor car) led by 1934 to amendments, reviews, and consolidations of the Local Government Act and other State legislation. These gradually expanded the defined powers of councils, including the provision of additional rating powers and an extension of the specified works for which municipalities were empowered to borrow.

Municipal by-law making powers and formal responsibilities of councils for the construction and maintenance of public works, the provision of community amenities, recreational facilities and general public services, business undertakings, the regulation of traffic, and provision of assistance to hospitals and charitable institutions had been extended since the passage of the 1874 Act. Private street construction, the provision of street and off-street car parking areas, the maintenance of public, technical, and secondary schools and colleges, assistance to asylums and charitable institutions, the control of weights and measures, and the supervision of scaffolding regulations, were among additional local government powers and responsibilities which emerged by 1934.

Amendments to the public health legislation had also strengthened municipal powers — under the supervision and direction of the Commission of Public Health — for sanitation, health and the prevention of the spread of disease, the disposal of household and industrial refuse, the safety of public buildings, and the regulation of noxious trades. Councils had also acquired responsibility for the inspection and registration of infant nursing homes and the supervision of boarding and lodging houses and had received powers to deal with conditions of overcrowding in dwellings and to enforce housing standards in their districts.

Councils had acquired the right to exercise potentially powerful provisions dealing with building standards, the erection of dwelling houses for persons of limited means, and reclamation schemes in unsanitary, low lying, or overcrowded areas within their municipal districts. In addition, tentative zoning and town planning powers had been derived as a result of amendments to the legislation which empowered municipalities to declare residential areas within their boundaries and prohibit the use of land for other than residential development. Further, councils could act to remove buildings contravening their zoning regulations.

### **Role of local government**

Despite the expansion of the formal powers available to them, Victorian municipal councils generally performed a fairly narrow functional role and range of activities in serving their local communities. For most councils, local government had always basically involved the provision of traditional property related works and services. Limited municipal income—derived mainly from the imposition of the general rate, fees and charges, contributions for street and footpath construction, and for some councils, profitable

electricity undertakings and gas works—was essentially directed towards the construction and maintenance of roads, streets, bridges and drains, the provision of electric lighting and gas, sanitation, the removal and disposal of household and trade waste, the sweeping, cleansing and watering of streets, the provision, beautification and maintenance of parks, gardens, recreational facilities and reserves, as well as the servicing of debt associated with the financing of the public works infrastructure investment. Municipal revenue and expenditure figures for 1933-34 clearly illustrate the situation.

ORDINARY REVENUE OF MUNICIPALITIES:  
VICTORIA, 1933-34

Item	Amount	Proportion of total revenue
	\$'000	per cent
Rates and charges	7,271	57.3
Government grants	127	1.0
Licensing fund payments	121	0.9
Contributions for streets, footpaths, etc.	611	4.8
Market and weighbridge dues	252	2.0
Rents	277	2.2
Electric light and gas works	2,852	22.5
Interest	232	1.8
Other sources	953	7.5
<b>Total revenue</b>	<b>12,696</b>	<b>100.0</b>

ORDINARY EXPENDITURE OF MUNICIPALITIES:  
VICTORIA, 1933-34

Item	Amount	Proportion of total expenditure
	\$'000	per cent
Salaries	747	6.0
Sanitary works and street cleansing	715	5.8
Lighting	348	2.8
Health administration	289	2.3
Contributions to fire brigade	124	1.0
Public works —		
Construction and maintenance of roads, streets, bridges	2,652	21.4
Other	991	8.0
Payments to Country Roads Board	625	5.0
Formation of private streets	227	1.8
Electric light and gas works	2,031	16.4
Payments to Sinking Funds	154	1.3
Redemption of loans	918	7.4
Interest on loans	1,235	10.0
Interest on bank overdrafts	99	0.8
Charities	75	0.6
Other expenditure	1,167	9.4
<b>Total expenditure</b>	<b>12,395</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Municipal councils generally lacked the necessary capital and staff and often the desire to undertake the relatively wide range of functions permitted under the Local Government Act and other State Acts. As a result many potentially important municipal powers and responsibilities — such as those for slum reclamation and public housing — had fallen into disuse well before the 1930s.

More significantly, the fragmentation of the municipal structure combined with the need to provide services for a growing population had led to the establishment by the Victorian Government over many years of a number of single purpose statutory authorities for the provision of important public utility functions which had formerly been among the primary responsibilities of local government.

The control of water supply, sewerage, and main drainage in the Melbourne metropolitan area was vested in the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW) (the membership of the Board comprising the chairman and 39 commissioners elected by the 22 municipalities in the metropolitan area), while in rural Victoria most councils had long been relieved of their original responsibilities for water supply and sewerage by specially constituted local authorities and trusts administered by the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission. A similar administrative compromise had been effected in respect of the control of the State's Crown land reservations. Fire control had become the responsibility of the Metropolitan and Country Fire Brigades Boards, although councils shared the cost of maintaining fire brigades and were represented on both Boards.

Other major overall utility services formerly provided by councils, in which the statutory authority figured prominently, included transportation services. The Metropolitan Tramways Board had been established in 1919 to control and manage metropolitan tramways formerly operated by councils under powers granted in 1883, although councils had tended to delegate the function to private companies. Electricity was provided by the State Electricity Commission (SEC) which had also been constituted in 1919. The SEC proceeded to take over most municipal electricity undertakings in the process of extending its main transmission lines throughout the State.

In important areas of physical development the statutory authority was also prominent. Since the backward and unsatisfactory state of Victorian roads had led to its establishment in 1912, the Country Roads Board (CRB) had assumed responsibility for State highways and developmental roads with municipal councils carrying out permanent works and maintenance on main roads within their districts to the satisfaction of the Board. Funds for the construction and maintenance of main roads were allocated by the CRB for works performed although councils contributed a proportion of road maintenance costs.

#### **Gradual involvement in new services**

While these developments diminished the effectiveness of local government and emphasised the municipal pre-occupation with the provision of basic infrastructure works, the years after the First World War also witnessed the tentative involvement of municipalities in new activities in personal services. In addition to the direct concern which municipalities had always had with the health of their districts, councils were now attempting to provide what limited support they could to voluntary endeavours in welfare. This was done by such means as the provision of donations to local hospitals, benevolent societies, welfare agencies, youth clubs, creches, and kindergartens within their districts. The refunding of charges to charitable organisations using municipal facilities for holding fund raising activities, and on occasions, the offer of deferral of rates for those experiencing hardship, represented other avenues of municipal support in welfare.

Also, since 1917 infant welfare centres maintained by local councils (aided by State Government subsidy) had been established with the aim of reducing child mortality due to preventable causes. Indeed, the success of the Victorian Baby Health Centres Association and the influence of its founder, Dr Isabella Younger-Ross, in gaining the support of both State and local government had been such that by 1934 some 86 councils maintained a total of 149 infant welfare centres throughout the State.

A 1926 Royal Commission of Inquiry into the health of mothers and children encouraged the infant welfare movement in Victoria. It recommended that local government provide a wide range of health and welfare services for poorer women. These services were to be subsidised and supervised by the Victorian Government. An Infant Welfare Section was subsequently established within the Commission of Public Health. Dr Vera Scantlebury Brown, who had served on the Royal Commission, was appointed Director and used the infant welfare services provided by the Councils of the City of Melbourne and the City of South Melbourne to encourage other Victorian councils to provide similar services.

After the First World War there was much interest in town and country planning by municipalities. Zoning provisions were introduced into the *Local Government Act 1921* and the Metropolitan Town Planning Commission was established in 1922 to "inquire into and report on, the present conditions and tendencies of urban development in the metropolitan area". The Commission submitted its report dealing with such aspects as

zoning, transportation, recreation facilities, building regulations, and legislation for implementing planning schemes in 1929. (Some of these were still being considered in the early 1980s.) However, due to an unsympathetic political environment and the emergence of the Depression no action was taken by the Victorian Government on the Commission's recommendations.

### **Impact of the Depression**

For local government the years of severe economic crisis of the early 1930s were a time of consolidation rather than innovation in providing services. Valuations lay dormant and the number of defaulting ratepayers increased steadily and many councils found it necessary to effect reductions in their general rate in order to alleviate hardship in the local community. In such circumstances, it was inappropriate for councils to contemplate major works projects or introduce new services. Existing programmes of road, street, and bridge construction and maintenance were reduced while expenditure on lighting, rubbish removal, and other routine local government service was heavily pruned.

Through the Depression the essential municipal concern lay with assistance and relief for the destitute and unemployed. Many councils strove to augment the funds and work of voluntary agencies upon whose limited resources those in need made heavy demands. However, the most significant municipal contribution lay in the use of sustenance labour on programmes of public works construction and maintenance. Through local work relief schemes, the assistance of grants made available by the Government from the Unemployment Relief Fund, and special loans provided under the Unemployment Relief Loans and Application Act councils were able to make work available to the unemployed on road, street, and footpath construction, and maintenance, and other public works. In this manner, many councils avoided total stagnation and made some improvements to the appearance, infrastructure, and amenities of their townships and communities.

The harshest impact of the Depression began to wane by 1934 and a more optimistic outlook prevailed in the municipalities. Although their finances remained uncertain, councils generally felt able to take part in the celebration of Victoria's Centenary and widespread local commemorations were held in municipal districts throughout the State.

## **DEVELOPING MUNICIPAL ROLE, 1934 TO 1939**

### **Consolidation and recovery**

The years following the Depression represented a time of gradual recovery for Victorian local government. With rate arrears remaining high and financial emergency provisions continuing, municipalities adopted an extreme but understandable sense of caution in proceeding with proposed projects. However, through re-valuations of property and increases in the general rate, many councils made a concerted effort to improve their position, and from 1934-35 onwards, although still restrained financially, more municipalities felt that with the assistance of loans they could embark on modest programmes of capital works and services expenditure. Many councils took the opportunity to purchase plant and equipment, undertake main road and bridge construction and maintenance, and improve the increasing number of unmade streets, drainage, and public amenities in their districts. All these areas of expenditure had been badly neglected or postponed during the years of the Depression.

Some councils, however, continued to receive substantial reimbursements from the Victorian Government for payments on road building and other public infrastructure projects throughout the 1930s. While a number of grants given for the purpose were long-term, some Victorian councils were still being requested to find short-term relief work for persons within their districts who still could not find employment. Unemployment relief grants were in fact used by Victorian municipal councils with diminishing frequency in the early 1940s when wartime conditions and the absorption of the able-bodied into essential works or the Armed Services caused the virtual disappearance of unemployment and a consequent reduction in the amount spent on relief and sustenance works.

While the process of recovery continued, comprehensive amendments to the Local Government Act resulted in important extensions to municipal powers. Councils acquired more complete control over the occupation and use of buildings within their municipal

districts and were given wider powers for the compulsory acquisition of land. By-law making powers for traffic regulation and car parking were also significantly expanded. Changes to the legislation confirmed the wider involvement of local government in personal services by providing for councils to establish, erect, and maintain infant welfare centres and bush nursing hospitals within their districts. Other new functions given to local government included the provision of landing grounds for aircraft. Further additions were made to municipal rating powers and the list of permanent works and undertakings for which municipalities were empowered to borrow was extended to include the provision of sites for schools.

Despite these developments the years leading up to the Second World War witnessed a further significant reduction in the effective responsibilities of Victoria's local councils. Following the Report of the Housing Investigation and Slum Abolition Board which disclosed the deplorable nature of housing conditions in some areas of Melbourne, the Victorian Government moved in November 1937 under the Housing Act to establish a Housing Commission to be the central housing authority of the State with the task of reclaiming unsanitary areas and providing suitable and adequate housing for persons of limited means. Extensive powers to enable the Commission to carry out the work for which it was appointed were contained in the *Slum Reclamation and Housing Act 1938*. With the establishment of the Commission, municipalities were effectively eliminated from exercising powers over housing, although the provisions of the Local Government Act concerning the reclamation by councils of low lying or insanitary areas and the provision of houses for persons of small means were not formally repealed.

Through the Municipal Association of Victoria metropolitan councils vigorously defended local government against accusations of "neglect of duty" over housing. They argued strenuously that municipal powers concerning zoning, the condemnation of unsuitable houses, and the prevention of the erection of unsatisfactory housing and potential slums had proven to be "weak, ineffective and unworkable". Councils pointed also to the lack of funds from consolidated revenue for municipalities to finance housing, arguing that the cost of re-housing inhabitants of slum areas would have fallen entirely on the ratepayers of the municipal district.

The passage of the Local Government (Building Regulations) Act in December 1940 removed the administration of building regulations from municipal control and established a Building Regulations Commission for a two year period to prepare uniform building regulations for Victoria. The Commission's Report subsequently led in 1945 to the constitution of a permanent administrative body and the promulgation of standard building regulations. These had to be observed throughout the municipalities to which they applied, although on certain matters councils were permitted to make alternative by-laws.

The Municipal Association campaigned strongly against the action of the Victorian Government in establishing the Commission. A representative committee had been appointed in 1932 by the Building Industry Congress at the suggestion of the Association to prepare a draft standard building code to be included as a schedule to the Local Government Act. Sections of the draft code prepared by the committee had in fact been printed and were under consideration by councils at the time the Victorian Government moved to create the new statutory authority. Of particular concern to the Association, however, was the Victorian Government's decision to remove from the jurisdiction of councils matters of policy unrelated to construction and materials used in building. These related to the use of powers to make regulations about the height of buildings, minimum area frontages, depths of allotments on which buildings could be erected, and the area of open land to be left free of building. The Association argued that the imposition of such regulations should be left entirely to the discretion of local councils.

In other areas of local government activity, the tendency of the Victorian Government to by-pass municipalities in favour of the single purpose statutory authority was checked. The Weights and Measures Bill introduced into the Victorian Parliament in 1933 for the purpose of reforming the existing legislation and offering protection to persons against fraudulent practices, provided for the weights and measures administration to be removed from councils and placed in the hands of the Chief Secretary's Department. The argument for the transfer of responsibility was strengthened as only a small number of councils had carried out the provisions of the Act. However, the Association urged an amendment to



the Bill and when the *Weights and Measures Act 1939* was finally passed (although it was not proclaimed until October 1952), it made provision for a central administration under a Superintendent of Weights and Measures and a local administration.

### SECOND WORLD WAR, 1939 TO 1945

With the onset of the Second World War and the necessary diversion of finance, materials, labour, and equipment to the war effort, councils were restricted in their ability to carry out normal works and services. With depleted administration and engineering staffs—as officers left to enlist in the Armed Forces—and limited financial resources, municipalities just managed to maintain essential services and help the war effort.

They offered the use of parks and halls for drilling, training, and other assistance to military units located within their districts and, at the instigation of the State Recruiting Committee, assisted in forming local recruiting committees, provided the use of the town halls, and organised rallies to aid the recruiting process. Presentations were made by councils to Service personnel from the municipal district who left for the war.

Throughout the war, local government was involved in campaigns for the sale of war savings certificates to residents, often arranging War Savings Groups for each street in the municipal district. Councils raised funds for national war loans, and assisted the Patriotic Fund and the various money-raising activities carried out on behalf of the Red Cross and other voluntary and patriotic groups. Municipalities also supplemented the work of various local organisations collecting waste paper and other materials, and administered petrol rationing.

The State Emergency Council placed civil defence duties on municipalities. They assumed responsibility for the local establishment of the Air Raid Precautions organisation and provided trenches and shelters for the protection of the civilian population. They also demonstrated precautionary and survival techniques to the public in the event of enemy air attack. Councils organised committees to prepare plans for the evacuation of “non-essential” persons from the Melbourne metropolitan area and their billeting in rural districts in the event of enemy attack. Although this never eventuated, some country municipalities did accept refugees and school children evacuated from Melbourne.

The Municipal Association itself was heavily involved in wartime activities. The president of the Association served as a member of the State Emergency Council for Civil Defence and on the Patriotic Funds Council. The Association was represented on the State War Loans and Savings Certificates Committee and the State Advisory Committee on Salvaging Waste Materials, and co-operated with the Department of Information in its encouragement of national unity. It also completed records of enlistments for active service, duplicates of which were supplied to municipal councils throughout the State. However, with the rapid increase in the rate of enlistments, the task had to be taken over by the Committee of Mayors which appointed temporary staff and used the Malvern Town Hall for storage of records and files.

### POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS

When war ended, municipal councils began to tackle the backlog of infrastructure and construction works which had accumulated during the war years. Main and local roads and streets, footpaths, kerbing, channelling, and drainage were generally in a poor condition as all but urgent construction work had been halted and maintenance kept to a minimum. In many communities the provision of electricity, gas, water supply and sewerage was inadequate, while the need for housing which had been quite pressing before the war had grown more serious in the face of severe labour shortages and wartime restrictions on the supply and use of building materials.

Development planning was still in its infancy in Victoria. Rapid population growth, industrial development, and the expansion of urban communities after the war compounded the difficulties facing councils wishing to improve physical infrastructures, public amenities, services, and facilities. In the absence of a general strategy plan for the future development of the Melbourne metropolitan area, acute problems were experienced in outer suburban municipalities such as Frankston, Chelsea, Moorabbin, Box Hill, Doncaster and Templestowe, Ringwood, Heidelberg, and Sunshine where the rise in population in the late 1940s

and early 1950s prompted development companies and real estate agents to seek cheap land for subdivision. New housing settlements spread over former orchards and estates in areas devoid of made roads and streets, drainage, essential services, and community facilities.

Alleviating the plight of residents living in areas where the streets were unmade, and drainage, sewerage, and other basic services undeveloped, became the major preoccupation of many metropolitan councils in the post-war period. Through the formation of committees of representatives of neighbouring municipalities, councils protested at the lack of progress made by the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works in extending sewerage into the newly developed areas, but in spite of protests a substantial backlog of sewerage works developed.

**LOCAL GOVERNMENT REVENUE BY SOURCE: VICTORIA,  
1934-35 TO 1981-82 (a)**  
(\$'000)

Year	Ordinary services				Loan funds	Business undertakings (c)	Total
	Rates (b)	Government grants	Other	Total			
1934-35	6,715	402	2,492	9,610	1,350	3,409	14,369
1939-40	7,836	1,854	3,102	12,792	1,010	4,210	18,011
1944-45	8,328	383	3,013	11,724	514	5,350	17,588
1949-50	12,919	760	6,081	19,760	3,235	9,032	32,028
1954-55	27,241	1,145	10,006	38,392	7,414	17,540	63,346
1959-60	44,334	2,700	20,705	67,739	13,156	33,010	113,905
1964-65	66,491	4,932	31,571	102,995	24,477	45,352	172,824
1969-70	100,899	7,716	46,693	155,307	26,434	60,506	242,247
1974-75	217,443	68,954	101,473	387,870	52,052	89,926	529,849
1979-80	403,201	119,621	208,409	731,232	97,559	170,907	999,698
1980-81	465,227	148,456	242,076	855,759	107,478	203,847	1,167,084
1981-82	531,258	172,959	293,398	997,614	101,217	271,468	1,370,299

(a) From 1979-80, local government finance statistics have been processed on a standard basis throughout Australia. However, these Standardised Local Government Finance Statistics (SLGFS) are not available for earlier years. For historical purposes this table has been assembled from data processed on a non-standard basis and should not be compared with SLGFS information published elsewhere. Includes transfers between funds, but excludes Private Street Account and similar accounts, although Separate Rate Account is included as part of the General Revenue Account for the years 1939-40 to 1964-65. Country Roads Board (CRB) Account is excluded prior to 1981-82. In 1981-82, some municipalities included CRB Account in Ordinary Services in anticipation of their compulsory inclusion under revised Municipal Accounting Regulations from 1982-83 onwards.

(b) Consists of General and Extra Rates, Collections for on-passing to Dandenong Valley Authority, in lieu of rates, and interest on rates.

(c) Covers electricity, gas, water supply, abattoirs, quarries, and municipal railway.

**LOCAL GOVERNMENT OUTLAY BY FUNCTION: VICTORIA,  
1934-35 TO 1981-82 (a)**  
(\$'000)

Year	Outlay from revenue					Outlay from loans			Business undertakings (e)	Total
	Roads and streets (b)	Parks and gardens (c)	Debt services (d)	Other	Total	Roads and streets (b)	Other	Total		
1934-35	3,525	1,037	2,404	3,242	10,208	297	1,037	1,334	2,737	14,279
1939-40	4,253	792	1,881	5,918	12,844	618	898	1,516	4,051	18,412
1944-45	3,398	781	1,730	5,304	11,213	40	270	309	5,032	16,554
1949-50	6,791	1,665	1,891	9,941	20,288	863	2,381	3,244	8,979	32,511
1954-55	12,637	2,862	3,126	19,794	38,419	2,013	5,563	7,576	17,223	63,218
1959-60	20,917	4,786	6,550	34,141	66,393	5,692	6,411	12,103	32,404	110,900
1964-65	32,117	8,031	12,569	50,470	103,187	8,207	14,452	22,659	45,117	170,962
1969-70	34,032	11,619	20,218	90,676	156,546	7,286	17,130	24,416	59,706	240,667
1974-75	73,531	28,690	34,428	245,212	381,861	14,171	36,149	50,320	89,919	522,100
1979-80	123,671	71,503	76,112	469,091	740,377	30,881	65,222	96,103	171,000	1,007,479
1980-81	133,032	87,137	89,931	541,019	851,119	33,451	63,698	97,149	205,187	1,153,455
1981-82	152,763	99,780	108,274	626,902	987,719	31,616	70,857	102,473	244,101	1,334,293

(a) See footnote (a) to previous table.

(b) Outlay includes drainage for all years. Excludes cleaning and watering, and street lighting.

(c) For the year 1934-35 comprises all public works (apart from road works), and for the years 1969-70 and 1974-75, does not include capital works.

(d) Consists of loan redemption, Sinking Fund instalments, loan interest, overdraft interest, payments on account of severance, and other debt charges.

(e) Covers electricity, gas, water supply, abattoirs, quarries, and municipal railway.

The backlog of private street construction and drainage work which was already significant at the end of the war had reached quite substantial proportions by 1955 when the Local Government (Amendment) Act was passed providing *inter alia* power to councils

to refuse to seal a plan of subdivision unless any new street was constructed to the council's satisfaction or payment made to the council by the developer of an amount equivalent to the estimated cost of construction. The legislation was further strengthened under the *Local Government (Amendment) Act 1956*. In 1959, the law relating to land subdivision was recast while additional provisions were incorporated in an Amendment Act passed in the same year giving councils the power to require the construction of easement drains as a pre-requisite to approving a plan of subdivision. Since that time several important refinements have been incorporated into the legislation. The most significant has been the acquisition of powers by councils under the *Local Government (Amendment) Act 1966* to require sub-dividers to provide 5 per cent of their land for public resort and recreational purposes (or for an equivalent amount of funds to be paid by the developer to the council in place of the provision of land) and powers under the *Local Government (Subdivision of Land) Act 1973* for councils to refuse to seal a plan of subdivision until water supply, sewerage, and drainage were provided for in accordance with the requirements made by the appropriate body.

The task of completing the construction of private streets in those areas subdivided prior to the adoption of the new system under the 1955 amendment and later legislation proved to be costly for local government. While continued housing development and the impact of inflation on construction made the need to finish the task all the more urgent, the inability of councils to acquire sufficient loan funds considerably retarded progress on private street construction. A survey of selected Melbourne metropolitan and country municipalities conducted by the Municipal Association of Victoria in 1959 showed that \$174m of private street construction work still remained to be carried out, of which \$118m was required to be completed in the Melbourne metropolitan area and \$56m in growing country centres. With the assistance of substantial bank overdrafts (which were reduced as loan funds became available) councils endeavoured to catch up, but it was well into the 1970s before some councils had cleared the backlog of work.

While private street and drainage construction work were continuing activities of councils in developing outer Melbourne metropolitan suburbs, provincial centres and growing country towns into the 1980s, they represented only two aspects of the problems faced by Victorian councils generally in developing their infrastructure since the war.

In the Melbourne metropolitan area the impact of the suburban sprawl and the proliferation of the motor car has required the planning, provision, and upgrading by councils (with the assistance of CRB funding) of main and arterial roads and bridges to ensure that they are wide and strong enough to permit the mounting volume of traffic passing through their municipal districts. The increases in traffic also required municipalities to instal and maintain traffic control and safety measures on the main road network. At the same time suburban councils had to construct, re-seal, widen, and repair local roads and streets, improve corners and intersections, replace bluestone with concrete kerbing and guttering, construct footpaths, maintain feeder drains, provide street plantations, and plant trees on nature strips. These works helped to speed traffic flow, drain storm-water more efficiently, and generally improve the appearance of municipal districts.

Traffic management emerged as an important municipal activity as a result of the increasing use by motorists of quieter residential streets to by-pass delays caused by traffic control systems, bottlenecks, and the greater volume of traffic using main roads. Finally, councils acted to provide off-street car parking areas to avoid traffic congestion at local shopping centres along main roads. In some municipalities this work was carried out in association with the establishment of shopping malls in an attempt by councils to revitalise the commercial centres of their municipal districts.

While municipal councils in provincial centres and major country towns have generally undertaken similar activities in developing their infrastructure (although the CRB is responsible for State highways), in rural shires the emphasis was on the provision of all-weather access roads for the farming community. Programmes have included re-sealing, road widening and realignment, bridge modernisation works, culvert replacement, provision of underground drainage, and improvements to street lighting. During the development years of the 1950s and 1960s, shire councils also played a major role in the organisation of local trusts and authorities to provide an adequate water supply and sewerage system for growing townships and communities within their municipal districts and in the formation

of local "electric light committees" to assist the provision of a more efficient electricity supply for residents through extended SEC power lines.

In broad terms, therefore, the functional role performed by local government in Victoria since 1934 has continued to emphasise the construction and maintenance of infrastructure. The major proportion of municipal general and loan funds is still applied to local roads and streets and their regulation, bridge and drainage works, and the provision of traditional general public services such as street cleaning and refuse collection and disposal. Indeed, increasing problems concerning the availability of land sites for tipping in the Melbourne metropolitan area have led to the adoption of a regional approach to refuse disposal by municipalities. Four regional groupings of councils have been constituted for the purposes of the disposal of household, commercial, and industrial wastes and groups are being planned in other parts of the State.

**MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURE: ORDINARY SERVICES, GENERAL AND LOAN  
FUND OUTLAY, VICTORIA, 1981-82 (a)**

Purpose	Expenditure			Proportion of total expenditure per cent
	General	Loan	Total	
	\$'000	\$'000	\$'000	
General administration	190,321	7,784	198,105	17.47
Law, order, and public safety	20,003	163	20,165	1.78
Education	16,231	809	17,039	1.50
Health	28,026	278	28,304	2.49
Welfare	56,883	1,526	58,408	5.15
Housing and community amenities -				
Sanitation (garbage)	81,813	4,149	85,963	7.58
Other	46,698	6,477	53,175	4.69
Recreation and culture -				
Libraries	50,248	1,348	51,596	4.55
Other	141,682	24,265	165,947	14.63
Economic services -				
Roads and bridges	289,982	27,872	317,853	28.02
Road plant purchases	21,772	3,553	25,325	2.23
Other	108,246	14,888	123,134	10.86
Other (unclassified)	-11,378	602	-10,775	-0.95
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,040,527</b>	<b>93,713</b>	<b>1,134,240</b>	<b>100.00</b>

(a) From 1979-80, local government finance statistics have been processed using standard definitions and concepts throughout Australia. This table has been presented using these Standardised Local Government Finance Statistics (SLGFS). It cannot be compared with the two preceding tables which have tabulated data in a non-standard manner for historical purposes only.

## MAJOR EXPANSION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

### Social and welfare services

Since the end of the Second World War, the scope of local government has widened considerably with municipalities expanding their involvement in personal health and welfare, development planning and environmental protection, and the provision of community amenities, recreational and cultural facilities. More recently there has been a distinct movement away from the original concept of local government authorities as essentially providing works and services to the owners of property towards the assumption by municipalities that they should play a prominent part in the overall structure of government by providing services which benefit the whole community.

In this regard the growth in the 1970s of municipal involvement in personal health and welfare has been of particular importance. While infant welfare had become a fairly well established facet of local government activity by the 1940s, councils were requested by the Minister of Health in July 1944 to consider the introduction of a home help scheme to check the rate of infant mortality and provide help for expectant, nursing, or incapacitated mothers. The idea for the service stemmed from voluntary family housekeeping ventures organised during the war to allow mothers with children to engage in work or to provide them with assistance in the home if they were incapacitated or hospitalised. The "emergency housekeeper services" scheme was subsequently formally introduced under an amendment

to the Local Government Act in December 1944. Councils were permitted to use municipal funds for providing emergency home help for expectant mothers, nursing mothers, mothers incapacitated by illness, or for the care of children of deceased mothers.

At about the same time as the "emergency housekeeper services" scheme was introduced, the Department of Health indicated that it would consider providing subsidy assistance to any local council or organisation which established a free nursery, kindergarten, or pre-school centre within its district. Although a subsidy was duly formulated for the service, local government adopted a somewhat cautious approach to the introduction of the scheme. This was not entirely unexpected, given the unwillingness of councils to accept new financial burdens for welfare while representations were being made to the Victorian Government to increase the existing infant welfare subsidy to an amount equal to at least half the annual cost of conducting the service. Ante-natal medical services subsidised by the Victorian Government were also established in several municipalities from 1945. In 1946 the "emergency housekeeper services" scheme was subsidised by the Victorian Government as a local welfare service.

The State's first municipal welfare officer was appointed by the Council of the City of South Melbourne in 1948 as a result of a survey of community needs in the district. In the same year the Council in association with the local Community Chest established Victoria's first elderly citizens' club providing various services to the aged and infirm of the municipality including home help and meals-on-wheels. The Old People's Welfare Council, which had been formed in 1951, sought to employ similar strategies to those adopted by the maternal and infant welfare movement some thirty years earlier by using the work done for the elderly in South Melbourne as a model to encourage other municipalities and local organisations to establish similar facilities with subsidy assistance from the Victorian Government. The subsequent passage of the *Local Government (Amendment) Act 1954* extended the earlier 1944 amendment regarding emergency home help to include help for the aged or the infirm. It reflected the success of the campaign. From October 1955, subsidies towards the cost of establishing and maintaining elderly citizens' clubs were provided to municipal councils by the Victorian Government.

Although under severe financial constraint throughout the 1950s and 1960s, municipal councils gradually sought to extend their involvement in public health, infant welfare, and services for the elderly. The need, however, for the local provision of wider personal social welfare services became more acute as Melbourne's suburban expansion continued and communities in the outer metropolitan area found themselves increasingly isolated from centrally provided services. An inquiry into the problem conducted by the Victorian Branch of the Australian Association of Social Workers in 1963 recommended the provision of locally based services, geographically close to the user, and providing for the whole range of citizens' social problems. The Victorian Council of Social Service subsequently took up the matter and in 1965 established a special committee to foster the development of services such as counselling and information and the promotion of the co-ordination of existing services provided at the local level. Along with other local groups, municipal councils made substantial demands upon the services of the Committee.

Towards the end of the 1960s, however, local government itself was increasingly being regarded as the body best suited to administer personal welfare and co-ordinate the proliferation of local voluntary and community organisations. By 1969 a small number of councils — chiefly, although not exclusively, in the Melbourne metropolitan area — had established welfare departments within their administrative structure and appointed social welfare staff for the specific purpose of providing localised personal services to the community.

The growth of municipal health and welfare services was accelerated in 1971 when the Victorian Government decided to accept the provisions of the *Commonwealth-State Grants (Home Care) Act 1969*. This enabled the Victorian Government to pass on additional funds from the Commonwealth to municipalities for capital and maintenance subsidies for elderly citizens' clubs, home help, and home care services, and to subsidise the appointment of approved welfare officers who devoted 50 per cent of their time in carrying out approved welfare services for the aged.

A further significant advance came with the passage of the *Local Government (Amendment) Act 1972* which authorised municipal councils to expend money on the

provision of *any* social services for the benefit of the people of the municipality. Prior to this amendment the only funding powers available to councils for social services (apart from specific matters such as infant welfare, home help, nurseries, kindergartens, and pre-school centres) were contained under section 246(7) of the Local Government Act where up to 3 per cent of municipal funds — including the chairman's allowance — could be spent by a council on purposes not expressly authorised or prohibited by the Local Government Act or any other Act. The importance of the new provision lay in the fact that it effectively permitted a council to make its own decisions about the social services it wished to provide to the local community.

With the 1972 amendment providing legitimisation of a wider role for local government in providing personal services, the growing needs and expectations of local communities, combined with the provision of assistance from the Victorian and Commonwealth Governments, resulted in significant municipal expansion in personal, community health, and welfare services. The primary municipal role became the planning and co-ordination (often through informal channels) of services delivered by a wide variety of public and private agencies. The number of municipal welfare officer appointments also increased significantly while infant welfare, pre-school education, meals-on-wheels, elderly citizens' clubs, child care, home help (which were extended to cover families with intellectually and physically handicapped children) and para-medical services became virtually standard subsidised welfare responsibilities of Victorian local government.

Other welfare and community services and facilities which councils may provide and for which grants and subsidies are available, include the provision of hostel accommodation for the frail aged, housing for the disabled and the aged, emergency housing, and outreach youth workers. In addition, under the Local Government Act councils may, upon the application of pensioners, persons in necessitous circumstances, or persons for whom payment of rates would occasion hardship, at their discretion, excuse or defer the rate payment. Further, eligible pensioners have an as-of-right entitlement under the *Municipalities Assistance Act 1973* to apply to councils and other rating bodies for remission of payment of part of their municipal, water, and sewerage rate liability. Councils in country areas have also been called upon at times to administer drought relief for which funds have been provided by the Victorian Government.

Municipalities have also participated in the Department of Community Welfare Services' Family and Community Services Program (FACS), the origins of which lie with the Regional Councils for Social Development established by the Commonwealth for the purposes of the former Australian Assistance Plan. The programme which began in 1977 with the formation of eighteen Regional Consultative Committees and the placement of FACS staff within regions, involves State departments, municipalities, voluntary agencies, citizens, and self-help groups in jointly planning and developing regional community welfare programmes and allocating the grants and funds made available by the Victorian Government under the programme. The municipal presence in the FACS Program is significant: of the 473 members of the Regional Consultative Committees in 1978 (which included two administrative officers), there were 174 municipal representatives, 178 elected community members, 70 Victorian Government representatives, 25 representatives from voluntary organisations, and 24 observers.

Other welfare oriented services not subsidised by government which some councils provide include community drop-in and youth centres, family counselling, migrant welfare services, and emergency relief—assisting persons waiting for statutory benefits or helping them overcome short-term financial problems. Several Melbourne metropolitan municipalities have also been called upon to assist with accommodation, services, or finance activities initiated by local community groups such as citizens' advisory services and community legal services. Indeed, for many councils the real problem concerning the provision of social welfare services at a time of rising unemployment, increasing social problems, and rising costs has become the extent of their involvement in, and the division of the various statutory, administrative, and financial responsibilities between, Commonwealth, State and local government in personal health and welfare.

### Urban planning

Town and country planning emerged as a matter of considerable importance to municipalities in the post-war period. Although councils were given by-law making powers in the 1920s to prescribe areas within their municipal district as residential, commercial or industrial, they had proven to be almost totally ineffective in preventing the alteration of approved plans of subdivision. Throughout the 1930s, Melbourne metropolitan councils had also consistently urged the creation of a central planning authority to prepare a strategy plan for the future development of the metropolitan area. In this regard councils sought the revision and up-dating of the earlier plan prepared by the Metropolitan Town Planning Commission in 1929.

The *Town and Country Planning Act 1944* established the Town and Country Planning Board to assist and supervise the preparation — either voluntarily or on the requisition of the Minister — of statutory town planning schemes. The legislation provided that when a council commenced preparation of a planning scheme, it could make an interim development order prohibiting the development of areas of land and the construction of buildings, roads, or other works in any land included in the scheme. Both the Interim Development Order and the Planning Scheme were subject to the approval of the Governor in Council.

Provincial cities and towns quickly used the Act to assist them in encouraging and controlling development of their communities in the post-war years along predetermined lines. Realising, however, the difficulty of thirty or more municipalities planning independently for the development of the Melbourne metropolitan area, municipalities urged the Victorian Government to entrust the responsibility to the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW).

The *Town and Country Planning (Metropolitan Area) Act 1949* authorised the MMBW to prepare a strategy plan for the future development of Melbourne, although the delay in legislating for the future development of the metropolitan area exacerbated local government problems in the construction of infrastructure and service provision. The MMBW's planning scheme was subsequently drawn up and released for public comment in 1954, and following amendment was submitted to the Governor in Council in October 1959. However, another nine years were to pass before it received approval in April 1968. After approval, the MMBW delegated to municipal councils certain of its powers, authorities, and responsibilities concerning the administration, enforcement, and execution of the scheme. By legislation enacted in 1969, substantial additions were made to the Melbourne metropolitan planning area and in 1971 the MMBW prepared a planning scheme for the extended area.

The MMBW's review of planning strategy in the light of developments since 1971 has sought to include metropolitan objectives for key policy areas in the Metropolitan Planning Scheme. This was provided for by the *Town and Country Planning (General Amendment) Act 1979*. Under the Act, local councils in the Melbourne metropolitan area are responsible for preparing local development schemes, and such schemes must be consistent with the provisions of the Metropolitan Planning Scheme, including the metropolitan objectives.

Municipalities have also become involved in regional planning groups constituted under Acts of Parliament. Regional planning authorities constituted under separate statutes in recent years have been the Westernport Regional Planning Authority (1969—since disbanded); the Albury-Wodonga Development Corporation (1973), responsible to the Commonwealth, New South Wales, and Victorian Governments; the Geelong Regional Planning Authority (1969—replaced by the Geelong Regional Commission, 1977); and the Upper Yarra Valley and Dandenong Ranges Authority (1977). The Loddon-Campaspe Regional Planning Authority was created by an amendment to the Town and Country Planning Act in 1968. Other forms of *ad hoc* co-ordination groups established by non-statutory means and involving municipalities exist for the planning and development of the towns of Sunbury and Melton and the Western Port catchment area.

### Community facilities

Reflecting the increasing recognition of the importance of leisure, recreational, and cultural activities and services in improving the quality of life for local residents, local government has also become increasingly involved in the provision of recreational and

cultural facilities and community amenities. Most councils have sought to extend parkland and open space and develop facilities for active and passive recreational pursuits. Municipal recreation officers have been appointed to promote an awareness of recreation and to plan the development of related services within the local district.

The municipal library system was essentially a product of the post-war period and the passing of the *Free Library Service Board Act 1946* heralded a significant expansion in library development in Victoria. There had also been a considerable degree of regional co-operation between municipalities in providing public library services throughout the State. While a number of municipalities continued to operate independently, by 1982 some 28 regional library services covering 151 municipalities had been established. The largest of these groupings covered seventeen municipalities, the smallest only two. Responsibility for the provision, control, and administration of regional library groups was vested in committees constituted under the Local Government Act.

The range of activities undertaken by local government with respect to the arts included the provision of accommodation and premises to local arts groups, the establishment of cultural centres or galleries or contributions to a regional facility, grants to local art groups, the staging of festivals, competitions, and programmes of local arts activities. Several councils have also appointed community arts officers.

In recent years some councils have become more involved in the planning and co-ordination of local activities and the promotion of an understanding of the issues affecting community life. With greater emphasis being given to citizen participation in policy making these councils have sought to determine the goals, objectives, and strategies necessary for the effective development of resources of their local community and the co-ordination of available services to meet needs. Surveys of community needs have been undertaken to identify priorities for service provision, while studies have been instigated into such areas as public transport, traffic management, urban conservation, public housing, recreation and open space environmental protection, energy conservation, and unemployment. This work has also assisted councils in their advocacy before government on behalf of the interests of local residents regarding their health, welfare, safety, environment, and lifestyle.

### **Financial problems**

The development of the functional role and range of activities available to councils in serving their local communities has been reflected in its impact on local government's fiscal relations with the Commonwealth and State Governments, and the increasing recognition afforded to local government in the structure and machinery of government generally.

Post-war development and population growth and the resultant demands on municipalities to extend their involvement in the provision of public amenities, services, and physical infrastructure created financial problems for local government and brought into serious question the adequacy of rate income as the source of finance for municipal activities. As early as 1944, Melbourne metropolitan councils under the auspices of the Municipal Association of Victoria formed a special committee to investigate the possibility of devising a scheme for supplementing rate income to cover the cost of services provided by municipalities which were not of direct benefit to the property owner.

The committee's Report drew attention to the inequitable financial burden imposed on the ratepayer for the provision of public amenities and social services and the adverse impact on municipal revenues of the increasing number of properties exempt under the legislation from the payment of rates. The committee also considered that not only would the demand for personal and community services grow appreciably after the war, but that it would be in the overall interests of the Commonwealth and Victorian Governments to continue to devolve responsibilities to local government. However, concern was expressed that the costs of providing such services should not have to be met solely from rate income. Accordingly it was recommended that the whole question of Commonwealth, State, and local government inter-relationships be investigated by a Royal Commission or a Committee of Inquiry with particular reference to the delineation of functions of the three spheres of government and the sharing of revenue from the common pool of taxation.

The Report of the committee was endorsed by the Municipal Association of Victoria.



In subsequent representations to the Victorian Government, the Association urged the reform of the municipal financial structure commensurate with the increasing demands on local government. The Victorian Government was urged to press for a Royal Commission to review the responsibilities and functions of government, to define the duties to be undertaken by local government and to evolve a financial system under which municipalities would be provided with adequate revenue to carry out their work.

As a result of a conference of Victorian local government organisations convened in Melbourne in November 1947, the Australian Council of Local Government Associations (ACLGA) was formed to give local government a more effective voice — particularly with the Commonwealth Government — on matters affecting municipal councils. This new body began an intensive investigation into the level of funds from Commonwealth taxes on petrol and diesel fuels distributed to the States for roadworks, the question of the payment of rates by the Commonwealth Government on government property within municipal districts, and the claim of municipalities for the supplementation of rating income through the sharing of the proceeds of general taxation revenue.

Gradually the Victorian Government provided more specific purpose subsidies. A special Municipalities Subsidies Fund was established in 1948 through payments from Consolidated Revenue for subsidies on municipal works mainly for the construction of community amenities, and recreational and sporting facilities. An amount of \$2m was provided each year under the Fund. In 1950, the passage of the Municipalities and Other Authorities Finances Act made this arrangement permanent. Subsidies were introduced to assist municipal libraries and to provide country municipalities with emergency flood relief and drainage works; loan funds were made available to councils for the construction of public halls and swimming pools. Social services were also supported by State funds throughout the 1950s.

In 1949, the Minister of Public Works investigated the financial position of municipalities and the effects of exemptions of Commonwealth, State and other community property from rates, and the State Government after 1950 made ex-gratia payments to councils in lieu of rates on exempt government residences and for private street construction works adjacent to government buildings. Ex-gratia payments were later extended to drainage works in easements and footpath and kerb construction. In 1952, the Commonwealth Government began to make similar payments in respect of works adjacent to certain types of Commonwealth property.

Limited additional funds were also provided for road works. State revenue from motor drivers' licence fees, and vehicle ownership and transfer of ownership certificates was channelled into the Country Roads Board Fund while additional borrowing for permanent works on highways and main roads released extra funds to councils for maintenance. The Commonwealth Government made special grants between 1947 and 1949 for roadworks in sparsely populated areas. At the same time the new Commonwealth Aid Roads Agreement in 1950 doubled (and in 1955 further increased) the proportion of petrol tax allocated to the States for roads. However, Victorian municipalities renewed their demands for the total of the funds derived by the Commonwealth Government from petrol tax revenues to be given back to the States and for the formula used for the allocation of petrol tax revenues among the States to increase Victoria's share.

The situation in respect of road funding was mirrored in the general drift of municipal finances through the 1950s. Despite the provision of limited financial assistance for specific works and services from the Commonwealth and State Governments, the extent of community demands and the impact of inflationary pressures forced many councils to increase their rates to finance municipal activities. Municipalities thus bore an increasing portion of the cost of subsidised services. There was concern not only at the inadequacy of existing capital and maintenance grants provided by the State Government, but also at the propriety of requiring ratepayers to pay for services benefiting the community as a whole, but with no link to rateable property. As municipal deficits rose councils, through the Association, pressed for a conference of Commonwealth, State and local government on their responsibilities and finances. The States did not support the proposal.

The representations of State and local government to the Commonwealth on the distribution of petrol tax revenues for road works resulted in the announcement in September 1957 by the Commonwealth Government of a review of road funding before

the expiration of existing Commonwealth Aid Roads legislation. The result of the inquiry was the attenuation of the link between fuel taxation and road grants which had existed for the previous 33 years, with the provision for fixed sums to be paid from Consolidated Revenue for allocation under the Commonwealth Aid Roads Act in each of the five years 1959-60 to 1963-64. The Municipal Association of Victoria resigned from the ACLGA after disagreeing with the other States on the allocation formula. The Association did not in fact rejoin the ACLGA until 1966 when the latter's constitution was amended to prevent a recurrence of the problem.

Although additional finance was now granted for roads, the claims of local government for other assistance from the Commonwealth Government were less successful. The Commonwealth Government rejected municipal requests for the abolition of pay-roll tax (although the level of exemption had been raised), the liberalisation of the system of ex-gratia payments, and the provision of tax reimbursement grants direct to councils. The Prime Minister suggested that in assessing general revenue grants to the States, the Commonwealth Government took into account the States' financial commitments to their local authorities and that the States were free to pass on to local government whatever proportion of the total amount received they deemed appropriate. In the light of this response Victorian local government looked increasingly towards the appointment of a Minister for Local Government to improve its position within government and to provide a more appropriate response to its requests for assistance at the State level.

The Minister for Public Works had administered Victorian local government legislation through the Local Government Branch of the Public Works Department since 1877. However, the expansion of council responsibilities outside the traditional role of service to property resulted in strong municipal support from 1950 onwards for direct representation of local government in Cabinet. The Municipal Association of Victoria urged the appointment of a Minister solely concerned with local government.

In 1958, the Victorian Government introduced legislation into Parliament for the creation of the new Ministry and the establishment of the Local Government Department "for the better administration of the laws relating to local government in Victoria". More specifically the legislation provided for the assumption of responsibility by the Minister for Local Government of the Local Government Act, the Acts relating to local government in the cities of Melbourne and Geelong, the Town and Country Planning Act, the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works Act, the Local Authorities Superannuation Act, the Petrol Pumps Act, the Drainage Areas Act, the Pounds Act, and the Dog Act. While all political parties supported the legislation, the new Ministry's proposed sphere of influence created certain difficulties for the Municipal Association, which believed that the administration of the Country Roads Act should also be made the responsibility of the Minister for Local Government. During the passage through Parliament of the legislation an amendment was carried in the Legislative Council giving effect to the Association's views and the Victorian Government then announced its intention not to proceed with the legislation. The Association reconsidered its stand and finally the Bill was resubmitted and passed in its original form. The Local Government Department was then formed through the transfer of the small number of officers from the Local Government Branch of the Public Works Department.

#### COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO LOCAL GOVERNMENT, 1959 TO 1962

In September 1959 the Minister for Local Government moved to appoint a three member Commission of Inquiry under the chairmanship of Mr R. H. Mohr, to inquire into local government with particular reference to its disabilities in the performance of its statutory functions and duties. The Commission was also directed to examine the structure of Victoria's municipal system and to recommend the alteration of municipal boundaries to promote more efficient, economic, and satisfactory units of local government.

The Commission of Inquiry presented its Report to the Victorian Government in September 1962 and found the most serious disability confronting Victorian local government to be the general lack of finance for developmental and maintenance work. The Commission noted the "fairly fixed income situation" facing municipalities, in a time of inflation, between valuation periods.

The Commission judged as haphazard and unco-ordinated the approach of local government to loan raising. The stringent procedures for borrowing required to be followed by councils under the Local Government Act, once formal Treasury approval for loan proposals had been given, were strongly criticised.

Further, the Commission pointed to the considerable impact on municipal finances of taxes imposed by other spheres of government — in particular the payment of Commonwealth pay-roll tax, and stamp duty charged by the State. Reference was also made to the adverse effect on municipal revenue of the concentration of non-rateable property in certain areas (although acknowledgement was made of the *ex-gratia* payments made by the Commonwealth and State Government in lieu of rate exempt residences).

The Commission confirmed the view that councils generally were finding it difficult to keep pace with rising costs and the extension of municipal health and welfare services in the post-war period. There were simply insufficient funds available to meet the needs of municipalities, while inflation had eroded the value of the grants and subsidies they received. Moreover, as health and welfare services were available to the community generally, the Commission contended that property owners were being asked to shoulder a disproportionate share of the municipal cost of such services.

In regard to roads, the Commission suggested the essential problem was finance and the capacity of municipalities to carry out large-scale works. The Commission confirmed that the road funds passed back by the Commonwealth to the States represented only a portion of the total road-user taxes levied by the Commonwealth, and suggested that a significant increase in the amount of petrol tax returned to the States and maximum use of loan funds would be required in order to expedite road works in Victoria and overcome an expected shortfall of \$272m in road finance during the 1960s.

The Commission took the view that despite limited financial assistance, local government "had largely been neglected and left to its own devices to raise sufficient revenues to meet requirements against a wave of rising costs". It needed additional revenue and the Commission proposed that it should basically come from the common pool of taxation. Accordingly it recommended that the Victorian Government make representations to the Commonwealth for the payment of an annual amount equal to \$2 per head of population for distribution by the States to municipalities. In addition, the Commission recommended that the Victorian Government secure more Commonwealth aid for roads.

On the matter of municipal loan raising the Commission recommended that the Victorian Government establish a central municipal borrowing authority with power to raise funds and make loans to municipalities, and that the securities issued by the authority should be made trustee securities in Victoria. Among other important proposals pertaining to the question of finance were the repeal of the provision for a maximum general rate of 20 cents in the \$1 of net annual value, the narrowing of existing rating exemption provisions, and the provision of a special grant to each shire with a non-rateable area exceeding 40 per cent of the total area of the municipality.

The Commission was also concerned to ensure that revenue raised by local government was expended to give maximum results. In this regard it suggested that the financial disabilities of local government could not be considered separately from the size of some of the smaller municipalities, their administrative costs, and the balance of funds available for works. It found some municipalities to be not viable units and proposed extensive restructuring of municipal boundaries. The Municipal Association of Victoria opposed the proposal for councils to receive a grant of \$2 per head of population and instead recommended a conference between the Commonwealth and State Premiers to discuss the financial disabilities suffered by municipal councils and the ways and means of overcoming them. A call was made for a local government campaign to increase State Government subsidies for capital works. Further, the Association declined to support the Commission's proposal to repeal the maximum general rate of 20 cents in the \$1 on the net annual value and advocated a guarded approach by local government to the Commission's proposals to pay a special grant to shires with extensive non-rateable areas and to revise the legislation pertaining to properties exempt from rates. While full support was given to proposals for revising borrowing procedures, the establishment of a central loan funding agency was opposed on the grounds that such an authority might seek to control municipal financial policies.

During the course of the Commission's investigations, the *Valuation of Land Act 1960* was passed providing for the appointment within the Local Government Department of a Valuer-General, a Deputy Valuer-General, and other officers charged with the overall responsibility of supervising municipal valuations. The essential purpose of the legislation was to introduce a greater degree of uniformity and stabilisation into the valuation process to improve and strengthen municipal valuations to the point where they would become acceptable to all rating authorities. The new Act required valuations to be made by qualified certificated valuers and for every general valuation from 1961 onwards to be made to a standard which the Valuer-General could certify as "generally true and correct". Provision was also made for a Valuers' Qualification Board and metropolitan councils were required to revalue at least once in every four years and non-metropolitan councils once every six years.

Through the 1960s other changes to the revenue raising capacity of councils were effected through amendments to the Local Government Act. In 1966, the minimum amount of rate payable under the general rate was lifted, and in 1968 several important amendments to rating procedures were initiated affecting the differential rating provisions for farm rates, the introduction of an urban farm rate, the levying of rates partly on net annual value and partly on unimproved capital value, and the payment of rates by quarterly instalments. In 1969, a revision of the legislative provisions for properties exempt from rates was also made in the light of the recommendations in the 1966 Report of the Statute Law Revision Committee.

#### BOARD OF INQUIRY INTO LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCE IN VICTORIA, 1970 TO 1972

In 1970, a Board of Inquiry was set up under the chairmanship of Mr L. Voumard, Q.C., to examine all aspects of local government finance. In May 1972, the Voumard Report, like the earlier Mohr Report, expressed serious misgivings about the financial structure of Victorian local government. Although the Committee conceded that there was considerable unused capacity in the rating system, it stressed the severe limitations on the financial resources of local government, the consequences for municipal autonomy of the regressive nature of the property tax, and the deficiencies of existing financial arrangements between Commonwealth, State, and local government: the financial inequalities between municipalities, the inadequacies and fragmentation in the existing grant system, and the difficulties of councils in financing capital works. These financial inequalities included large amounts of non-rateable property and particular socio-economic groups which affected the rate base and service provision, and were not taken into account under the existing fragmented grants system. The Committee emphasised that grants and subsidies in health and welfare and other areas were generally made only for specific services and did not harmonise with the principle of municipal autonomy. Further, municipalities had gradually assumed a growing proportion of the total cost of subsidised services.

The difficulties of municipalities in financing capital works were regarded by the Committee as being particularly acute. The inadequacy of many capital grants and the special needs of some developing areas were not met by existing grants. Indeed the growing indebtedness of many municipalities — in 1968-69 debt servicing totalled \$18.7m or 13.1 per cent of municipal general fund expenditure — had reduced the amount of revenue available for other works and services. In respect of the diminishing capacity to meet the cost of road works, the Committee pointed to the need for councils to meet rapidly increasing demands for other services, the problems created by increased traffic volumes, the need to construct roads and bridges to much higher standards, and the depressed state of agricultural industry which at the time inhibited the revenue raising ability of many country councils. Some councils also had difficulties in raising on the open market the annual amount they were authorised to borrow for capital works.

The Committee supported the strong supplementation of rate revenue from central government resources and sought an appraisal of the financial responsibilities of the Commonwealth and State Governments to local government. In a similar approach to that adopted by the Mohr Commission ten years previously the Committee called for the Victorian Government to provide each municipality with an unconditional grant to be

applied by the council "in accordance with its statutory powers on the basis of its own assessment and priorities". Unlike the Mohr Commission, however, the Voumard Committee proposed that allocations to councils be based on an assessment of needs computed on the basis of an objective formula. It recommended the abolition of the existing Municipalities Assistance Fund — under which subsidies were made to country councils — and the establishment of a fund of \$5m per annum from which unconditional grants would be allocated to municipalities and assistance given to councils with particular needs for capital projects by a Local Government Grants Commission.

Other recommendations of the Voumard Committee designed to bring about changes in the existing financial relationship between Commonwealth, State and local government, and to improve the capacity of municipalities to serve their local communities with greater autonomy and flexibility included the raising of the existing minimum amount payable under the general rate; the provision of increased Commonwealth and State financial assistance to local government for road and bridge works; the replacement of separate grants for individual health and welfare services by a "block grant"; the review by the Victorian Government of capital grants to municipalities; the abolition of loan raising procedures and the amendment of the Local Government Act to give additional borrowing powers to councils; and the review of financial and administrative controls exerted on municipal councils by statute, regulation, or departmental procedure. However, the Committee envisaged these changes occurring within a municipal system which had been significantly restructured and in which internal organisation had been considerably improved and strengthened. Accordingly, it recommended that there be further separate inquiries on the external structure and internal administration of Victorian local government.

Several recommendations of the Voumard Report were adopted by the Victorian Government over the next few years. In successive State Budgets following release of the Report improvements were made to the basis of capital grants while the range of works eligible for subsidy increased significantly. The development of recreational, sporting, and cultural facilities received considerable encouragement from the Victorian Government. Changes in the powers of the Country Roads Board occurred, and some additional financial assistance was provided for roads. In health and welfare, several subsidies were improved. However, limited finance precluded the introduction of a "block grant" for health and welfare services. In line with another of the Committee's recommendations the passage of the *Municipalities Assistance Act 1973* provided for the reimbursement of part of the rate payable by eligible pensioners. The cost to councils (in terms of revenue foregone) was reimbursed by the State Treasury. The scheme was subsequently extended to cover water and sewerage rates.

While the Voumard Committee had proposed raising the minimum amount payable under the general rate, the *Local Government (Rates) Act 1973* gave councils complete discretion to set the minimum amount payable under the general rate, thus bringing in a reasonable contribution to municipal services from lower valued properties. Exemptions, aimed at removing anomalies which had later arisen from certain properties being unfairly treated by the imposition of high minimum rates, were subsequently introduced under the *Local Government (Rates) Amendment Act 1976*.

Little change occurred, however, in municipal borrowing arrangements. The only major development was the raising of the limit for "smaller authorities" pursuant to the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1927 which established the Loan Council. In 1972, it was \$400,000 and in 1976, \$800,000. At the July 1977 meeting of the Loan Council the limit was raised to \$1m. It was subsequently lifted again to \$1.2m. A proposal to amend the Commonwealth Constitution to enable the Commonwealth Government to borrow for local government bodies was put to referendum in 1974 but was rejected.

However, the local government financial situation was improved through the provision of general revenue grants rather than improved borrowing arrangements. The fundamental proposal of the Voumard Committee concerning municipal endowment and the creation of a Local Government Grants Commission for allocating revenue grants to supplement rate income and compensate for financial inequalities between municipalities, was subsumed by the Commonwealth Government's general purpose funds to local government after 1973-74.

COMMONWEALTH GENERAL REVENUE ASSISTANCE  
TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The introduction by the Commonwealth Government in 1973 of fiscal equalisation through unconditional financial assistance to councils represented a watershed in inter-governmental relationships in Australia. It also represented the partial fulfilment of the objective long held by Victorian local government as a result of expanding municipal activities in personal and community services — the commitment by the Commonwealth to local government of a share of the national pool of income taxation revenue. Before 1973, no Commonwealth assistance was provided specifically for local government. Although successive Commonwealth Governments had for many years provided funds for local roadworks, health and welfare facilities, and local services, such assistance had been channelled through the State Governments or provided through various Commonwealth programmes under which municipal councils could apply for assistance.

In 1972, there was an expansion of specific purpose grants for development works (such as the Area Improvement Program and the National Sewerage Program), and for the alleviation of unemployment (such as the Regional Employment Development Scheme), which, although not intended primarily to benefit municipal councils, significantly influenced the development of local communities. The *Grants Commission Act 1973* provided for the Grants Commission to continue reporting on applications by claimant States for special grants under section 96 of the Commonwealth Constitution and empowered the Commission to report on applications to the Commonwealth for financial assistance from individual local government bodies and approved regional organisations.

Under the Act a set of regional groupings of councils was approved by the Minister for Urban and Regional Development, after consultation with the appropriate State Ministers. By December 1973, eighteen groups of local governing bodies in Victoria were approved. Although several new groupings had to be formulated for the Act, some approved regions had already existed for other State administrative purposes. Each local governing body was requested to furnish submissions in support of applications made on their behalf by the approved regional organisations. These claims and the evidence gathered in public hearings enabled the Grants Commission to recommend the payment by the Commonwealth of municipal grants under section 96 of the Commonwealth Constitution to State Governments. The Committee's determinations were founded on the principle of fiscal need: financial equality between local authorities and regional groupings of councils to assist the provision of comparable services. The funds were to be expended for general purposes in a manner determined by the recipient councils.

The amounts recommended by the Grants Commission for Victorian local authorities "without conditions attached to their use" totalled \$14.6m in 1974-75 and \$20.2m in 1975-76. However, not all local authorities received financial assistance under the scheme as the Commission's recommendations were based exclusively on what it regarded as appropriate for fiscal equalisation purposes. At the same time a small number of municipal councils had either declined to accept membership of any regional organisation or indicated that they would not seek financial assistance under the Act.

GOVERNMENT GRANTS RECEIVED BY MUNICIPALITIES: VICTORIA,  
1934-35 TO 1981-82 (a)  
(\$'000)

Year	General purpose grants (b)	Payments from the licensing fund (c)	Pre-schools	Health	Libraries	Recreation facilities	Unemployment relief	Roads (d)	Other	Total
1934-35	..	120	..	..	..	..	199	..	86	406
1939-40	..	120	..	36	..	53	1,425	(e) 129	91	1,854
1944-45	..	118	..	65	..	2	8	(e) 54	137	383
1949-50	..	118	11	122	83	107	—	(e) 267	83	790
1954-55	..	117	58	269	217	103	—	(e) 222	251	1,237
1959-60	..	114	150	443	470	437	—	(e) 540	546	2,700

GOVERNMENT GRANTS RECEIVED BY MUNICIPALITIES: VICTORIA,  
1934-35 TO 1981-82 (a)—continued  
(\$'000)

Year	General purpose grants (b)	Pay-ments from the licen-sing fund (c)	Pre-schools	Health	Libraries	Recreation facilities	Unemploy-ment relief	Roads (d)	Other	Total
1964-65	..	112	303	744	784	961	—	12,149	1,431	16,484
1969-70	..	611	571	1,036	1,392	1,223	—	15,649	1,939	22,421
1974-75	14,661	..	5,897	2,390	6,147	7,883	(f)16,685	29,102	10,368	93,133
1979-80	56,691	..	8,660	5,512	12,000	7,261	740	47,796	25,012	163,672
1980-81	76,223	..	9,919	6,167	12,598	7,222	635	52,592	29,943	195,300
1981-82	89,300	..	11,826	6,860	13,405	7,041	557	57,965	33,595	220,549

(a) Includes grants to municipalities from both State and Commonwealth funds. These statistics record grants actually received by municipalities in the municipal financial year (year ended 30 September), and may vary from statistics published elsewhere in this *Year Book*.

(b) In 1973 the Commonwealth Government passed legislation giving the Commonwealth Grants Commission the role of recommending grants to the States for onpassing to Local Government Authorities (LGAs). The first of these grants was paid in the 1974-75 financial year. These arrangements were changed with the introduction of Stage I of Personal Income Tax Sharing in the 1976-77 financial year. Under these revised arrangements, the Victoria Grants Commission, a State authority, is responsible for determining the grants paid to individual Victorian LGAs.

(c) Refunds of licensing revenue (net) made to municipalities. No grants were made after 1969-70.

(d) Excludes refunds from the Country Roads Board (CRB) for work done on behalf of other authorities.

(e) Excludes grants made direct to the CRB account of individual municipalities.

(f) Includes amounts payable by the Commonwealth Government under the Regional Employment Development Scheme, \$12,332,643, the Aboriginal Advancement Program, \$253,589, and the National Employment and Training Scheme, \$4,441.

In 1976-77, the historic demand of local government in Victoria (and other States) for a share of the common pool of taxation was finally met when the Commonwealth Government provided some financial assistance to all municipalities and absorbed into a wider system of revenue sharing the scheme under which unconditional grants were given to local authorities. The passage of the *Commonwealth Local Government (Personal Income Tax Sharing) Act 1976* provided for the States an allocation to municipalities of an amount determined by the personal income tax collections for the previous financial year. Responsibility for distribution was transferred to State Grants Commissions and the Victoria Grants Commission was formally constituted on 24 May 1977 under the Minister for Local Government to determine the allocation between municipalities. The Commonwealth Grants Commission retained responsibility for the proportional distribution of general revenue assistance between the States. It also continued to base its recommendations for State shares on assessments of the fiscal equalisation needs of individual municipalities in each State.

Following the Commonwealth legislation, each municipality must receive a minimum "as of right" entitlement. In Victoria where the "as of right" component represents 40 per cent of the State's allocation, each municipality's "as of right" entitlement has been determined on the basis of population 85 per cent, and area 15 per cent. In the assessment of the total grant to each municipality, the Victoria Grants Commission must consider the special needs and disabilities of the particular municipality, the effort made by the municipality to function effectively and provide reasonable service, and any other matters of special significance to the municipality.

For 1976-77, the amount distributed by the Commonwealth to the States under the normal budget was \$140m which was equivalent to 1.52 per cent of personal income tax collected during 1975-76; this proportion was also used to determine total allocations for 1977-78 and 1978-79. In 1979-80, local government's share of income tax revenue was increased to 1.75 per cent with \$221.7m given to the States for municipal councils. Local government's share of income tax revenue was further increased to 2 per cent for 1980-81, the Commonwealth, as promised, providing \$300.8m. The same proportion was used to determine the total State allocation for 1981-82, resulting in a 16.6 per cent increase over the previous year and \$350.9m available to the States for municipalities. A 21 per cent rise in receipts from personal income tax collections in 1981-82 resulted in a total of \$424.4m being available to the States for allocation to local government authorities in 1982-83.

The apportionment between the six States, which is based on recommendations by the Commonwealth Grants Commission, is incorporated in the Commonwealth Act. New South Wales receives 36.4977 per cent, Victoria 25.4513, Queensland 16.8606, South Australia 8.6010, Western Australia 9.3897, and Tasmania 3.1997.

At first, the share for Victoria was 25.2845 per cent of the total amount, but this was increased to the level of 25.4513 per cent following a review of the proportions in 1977 by the Commonwealth Grants Commission. The overall level of assistance received by Victoria under the personal income tax sharing scheme has increased from \$35.4m in 1976-77 to \$108m in 1982-83.

The significant level of funds provided under general revenue sharing arrangements has alleviated financial inequalities between councils. Untied funds from the Commonwealth have encouraged councils to extend their services and promoted decentralisation in decision making. While the Victoria Grants Commission has progressively developed fiscal equalisation for determining allocations to councils, increasing demands for services and inflation have underlined the need for a continuing growth of funds received from the Commonwealth.

### CONSTITUTIONAL RECOGNITION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN VICTORIA

The *Constitution (Local Government) Act 1979* gave formal recognition to local government in the Victorian Constitution. The origin of this development goes back to the 1973 Australian Constitutional Convention in Sydney at which local government representatives were given full member status to speak on questions of local government. The submission of ACLGA to the Convention proposed a provision to be included in the Commonwealth Constitution which would recognise the role of local government within Australia. A separate submission to the Convention from the Municipal Association of Victoria also stressed the need for the recognition of local government in the Commonwealth Constitution. However, the difficulties involved in framing a provision that would recognise local government without endangering the powers of the States to declare municipal boundaries, alter local government bodies, and change local government functions, made it impracticable for the Convention to incorporate local government in the Commonwealth Constitution.

While later sessions of the Convention also could not frame an acceptable amendment to the Commonwealth Constitution, the Victorian Government at the 1976 plenary session in Hobart, sponsored a resolution acknowledging the importance of municipal activity within government and invited the States to consider formal recognition of local government in State Constitutions. The Victorian motion was passed by Convention members without dissent. In May 1978, the Local Government (Constitution) Bill was introduced into the Victorian Parliament providing for the recognition of local government in the Victorian Constitution. The *Constitution (Local Government) Act 1979*, which amended the *Victorian Constitution Act 1975*, provided for this. Victoria was the first State to give effect to the Hobart resolution.

The *Constitution (Local Government) Act 1979* prescribes that a "municipal council shall not be dismissed except by an Act or enactment of the Parliament relating to the particular municipality". There have only been four occasions, all in recent years, when the Victorian Government has elected to invoke its statutory powers to suspend or dismiss a council.

The first was in July 1975 when the Victorian Government suspended the Council of the City of Keilor and appointed an administrator of the City. The action was taken under sections 13 to 15 of the Local Government Act when the Council became unable to maintain a quorum at meetings. The administrator continued to manage the affairs of the City until August 1980 when the Council was reinstated following the annual municipal election.

In September 1976, the Victorian Government dismissed the Council of the City of Sunshine following the Report of a Board of Inquiry into the finances of the City. The Board's Report disclosed financial mismanagement of the City between 1972 and 1975. Under the *Local Government (City of Sunshine) Act 1976* the Council was dismissed and a Commissioner appointed to administer the affairs of the City. The first steps towards the reinstatement of an elected council were taken in May 1981 with the re-subdivision of



the municipal district into three wards. Following the subsequent evaluation of the City's financial position, an elected council was returned at the municipal elections in August 1982.

The third occasion was in December 1980, when the Victorian Government announced its intention to restructure the Council of the City of Melbourne by reducing the number of councillors from 26 to about 12, having the Lord Mayor elected by all ratepayers, and establishing more restricted boundaries to enable the Council to concentrate on the administration of the central City. The decision to abolish the Council reflected the Victorian Government's increasing concern with the operations of the City Council. The *Local Government (City of Melbourne) Act 1981* provided for the City to be administered by three commissioners one of whom was to be appointed full-time chairman. The commissioners were charged, *inter alia*, with advising the Victorian Government on the location of new City boundaries, the apportionment of assets and liabilities, management of business undertakings, staff deployment and rights, and the review of the Council's policy making and administrative practices.

Finally, in July 1982, the Victorian Government moved to dismiss the Council of the City of Richmond and appoint a Commission to administer the City. The action of the Government taken under the *Local Government (City of Richmond) Act 1982* followed its consideration of the Report of a Board of Inquiry. A chairman and deputy chairman of the Commission were subsequently appointed to administer the City to ensure that its affairs and functions were carried out efficiently. The Commission was empowered to improve the administration, organisation, staffing, and procedures of the municipality and was required to report regularly to the Minister. The legislation contained the facility for new elections to be called when appropriate.

#### EMERGING SYSTEM — THE FINAL REPORT OF THE BOARD OF REVIEW OF THE ROLE, STRUCTURE, AND ADMINISTRATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN VICTORIA

Significant proposals for the reform of the external structure of Victorian local government had been put forward in several inquiries into the municipal system — the most notable being the recommendations of the 1962 Mohr Commission — and in the reviews of specific areas carried out at the request of the Minister between 1969 and 1974 by the Local Government Advisory Board. However, in the light of a generally hostile reaction from local government against the adoption of proposals for amalgamation of councils, the recommendations of these inquiries were largely ignored and the municipal structure remained essentially unchanged. Similarly, municipal opposition thwarted government moves in 1936 and 1951 to create a central authority — involving the absorption of councils and the transfer of powers — to undertake the functions of metropolitan government in Melbourne.

The call for a further comprehensive inquiry into the Victorian municipal system covering external and internal organisation, the efficiency of local government operations, and the relationship of municipal government with other levels of government and the public received increasing support throughout the 1970s.

Following Cabinet approval, the Board of Review of the Role, Structure, and Administration of Local Government in Victoria was subsequently established in August 1978 under the chairmanship of an internationally recognised local government expert, Mr M. Bains. Under its terms of reference the Board was to inquire into and report upon:

- (1) The role which local government in Victoria should perform in serving its ratepayers and citizens;
- (2) whether the structure and administration of local government required any and what rationalisation or changes to enable municipalities more effectively and economically to fulfil the role envisaged for them; and
- (3) any matters relevant to the foregoing which the Board considered desirable to inquire into, or which are referred to it by the Minister.

The Board was further asked that in making its recommendations it was to have regard to the resources available and likely to be available to local government. The Final Report reflected the Board's support for more effective councils — local authorities should not



During the Second World War consignments of food parcels were sent to Great Britain by individuals and organisations. These parcels, for example, were collected from the citizens of Camberwell by the Camberwell City Council.

*Camberwell-Waverley Regional Library, Local History Collection*

Air raid wardens outside their headquarters in Caulfield during the Second World War.

*City of Caulfield*





H.R.H. The Duke of Gloucester arrived in Melbourne in 1934 to officially open Victoria's Centenary celebrations.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*



Farewell to Rt. Hon. Sir Owen Dixon, on 13 April 1964 on his retirement as Chief Justice of Australia. He is shown here with the then Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Menzies.

*Australian Information Service*

A memorial service was held in Melbourne in 1967 for the Australian Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. Harold Holt, who disappeared while swimming at Portsea. Many overseas Heads of State and government attended the service.

*Australian Information Service*





H.M. The Queen, accompanied by the then Premier of Victoria, Hon. R. J. Hamer, during her visit to Melbourne in 1980.

*Australian Information Service*



H.M. The Queen presented Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Menzies, former Prime Minister of Australia with the insignia of the Knight of the Order of Australia in 1977.

*Australian Information Service*

T.R.H. The Prince and Princess of Wales visited Sovereign Hill Historical Park, Ballarat in 1983.

*Australian Information Service*





The Law Courts and Police buildings at Horsham.

*Victorian Tourism Commission*

The County Court of Victoria building in William Street, Melbourne, built in 1969.

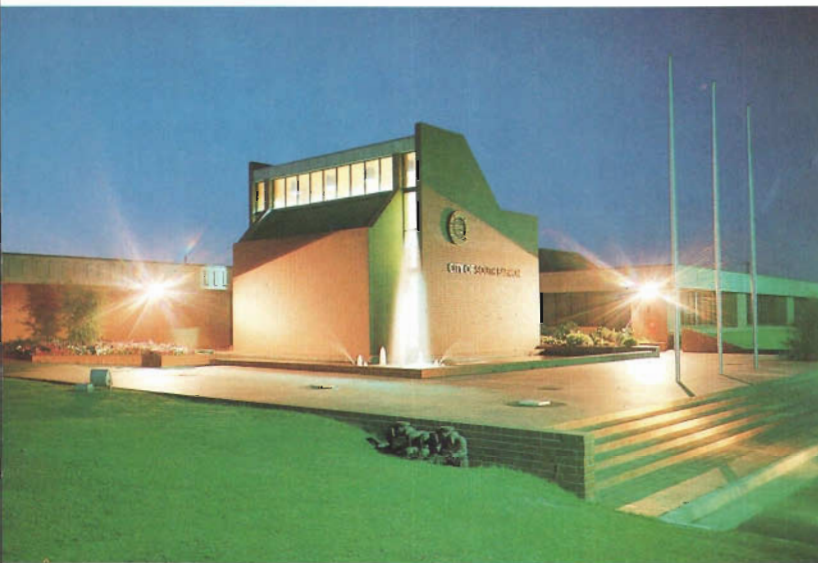
*M. White*





The St Kilda Town Hall, built in 1884.

*Gas and Fuel Corporation of Victoria*



The Civic Centre of the City of South Barwon, erected in 1978.

*Robert Pockley Studios*



The historic Maryborough Civic Buildings and Post Office.

*Gas and Fuel Corporation of Victoria*

H.R.H. The Prince of Wales officially opened the Bourke Street Mall on 14 April 1983.

*Australian Information Service*



The Bourke Street Mall provides a new shopping environment for the Melbourne Central Business District.

*N. Smith*



A "Fire Prevention Week" display held in the Melbourne City Square in 1983.

*M. White*





Large crowds blocked many Melbourne streets during a Vietnam War moratorium march in 1970.

*National Library of Australia*

Display of progressive voting figures on polling night at the Central Tally Room, Exhibition Building, Melbourne in 1979.

*Victorian State Electoral Office*





Children's neighbourhood centres are a feature of the many activities of municipal councils in Victoria.

*City of Caulfield*



Elderly Citizens Clubs provide a meeting and activity centre for many elderly persons.

*City of Caulfield*



only have the capacity to carry out their duties but enjoy more freedom to manage and administer their own affairs and accept greater responsibility to and for the communities they serve.

The Board proposed a considerably expanded municipal role in such fields as town and country planning, housing, health and welfare, and the administration of water and sewerage services in the non-metropolitan area. However, the ability of local government to perform the role expected of it, the Board suggested, depended on extensive reform not only of the physical and administrative structure of local government, but also of its relationships with other spheres of government and the public. The Board proposed that a specially constituted Municipal Organisation, Property and Staffing Commission be established to review the municipal structure and determine a new pattern of local authorities for Victoria. The Board also urged the creation of a directly elected metropolitan council for Melbourne.

Recommendations to reform the internal structure and administration of Victorian local government included: the adoption by councils of corporate management structures; the encouragement of greater delegation by councils to committees and officers; amendment of the legislation to permit councils to establish an administrative structure best suited to their needs; the removal from the legislation of mandatory appointments including requirements for minimum qualifications and protection to named officers; and the appointment by councils of a chief executive officer of the municipality.

Reforms intended by the Board to strengthen local government's relationship with the public and widen candidature for local elections included the introduction of a universal franchise for municipal elections and a triennial election system; the payment of out-of-pocket expenses to councillors; the maintenance by councils of registers of representatives' pecuniary interest; the development of codes of conduct for councillors and officers; the provision of facilities and information for councillors; and the compilation by municipalities of profiles of community needs for determining priorities.

In respect of inter-governmental relationships the Board's major proposals included the establishment of a formal Local Government Consultative Council to ensure consultation between State and local government; the possible creation of a Local Government Court; the review of the Local Government Act and other local government legislation; the provision of a general competence power for municipalities; and the introduction of a system of general grants to replace the system under which tied grants are received from Victorian Government departments. The Board also proposed that the Local Government Department be Victoria's contact point on local government issues so that the Department's research facilities should be considerably strengthened.

Following the completion of an extensive period of discussion on the Report, the Victorian Government announced its response to the Board's recommendations in December 1980. The Victorian Government accepted — wholly or in part — many of the Board's 93 recommendations. Support was given to the proposals for extending the municipal role and clarifying local government activities in certain service areas. The Victorian Government also accepted the need for some reform of council municipal administration and supported certain changes in financial relations between State and local government. Although not in favour of the Board's proposal that in principle government assistance to municipalities be embraced within an untied general grant, the Victorian Government decided to move towards providing block grants to councils in selected areas of local responsibility. The Victorian Government also supported the proposal to remove municipal borrowing limitations and to establish a central loan funding agency for local government — first proposed by the Mohr Commission nearly twenty years before — provided it was set up on a national basis.

Other reforms advocated by the Board and supported by the Victorian Government included: the adoption of a universal franchise for local government elections; the payment of an out-of-pocket expense allowance of up to \$1,500 to councillors; codes of conduct for councillors and officers; registers of pecuniary interests; and facilities for councillors. The Victorian Government emphasised the need to review the Local Government Act and other municipal legislation.

However, the Victorian Government did not accept some of the major reforms proposed by the Board, including the recommendations for the establishment of a Municipal

Organisation, Property and Staffing Commission to review municipal boundaries and provide a new municipal structure.

The Victorian Government considered there was no need to alter existing consultative procedures linking State and local government and rejected the establishment of a Local Government Consultative Council.

One of the most important matters dealt with in the *Local Government (Board of Review) Act 1982* which received Royal Assent on 13 July 1982 relates to the process by which municipal boundary change and adjustment is to be effected in Victoria in future. The Act provides for the establishment of a Local Government Commission to replace the present Local Government Advisory Board; Divisions of the Commission consisting of three members will be appointed by the Minister to consider proposals to alter the municipal system. The proceedings of each Division will be public. A series of criteria to which each Division is to have regard is specified in the Act although this will not preclude other matters considered relevant to a particular proposal from being taken into account. A Director is to report to the Minister and the Report will be made public. Before any proposal is implemented to change the external boundaries of a municipal district or to establish a new municipal district there is facility for the electors most affected to require the holding of a poll to measure the extent of public opposition to a proposal. The Minister is to have regard to the result of the poll in forming an opinion on whether to make a recommendation to the Governor in Council.

To facilitate the introduction of corporate management structures, councils are permitted under the Act to enter into contract agreements for the appointment of officers and to nominate or appoint chief executive officers to have administrative charge of the municipality. The Act also provides for councils to delegate certain of their powers and functions although there are controls and limitations on the extent of the delegation.

The powers of councils regarding the provision of housing have also been extended in the Act. Adult franchise was to be introduced for the Victorian municipal elections commencing with the 1983 elections. A special investigation was being conducted to examine ways of introducing general competency powers for municipalities. This was planned to enable councils to further extend their ability to serve the local community and extend the degree of autonomy under which they operate.

## DEMOGRAPHY

### INTRODUCTION

This Chapter provides an overview of demographic trends in Victoria during the period from 1934 to 1984. The Depression, the Second World War, the post-war baby boom and large-scale immigration of the late 1940s and the 1950s, along with changing fertility patterns and increased longevity have all played a role in influencing demographic trends in Victoria during the past 50 years.

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The overall growth in the population of Victoria for the past 50 years has been characterised by a relatively stable natural increase in the population (that is, the sum difference of live births over deaths) together with wide fluctuations in net migration to the State from within and outside Australia. Natural increase has tended to have a greater influence over the trend of population growth in Victoria, while short-term variations have been more closely linked with apparent net migration, in particular immigration. Natural increase is expressed as the number of live births per 1,000 of population, while population growth is expressed in percentage terms.

#### POPULATION COMPONENTS: VICTORIA, 1931 TO 1982

Period	Population at 31 December of final year in group	Births	Deaths	Net migration
1931-1935	1,841,595	141,900	88,398	-4,512
1936-1940	1,914,918	151,413	96,808	18,718
1941-1945	2,015,107	190,008	104,820	15,001
1946-1950	2,237,182	236,861	109,133	94,347
1951-1955	2,546,332	268,848	114,499	154,801
1956-1960	2,888,290	306,396	121,267	156,829
1961-1965	3,195,860	325,965	132,846	114,451
1966-1970	3,482,031	343,775	146,324	88,720
1971-1975(a)	3,800,656	342,526	151,524	127,623
1976-1980(a)	3,930,655	295,019	147,779	-18,862
1981(a)	3,968,630	59,513	29,034	9,117
1982(a)	4,013,219	59,983	30,611	15,217

(a) Figures from 1971 onwards are Estimated Resident Population.

Throughout the early part of the twentieth century, the rate of natural increase in Victoria continued its downward trend due to a marked decline in the birth rate. The rate of natural increase of 5 per 1,000 population recorded in 1934 is the lowest ever recorded and compares with rates of over 10 per 1,000 population which were normal prior to 1927. Between 1928 and 1939, net migration into Victoria was severely curtailed with more persons leaving Victoria permanently than arriving.

The effect of the decrease in the rate of natural increase and the low level of net migration was to reduce the rate of population growth for Victoria to below 1 per cent for each year between 1929 and 1939. In 1935, a growth rate of 0.3 per cent was recorded which was the lowest annual increase since the First World War. This compares with rates of more than 1.5 per cent for each of the years from 1919 to 1927.

Victoria's growth rate once more topped 1.5 per cent in 1940 and 1941, corresponding to a rise in the level of net migration for those years. However, 1942 saw net migration drop markedly and each year from 1944 to 1947 Victoria recorded negative net migration. As a result, the rate of population growth for Victoria between 1942 and 1947 averaged slightly under 1 per cent.

One of the most striking periods in the history of Victoria's population growth followed immediately after 1947 and lasted until 1961. After recovering from the effects of the Second World War, Victoria experienced a period of considerable economic growth. An intensive immigration campaign began, resulting in net migration for Victoria remaining at a high level throughout this period although changing economic circumstances caused fluctuations from time to time.

Between 1948 and 1961, the rate of growth for the population of Victoria remained above 2 per cent. The rate of natural increase, which had risen above 10 per 1,000 population in 1945, remained above this level until 1973 when it dropped to 9.7 per 1,000 population.

In 1950, a population growth rate of 3.2 per cent was recorded, consisting of the unusually high rates of 12.7 per 1,000 population natural increase and 18.8 per 1,000 population net migration increase.

The annual increase in population of 76,871 persons in 1960 is the highest ever recorded for Victoria. This year represented a peak in the level of net migration while the rate of natural increase was 13.8 per 1,000 population. In 1961, the rate of natural increase was 14.1 per 1,000 population, the highest since 1913.

With the exception of 1964, Victoria's population growth rate has remained below 2 per cent per annum since 1962. Annual rates of below 1 per cent have been recorded since 1975. The growth rate of 0.7 per cent recorded in 1975 is the lowest rate of increase since 1935, and in the same year, negative net migration occurred for the first time since 1947.

The rate of natural increase has declined significantly since 1961 due to a reduction in the birth rate. This trend was arrested between 1967 and 1971 when the birth rate recovered. However, immediately afterwards, the birth rate declined markedly once more. In 1978, a rate of natural increase of 7.8 per 1,000 population was recorded, the lowest since 1942.

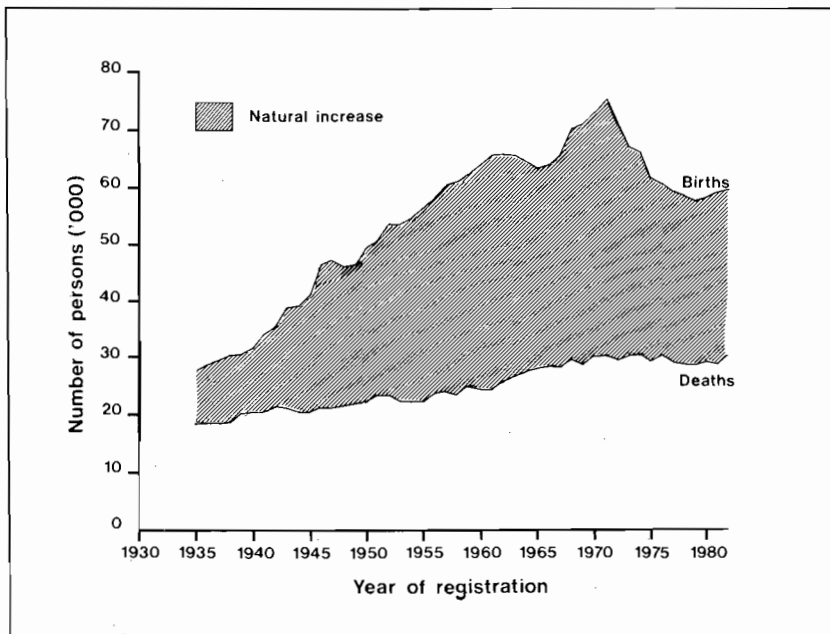


FIGURE 1. Victoria—Number of births and deaths registered and natural increase, 1935 to 1982.

The rate of net migration has remained at a relatively low level since the mid-1960s. In 1975, Victoria experienced a decrease in net migration, the first time this had happened since 1947.

### POPULATION CENSUS

The first official Census was undertaken in Victoria (which was then known as the Port Phillip District) on 25 May 1836. The population at that time was 142 males and 35 females of European origin. No enumeration of Aborigines was made. The first Census taken of Victoria as a separate Colony was in 1854. In 1881, the six Australian Colonies agreed to conduct their individual Censuses on the same day and this was repeated for the Censuses of 1891 and 1901.

With Federation in 1901, Census-taking became the responsibility of the Commonwealth Government. In 1905, the Census and Statistics Act was passed which gave authority to the Governor-General to appoint a Commonwealth Statistician, one of whose duties was the taking of the Census.

The *Census and Statistics Act 1905* stipulated that a Census was to be taken in 1911 and every tenth year thereafter. The Act also stipulated a number of topics which must be asked at each Census: name; age; sex; relationship; marital status; duration of marriage; birthplace; nationality; period of residence; religion; occupation; material of outer walls and number of rooms in the dwellings; and allowed for other topics to be included "as prescribed". Since 1911, Censuses have been held in 1921, 1933, 1947, 1954, 1961, 1966, 1971, 1976, and 1981.

In 1930, the Act was amended to make the year in which the Census was to be conducted more flexible. The Act, which had stated that a Census be taken in every tenth year, was amended by the addition of the words "or at such other times as prescribed".

Since 1961, a Census has been held every five years because of the need to collect, more frequently, data that can only be produced by complete enumeration. In 1977, an amendment was made to the Act to have future Censuses carried out on a quinquennial basis from 1981 and at such other times as are prescribed.

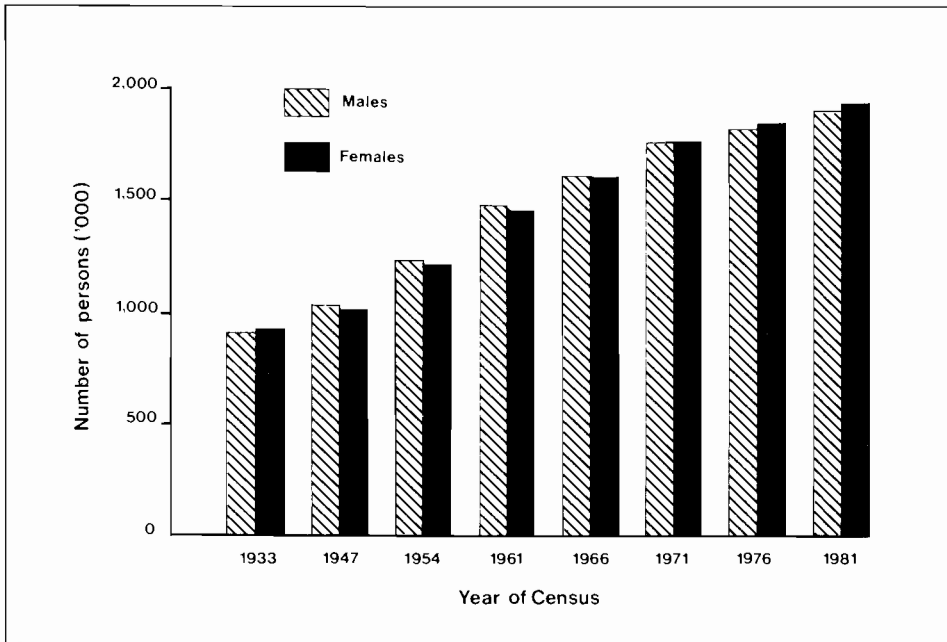


FIGURE 2. Victoria—Census counts of the population by sex, 1933 to 1981.



PROGRESSION OF CENSUS SCHEDULES: VICTORIA, 1854 TO 1981—continued

Questions asked at Census dates	1854	1857	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1933	1947	1954	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	Remarks
<b>PERSONAL DETAILS—continued</b>																		
Major activity of persons not in labour force																		
Occupation	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	1871 present and past occupations
Occupational status or grade						•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	{ Prior to 1891 information may be deduced from occupation tables
Occupation of employer								•	•									
Industry										•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	{ Prior to 1933 broad groups of industry may be obtained from occupational tables. See also occupational status
Part-time employment									•									
Unemployment		•	•	•	•	•	•			•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	See also occupational status
Duration of unemployment								•	•	•	•	•	•					Prior to 1911 part of occupation question
Reason for unemployment									•	•	•	•	•					
Usual hours worked per week										•	•	•	•		•	•	•	{ 1971 and 1976 separate details were requested for main job and other jobs; 1981 main job information used to classify to industry
Place of work												•	•	•	•	•	•	
Method of travel to work																	•	
Retirement benefits																	•	
Benefits																	•	
Life assurance																	•	
Holidays																	•	
Childcare																	•	
Average wage paid by employer							•											
Income										•							•	
Sickness and infirmity, excluding blindness and deaf mutism			•	•	•	•	•											
Blindness and deaf mutism			•	•	•	•	•	•	•									
Lunacy and idiocy				•	•	•	•											
Handicaps																	•	
War service											•							
Religion	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	{ 1891 all persons were asked whether they were a teacher or scholar at Sunday school
Motor vehicle/bike licence																	•	





### Population of the States and Territories

#### POPULATION OF STATES AND TERRITORIES: AUSTRALIA, 1933 TO 1981

State or Territory	Population at 30 June —							
	1933(a)	1947(a)	1954(a)	1961(a)	1966(a)	1971(b)	1976(b)	1981(b)
New South Wales	2,600,847	2,984,838	3,423,529	3,917,013	4,237,901	4,725,503	4,959,588	5,234,889
<b>Victoria</b>	<b>1,820,261</b>	<b>2,054,701</b>	<b>2,452,341</b>	<b>2,930,113</b>	<b>3,220,217</b>	<b>3,601,352</b>	<b>3,810,426</b>	<b>3,946,917</b>
Queensland	947,534	1,106,415	1,318,259	1,518,828	1,674,324	1,851,485	2,092,375	2,345,208
South Australia	580,949	646,073	797,094	969,340	1,094,984	1,200,114	1,274,070	1,318,769
Western Australia	438,852	502,480	639,771	736,629	848,100	1,053,834	1,178,342	1,300,056
Tasmania	227,599	257,078	308,752	350,340	371,436	398,073	412,314	427,224
Northern Territory	4,850	10,868	16,469	27,095	56,504	85,735	98,228	122,616
Australian Capital Territory	8,947	16,905	30,315	58,828	96,032	151,169	207,740	227,581
<b>Australia</b>	<b>6,629,839</b>	<b>7,579,358</b>	<b>8,986,530</b>	<b>10,508,186</b>	<b>11,599,498</b>	<b>13,067,265</b>	<b>14,033,083</b>	<b>14,923,260</b>

(a) Figures are based on 'as recorded' field counts (i.e., they have not been adjusted for under-enumeration).

(b) Figures quoted are Estimated Resident Population.

#### AVERAGE ANNUAL RATE OF INCREASE OF POPULATION (a): AUSTRALIA, DURING INTERCENSAL PERIODS, 1933 TO 1981 (per cent)

Period	N.S.W.	Vic.	Qld	S.A.	W.A.	Tas.	N.T.	A.C.T.	Aust.
1933-1947	1.0	<b>0.9</b>	1.1	0.8	1.0	0.9	5.9	4.7	1.0
1947-1954	2.0	<b>2.6</b>	2.5	3.0	3.5	2.7	6.1	8.7	2.5
1954-1961	1.9	<b>2.6</b>	2.0	2.8	2.0	1.8	7.4	9.9	2.3
1961-1966	1.6	<b>1.9</b>	2.1	2.5	3.0	1.2	16.7	10.3	2.1
1966-1971	2.2	<b>2.3</b>	2.0	1.9	4.4	1.4	8.7	9.5	2.4
1971-1976	1.0	<b>1.1</b>	2.5	1.2	2.3	0.7	2.8	6.6	1.4
1976-1981	1.1	<b>0.7</b>	2.3	0.7	2.0	0.7	4.5	1.8	1.2
1933-1981	1.5	<b>1.6</b>	1.9	1.7	2.2	1.3	7.0	7.0	1.7

(a) Average annual rates of population growth are calculated on the compound interest principle and refer to the population (Census Counts, actual location prior to 1971 and Estimated Resident Population from 1971) at the beginning of the period.

#### AREA, ESTIMATED POPULATION, AND POPULATION DENSITY OF STATES AND TERRITORIES: AUSTRALIA, 30 JUNE 1982

State or Territory	Area (square kilometres)	Estimated population 30 June 1982 (a)	Persons per square kilometre	Percentage of population in each State or Territory
New South Wales	801,600	5,307,900	6.6	35.0
<b>Victoria</b>	<b>227,600</b>	<b>3,994,100</b>	<b>17.5</b>	<b>26.3</b>
Queensland	1,727,200	2,419,600	1.4	15.9
South Australia	984,000	1,328,700	1.4	8.8
Western Australia	2,525,500	1,336,900	0.5	8.8
Tasmania	67,800	429,800	6.3	2.8
Northern Territory	1,346,200	129,400	0.1	0.9
Australian Capital Territory	2,400	231,900	96.6	1.5
<b>Australia</b>	<b>7,682,300</b>	<b>15,178,400</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(a) Preliminary estimate subject to revision after the 1986 Census.

## IMMIGRATION

### Introduction

The period since 1934 has witnessed considerable overall increases in both the size and diversity of population in Victoria, and in Australia as a whole.

Periods of immigration expansion have been interspersed with periods of review and debate over maintaining or altering targets and source countries in changing local and

international circumstances. Throughout this period considerations of selection were directed predominantly at adjustment of the balance between the criteria of industrial needs, family reunion, and humanitarian considerations or international commitment to the acceptance of refugees. Immediately after the Second World War a Commonwealth Department of Immigration was set up and a large-scale immigration programme initiated.

The low birth rate of the Depression years, the increased labour needs for a diversified and expanding economy, and the perception of defence requirements all pointed to a need to increase the population. Simultaneously many refugees in Europe needed a permanent home. Selection policy made a major break with the past and while existing assisted schemes for British migrants were revised (in 1947) and continued, large-scale non-British immigration was introduced. Between 1947 and 1981 the Victorian population increased by 1,777,742, of whom about half were overseas born. In 1933 and 1981 the major birthplaces represented were as follows:

#### MAJOR BIRTHPLACES OF POPULATION: VICTORIA, 1933 AND 1981

Country of birth	Census count		Percentage of total population	
	1933 <sup>(a)</sup>	1981 <sup>(a)</sup>	1933	1981
Australia	1,613,229	2,915,096	88.6	76.1
United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland	164,159	260,083	9.0	6.8
Germany	2,855	34,336	0.2	0.9
Greece	1,656	72,270	0.1	1.9
Italy	5,860	115,430	0.3	3.0
Malta	395	27,756	(b)	0.7
Netherlands	246	30,710	(b)	0.8
New Zealand	12,447	28,856	0.7	0.8
Poland	1,646	22,736	0.1	0.6
Yugoslavia	279	59,500	(b)	1.6
Other	17,489	265,670	1.0	6.9
Total	1,820,261	3,832,443	100.0	100.0

(a) Figures are based on "as recorded" field counts (i.e., they have not been adjusted for under-enumeration).

(b) Less than 0.1 per cent.

In the period from 1949 to 1956 the gain from net migration exceeded natural increase. Between 1957 and 1961, lower local economic activity coincided with European expansion and recovery and the formation of the European Economic Community. The Commonwealth Government's policy was amended to encourage a greater proportion of dependants in the quota, reducing the number seeking jobs. From 1952 to 1961 refugees totalled some 70,000, including Yugoslavs and Italians from Yugoslavia, Hungarians, and White Russians from China.

After 1961 immigration recovered but the overall composition changed. There was a rise in the intake of southern Europeans which was countered by a fall in north-west European immigration (mainly Dutch and German); this latter group fell from 26.3 per cent of the intake during 1951 to 1961 to 1 per cent during 1961 to 1966. The British percentage remained the same.

The locally expanding manufacturing sector in the 1960s competed for labour with the EEC, so that immigration targets were greatly increased. Sponsorship restrictions were eased and assisted passages increased. There was an enlarged overall intake of immigrants not only from Greece and Italy but also from Spain, Portugal, and Turkey. Entry was relaxed for Lebanese and those of European ancestry. Changes in policy allowed the permanent settlement of highly skilled workers from southern European and Middle East countries.

Of the 3.9 million settlers who came to Australia between 1945 and 1982, approximately 10.8 per cent were refugees or persons in refugee-type situations. Indo-Chinese after the Vietnam war, Lebanese since the 1975 war in Lebanon, and refugees following the 1974 Turkish occupation of northern Cyprus are among these, and in fact persons from Asian sources rose from 5 per cent in 1970 to 40 per cent in 1982.

Since 1971, however, the rate of growth has slowed and the contribution of immigration has declined as against natural increase. Migrant arrivals declined from 170,000 in 1970-

71 to 52,500 in 1975-76, the lowest intake of post-war migration; in the latter year there was a net migration loss of 8,000. Since then, both Commonwealth Government policy and the international situation have led to a marked rise, and by 1980-81 the total intake was 110,000. In 1981-82, the total intake was 118,031 and the 1982-83 target was 93,011 persons. In addition to contributing over half of the growth in the Australian (and Victorian) labour force, international migration has contributed more than half of the increase in Melbourne's population between 1947 and 1981.

Migration has led to other demographic and social changes. The marriage rate of migrants is generally higher than their native born counterparts and their divorce and separation rates lower; these ratios have remained constant despite an overall rise in both rates in the population as a whole.

Most female immigrants arrive during their child bearing years so that confinements to overseas born women are a significant proportion of all confinements in Australia (e.g., in 1982, 23.5 per cent) but their family size is somewhat lower than that of the Australian born population.

### History of immigration policy

Before the passing of the *Migration Act* 1958, Commonwealth legislation concerning immigration was largely contained in the *Immigration Act* 1901. This legislation, *inter alia*, listed the conditions of immigration into Australia, even carrying forward to an extent pre-federal policies. For many years, prior to Federation, restrictions had been imposed upon the admission of persons desirous of becoming permanent residents. The entry of Chinese, for example, was limited by stringent statutes, and later, general Acts were passed in some States which restricted the immigration of other, principally Asian, races.

This policy of restricting to the point of total exclusion Asian races developed into what was popularly referred to as the "White Australia" policy. In the pursuance of this policy, the general practice was not to permit "Asiatics or other coloured immigrants" to enter Australia for the purpose of settling permanently. Exclusion was effected, where deemed necessary, by the application of a dictation test which might be imposed in any European language at the discretion of the officer who applied it. The test, when applied, was in fact used as an absolute bar to admission. The "dictation test" as a means of excluding or deporting ineligible persons was not abolished until the *Migration Act* 1958.

Although the *Migration Act* 1958 abolished the "dictation test" the established policy remained basically as it was, that is, not to permit persons of non-European descent into Australia with a view to permanent residence. However, exceptions were made in favour of the spouses and unmarried minor children of Australian citizens and other British subjects resident in Australia. Provision existed for the temporary admission of non-Europeans such as *bona fide* merchants, students, and tourists, with indefinite residence granted with a view to permanent residence to highly qualified or distinguished persons.

Through the 1960s the details of the regulations changed, to a limited extent broadening the basis on which persons of other than European descent could apply for permanent residence.

Further to the changes in the details of conditions of entry, a gradual change can be detected in the official attitude towards the policy and its interpretation. An awareness of the need to explain the "established" policy became apparent as evidenced by the rationalising of the exclusion of non-Europeans as maintaining a predominantly homogeneous population and thereby hoping to avoid social and economic problems. It was regarded as fundamental to the policy that persons coming to Australia for permanent residence should be capable, both economically and socially, of ready integration into the community and that preference be given to persons of European origin. It was denied that the statutes excluded from residence persons of other than European origin. However, the policy still prescribed two sets of regulations, one governing the conditions of entry for Europeans, and the other governing those for non-Europeans. The first of these sets of conditions permitted the admission of European persons subject to their compliance with Australia's requirements with regard to health, character, freedom from security risk, and general suitability as settlers. Non-Europeans had to meet these requirements as well as qualify in one of the categories applied specifically and only in relation to non-Europeans.

In 1973, separate regulations for Europeans and non-Europeans were removed. From the *Migration Act 1958*, immigration policy could be applied uniformly on a global basis, selective, but not discriminatory. The present policy is highly selective in preferring admission to Australia for the purpose of permanent settlement to persons who either possess skills in an occupation for which there is a substantial unfilled demand, for reasons of family reunion, or in instances where compelling compassionate or humanitarian considerations exist, such as refugees.

### Internal migration

Since 1970, an Internal Migration Survey has been conducted, in conjunction with the Monthly Population Survey, which compares usual residence with that of twelve months previously of persons aged 15 years and over, to determine the number and characteristics of movers and non-movers.

The pattern of higher mobility rates of persons of younger ages (20 to 29) has continued. The highest mobility rate occurs among those aged 20 to 24, followed by the 25 to 29 year olds. Mobility rates by age for the year ended 30 June 1982 are shown in the graph below:

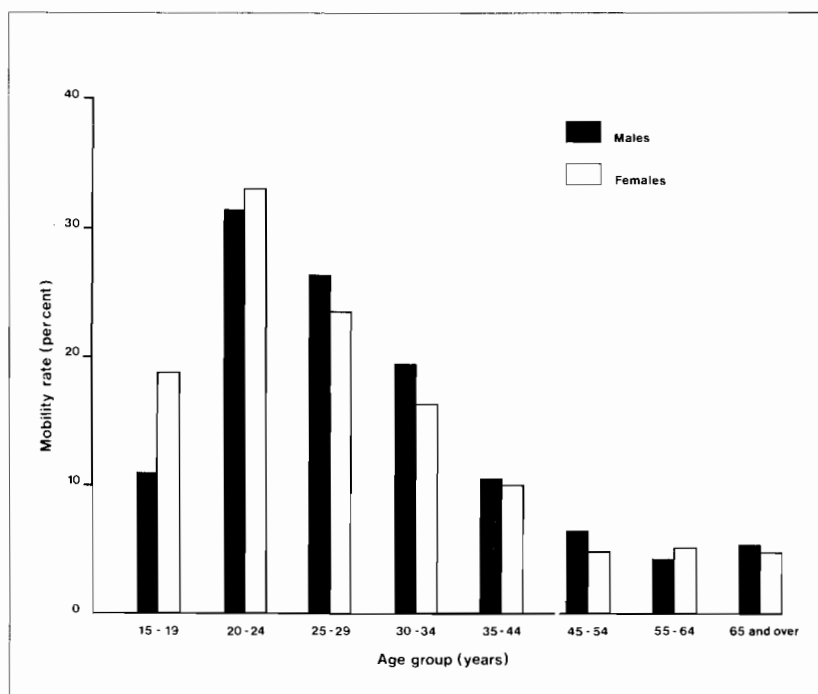


FIGURE 3. Victoria—Mobility rates of males and females aged 15 years and over, year ended 30 June 1982.

### NET ESTIMATED INTERSTATE MIGRATION: VICTORIA, 1972 TO 1982

Year	Arrivals	Departures	Net loss	Year	Arrivals	Departures	Net loss
1972	47,001	51,300	4,299	1978	42,500	53,499	10,999
1973	47,399	54,751	7,352	1979	44,000	54,998	10,998
1974	51,150	60,749	9,599	1980	44,899	58,503	13,604
1975	45,258	60,614	15,356	1981	47,296	63,865	16,569
1976	42,259	54,115	11,856	1982	52,556	61,873	9,317
1977	42,001	52,502	10,501				

## BIRTHS, DEATHS, MARRIAGES, AND DIVORCES

**Background***Legislation*

The system of compulsory registration of births, deaths, and marriages in Victoria has been in force since 1853. The statutory duties under the Registration of Births, Deaths and Marriages Act, are performed by the Government Statist who has supervision over registration officers and (relating to their registration duties) clergymen and other persons who celebrate marriages. The Government Statist's Office has a complete collection of all registrations effected since 1 July 1853, as well as originals or certified copies of all existing church records relating to earlier periods, as far back as 1837.

The *Registration of Births, Deaths and Marriages Act 1928* consolidated the various Acts relating to registration of births, deaths, and marriages. Some significant amendments were made after 1934—the first being Act No. 4553 of 1938. Before this Act, the cause of death, when the death was not investigated by the coroner, was ascertained wherever possible from a medical practitioner. This Act made it a requirement that a medical practitioner, who had attended a deceased person during his or her last illness, furnish a certificate as to the cause of death.

Before 1941, the Registration of Births, Deaths and Marriages Act provided that any person, on payment of the prescribed fees, could obtain a copy of an entry in a register of births, deaths, and marriages. In order to ensure confidentiality of the records, and to protect the privacy of individuals Act No. 4858 of 1941 gave the Government Statist discretion to refuse to issue a certificate if he considered that the reason for which it was required was not sufficient. Act No. 5623 of 1952 provided, for the first time, for registration of a stillborn child (defined as any child born of its mother after the 28th week of pregnancy which did not at any time after being born, breathe or show any other sign of life, and where the duration of pregnancy was not reliably ascertainable, including any fetus weighing not less than 2 lbs 12 ozs).

The various Acts were again consolidated by Act No. 6356 of 1958 which was repealed by Act No. 6564 of 1959, bringing about the first fundamental change in the procedure of registration since the system of compulsory registration began in 1853. This Act ended the system of registering births and deaths by local registrations and provided for all registrations to be made at the Government Statist's Office. It removed the necessity for personal attendance at the Registrar's Office by parents and other persons required to register, and enabled registration to be made by post. Informants were saved inconvenience and expense, and the earlier registration of events led to the more prompt issue of certificates (particularly death certificates).

Act No. 8066 of 1970 provided that medical practitioners furnish a detailed certificate of cause of death in the case of perinatal deaths, and this has resulted in the collection of valuable information to assist in research directed towards the reduction of such deaths. Perinatal deaths include any live born child who died within 28 days of birth, and stillbirths when the period of gestation was at least 20 weeks or, if unknown, a birthweight of 400 grams or more.

In 1961 the Commonwealth Parliament passed the Marriage Act. This Act superseded the marriage laws of Victoria and all other States but the basic system of registration of marriages was not changed.

The *Status of Children Act 1974* was an Act designed to remove legal disabilities of children born out of wedlock, and it provided for various documents evidencing the paternity of such children, to be filed with the Government Statist.

In 1980, the provisions of the Victorian Adoption of Children (Information) Bill, relating to establishing a Contract Register and Adoption Information service, were proclaimed.

### Crude birth and marriage rates

During the Depression of the 1930s the crude birth rate and crude marriage rate declined to very low levels. The crude marriage rate for 1931 of 5.6 per 1,000 mean population was the lowest ever recorded in Victoria. In 1932, only 27,464 live births were recorded, the lowest since 1868. The crude birth rate of 15 per 1,000 mean population in 1935 was the lowest recorded to that time. From 1979 to 1982 the crude rate stood at the 1935 level.

From 1931, the crude marriage rate rose once more, reaching a peak of 12.1 per 1,000 mean population in 1942, the highest since 1854. High marriage rates prevailed until the early 1950s.

The crude birth rate increased steadily after 1935 but it was not until 1945 that the crude birth rate topped 20 per 1,000 mean population. The period immediately after the Second World War is often referred to as the period of the "baby boom". In fact, the crude birth rate never achieved particularly high levels and the "boom" was due more to the contrast to the low crude birth rates which had existed since the late 1920s.

From 1945 until the early 1960s the birth rate remained stable while the marriage rate declined from its high level of the preceding period. However, the marriage rate still remained high when compared with much of Victoria's history. This was due to the large numbers of women at marriageable age which, in turn was related to the high level of immigration of young persons during this period.

During the 1960s and 1970s the crude birth rates have reflected the economic circumstances of the time. In the early 1960s the crude birth rate began to decline at a steady rate until 1968 when it recovered temporarily until 1972. The crude marriage rate increased between 1968 and 1972 as the children of the post-war "baby boom" married and as the trend towards marriage at a younger age accelerated temporarily. By this time, married women were beginning to delay the birth of their first children and were completing their families in a shorter number of years. In 1971, there were 75,498 live births, which is the highest number ever recorded in Victoria for a calendar year.

Especially since the end of the last century there has been a trend towards smaller families and an increased level of mobility for most of the population. The number of females in the labour force and engaged in tertiary education began to rise dramatically.

Later into the 1970s, both the crude birth rate and the crude marriage rate decreased, although there was a high proportion of females at their reproductive stage of life. People frequently chose to marry at a later age or to ignore marriage altogether. Between the 1930s and 1975 the average age at marriage dropped, but showed an increase in 1976, a trend which has continued. The level of births to teenage girls continued to fall during the period since 1970.

In 1976, the female net reproduction rate fell below replacement level (1.0) for the first time since the 1930s; and has remained at or around 0.9 since. The 57,768 live births in 1979 was the lowest total since 1955 but the number of live births has risen slightly each year since.

### CRUDE BIRTH RATES AND FERTILITY RATES (a): VICTORIA, 1932 TO 1982

Period	Crude birth rate (b)	Fertility rate (c)	Nuptial fertility rate (d)
1932-1934	15.3	64.6	123.6
1946-1948	22.7	100.6	157.5
1953-1955	22.4	107.5	148.7
1960-1962	22.3	110.8	153.4
1965-1967	20.0	96.7	137.3
1970-1972	20.8	97.2	137.8
1975-1977	15.9	74.0	108.5
1980-1982	15.0	66.1	106.1

(a) These rates represent averages for 3 years centred on Census year population.

(b) Number of births per 1,000 estimated mean population.

(c) Number of births per 1,000 females aged 15 to 44.

(d) Number of nuptial births per 1,000 married females aged 15 to 44.

## Births

The following table shows the number of births registered in all States from 1935 to 1982. The number of births registered in Victoria during 1982 was 59,983 of whom 30,762 were males and 29,221 were females.

## NUMBER OF BIRTHS: AUSTRALIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year of registration	N.S.W.	Vic.	Qld	S.A.	W.A.	Tas.	N.T.	A.C.T.	Aust.
1935	44,676	<b>27,884</b>	17,688	8,270	8,119	4,456	84	148	111,325
1940	49,382	<b>31,962</b>	20,412	10,017	9,121	4,994	173	286	126,347
1945	61,662	<b>41,200</b>	26,713	14,033	10,672	5,785	90	405	160,560
1950	71,592	<b>49,830</b>	29,028	17,306	14,228	7,242	411	954	190,591
1955	74,407	<b>56,336</b>	32,352	18,494	16,623	8,089	515	861	207,677
1960	81,983	<b>64,025</b>	35,213	20,966	16,926	8,853	777	1,583	230,326
1965	78,069	<b>63,550</b>	33,551	20,891	16,186	7,535	914	2,158	222,854
1970	88,448	<b>73,019</b>	37,530	22,617	21,618	8,185	2,624	3,475	257,516
1975	80,918	<b>61,897</b>	36,403	19,986	20,338	6,982	2,118	4,370	233,012
1980	79,455	<b>58,206</b>	34,972	18,499	20,607	6,735	2,587	4,466	225,527
1981	81,530	<b>59,513</b>	38,834	19,351	21,877	7,188	3,080	4,469	235,842
1982	83,489	<b>59,983</b>	40,540	19,294	22,236	7,002	2,880	4,479	239,903

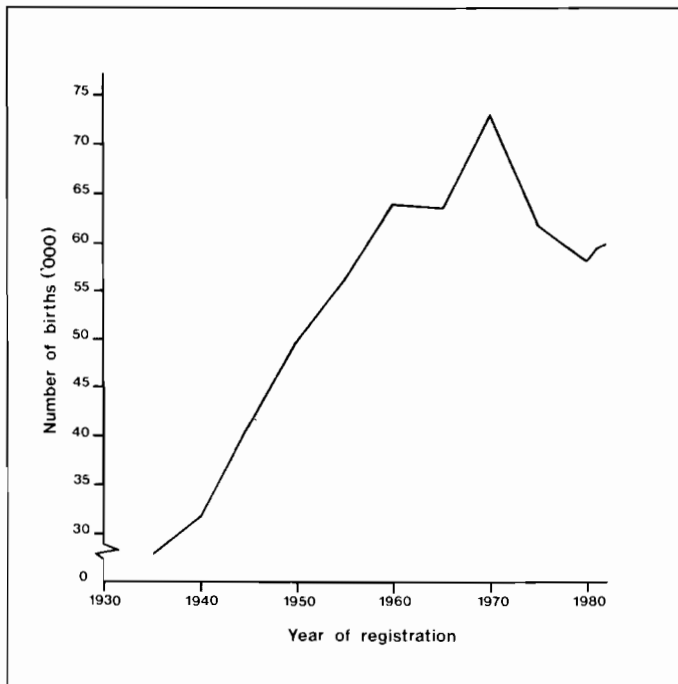


FIGURE 4. Victoria—Number of births registered, 1935 to 1982.



**BIRTHS BY SEX, MASCULINITY, AND AVERAGE AGE OF FATHER AND MOTHER: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982**

Year	Males	Females	Total	Ex-nuptial births (a)	Masculinity (b)	Confinements, average age (c)		
						Nuptial		Ex-nuptial
						Father	Mother	
1935	14,194	13,690	27,884	4.3	103.7	32.3	28.5	n.a.
1940	16,393	15,569	31,962	3.5	105.3	32.0	28.3	24.6
1945	21,206	19,994	41,200	3.6	106.1	32.7	28.8	24.8
1950	25,554	24,276	49,830	3.3	105.3	31.8	28.4	25.3
1955	28,888	27,448	56,336	3.4	105.2	31.6	28.2	25.8
1960	32,825	31,200	64,025	3.7	105.2	31.3	28.0	25.1
1965	32,494	31,056	63,550	5.1	104.6	30.9	27.5	23.6
1970	37,350	35,669	73,019	6.1	104.7	30.1	26.9	23.1
1975	31,904	29,993	61,897	7.1	106.4	29.6	26.7	23.2
1980	29,848	28,358	58,206	9.1	105.3	30.4	27.6	23.7
1981	30,361	29,152	59,513	9.4	104.1	30.5	27.7	23.7
1982	30,762	29,221	59,983	10.3	105.3	30.7	27.9	23.8

(a) As a percentage of total births.

(b) Number of male births per 100 female births.

(c) Arithmetic mean.

(d) Information to allow the calculation of the average age of fathers of ex-nuptial children is not available.

**NUPTIAL CONFINEMENTS AND AGE GROUP OF MOTHER: VICTORIA, 1940 TO 1982 (a)**

Year	Age group of mother (years)							Total nuptial confinements	
	19 and under	20 to 24	25 to 29	30 to 34	35 to 39	40 to 44	45 and over		Not stated
1940	1,244	7,326	10,354	7,173	3,515	1,150	94	—	30,856
1945	1,048	9,505	12,297	9,910	5,391	1,461	102	—	39,714
1950	1,816	13,068	16,489	9,819	5,425	1,494	102	—	48,213
1955	2,429	14,589	18,252	12,026	5,443	1,594	95	—	54,428
1960	3,260	18,230	18,787	12,700	6,294	1,563	107	—	60,941
1965	4,244	18,679	19,114	10,591	5,376	1,567	110	—	59,681
1970	4,792	23,338	22,804	11,038	4,517	1,290	71	6	67,856
1975	3,454	18,514	22,613	9,026	2,703	609	34	1	56,954
1980	1,756	14,067	21,683	11,485	2,872	450	20	8	52,341
1981	1,642	13,911	22,100	12,189	3,016	435	34	11	53,338
1982	1,442	13,306	22,062	12,530	3,377	478	30	3	53,228

(a) Information prior to 1940 is not available.

**NUPTIAL CONFINEMENTS, PREVIOUS ISSUE: VICTORIA, 1965 TO 1982 (a)**

Year	Married mothers with previous issue numbering—										Total married mothers	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 and over		Not stated
1965	19,917	16,868	10,814	5,834	2,983	1,548	807	455	232	223	—	59,681
1970	24,688	20,993	11,488	5,562	2,555	1,267	594	312	183	214	—	67,856
1975	21,995	20,338	9,374	3,258	1,024	512	223	103	57	70	—	56,954
1980	21,014	17,520	9,352	3,021	861	318	114	79	29	32	1	52,341
1981	21,553	17,911	9,406	3,112	814	303	128	48	35	26	2	53,338
1982	21,637	17,992	9,277	2,999	803	296	98	61	36	27	2	53,228

(a) Information prior to 1965, is not available.

**NUPTIAL CONFINEMENTS, AGE GROUP OF MOTHER, AND PREVIOUS ISSUE: VICTORIA, 1982**

Age group of mother (years)	Married mothers with previous issue numbering—										Total married mothers (a)	Total issue	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 and over			
Under 20	1,180	253	8	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,442	1,735
20 to 24	7,954	4,210	1,013	108	15	3	1	1	—	—	—	13,306	20,208
25 to 29	8,761	8,253	3,906	930	157	39	12	4	—	—	—	22,062	42,540
30 to 34	3,027	4,289	3,372	1,342	341	103	31	15	4	6	—	12,530	30,458
35 to 39	628	888	889	544	234	107	37	21	19	9	—	3,377	9,960
40 to 44	83	94	86	73	50	39	13	18	12	10	—	478	1,850
45 and over	3	3	3	1	6	5	4	2	1	2	—	30	157
Not stated	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>21,637</b>	<b>17,992</b>	<b>9,277</b>	<b>2,999</b>	<b>803</b>	<b>296</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>—</b>	<b>53,228</b>	<b>106,913</b>
Percentage of total births	36.1	30.0	15.5	5.0	1.3	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	—	88.7	

(a) Includes "not stated".

**NUPTIAL CONFINEMENTS AND RELATIVE AGE GROUPS OF PARENTS:  
VICTORIA, 1982**

Age group of fathers (years)	Age group of mothers (years)								Total nuptial confinements	Percentage
	Under 20	20 to 24	25 to 29	30 to 34	35 to 39	40 to 44	45 and over	Not stated		
Under 20	150	60	2	—	—	—	—	—	212	0.4
20 to 24	920	4,764	721	74	9	1	—	—	6,489	12.2
25 to 29	289	6,684	11,161	1,195	85	10	—	—	19,424	36.5
30 to 34	66	1,427	8,261	6,856	594	30	—	2	17,236	32.4
35 to 39	13	286	1,546	3,492	1,557	69	—	—	6,963	13.1
40 to 44	2	57	267	677	803	217	7	—	2,030	3.8
45 to 49	2	9	59	163	225	117	13	—	588	1.1
50 and over	—	14	39	66	102	34	10	—	265	0.5
Not stated	—	5	6	7	2	—	—	1	21	0.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,442</b>	<b>13,306</b>	<b>22,062</b>	<b>12,530</b>	<b>3,377</b>	<b>478</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>53,228</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**NUPTIAL FIRST CONFINEMENTS AND DURATION OF MARRIAGE: VICTORIA,  
1965 TO 1982 (a)**

Year	Duration of marriage								Total nuptial first confinements
	Months			Years					
	0 to 3	4 to 7	8 to 11	1	2	3	4	5 and over	
1965	761	3,962	3,675	5,374	2,739	1,325	731	1,350	19,917
1970	934	4,703	3,184	6,518	3,985	2,429	1,357	1,578	24,688
1975	654	2,393	2,148	5,331	4,110	3,077	1,894	2,388	21,995
1980	631	1,903	1,627	4,484	3,525	2,755	2,051	4,038	21,014
1981	703	2,025	1,709	4,540	3,545	2,679	2,131	4,221	21,553
1982	662	2,007	1,847	4,670	3,541	2,635	2,041	4,234	21,637

(a) Information prior to 1965 is not available.

**NUPTIAL FIRST CONFINEMENTS, AGE GROUP OF MOTHER, AND  
DURATION OF MARRIAGE: VICTORIA, 1982**

Age group of mother (years)	Duration of marriage														Total nuptial first confinements (a)		
	Months							Years									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	1	2		3	4 and over
Under 20	15	37	36	77	125	188	104	37	41	65	50	50	295	52	8	—	1,180
20 to 24	39	50	61	97	211	342	213	116	141	211	237	250	2,359	1,757	1,030	840	7,954
25 to 29	23	27	36	46	93	127	128	66	106	145	115	119	1,321	1,278	1,262	3,869	8,761
30 to 34	20	13	21	36	37	64	64	29	57	61	60	65	553	351	274	1,322	3,027
35 to 39	4	7	7	6	10	17	14	10	13	26	10	16	128	90	56	214	628
40 to 44	1	2	—	1	—	6	5	1	1	3	5	—	14	11	5	28	83
45 to 49	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	3
<b>Total (a)</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>476</b>	<b>744</b>	<b>528</b>	<b>259</b>	<b>359</b>	<b>511</b>	<b>477</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>4,670</b>	<b>3,541</b>	<b>2,635</b>	<b>6,275</b>	<b>21,637</b>

(a) Includes "not stated".

**EX-NUPTIAL CONFINEMENTS, AGE GROUP OF MOTHER: VICTORIA,  
1940 TO 1982 (a)**

Year	Age group of mother (years)								Total ex-nuptial confinements		
	14 and under	15 to 16	17 to 18	19 to 20	21 to 24	25 to 29	30 to 34	35 to 39		40 and over	Not stated
1940	5	41	163	196	276	203	116	70	29	1	1,100
1945	5	45	169	277	420	272	146	95	45	—	1,474
1950	10	58	165	244	445	328	176	122	45	1	1,594
1955	6	63	222	247	432	431	283	153	52	—	1,889
1960	13	124	367	387	487	385	346	177	76	—	2,362
1965	21	247	652	617	673	416	303	204	85	—	3,218
1970	17	323	926	935	962	590	320	218	87	4	4,382
1975	16	378	871	740	960	795	398	158	42	3	4,361
1980	7	269	868	979	1,321	1,017	536	190	50	6	5,243
1981	16	274	904	1,021	1,472	1,067	568	194	45	9	5,570
1982	9	251	932	1,127	1,655	1,252	628	218	38	8	6,118

(a) Information prior to 1940 is not available.

## Deaths

The following table shows the number of deaths registered in all States from 1935 to 1982. In 1982, 30,611 persons died in Victoria, of whom 16,493 were males and 14,118 were females.

## NUMBER OF DEATHS: AUSTRALIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year of registration	N.S.W.	Vic.	Qld	S.A.	WA.	Tas.	N.T.	A.C.T.	Aust.
1935	24,547	<b>18,456</b>	8,851	5,163	4,118	2,353	70	41	63,599
1940(a)	26,143	<b>20,293</b>	9,203	5,708	4,486	2,387	86	78	68,384
1945(a)	26,994	<b>20,496</b>	9,459	6,049	4,712	2,413	35	73	70,231
1950	30,965	<b>22,341</b>	10,399	6,740	5,058	2,466	96	122	78,187
1955	32,553	<b>22,527</b>	11,307	7,536	5,379	2,489	119	126	82,036
1960	35,030	<b>24,547</b>	12,370	7,804	5,697	2,670	134	212	88,464
1965	38,949	<b>28,031</b>	14,114	8,788	6,274	3,043	161	355	99,715
1970	43,601	<b>30,335</b>	17,055	10,138	7,543	3,174	608	594	113,048
1975	40,497	<b>29,499</b>	16,421	9,947	7,972	3,339	610	736	109,021
1980	40,282	<b>29,374</b>	16,497	9,580	8,166	3,392	512	892	108,695
1981	39,959	<b>29,034</b>	17,175	9,706	7,993	3,320	854	962	109,003
1982	42,352	<b>30,611</b>	18,149	10,457	8,187	3,432	573	1,010	114,771

(a) Excludes deaths of defence personnel.

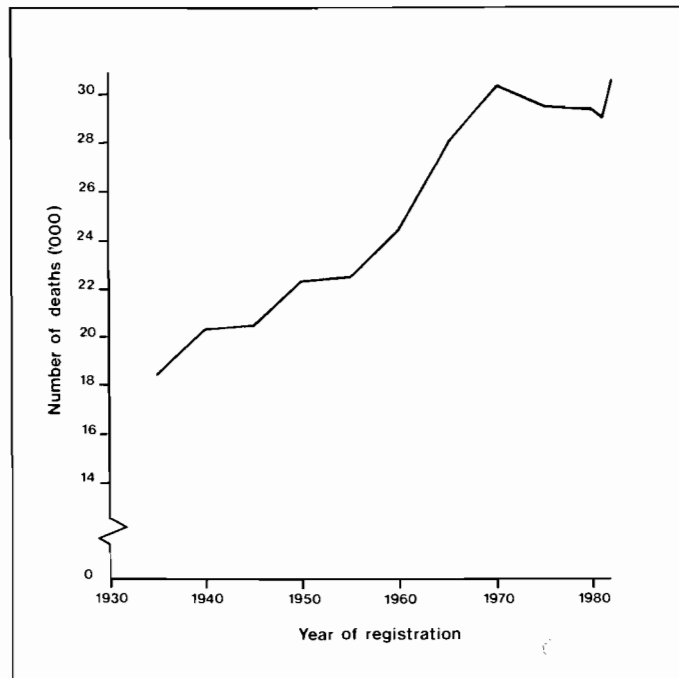


FIGURE 5. Victoria—Number of deaths registered, 1935 to 1982.

## AGE AT DEATH: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year	Age group (years)										Total
	0 to 9	10 to 19	20 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 to 59	60 to 69	70 to 79	80 and over	Not stated	
MALES											
1935	982	268	382	455	767	1,267	2,073	2,568	1,094	—	9,856
1940	982	216	368	429	789	1,434	2,165	2,981	1,565	1	10,930
1945	902	192	162	290	651	1,458	2,295	2,803	1,893	1	10,647
1950	812	140	319	327	682	1,577	2,676	2,925	2,321	2	11,781
1955	796	151	271	337	725	1,631	2,840	3,067	2,165	3	11,986
1960	887	193	264	391	821	1,799	3,098	3,608	2,311	4	13,376
1965	816	231	321	408	921	2,113	3,547	4,335	2,753	8	15,453
1970	800	268	406	391	1,015	2,169	3,958	4,479	2,986	—	16,472
1975	627	291	402	336	933	2,181	3,858	4,348	3,058	—	16,034
1980	453	242	425	356	762	2,098	3,719	4,721	3,258	13	16,047
1981	430	230	388	356	695	2,027	3,550	4,773	3,224	18	15,691
1982	495	254	442	360	703	2,057	3,621	4,961	3,597	3	16,493
FEMALES											
1935	805	162	348	430	645	916	1,638	2,304	1,352	—	8,600
1940	709	155	299	341	637	990	1,731	2,695	1,806	—	9,363
1945	629	97	219	323	564	1,067	1,766	2,771	2,413	—	9,849
1950	607	81	174	241	504	1,090	1,984	2,881	2,996	2	10,560
1955	626	72	91	214	506	961	2,064	2,879	3,126	2	10,541
1960	664	93	108	236	522	919	2,081	3,152	3,395	1	11,171
1965	638	106	129	242	496	1,055	2,032	3,845	4,033	2	12,578
1970	603	130	163	214	574	1,143	2,179	4,093	4,764	—	13,863
1975	438	122	138	195	491	1,101	2,193	3,712	5,075	—	13,465
1980	355	98	160	196	367	1,100	1,962	3,574	5,514	1	13,327
1981	324	94	168	199	411	1,000	2,049	3,580	5,514	4	13,343
1982	353	84	163	200	371	1,072	2,061	3,623	6,191	—	14,118

## Infant deaths

In 1982, there were 641 infant deaths in Victoria. This represents an infant mortality rate (deaths under one year of age per 1,000 live births) of 10.7. This compares dramatically with a rate of 119.0 in 1863 (the first available figure for Victoria).

## INFANT DEATH RATES (a): AUSTRALIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year	N.S.W.	Vic.	Qld	S.A.	W.A.	Tas.	N.T.	A.C.T.	Aust.
1935	39.4	<b>41.2</b>	37.3	35.0	40.2	51.8	83.3	47.3	39.8
1940	39.0	<b>39.5</b>	35.3	35.5	44.2	35.2	46.2	10.5	38.4
1945	30.6	<b>28.0</b>	29.8	28.1	29.5	27.5	55.6	12.4	29.4
1950	27.0	<b>20.1</b>	24.8	24.0	27.1	23.8	36.5	21.0	24.5
1955	24.9	<b>18.4</b>	20.3	23.3	22.4	23.4	50.5	13.9	22.0
1960	21.2	<b>18.5</b>	21.0	18.9	21.6	19.1	33.5	17.7	20.2
1965	19.1	<b>17.5</b>	17.8	18.4	21.7	16.6	25.2	15.8	18.5
1970	19.7	<b>14.5</b>	17.9	16.2	21.2	14.2	48.0	17.6	17.9
1975	15.2	<b>13.0</b>	15.0	11.1	13.3	18.3	27.4	14.2	14.3
1980	10.7	<b>10.2</b>	11.3	10.1	11.6	11.7	15.5	8.7	10.7
1981	9.9	<b>9.4</b>	10.9	8.1	8.8	12.0	22.7	10.1	10.0
1982	9.9	<b>10.7</b>	10.7	11.5	9.2	7.9	19.8	10.9	10.3

(a) Number of deaths under one year of age per 1,000 live births.

## INFANT DEATHS BY AGE AND SEX: VICTORIA, 1982

Particulars	Under one week	One week and under one month	One month and under three months	Three months and under six months	Six months and under twelve months	Total
Males —						
Number	188	48	39	54	33	362
Rate (a)	6.1	1.6	1.3	1.8	1.1	11.8
Percentage of total	51.9	13.3	10.8	14.9	9.1	100.0
Females —						
Number	146	42	33	28	30	279
Rate (a)	5.0	1.4	1.1	1.0	1.0	9.5
Percentage of total	52.3	15.1	11.8	10.0	10.8	100.0

(a) Number of deaths in each age group per 1,000 live births for each sex.

*Perinatal deaths*

Perinatal deaths include stillbirths and neonatal deaths. The World Health Organisation defines a "stillbirth" as any child born weighing at least 500 grams at delivery (or, when birthweight is unavailable, a period of gestation of at least 22 weeks) and which did not at any time after being born, breathe or show any other sign of life.

"Neonatal death" is defined as the death of a live born child weighing at least 500 grams (or, when birthweight is unavailable, a period of gestation of at least 22 weeks) within 28 days of birth.

Stillbirths, which are excluded from births and deaths, numbered 490 and corresponded to a rate of 8.1 per 1,000 births, live and still, in 1982. The compulsory registration of stillborn children became effective in 1953.

## PERINATAL DEATHS AND DEATH RATES (a): VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year	Stillbirths (b)		Neonatal deaths				Total perinatal deaths (b)	
			Under one week		One week but less than one month			
	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate
1935	849	29.5	611	21.9	159	5.7	1,619	56.3
1940	895	27.2	669	20.9	177	5.5	1,741	53.0
1945	981	23.3	728	17.7	143	3.5	1,852	43.9
1950	963	19.0	628	12.6	105	2.1	1,696	33.4
1955	788	13.8	660	11.7	100	1.8	1,548	27.1
1960	850	13.1	770	12.0	108	1.7	1,728	26.6
1965	747	11.6	700	10.9	107	1.7	1,554	24.2
1970	782	10.6	697	9.5	81	1.1	1,560	21.1
1975	636	10.2	439	7.1	83	1.3	1,158	18.5
1980	447	7.6	284	4.9	75	1.3	806	13.7
1981	443	7.4	280	4.7	75	1.3	798	13.3
1982	490	8.1	316	5.3	90	1.5	896	14.8

(a) Number of stillbirths and perinatal deaths per 1,000 births (live and still) and number of neonatal deaths per 1,000 live births.

(b) Until 1945, figures on stillbirths in this table were subject to notification being given to registrars under the Cemeteries Act and the (Commonwealth) Maternity Allowance Act. For the 1950 figures, the latter Act was replaced by the (Commonwealth) Social Services Consolidation Act. Since 1953, registration of stillbirths has been compulsory. Figures up to 1975 in this table relate to stillbirths of 28 weeks or more gestation. Figures from 1975 include all stillbirths of 20 weeks or more gestation and therefore are not strictly comparable with those for earlier years. (See definitions above.)

*Cremations*

Crematoria have been established in Victoria as follows: Springvale, 1905 (closed 1926); Fawkner, 1927; Springvale, 1936; Ballarat, 1958; and Altona North, 1961.

CREMATIONS AND DEATHS:  
VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year	Total cremations	Total deaths registered	Percentage of cremations to deaths registered
1935	596	18,456	3.2
1940	1,624	20,293	8.0
1945	2,604	20,496	12.7
1950	4,425	22,341	19.8
1955	6,119	22,527	27.2
1960	7,839	24,547	31.9
1965	9,857	28,031	35.2
1970	11,265	30,335	37.1
1975	11,508	29,499	39.0
1980	11,804	29,374	40.2
1981	11,597	29,034	39.9
1982	12,234	30,611	40.0



## AVERAGE AGE AT MARRIAGE (a): VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year	Bridegrooms				Brides			
	Bachelors	Widowers	Divorced	All bridegrooms	Spinsters	Widows	Divorced	All brides
1935	28.3	50.0	40.8	29.7	25.5	44.9	36.1	26.4
1940	27.6	49.6	38.6	28.9	24.8	44.2	34.9	25.7
1945	27.8	52.0	39.2	29.8	24.9	43.2	34.9	26.4
1950	27.1	52.9	39.3	29.1	24.3	44.6	35.7	25.9
1955	26.9	54.7	40.0	28.9	23.8	47.0	36.1	25.7
1960	26.3	56.8	41.1	28.3	23.1	49.2	37.1	25.0
1965	25.6	56.0	41.8	27.5	22.5	50.1	37.9	24.3
1970	24.7	57.3	40.6	26.5	22.2	50.2	37.1	23.8
1975	24.8	57.5	39.2	27.2	22.2	51.0	36.1	24.5
1980	25.5	58.5	38.2	28.8	23.1	51.7	34.9	26.2
1981	25.7	58.6	38.4	29.0	23.3	51.9	35.0	26.3
1982	25.9	58.4	38.5	29.1	23.6	50.7	35.1	26.5

(a) Arithmetic mean.

The age in relation to which approximately half the number of bachelors was younger, and approximately half was older (the median age) was 24.7 years in 1982, the same as 1961. The corresponding age for spinsters during 1982 was 22.6 years compared with 21.7 in 1961. More bachelors were married at 23 years and spinsters at 21 years (the modal ages) than any other age in 1982.

The following tables show the previous marital status of bridegrooms and brides since 1935:

## PREVIOUS MARITAL STATUS OF BRIDEGROOMS AND BRIDES: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Period	Bridegrooms						Brides						Total marriages
	Bachelors		Widowers		Divorced		Spinsters		Widows		Divorced		
	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	
1935	14,273	92.6	797	5.2	339	2.2	14,560	94.5	513	3.3	336	2.2	15,409
1940	20,724	92.9	975	4.4	600	2.7	20,950	94.0	705	3.2	644	2.9	22,299
1945	14,544	88.1	967	5.9	990	6.0	14,720	89.2	817	5.0	964	5.8	16,501
1950	18,023	88.7	1,001	4.9	1,296	6.4	18,083	89.0	932	4.6	1,305	6.4	20,320
1955	17,979	89.6	882	4.4	1,195	6.0	17,869	89.1	953	4.8	1,234	6.2	20,056
1960	18,742	90.9	830	4.0	1,055	5.1	18,541	90.0	858	4.2	1,228	6.0	20,627
1965	24,190	91.6	870	3.3	1,361	5.2	24,126	91.3	927	3.5	1,368	5.2	26,421
1970	29,191	92.0	909	2.9	1,629	5.1	29,163	91.9	984	3.1	1,582	5.0	31,729
1975	24,386	87.7	922	3.3	2,498	9.0	24,392	87.7	1,035	3.7	2,379	8.6	27,806
1980	21,773	78.5	823	3.0	5,128	18.5	21,962	79.2	957	3.5	4,805	17.3	27,724
1981	22,592	78.9	802	2.8	5,254	18.3	22,710	79.3	925	3.2	5,013	17.5	28,648
1982	22,542	78.1	727	2.5	5,582	19.3	22,789	79.0	866	3.0	5,196	18.0	28,851

## BRIDEGROOMS AND BRIDES BY PREVIOUS MARITAL STATUS (a): VICTORIA, 1930 TO 1982 (per cent)

Marriages between —	Period						
	1930-1934	1940-1944	1950-1954	1960-1964	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1982
Bachelors and spinsters	88.8	88.1	82.8	86.9	86.8	73.4	70.5
Bachelors and widows	1.9	1.7	2.1	1.4	1.0	0.9	0.7
Bachelors and divorced women	1.4	2.4	3.9	3.0	3.1	6.4	7.2
Widowers and spinsters	3.9	2.8	2.2	1.3	0.7	0.6	0.5
Widowers and widows	1.6	1.3	1.8	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.3
Widowers and divorced women	0.4	0.5	0.9	0.7	0.7	1.2	1.0
Divorced men and spinsters	1.5	2.4	3.9	2.6	3.3	7.3	8.1
Divorced men and widows	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.7	0.8	1.3	1.2
Divorced men and divorced women	0.2	0.5	1.8	1.6	2.1	7.5	9.4
Total marriages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(a) Average number per year for the period indicated.

## RELATIVE AGES OF BRIDEGROOMS AND BRIDES: VICTORIA, 1982

Ages of bridegrooms (years)	Ages of brides (years)															Total bride- grooms	Proportion of total
	15 or less	16	17	18	19	20	21 to 24	25 to 29	30 to 34	35 to 39	40 to 44	45 to 49	50 to 54	55 to 59	60 and over		
17	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—
18	—	15	23	46	41	16	21	4	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	169	0.6
19	1	22	47	109	125	81	79	9	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	475	1.7
20	—	23	52	186	269	276	275	42	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	1,128	3.9
21 to 24	7	42	149	566	1,236	1,716	5,544	876	148	25	7	2	—	—	—	10,318	35.8
25 to 29	1	14	32	157	308	578	3,719	2,728	565	111	21	6	—	—	—	8,240	28.6
30 to 34	1	2	6	35	51	87	812	1,446	835	245	74	10	3	1	—	3,608	12.5
35 to 39	—	1	2	8	13	21	190	479	559	370	116	36	4	1	2	1,802	6.2
40 to 44	—	1	2	1	4	5	49	137	265	257	174	89	20	4	2	1,010	3.5
45 to 49	—	—	1	2	1	2	17	47	100	137	147	112	40	18	4	628	2.2
50 to 54	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	17	32	73	95	103	85	41	11	461	1.6
55 to 59	—	—	1	—	—	—	5	8	20	27	53	86	99	65	41	405	1.4
60 to 64	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	7	5	10	16	39	56	60	78	273	1.0
65 and over	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	6	5	10	19	26	40	222	330	1.1
Total brides	10	120	318	1,111	2,048	2,784	10,716	5,801	2,542	1,263	713	502	333	230	360	28,851	100.0
Proportion of total	—	0.4	1.1	3.9	7.1	9.7	37.1	20.1	8.8	4.4	2.5	1.7	1.2	0.8	1.3	100.0	..



RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL MARRIAGES (a): VICTORIA, 1930 TO 1982  
(per cent)

Category of celebrant	Period					
	1930-1934	1940-1944	1950-1954	1960-1964	1970-1974	1980-1982
Ministers of religion —						
Recognised denominations (b) —						
Roman Catholic Church	18.4	19.7	21.8	28.5	29.5	23.3
Uniting Church in Australia (c)	..	..	..	..	..	14.4
Anglican Church of Australia (d)	27.7	31.8	28.0	22.6	21.5	13.9
Methodist Church in Australia (c)	14.3	14.6	14.1	12.0	9.6	..
Congregational Union of Australia (c)	2.0	1.4	1.6	1.2	1.2	..
Presbyterian Church of Australia (c)	16.9	18.5	19.2	15.0	14.4	1.6
Orthodox Churches (e)	0.1	0.1	0.5	4.8	4.1	2.9
Churches of Christ in Australia	2.6	2.3	1.7	1.9	1.8	1.7
The Baptist Union of Australia	4.7	3.5	1.7	1.5	1.8	1.5
Lutheran Churches	0.7	0.4	1.1	1.2	0.9	0.7
Jewry	0.5	0.6	1.0	0.7	0.8	0.7
Salvation Army	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.7
Unitarians	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	1.0	0.3
Seventh Day Adventist Church	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2
Other denominations	0.8	0.5	0.6	1.0	1.5	2.6
Total ministers of religion	89.4	94.3	92.0	91.2	88.9	64.5
Civil officers —						
In the Office of the Government Statist	10.6	5.3	7.6	7.8	8.9	7.9
Other (f)	—	0.4	0.4	1.0	2.2	27.5
Total civil officers	10.6	5.7	8.0	8.8	11.1	35.5
Total marriages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(a) The table only shows denominations where the number of marriages for the latest year exceeded 50. Those with less than 50 marriages registered, have been grouped in the category "Other denominations".

(b) Under authority of the *Commonwealth Marriage Act 1961*.

(c) The Uniting Church in Australia was formed in June 1977 joining the Methodist, Congregational, and Presbyterian Churches into one body. Some Presbyterian Churches, however, have elected to remain autonomous.

(d) Prior to 24 August 1981, was named Church of England in Australia.

(e) Includes churches grouped under this heading in the proclamation made under the *Commonwealth Marriage Act 1961*. Figures for 1930-1934 to 1950-1954 only refer to Greek Orthodox which is by far the largest in the grouping.

(f) In 1973 and 1974, additional civil officers were appointed to conduct marriages. The majority operate in the Melbourne metropolitan area and marry couples at any location. Previously, civil marriage ceremonies were only conducted at certain country centres (apart from the Office of the Government Statist).

## Divorces

The Commonwealth *Family Law Act 1975* came into operation throughout Australia on 5 January 1976, repealing the previous Matrimonial Causes legislation which had been operative since 1 February 1961. A Family Court of Australia was established to administer Family Law, including applications for dissolution of marriage and nullity of marriage. Under this new Act, there is only one ground for divorce—that of irretrievable breakdown of a marriage (i.e., irretrievable breakdown of a marriage is established under the law if the husband and wife have separated and have lived apart from each other for a continuous period of not less than twelve months immediately preceding the date of the filing of the application for dissolution of marriage and there is no reasonable likelihood of reconciliation). The adoption of a single ground for dissolution of marriage (where fault is no longer taken into account) contrasts strongly with the previous Matrimonial Causes legislation which provided that a dissolution could be granted on one or more of fourteen grounds (e.g., adultery, desertion, cruelty, etc.).

The Act provides that all applications for nullity of marriage shall be based on the ground that the marriage is void. A void marriage is invalid because of failure to meet a legal requirement, for example, the requirement that parties must not be lawfully married to another person. The Family Law Act makes no provisions for applications of nullity of voidable marriage, as did the Matrimonial Causes legislation.

Successful applicants for decrees of dissolution of marriage are, in the first instance, awarded a *decree nisi*. A *decree nisi* becomes absolute at the expiration of a period of one month from the making of the decree, unless it is rescinded, appealed against, or the court is not satisfied that proper arrangements have been made for the welfare of children of the marriage. *Decrees nisi* are not awarded in respect of proceedings for nullity of marriage.

At the commencement of the Family Law Act in January 1976, there was a significant number of pending applications for dissolution or nullity of marriage which had been submitted under the previous Matrimonial Causes legislation. Family Law legislation provided that such applications could be dealt with under either the new or the old legislation.

During 1976, 3,712 decrees were granted under Matrimonial Causes legislation and 12,921 decrees were granted under Family Law legislation in Victoria. The total figure for 1976 shows a marked increase over figures for previous years. However, caution should be used in interpreting this figure, since part of the increase may be due to deferment of applications for divorces pending the introduction of the new legislation. As well, statistics of divorces granted on an annual basis do not necessarily indicate precise trends in divorce rates as the figures may be affected from year to year by various administrative factors, for example, the occurrence of law vacations, and the availability of courts or judges (i.e., a rise in one year may be due wholly or in part to the clearing of a backlog of cases from an earlier period).

## DIVORCES (DECREEES GRANTED) (a): AUSTRALIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year	N.S.W.	Vic.	Qld	S.A.	W.A.	Tas.	N.T.	A.C.T.	Aust.
1935	1,148	<b>608</b>	(b)152	213	159	87	(b)2	11	2,380
1940	1,427	<b>822</b>	(b)241	314	246	83	(b)8	6	3,147
1945	3,139	<b>1,759</b>	907	606	619	172	(b)6	7	7,215
1950	3,456	<b>1,604</b>	791	666	724	152	6	25	7,424
1955	2,900	<b>1,691</b>	803	628	488	233	18	21	6,782
1960	3,275	<b>1,313</b>	705	619	547	210	6	34	6,709
1965	3,455	<b>2,103</b>	1,059	855	606	280	41	135	8,534
1970	5,628	<b>2,604</b>	1,511	942	890	426	50	196	12,247
1975	10,737	<b>5,683</b>	2,689	1,819	2,241	591	87	460	24,307
1976—									
Matrimonial Causes	5,148	<b>3,712</b>	2,961	1,407	1,774	331	35	375	15,743
Family Law	17,009	<b>12,921</b>	6,658	4,741	3,044	1,430	888	1,333	47,524
1980	13,449	<b>9,207</b>	6,219	4,203	3,073	1,285	298	1,524	39,258
1981	14,512	<b>9,769</b>	6,470	4,132	3,481	1,139	393	1,516	41,412
1982	14,378	<b>11,266</b>	6,770	4,526	3,842	1,391	369	1,546	44,088

(a) Nullities of marriage no longer collected after 1979.

(b) Year ended 30 June following.

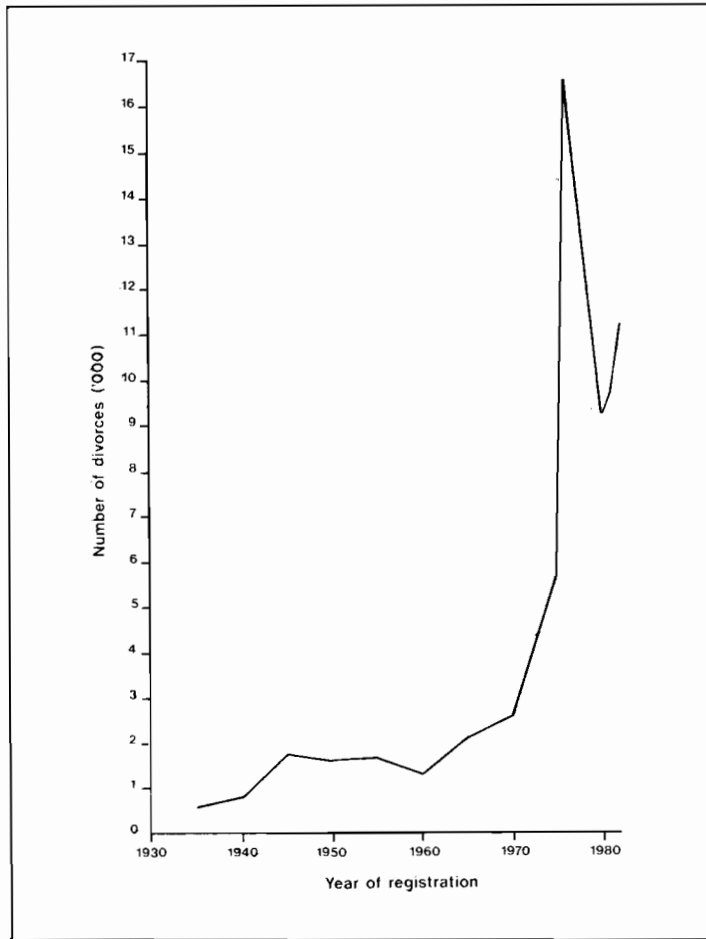


FIGURE 7. Victoria—Number of divorces (decrees granted), 1935 to 1982.

### DIVORCES (DECREEES GRANTED), DISSOLUTIONS AND NULLITY OF MARRIAGE: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year	Dissolutions			Nullities and judicial separations			Total		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
1935	254	345	599	9	9	9	608	608	608
1940	358	459	817	6	6	6	823	823	823
1945	933	794	1,727	12	20	32	945	814	1,759
1950	739	852	1,591	6	7	13	745	859	1,604
1955	773	901	1,674	4	13	17	777	914	1,691
1960	612	684	1,296	6	11	17	618	695	1,313
1965	882	1,206	(a)2,089	5	9	14	887	1,215	(a)2,103
1970	988	1,593	(a)2,591	—	13	13	988	1,606	(a)2,604
1975	2,219	3,439	(a)5,663	5	15	20	2,224	3,454	(a)5,683
1976—									
Matrimonial Causes	1,403	2,302	(a)3,706	3	3	6	1,406	2,305	(a)3,712
Family Law	5,190	7,729	12,919	—	2	2	5,190	7,731	12,921
1980	3,797	5,410	9,207	..	..	..	3,797	5,410	9,207
1981	4,003	5,766	9,769	..	..	..	4,003	5,766	9,769
1982	4,595	6,671	11,266	..	..	..	4,595	6,671	11,266

(a) Includes instances (1 in 1965, 10 in 1970, 5 in 1975, 1 in 1976) where dissolutions were granted to both parties.

DISSOLUTIONS OF MARRIAGE, DECREES GRANTED, AND AGES OF PARTIES:  
VICTORIA, 1945 TO 1982

Year	Age at divorce										Total
	20 and under	21 to 24	25 to 29	30 to 34	35 to 39	40 to 44	45 to 49	50 to 54	55 and over	Not stated	
HUSBANDS											
1945	5	(a)111	(a)252	398	359	246	155	104	89	8	1,727
1950	0	(a)94	(a)255	339	321	241	156	104	78	3	1,591
1955	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1,674
1960	2	29	202	271	260	192	166	92	82	—	1,296
1965	2	29	241	326	409	413	240	195	234	—	2,089
1970	0	66	412	485	390	396	359	213	267	3	2,591
1975	0	180	1,153	1,230	880	661	576	448	535	—	5,663
1976—											
Matrimonial Causes	0	96	623	826	634	483	408	287	349	—	3,706
Family Law	14	662	2,862	2,482	1,805	1,401	1,319	1,058	1,293	23	12,919
1980	13	466	1,952	2,072	1,436	1,082	796	598	764	28	9,207
1981	11	428	2,079	2,192	1,614	1,125	804	700	799	17	9,769
1982	13	477	2,149	2,587	1,985	1,421	981	716	903	34	11,266
WIVES											
1945	24	(a)261	(a)323	400	280	180	126	69	54	10	1,727
1950	12	(a)199	(a)307	376	290	178	122	49	53	5	1,591
1955	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1,674
1960	5	106	261	310	216	167	131	49	51	—	1,296
1965	11	114	348	369	395	333	238	139	142	—	2,089
1970	7	234	548	448	346	363	305	163	175	2	2,591
1975	7	562	1,469	1,072	756	578	527	344	348	—	5,663
1976—											
Matrimonial Causes	14	264	871	814	555	380	341	250	217	—	3,706
Family Law	152	1,660	3,192	2,267	1,642	1,214	1,077	820	870	25	12,919
1980	104	1,137	2,224	1,974	1,249	936	648	400	500	35	9,207
1981	94	1,140	2,416	2,063	1,420	974	661	484	489	28	9,769
1982	94	1,133	2,634	2,517	1,809	1,173	783	519	568	36	11,266

(a) In the 1945 to 1950 period, age groups "21 to 25" and "26 to 29" were used instead of "21 to 24" and "25 to 29"

DISSOLUTIONS OF MARRIAGE, DECREES GRANTED (FAMILY LAW ACT 1975),  
AGES OF PARTIES (AT DATE OF DECREE): VICTORIA, 1982

Ages of husbands (years)	Ages of wives (years)									Not stated	Total husbands	Percentage
	Under 20	20 to 24	25 to 29	30 to 34	35 to 39	40 to 44	45 to 49	50 to 54	55 and over			
Under 20	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
20 to 24	13	381	78	12	1	—	—	—	—	4	489	4.3
25 to 29	11	672	1,274	149	29	6	2	—	1	5	2,149	19.1
30 to 34	—	108	1,044	1,237	156	25	4	6	—	7	2,587	23.0
35 to 39	—	26	178	865	803	90	12	2	3	6	1,985	17.6
40 to 44	—	8	39	186	608	488	72	14	2	4	1,421	12.6
45 to 49	—	—	10	37	144	392	330	49	15	4	981	8.7
50 to 54	—	—	4	15	40	117	251	231	56	2	716	6.4
55 and over	—	2	5	7	24	50	110	215	488	2	903	8.0
Not stated	—	5	2	9	4	5	2	2	3	2	34	0.3
Total wives—												
Number	24	1,203	2,634	2,517	1,809	1,173	783	519	568	36	11,266	100.0
Percentage	0.2	10.7	23.4	22.3	16.1	10.4	7.0	4.6	5.0	0.3	100.0	..

DISSOLUTIONS OF MARRIAGE, DECREES GRANTED, DURATION OF  
MARRIAGE: VICTORIA, 1945 TO 1982

Year	Duration of marriage (years)								Total dissolutions	Number of children	
	0 to 2	3 to 4	5 to 9	10 to 14	15 to 19	20 to 24	25 to 29	30 and over			
1945	83	197	530	357	249	163	93	55	—	1,727	2,082
1950	27	129	602	367	207	125	82	52	—	1,591	1,772
1955		120	600		645		243	66	—	1,674	2,027
1960	9	49	401	362	210	137	83	45	—	1,296	1,671
1965	14	87	498	487	443	259	158	143	—	2,089	2,705
1970	21	173	720	515	397	364	227	174	—	2,591	3,481
1975	56	413	1,882	1,116	773	580	460	383	—	5,663	7,891
1976— Matrimonial Causes	36	161	1,144	835	567	392	312	259	—	3,706	5,808
Family Law	462	1,729	3,951	2,199	1,582	1,213	952	830	1	12,919	15,053
1980	555	1,254	2,632	1,829	1,082	833	520	502	—	9,207	11,177
1981	662	1,345	2,734	1,942	1,177	847	562	500	—	9,769	11,769
1982	728	1,484	3,122	2,318	1,435	988	625	566	—	11,266	13,543

DISSOLUTIONS OF MARRIAGE, DECREES GRANTED (FAMILY LAW ACT 1975),  
DURATION OF MARRIAGE, AND ISSUE: VICTORIA (a), 1982

Duration of marriage (years)	Number of children						Total dissolutions of marriage	Percentage	Total children
	0	1	2	3	4	5 and over			
1	115	23	3	6	4	—	151	1.3	63
2	431	104	23	12	5	2	577	5.1	219
3	474	185	48	12	7	1	727	6.5	350
4	459	196	79	15	4	4	757	6.7	439
5	416	204	106	23	1	—	750	6.7	489
6	314	174	124	23	7	—	642	5.7	519
7	231	195	164	19	7	2	618	5.5	620
8	202	156	182	43	6	2	591	5.2	684
9	146	95	212	59	8	1	521	4.6	733
10	120	111	214	71	16	3	535	4.8	833
11	78	82	218	80	16	3	477	4.2	837
12	65	70	203	92	20	2	452	4.0	842
13	64	62	196	98	16	3	439	3.9	827
14	32	44	203	92	36	8	415	3.7	912
15 to 19	119	149	596	373	144	54	1,435	12.7	3,323
20 to 24	256	285	289	112	31	15	988	8.8	1,413
25 to 29	384	164	57	15	2	3	625	5.6	349
30 and over	493	60	9	3	1	—	566	5.0	91
Total dissolutions of marriage	4,399	2,359	2,926	1,148	331	103	11,266	100.0	..
Percentage	39.0	21.0	26.0	10.2	2.9	0.9	100.0	..	..
Total children	..	2,359	5,852	3,444	1,324	564	..	..	13,543

(a) Children are those living and under 18 at the time of the petition. Includes children deemed to be children of the marriage in accordance with section 5 of the *Family Law Act 1975*.

### AGE DISTRIBUTION AND MASCULINITY

Victoria's population in its early years showed a large excess of males over females. By 1881, half of Victoria's population was under 20 years of age.

After 1881, the proportion of persons in the lower age groups declined steadily and there was a continued increase in the proportion of elderly persons. By 1933, the Depression had accelerated the above trend with the number of children aged between 0 and 4 years being almost identical to the number recorded for the 1911 Census. Another factor influencing this trend was the increase in life expectancy in Australia from 47 years for males and 50 years for females, born in the period 1881 to 1890, to 63 years for males and 67 years for females, born in the period 1932 to 1934. The average age of the population rose from 25 years for males and 20 years for females in 1854 to 31 years for

males and 32 for females by 1933. Since the 1911 Census, the average age for females has been higher than the average age for males.

The years after the Second World War saw a relatively high birth rate and a high level of migration to the State with a disproportionate number of immigrants being young males. The effect of these two factors was to raise the proportion of the population under 20 years of age from 31 per cent in 1947 to 38 per cent in 1966 and to raise the masculinity ratio from 97 males per 100 females to 101 males per 100 females during the same period.

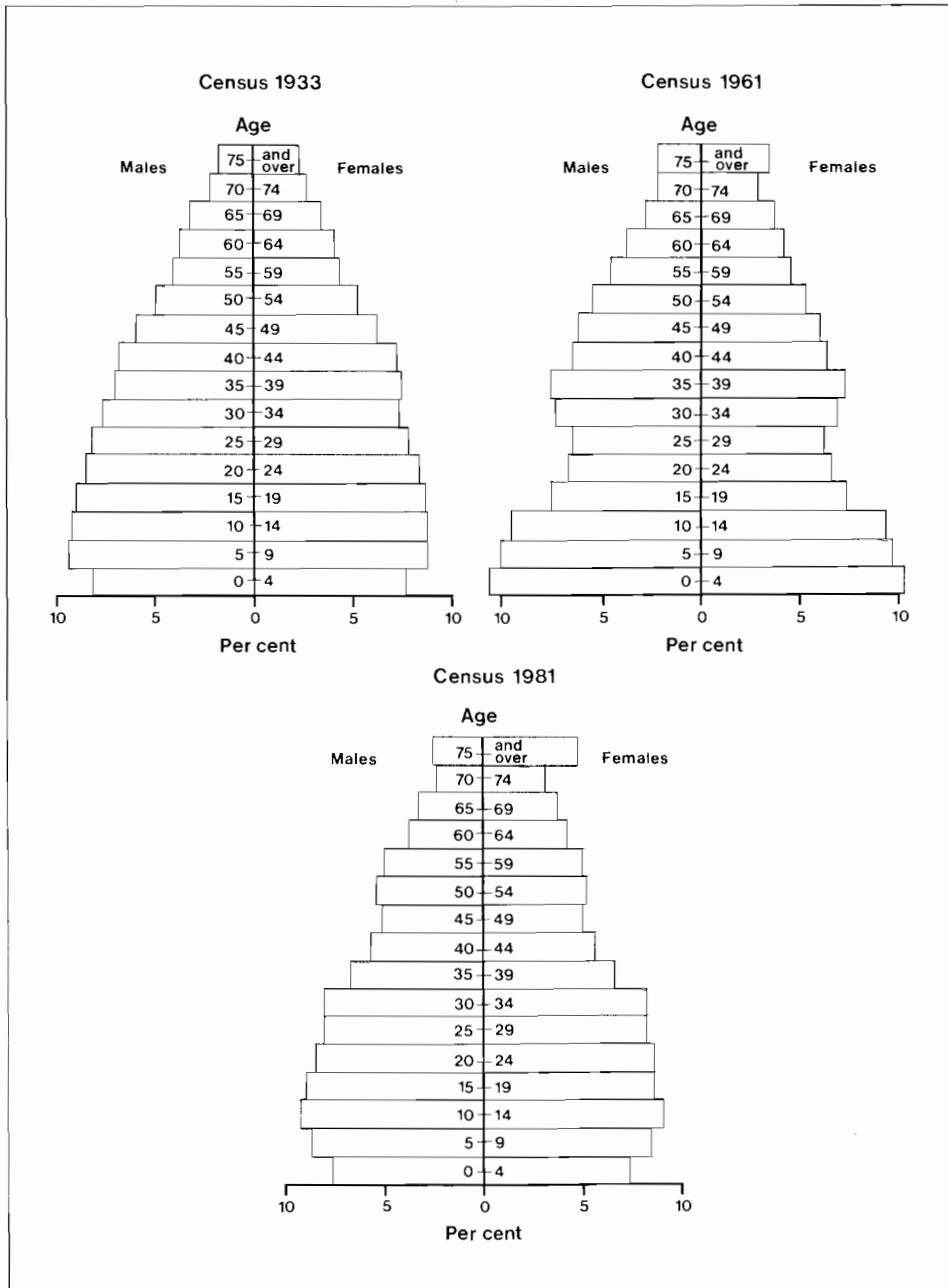


FIGURE 8. Victoria—Age/sex pyramids of the population at Censuses held in 1933, 1961, and 1981.

There was a high surplus of males under 45 years of age in 1966, a feature still evident in 1976.

A steady increase in the life expectancy of Victorians until 1966 led to a significant increase in the average age of the population. While the average age of males decreased to 31 years by 1966, the average age of females increased to 32 years. By this time, the life expectancy of males was 68 years, while for females life expectancy had increased more rapidly to 74 years in Australia. There was a high surplus of females aged over 45 years, a trend characteristic of the post-war years.

Since 1966, the proportion of the population of Victoria in the 65 and over age group has increased from 9 per cent in 1966 to 10 per cent in 1981. The life expectancy at birth of Victorians in 1981 was 72 years for males and 78 years for females.

**PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION IN AGE GROUPS: VICTORIA,  
CENSUSES 1933 TO 1981  
(per cent)**

Census years (a)	Age groups						Total
	0-4 years	5-19 years	20-44 years	45-64 years	65 years and over	Not stated (b)	
1933	7.9	26.8	38.3	19.2	7.5	0.3	100.0
1947	9.6	21.4	37.5	22.1	8.8	0.6	100.0
1954	10.5	23.4	36.6	20.9	8.6	—	100.0
1961	10.5	27.0	33.9	20.0	8.6	—	100.0
1966	10.0	28.3	33.4	19.7	8.6	—	100.0
1971 (c)	9.8	27.6	34.2	19.9	8.6	—	100.0
1976 (c)	8.7	27.2	34.8	20.1	9.2	—	100.0
1981 (c)	7.4	26.1	37.1	19.4	10.0	—	100.0

(a) For Censuses prior to and including the 1961 Census Aborigines were excluded from the population counts.

(b) For Censuses prior to and including 1947 there was no adjustment made to age tables to take into account cases where age was not stated or where there was mis-statement of age. From 1954 adjustments have been made to take into account cases of age not being stated. From 1961 adjustments have been made to take into account mis-statement of age.

(c) Based on Estimated Resident Population.

### BIRTHPLACE

In 1854 the majority of the population were immigrants with 74 per cent coming from Great Britain and Ireland. Only 13 per cent of Victorians had been born in the Colony, while a further 5 per cent had been born in other Australian Colonies or in New Zealand. By 1881 there was a substantial change in the position; 58 per cent of the population had been born in Victoria and 33 per cent were from Great Britain and Ireland.

In 1933, 81 per cent of Victorians had been born in Victoria and only 9 per cent had been born in Great Britain or Ireland. A further 8 per cent were born in the rest of Australia. Assisted immigration, mainly from Britain, virtually ceased between 1931 and 1937. Non-British immigrants, who paid for their passages, had to have a guarantor in Australia or had to deposit \$80 as a surety with a consular post overseas.

In 1938, the Empire Settlement Scheme was renewed and there was some immigration from Britain on a passage loan basis. However, a year later immigration to Victoria was brought to a halt by the Second World War.

Due to the low level of immigration between the 1933 and 1947 Censuses, the proportion of Victorians who had been born in Australia had reached 91 per cent by 1947 and 82 per cent had been born in the State. Both these percentages are the highest ever recorded. After the Second World War, there was a dramatic increase in the level of Australian immigration. It began with the introduction of the U.K.-Australian Assisted Passage Migration Agreement and was followed by a number of schemes to assist persons from allied European nations and displaced persons from Eastern Europe. A total of 310,000 assisted immigrants arrived in Australia between 1947 and 1951. The biggest group consisted of 170,000 displaced persons. In the same period, 160,000 unassisted immigrants made their homes in Australia. Nearly a third of both groups settled in Victoria. Bonegilla, in north-eastern Victoria, became one of the biggest immigration transit camps, accommodating up to 7,000 persons at any one time.

While Australia's immigration policy before 1947 concentrated heavily on bringing out British settlers, this policy was reviewed as it was believed that other Europeans should be encouraged to settle here. The high level of immigration continued until the early 1970s.

Special entries of refugees continued during this period with the predominant entries being from Hungary (1956) and Czechoslovakia (1968).

As a result of this immigration, by the 1971 Census, 23 per cent of Victoria's population were overseas born. Of this, British and Irish born persons accounted for only 8 per cent. The 1970s witnessed a progressive reduction in the level of immigrant intakes, the main reason for this being the difficult economic and employment conditions which affected every part of Australia. Because of this, during 1974, occupational restrictions were imposed on entry for all immigrants other than immediate dependent relatives. Family reunion was encouraged.

**BIRTHPLACE OF THE POPULATION: VICTORIA,  
CENSUSES 1933 TO 1981 (a)**  
(per cent)

Birthplace	Census years							
	1933	1947	1954	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981
Australia	88.6	91.3	85.0	80.6	78.9	77.2	77.5	76.1
New Zealand	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.8
Europe —								
United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland	9.0	6.2	7.0	7.0	7.4	7.7	7.3	6.8
Austria	—	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2
Czechoslovakia	—	—	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1
Germany	0.2	0.2	0.9	1.3	1.2	1.0	0.9	0.9
Greece	0.1	0.1	0.3	1.1	2.0	2.3	2.1	1.9
Hungary	—	—	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2
Italy	0.3	0.4	1.7	3.1	3.5	3.5	3.2	3.0
Latvia	—	—	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Lithuania	—	—	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Malta	—	—	0.3	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.7
Netherlands	—	—	0.7	1.2	1.1	1.0	0.8	0.8
Poland	0.1	0.2	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.6
Ukraine	—	(b)0.1	0.2	0.2	(b)0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1
USSR	0.1	—	0.1	0.1	—	0.1	0.1	0.2
Yugoslavia	—	—	0.3	0.6	0.8	1.4	1.6	1.6
Other	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
Total Europe	10.1	7.6	13.6	17.6	19.4	20.0	18.7	17.9
Asia —								
China	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Cyprus	—	—	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3
India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.6	0.6
Kampuchea, Laos, Vietnam	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	—	—	0.4
Malaysia, Singapore	—	—	—	—	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3
Turkey, Lebanon	(d)	(d)	—	—	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.6
Other	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5
Total Asia	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.8	0.8	1.4	2.0	2.8
Africa —								
Republic of South Africa	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
Arab Republic of Egypt	(e)	(e)	(e)	(e)	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Other	—	—	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3
Total Africa	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.8
America —								
Canada	0.1	—	—	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
USA	0.1	(f)0.1	(f)0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2
Other	—	—	—	—	—	0.1	0.2	0.3
Total America	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.6
Other (g)	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.1	0.1
Total overseas born	11.4	8.6	15.0	19.4	21.3	22.9	22.4	22.9
Not stated, at sea (h)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1.1
Total —								
Per cent	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Population	1,820,261	2,054,701	2,452,341	2,930,113	3,219,526	3,502,351	3,646,976	3,832,443

(a) Figures for all years are based on "as recorded" field counts (i.e., they have not been adjusted for under-enumeration).

(b) Figures for the USSR and the Ukraine were combined at the 1947 and 1966 Censuses.

(c) Included in other Asia for Censuses 1933 to 1966.

(d) Included in other Europe for 1933 and 1947 Censuses.

(e) Included in other Africa for Censuses 1933 to 1961.

(f) Includes Hawaiian Islands.

(g) Includes Australian external territories.

(h) "Not stated" has been imputed for Censuses prior to 1981.



However, the tradition of accepting refugees continued: from Yugoslavia (1970s), Chile (1973), Timor (1975), Cyprus (1976), Lebanon (1976), Indo-China (late 1970s), and Poland (1978).

The composition of the new settlers to Australia between 1971 and 1981 has also changed significantly, as compared to the composition of new settlers between 1947 and 1971. The proportions of persons born in each of the southern European countries, with the exception of Yugoslavians, has declined although those who migrated here during this period tended to have higher levels of skill and education than those who arrived immediately after the Second World War. There were nearly three times the proportion of non-European immigrants in Victoria in 1981 as compared to 1966. This has been brought about in part by the gradual easing between 1949 and 1973 of the Migration Act, immigration policy, the recruitment of many unskilled eastern Mediterranean and Latin American workers, and the displacement of a number of Indo-Chinese persons.

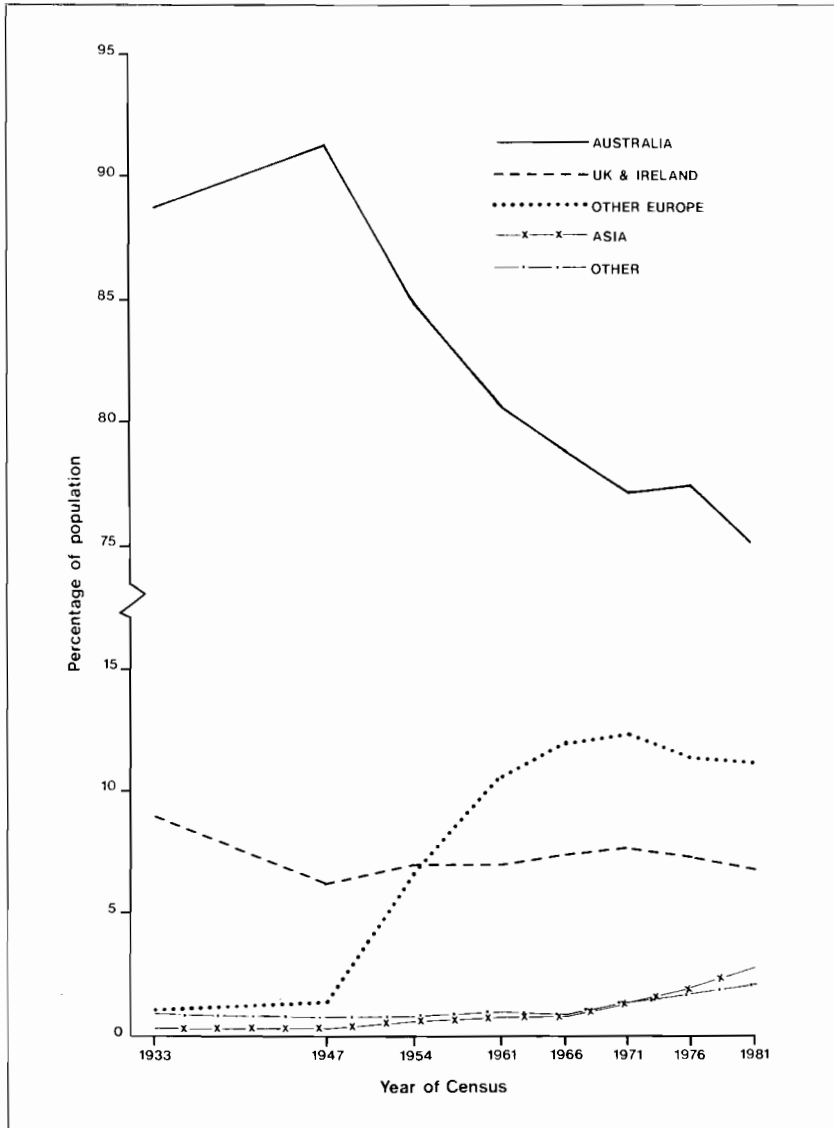


FIGURE 9. Victoria—Census counts of the population by birthplace, 1933 to 1981.



Migrant reception centres in Australia played a vital role in the post-Second World War immigration programme.

*Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs*

The *Australis*, which was used to carry hundreds of Australian Government assisted migrants, arrives in Melbourne in 1977.

*Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs*



The "baby boom" immediately after the Second World War contrasted greatly with the low birth rates of the late 1920s and 1930s.

*Queen Victoria Medical Centre*



An Australian born Korean girl holds her parents' naturalisation papers.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*



## MARITAL STATUS

The percentage of Victoria's population aged 15 years and over who were married, or were married but permanently separated, increased from 39 per cent in the 1933 Census to an average of 47 per cent in the ensuing Censuses. The percentage of males who have never married has always been greater than the percentage of females who have never married, while the percentages of married males and married females have been nearly equal in each Census.

The table below shows that there has been an increase in both males and females with a marital status of divorced, since the 1966 Census.

MARITAL STATUS OF THE POPULATION: VICTORIA,  
CENSUSES 1933 TO 1981 (a)  
(per cent)

Marital status	Census years							
	1933	1947	1954	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981
<b>MALES</b>								
Never married —								
Under 15 years of age	26.7	24.5	28.2	30.4	29.9	29.6	28.1	25.9
15 years of age and over	30.1	24.2	20.9	20.6	21.3	20.4	20.9	23.0
Total never married	56.8	48.7	49.1	51.0	51.2	50.0	49.0	48.9
Married	} 39.5	47.3	{ 46.3	45.1	45.0	45.9	46.4	45.6
Married but permanently separated								
Widowed								
Divorced								
Not stated (b)	0.4	0.3	0.3	—	—	—	—	—
Total males—	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Per cent	903,244	1,013,867	1,231,099	1,474,395	1,613,904	1,750,061	1,814,784	1,901,411
Number								
<b>FEMALES</b>								
Never married —								
Under 15 years of age	25.2	22.9	27.2	29.3	28.5	28.2	26.6	24.3
15 years of age and over	27.3	21.1	16.1	15.3	16.2	15.3	15.9	17.9
Total never married	52.5	44.0	43.3	44.6	44.7	43.5	42.5	42.2
Married	} 39.1	46.3	{ 46.2	45.4	45.0	45.9	45.8	44.7
Married but permanently separated								
Widowed								
Divorced								
Not stated (b)	0.3	0.3	0.2	—	—	—	—	—
Total females—	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Per cent	917,017	1,040,834	1,221,242	1,455,718	1,605,622	1,752,290	1,832,193	1,931,032
Number								
<b>PERSONS</b>								
Never married —								
Under 15 years of age	26.0	23.7	27.7	29.8	29.2	28.9	27.4	25.1
15 years of age and over	28.7	22.7	18.5	18.0	18.8	17.9	18.4	20.4
Total never married	54.7	46.4	46.2	47.8	48.0	46.8	45.8	45.5
Married	} 39.3	46.8	{ 46.3	45.2	44.9	45.9	46.1	45.2
Married but permanently separated								
Widowed								
Divorced								
Not stated (b)	0.3	0.3	0.2	—	—	—	—	—
Total population—	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Per cent	1,820,261	2,054,701	2,452,341	2,930,113	3,219,526	3,502,351	3,646,977	3,832,443
Number								

(a) Figures for all years are based on "as recorded" field counts (i.e., they have not been adjusted for under-enumeration).

(b) For the 1961 and later Censuses, marital status was imputed for those persons who did not answer that question.

## RELIGION

The religious denominations of the non-Aboriginal population at the Census in 1854 showed that 46 per cent were Church of England, 19 per cent were Catholic (including Roman Catholic), 18 per cent Presbyterian, and 7 per cent Methodist.

By the 1933 Census, 34 per cent of the population were counted as Church of England, 19 per cent were Catholic, 15 per cent were Presbyterian, and 11 per cent Methodist. The trends for the different denominations are blurred somewhat by the large percentage of persons who did not state their religion for the Censuses after 1933 when the question on religious affiliation became optional.

Between 1933 and 1966 stated adherence to the Catholic faith grew significantly. This reflected the large number of migrants from southern Europe who arrived in Australia after the Second World War.

From the 1971 Census, the Census form has requested that respondents indicate if they had no religion. The trends between 1933 and 1966 appear to be continuing with the exception that the proportion of the population who are Catholic has now stabilised and a greater proportion of persons now belong to smaller denominations or have no religion at all. In 1981, 475,302 (12 per cent) of the population indicated they had no religion. This compares with 0.2 per cent in 1933. Males comprised 55.5 per cent of the 1981 total who indicated they had no religion which compares with 76 per cent in 1933 and 93 per cent in 1891.

RELIGIONS OF THE POPULATION: VICTORIA,  
CENSUSES 1933 TO 1981 (a)  
(per cent)

Religion (b)	Census years							
	1933	1947	1954	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981
Christian —								
Baptist	1.7	1.6	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.1
Brethren	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1
Catholic, (c)	18.9	20.4	22.9	26.1	27.6	28.7	27.2	27.8
Churches of Christ	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.2	0.9	0.7	0.7
Church of England	34.4	35.5	33.9	30.5	28.7	25.5	21.7	20.3
Congregational	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.1
Orthodox (d)	n.a.	n.a.	0.8	1.9	3.1	4.0	4.3	4.5
Lutheran	0.5	0.5	0.9	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.0	1.0
Methodist	10.6	11.4	10.3	9.4	8.7	7.3	5.7	2.4
Presbyterian	15.2	14.0	13.4	12.5	12.0	10.4	8.3	4.6
Protestant (undefined)	1.4	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.4	3.2	2.7	2.6
Salvation Army	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4
Seventh-day Adventist	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Uniting (e)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	5.6
Other (f)	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.9	1.1	1.6	2.3	2.7
Total Christian	86.1	88.1	88.4	87.6	87.5	85.1	75.8	74.1
Hebrew	0.5	0.7	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.7	0.8
Other non-Christian	—	—	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.7	1.1
Total non-Christian	0.5	0.7	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.4	1.9
Indefinite (inadequately described)	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.4
No religion	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.9	7.3	9.4	12.1
Not stated	12.9	10.4	9.9	10.8	10.4	6.1	12.9	11.8
Total—								
Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Population	1,820,261	2,054,701	2,452,341	2,930,113	3,219,526	3,502,351	3,646,975	3,832,443

(a) Figures for all years are based on "as recorded" field counts (i.e., they have not been adjusted for under-enumeration).

(b) The Census and Statistics Act provides that there is no penalty for refusing to answer the question on religion, which accounts for the rather high incidence of "not stated". In 1971 and 1976 the instruction "if no religion write none" was added to the question. The result was a significant rise in the "no religion" category compared to previous Censuses and a fall in the "not stated" category.

(c) Includes Catholic and Catholic, Roman.

(d) In the 1933 and 1947 Censuses, Orthodox was coded to "Other Christian" category.

(e) The Uniting Church in Australia was formed in June 1977 joining the Methodist, Congregational, and Presbyterian Churches into one body. However, some Presbyterian Churches have elected to remain autonomous.

(f) Including Christian undefined.

QUALIFICATIONS

Information on the levels of qualifications held by the Victorian population was first published after the 1966 Census. At this Census, 1.1 per cent of the population held a university or equivalent degree, but only one-quarter of these were female. An additional 2.2 per cent of the population held a diploma obtained from institutions which are now called Colleges of Advanced Education; 42 per cent of the population in this category were female.

Since 1966, the proportion of the population who have tertiary qualifications has steadily increased. By 1981, 4.2 per cent of the population had a university or equivalent degree, of which 37 per cent were female; 4 per cent had diplomas from Colleges of Advanced Education with females comprising 54 per cent of this figure.

From 1971, Censuses have shown information on persons who have recognised non-tertiary qualifications obtained after leaving school. In 1971, 15 per cent of the population had such qualifications. Males comprised 72 per cent of these with the main area of imbalance between the sexes being in trade certificates. By 1981, 15 per cent of the population held non-tertiary qualifications with males comprising 69 per cent.

QUALIFIED PERSONS AGED 15 YEARS OR MORE: VICTORIA,  
CENSUSES 1966 TO 1981 (a)  
(per cent)

Level of qualification	Census years			
	1966	1971	1976	1981
MALES				
University or equivalent degree —				
Doctorate, Masters		0.4	0.6	0.8
Bachelor degree	} 1.6	} 2.5	2.7	3.9
Graduate diploma (b)			0.4	0.8
Diploma	2.5	3.8	3.7	3.8
Certificate (technicians and trades)	(d)	20.2	19.1	20.6
Not applicable	(d)	1.0	0.7	0.1
Other (c)	(d)	72.1	72.8	70.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
FEMALES				
University or equivalent degree —				
Doctorate, Masters		0.1	0.1	0.2
Bachelor degree	} 0.5	} 1.0	1.1	2.0
Graduate diploma (b)			0.4	0.8
Diploma	1.8	3.4	3.8	4.2
Certificate (technicians and trade)	(d)	5.0	6.7	8.9
Not applicable	(d)	2.9	2.0	0.3
Other (c)	(d)	87.6	85.8	83.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
PERSONS				
University or equivalent degree —				
Doctorate, Masters		0.3	0.4	0.5
Bachelor degree	} 1.1	} 1.7	1.9	2.9
Graduate diploma (b)			0.4	0.8
Diploma	2.2	3.6	3.7	4.0
Certificate (technicians and trade)	(d)	12.6	12.8	14.6
Not applicable	(d)	2.0	1.4	0.2
Other (c)	(d)	79.9	79.4	76.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(a) Figures for all years are based on "as recorded" field counts (i.e., they have not been adjusted for under-enumeration).  
 (b) With the formation of Colleges of Advanced Education in the 1960s, a large number of diploma courses achieved graduate status during the 1970s.  
 (c) Includes no qualifications, currently studying for qualifications, and not stated.  
 (d) Not available.

## INDUSTRY AND OCCUPATION

Since 1933, the proportion of the working population engaged in agriculture, forestry, fishing, hunting, and mining has decreased from 19.4 per cent to 6 per cent in 1981. Over the same period, the relative significance of the construction, and transport and storage sectors of the economy also declined, although not to the same extent.

Steady increases since 1933 in the proportion of the working population engaged in certain industry groupings have occurred for two industries: wholesale and retail trade,

INDUSTRY IN WHICH EMPLOYED POPULATION WORKED: VICTORIA,  
CENSUSES 1933 TO 1981 (a)  
(per cent)

Industry group (b)	Census years							
	1933	1947	1954	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981
Agriculture, forestry, fishing, and hunting —								
Males	23.5	17.1	13.7	11.3	9.8	8.0	6.4	5.9
Females	3.1	3.1	3.3	3.1	4.5	3.8	6.0	4.5
Persons	18.3	13.7	11.2	9.1	8.1	6.6	6.2	5.4
Mining —								
Males	1.5	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4
Females	—	—	—	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1
Persons	1.1	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3
Manufacturing —								
Males	20.9	28.4	32.1	31.6	32.8	29.0	26.8	25.4
Females	30.0	31.8	34.6	30.7	29.7	25.3	19.6	17.1
Persons	23.2	29.2	32.7	31.4	31.8	27.8	24.2	22.2
Electricity, gas, and water —								
Males	1.7	1.4	3.1	3.4	3.3	2.5	2.7	3.3
Females	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.5
Persons	1.4	1.1	2.5	2.7	2.5	1.8	1.9	2.2
Construction —								
Males	14.0	9.7	10.7	11.2	11.0	9.5	10.1	8.1
Females	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.7	1.0	1.1	1.7	1.6
Persons	10.5	7.3	8.2	8.4	7.9	6.8	7.0	5.6
Wholesale and retail trade —								
Males	14.4	12.0	13.9	14.3	14.2	17.2	16.8	16.2
Females	15.0	16.1	20.2	19.8	19.1	21.8	19.2	18.2
Persons	14.5	13.0	15.5	15.7	15.7	18.7	17.7	17.0
Transport and storage —								
Males	8.1	8.4	7.4	7.0	6.6	6.1	6.2	6.4
Females	0.6	1.8	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.8	1.8	2.0
Persons	6.2	6.8	6.0	5.5	5.0	4.7	4.6	4.7
Communication —								
Males	1.1	1.5	2.3	2.5	2.4	2.2	2.2	2.4
Females	1.1	2.1	1.9	1.7	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.3
Persons	1.1	1.6	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.0	1.9	2.0
Finance, insurance, real estate, and business —								
Males	3.7	2.7	3.0	2.9	4.4	5.9	6.3	7.1
Females	3.0	3.3	4.7	5.1	6.9	8.8	8.5	9.5
Persons	3.5	2.8	3.4	3.5	5.2	6.9	7.1	8.0
Public administration and defence —								
Males	2.2	4.8	4.6	4.0	4.4	5.4	5.3	5.7
Females	2.7	4.1	3.3	2.9	2.6	3.5	3.4	4.1
Persons	2.4	4.6	4.3	3.7	3.9	4.8	4.6	5.1
Community services (health, education, etc.) —								
Males	2.8	3.5	4.0	5.8	5.6	6.2	8.0	9.0
Females	11.5	13.8	15.7	19.9	18.6	19.2	22.5	24.4
Persons	5.1	6.0	6.9	9.6	9.6	10.4	13.3	14.8
Entertainment, recreation, hotels, and restaurants —								
Males	3.9	3.9	3.6	3.6	3.6	2.8	2.9	3.4
Females	26.7	15.8	12.8	11.5	10.8	8.0	6.2	6.3
Persons	9.7	6.8	5.9	5.7	5.8	4.5	4.1	4.5
Other, not elsewhere included, not stated —								
Males	2.2	6.2	1.0	1.9	1.2	4.7	5.8	6.6
Females	5.8	7.4	0.9	2.6	3.1	4.8	9.1	10.5
Persons	3.1	6.5	0.9	2.1	1.8	4.7	7.0	8.1
Total employed population —								
Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Males	589,090	674,598	786,948	887,137	950,227	974,989	1,003,801	1,037,671
Females	202,275	217,444	257,446	322,926	426,821	474,185	576,879	639,412
Persons	791,365	892,042	1,044,394	1,210,063	1,377,048	1,449,174	1,580,680	1,677,083

(a) Figures for all years are based on "as recorded" field counts (i.e., they have not been adjusted for under-enumeration).

(b) Industry classifications have changed during this period, which would have some effect on comparability between Censuses.

and community services (which includes the police, fire brigades, hospitals, medical and dental services, education, and industrial and trade associations).

Another industry grouping, that of finance, property, and business services remained at much the same level of activity until 1954 but has expanded rapidly since that Census. By contrast, manufacturing industry grew substantially between 1933 and 1954, but since 1954, has involved an increasingly lower proportion of the working population although it still remains the largest single industry grouping in Victoria. In summary, Victoria's economy began with a heavy reliance on agricultural and mining industry but, by the initial post-Second World War years, this had changed to a manufacturing base. Since the 1950s, the tertiary or service sector has continued to grow.

Figures on occupation groupings were first released in 1966. Trends apparent since 1966 indicate a decrease in the proportion of the working people in four occupation groupings; farmers, fishermen, hunters, timber getters, and related workers; miners, quarrymen, and related workers; transport and communication operations workers; and tradesmen, production workers, and labourers not elsewhere classified. Increases in the proportion of the working population in occupation groupings during the same period have occurred for professional, technical, and related workers, and also for clerical workers. The situation is clouded somewhat by the comparatively large proportion of persons in 1971, 1976, and 1981 who had to be classified in the category of "occupation inadequately described or not stated".

Another feature has been the rapid increase in the numbers of women who have entered the labour force since 1954. In 1954, only 257,446 women were employed in Victoria. This figure represented 29 per cent of all women aged 15 years and over and only 25 per cent of all employed persons. By 1981, 639,413 women were employed, which represented 50 per cent of all women aged 15 years and over and 38 per cent of all employed persons.

In 1981, 84 per cent of males aged 15 years and over were employed. This compares with 89 per cent in 1933.



OCCUPATIONS OF THE POPULATION: VICTORIA,  
CENSUSES 1966 TO 1981 (a)

Occupation group (b)	Census years							
	1966		1971		1976		1981	
	Persons	Per cent	Persons	Per cent	Persons	Per cent	Persons	Per cent
Professional, technical, and related workers —								
Males	76,622	8.1	89,600	9.2	106,609	10.6	129,724	12.5
Females	54,301	12.7	63,034	13.3	85,694	14.9	108,845	17.0
Persons	130,923	9.5	152,634	10.5	192,303	12.2	238,569	14.2
Administrative, executive and managerial workers —								
Males	79,074	8.3	86,480	8.9	91,072	9.1	70,270	6.8
Females	10,584	2.5	11,639	2.5	14,614	2.5	6,763	1.1
Persons	89,658	6.5	98,119	6.8	105,686	6.7	77,033	4.6
Clerical workers —								
Males	80,828	8.5	83,380	8.6	84,821	8.5	90,497	8.7
Females	122,898	28.8	144,739	30.5	173,383	30.1	197,972	31.0
Persons	203,726	14.8	228,119	15.7	258,204	16.3	288,469	17.2
Sales workers —								
Males	57,441	6.9	63,257	6.5	61,785	6.2	75,345	7.3
Females	48,045	11.3	53,519	11.3	58,292	10.1	67,539	10.6
Persons	105,486	7.7	116,776	8.1	120,077	7.6	142,884	8.5
Farmers, fishermen, hunters, timber getters, and related workers —								
Males	98,112	10.3	83,905	8.6	71,399	7.1	69,532	6.7
Females	18,728	4.4	17,409	3.7	34,525	6.0	28,437	4.4
Persons	116,840	8.5	101,314	7.0	105,924	6.7	97,969	5.8
Miners, quarrymen, and related workers —								
Males	2,376	0.3	1,802	0.2	1,360	0.1	1,298	0.1
Females	2	—	2	—	10	—	20	—
Persons	2,378	0.2	1,804	0.1	1,370	0.1	1,318	0.1
Workers in transport and communication operations —								
Males	66,693	7.0	63,339	6.5	64,665	6.4	63,881	6.2
Females	9,352	2.2	10,165	2.1	9,929	1.7	10,229	1.6
Persons	76,045	5.5	73,504	5.1	74,593	4.7	74,110	4.4
Craftsmen, production process workers, and labourers not elsewhere classified —								
Males	428,287	45.1	400,871	41.1	421,332	42.0	421,493	40.6
Females	93,502	21.9	87,955	18.6	88,832	15.4	83,634	13.1
Persons	521,789	37.9	488,826	33.7	510,163	32.3	505,127	30.1
Service, sport, and recreation workers —								
Males	38,505	4.1	38,576	4.0	45,078	4.5	54,882	5.3
Females	57,103	13.4	57,815	12.2	67,057	11.6	78,533	12.3
Persons	95,608	6.9	96,391	6.7	112,135	7.1	133,415	8.0
Members of the Armed Forces, enlisted personnel —								
Males	14,530	1.5	15,390	1.6	13,556	1.4	13,240	1.3
Females	725	0.2	675	0.1	990	0.2	1,164	0.2
Persons	15,255	1.1	16,065	1.1	14,545	0.9	14,404	0.9
Occupation inadequately described or not stated —								
Males	7,759	0.8	48,389	5.0	42,124	4.2	47,509	4.6
Females	11,581	2.7	27,233	5.7	43,553	7.6	56,276	8.8
Persons	19,340	1.4	75,622	5.2	85,678	5.4	103,785	6.2
Total employed —								
Males	950,227	100.0	974,989	100.0	1,003,801	100.0	1,037,671	100.0
Females	426,821	100.0	474,185	100.0	576,879	100.0	639,412	100.0
Persons	1,377,048	100.0	1,449,174	100.0	1,580,680	100.0	1,677,083	100.0
Unemployed —								
Males	10,139		14,078		34,872		54,966	
Females	7,250		9,739		29,474		44,650	
Persons	17,389		23,817		64,346		99,616	
Persons not in the labour force —								
Males	663,677		760,994		776,113		808,774	
Females	1,178,801		1,268,366		1,225,843		1,246,970	
Persons	1,842,478		2,029,360		2,001,955		2,055,744	
Grand total—								
Males	1,624,043		1,750,061		1,814,786		1,901,411	
Females	1,612,872		1,752,290		1,832,196		1,931,032	
Persons	3,236,915		3,502,351		3,646,982		3,832,443	

(a) Figures for all years are based on "as recorded" field counts (i.e., they have not been adjusted for under-enumeration).

(b) Occupation is defined as the type of work performed by an employed person and should not be confused with the type of productive activity, business, or service carried out by the establishment in which a person works (i.e., the industry). Occupation classifications have been changed during this period, which would have some effect on comparability between Censuses.

## URBANISATION

**Introduction**

The trend towards the increasing urbanisation of Victoria's population has been apparent since the 1860s. Between 1933 and 1971 this trend was very much evident, particularly with the rapid growth of Greater Melbourne which later became the Melbourne metropolitan area after an extension of its boundaries to incorporate nearby municipalities. Much of the impetus towards the urbanisation of Victoria's population can be attributed to Victoria's economic growth which was centred predominantly in the larger urban areas.

Immigrants to Victoria during this period mainly chose the urban areas, and particularly Melbourne, because of the relative ease in obtaining work and accommodation. On the other hand the rural areas proved less attractive, as small farms were becoming less economic. Also, living in Melbourne enabled immigrants to join other members of their families. Movements of persons from rural to urban areas has been the other major influence on Victoria's increased urbanisation but, overall, its effect has been less important than either the effects of apparent net migration to Victoria or of natural growth in urban centres.

In 1891 the four major urban centres of Greater Melbourne, Geelong, Ballarat, and Bendigo comprised over 50 per cent of Victoria's population. By 1921, Greater Melbourne alone held 51 per cent. At the time of the 1933 Census, Greater Melbourne was still growing at a faster rate than the rest of the State, comprising 55 per cent of Victoria's population while Geelong, Ballarat, and Bendigo held a further 6 per cent. The Census of 1933 indicated that Victoria's population was increasing at a slow rate with negative net migration and many Victorians were leaving their rural holdings to come to the cities to seek employment.

By 1954, the Melbourne metropolitan area (as it came to be called) had increased in area and population so that it contained 62 per cent of Victoria's population. Geelong, Ballarat, and Bendigo accounted for an additional 6 per cent while the other urban areas amounted to 12.8 per cent. By this time, Victoria was experiencing a period of considerable economic growth and to preserve this impetus a high level of immigration was undertaken. Melbourne was leading this economic activity and experienced a rapid growth of industrialisation. This economic growth continued until 1971 and the population of the Melbourne metropolitan area grew to 68 per cent of the State's population. Geelong which had become the State's second largest city at the 1933 Census with a population of 39,223 had increased rapidly to 115,181 by 1971. Since 1966 it has had a greater population than the combined populations of Ballarat and Bendigo, the next largest cities.

A contributing factor to the 1971 figures was the movement from the rural areas to the urban areas, and in particular Melbourne, during the 1960s. This was mainly a result of the large number of school leavers at the time who represented the "baby boom" of the late 1940s and who subsequently left the country areas to seek employment. Since 1971, the trend towards urbanisation has declined with the proportion of Victoria's population living in the Melbourne metropolitan area actually decreasing by the 1976 Census. The movement of population to the smaller urban areas reflects the expansion in regional centres of tertiary education, the development of tourism, improved leisure facilities, and the promotion of decentralisation of industry by the Victorian Government. In addition, many persons chose to leave Melbourne during this period to live in outer suburban and semi-rural areas.

**URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION: VICTORIA,  
CENSUSES 1954 TO 1981 (a)**

Population	1954		1961		1966	
	Persons	Percentage of State total	Persons	Percentage of State total	Persons	Percentage of State total
Urban —						
Melbourne (b)	1,524,111	62.1	1,858,534	63.4	2,108,401	65.5
Geelong, Bendigo, and Ballarat	157,543	6.4	180,949	6.2	203,274	6.3
Other	312,641	12.7	399,990	13.7	442,171	13.7
<b>Total urban</b>	<b>1,994,295</b>	<b>81.2</b>	<b>2,439,473</b>	<b>83.3</b>	<b>2,753,846</b>	<b>85.5</b>
Rural	450,005	18.4	486,031	16.6	463,383	14.4
Migratory	8,041	0.3	4,609	0.2	2,988	0.1
<b>Total Victoria</b>	<b>2,452,341</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2,930,113</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3,220,217</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Population	1971		1976		1981	
	Persons	Percentage of State total	Persons	Percentage of State total	Persons	Percentage of State total
Urban—						
Melbourne (b)	2,394,117	68.4	2,480,670	68.0	2,578,759	67.3
Geelong, Bendigo, and Ballarat	219,737	6.3	232,986	6.4	240,661	6.3
Other	458,274	13.1	489,416	13.4	546,571	14.3
<b>Total urban</b>	<b>3,072,128</b>	<b>87.8</b>	<b>3,203,072</b>	<b>87.8</b>	<b>3,365,991</b>	<b>87.9</b>
Rural	427,920	12.2	441,989	12.1	464,352	12.1
Migratory	2,303	0.1	1,914	0.1	2,100	0.1
<b>Total Victoria</b>	<b>3,502,351</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3,646,975</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3,832,443</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(a) Figures for all years are based on "as recorded" field counts (i.e., they have not been adjusted for under-enumeration).

(b) Melbourne metropolitan area (formerly Greater Melbourne). This has different boundaries to the Melbourne Statistical Division.

### Urban centres

At each Australian Census of Population and Housing since 1966, a boundary has been defined for each population cluster of 1,000 or more persons and for known holiday resorts of less population if they contain 250 or more dwellings of which at least 100 are occupied. These clusters are classified as urban centres. Further information on urban centres is set out on pages 173-5 of the *Victorian Year Book 1981*.

The following table shows the "as recorded" Census counts from the 1976 and 1981 Censuses for all Victorian urban centres. No estimate for under-enumeration is possible for urban centres except where the urban centre boundaries coincide with those of a local government area. Care should be taken in using the "as recorded" figures to calculate precise growth rates due to the high level of under-enumeration for the 1976 Census (2.7 per cent) and the 1981 Census (1.4 per cent).

**"AS RECORDED" CENSUS COUNTS OF URBAN CENTRES: VICTORIA,  
CENSUSES 1976 AND 1981**

Urban centre	"As recorded" Census counts		Urban centre	"As recorded" Census counts	
	1976	1981		1976	1981
Albury-Wodonga (a)	13,613	18,142	Leongatha	3,586	3,736
Alexandra	1,808	1,756	Leopold	2,309	2,946
Anglesea	1,411	1,461	Lorne	877	893
Apollo Bay	978	921	Maffra	3,836	3,822
Ararat (b)	8,288	8,336	Mallacoota	572	726

"AS RECORDED" CENSUS COUNTS OF URBAN CENTRES: VICTORIA,  
CENSUSES 1976 AND 1981—continued

Urban centre	"As recorded" Census counts		Urban centre	"As recorded" Census counts	
	1976	1981		1976	1981
Bacchus Marsh	4,956	6,224	Mansfield	1,919	1,920
Bairnsdale (b)	9,130	9,459	Maryborough (b)	7,569	7,858
Ballarat	60,737	62,641	Melbourne	2,480,670	2,578,759
Barham-Koondrook (c)	582	605	Melton	12,022	18,055
Beaufort	1,219	1,214	Merbein	1,727	1,835
Beechworth	3,241	3,154	Mildura (b)	14,417	15,763
Benalla (b)	8,300	8,151	Moe-Yallourn	18,710	18,159
Bendigo	50,169	52,741	Mortlake	1,138	1,056
Bright	1,240	1,545	Morwell	16,094	16,491
Broadford	1,567	1,580	Mt Beauty	1,492	1,509
Camperdown (b)	3,596	3,545	Murtoa	1,003	946
Casterton	2,163	1,945	Myrtleford	2,810	2,815
Castlemaine	7,583	7,583	Nagambie	1,075	1,102
Charlton	1,358	1,377	Nathalia	1,220	1,222
Churchill	3,509	4,796	Nhill	2,124	1,567
Clifton Springs	1,049	2,227	Numurkah	2,658	2,713
Cobden	1,418	1,453	Ocean Grove-		
Cobram	3,378	3,817	Barwon Heads	5,385	6,777
Cohuna	2,132	2,178	Orbost	2,789	2,586
Colac	10,431	10,587	Ouyen	1,609	1,527
Coleraine	1,289	1,232	Pakenham	2,270	2,671
Corowa-Wahgunyah (d)	402	431	Port Fairy (b)	1,242	1,597
Corryong	1,406	1,320	Portarlington	1,818	1,863
Cowes	1,344	1,563	Portland (b)	8,298	9,353
Craigieburn	2,491	4,296	Queenscliffe	2,993	3,420
Cranbourne	5,162	9,400	Red Cliffs	2,254	2,409
Creswick	2,033	2,036	Robinvale	1,654	1,751
Crib Point	2,689	2,085	Rochester	2,205	2,399
Daylesford	2,913	2,883	Rutherglen	1,325	1,454
Dimboola	1,706	1,675	St Arnaud (b)	2,786	2,721
Donald	1,627	1,609	St Leonards	733	900
Drouin	3,100	3,942	Sale (b)	12,111	12,968
Echuca-Moama (e)	7,873	7,943	Seymour	6,240	6,494
Emerald	2,145	2,861	Shepparton-Mooroopna	25,848	28,373
Euroa	2,713	2,640	Somers	443	608
Geelong	122,080	125,279	Stawell (b)	6,150	6,160
Gisborne	1,286	1,747	Sunbury	8,243	11,085
Hamilton (b)	9,504	9,751	Swan Hill (b)	7,857	8,398
Hastings	3,228	5,633	Tatura	2,630	2,697
Healesville	3,709	4,526	Terang	2,183	2,111
Heathcote	1,076	1,213	Torquay	2,614	2,880
Heyfield	1,699	1,635	Trafalgar	1,872	2,109
Heywood	1,193	1,266	Traralgon (b)	15,089	18,057
Horsham (b)	11,647	12,034	Wangaratta (b)	16,157	16,202
Hurstbridge	1,021	2,350	Warburton	1,753	2,009
Inverloch	1,459	1,523	Warracknabeal	2,775	2,735
Kerang (b)	4,022	4,049	Warragul	7,442	7,712
Kilmore	1,517	1,728	Warrnambool (b)	20,195	21,414
Koo-Wee-Rup	1,041	1,047	Wonthaggi	4,614	4,797
Korumburra	2,795	2,798	Woodend	1,404	1,785
Kyabram (b)	5,122	5,414	Yarra Junction	1,401	1,532
Kyneton	3,694	3,815	Yarram	2,125	2,085
Lakes Entrance	3,023	3,414	Yarrowonga-Mulwala (f)	3,293	3,442
Lara	3,081	4,231	Yea	1,052	996

- (a) The part of urban Albury-Wodonga in Victoria. Total "as recorded" Census count of Albury-Wodonga: 1976, 45,567; 1981, 53,214.
- (b) The boundary of this urban centre coincides exactly with the boundary of the local government area of the same name at both the 1976 and 1981 Censuses. Adjusted population totals for local government areas can be found on pages 163-6 of the *Victorian Year Book 1983*.
- (c) That part of urban Barham-Koondrook in Victoria. Total "as recorded" Census count of Barham-Koondrook: 1976, 1,690; 1981, 1,644.
- (d) That part of urban Corowa-Wahgunyah in Victoria. Total "as recorded" Census count of Corowa-Wahgunyah: 1976, 3,415; 1981, 3,821.
- (e) That part of urban Echuca-Moama in Victoria. Total "as recorded" Census count of Echuca-Moama: 1976, 9,075; 1981, 9,450.
- (f) That part of urban Yarrowonga-Mulwala in Victoria. Total "as recorded" Census count of Yarrowonga-Mulwala: 1976, 4,133; 1981, 4,476.

### Melbourne Statistical Division and statistical districts of Victoria

Since the 1966 Census, a fixed outer boundary has been drawn around each State capital city and other urban centres with a population of at least 25,000 persons and designated as statistical districts. The estimated resident population of Victoria's statistical districts apart from the Melbourne Statistical Division, are shown in the following table:

#### ESTIMATED RESIDENT POPULATION IN STATISTICAL DISTRICTS: VICTORIA, AT 30 JUNE 1976, 1981, AND 1982

Statistical district	Estimated resident population at —		
	30 June 1976	30 June 1981	30 June 1982(a)
Albury-Wodonga	65,330	73,770	75,880
Ballarat	71,540	73,750	73,630
Bendigo	57,210	60,370	60,980
Geelong	138,250	141,970	142,890
Morwell	16,950	16,970	17,230
Shepparton-Mooroopna	32,500	36,060	36,760

(a) Subject to revision after the 1986 Census.

The concept of the present Melbourne Statistical Division has been used for statistical purposes since the 1966 Census. To assist research, a time series back to 1901 has been derived using the current Melbourne Statistical Division boundaries. This time series appears below.

As early as 1921, the population of the Melbourne Statistical Division exceeded the population of the remainder of Victoria. The percentage of the Victorian population in the Melbourne Statistical Division rose steadily until 1971 (except for the inter-censal period 1947 to 1954). Between 1971 and 1976, that percentage levelled out but has declined gradually since.

#### POPULATION OF VICTORIA: MELBOURNE STATISTICAL DIVISION(a) AND THE REMAINDER OF VICTORIA, 1901 TO 1982

Census year	Melbourne Statistical Division		Remainder of Victoria		Victoria
	Number	Percentage of Victoria	Number	Percentage of Victoria	
1901	535,008	44.5	666,062	55.5	1,201,070
1911	643,027	48.9	672,524	51.1	1,315,551
1921	863,692	56.4	667,588	43.6	1,531,280
1933	1,094,269	60.1	725,992	39.9	1,820,261
1947	1,341,382	65.3	713,319	34.7	2,054,701
1954	1,589,185	64.8	863,156	35.2	2,452,341
1961	1,984,815	67.7	945,298	32.3	2,930,113
1966	2,230,793	69.3	989,424	30.7	3,220,217
1971(b)	2,575,000	71.5	1,026,400	28.5	3,601,400
1976(b)	2,723,700	71.5	1,086,700	28.5	3,810,400
1981(b)	2,806,300	71.1	1,140,600	28.9	3,946,900
1982(b)	2,836,800	71.0	1,157,300	29.0	3,994,100

(a) The Melbourne Statistical Division contains areas in addition to the Melbourne metropolitan area.

(b) The estimated population figures for 1971 onwards are according to usual residence.

## ABORIGINALS

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### INTRODUCTION

Fundamental non-Aboriginal perceptions about Aborigines have changed dramatically since the 1930s. The study of anthropology and sociology has advanced greatly since then and now plays a significant role in most university faculties. The academic study of Australian pre-history and archaeology has been developed from Sydney University, the University of Melbourne, and the Australian National University in Canberra. These researches have greatly augmented the earlier studies of the State institutions such as the National Museum in Victoria. Since 1972, the Victoria Archaeological Survey has worked on the Victorian archaeological sites and brought to light much new knowledge about Victoria's pre-history.

Changing non-Aboriginal attitudes often result from feelings of guilt for what happened in the past. From 1886 until the 1930s, the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines acted for the protection and welfare of what was regarded as a dying race, and the assimilation of the few remaining Aborigines. Assimilation rather than protection became the main policy emphasis when Aborigines did not die out. By assimilation it was assumed that the Aboriginal "problem" could only be solved one day if all Aborigines became part of the wider white community and conformed to its ethos. This assumption was barely questioned. It was only as the policy brief on it became palpably unworkable, that the deeper human and sociological questions about the underlying assumptions came to be asked. The 1967 Referendum significantly endorsed full equality for Aborigines. The new Commonwealth Government's policies initiated in 1973 resulted in a change from the policy of assimilation to one of self-determination, self-management, and self-reliance.

The other major development in the 1970s was increased community awareness of Aboriginal land rights, their rights as the original inhabitants of the country, and the cultural and spiritual nexus between them and the land on which they lived. These factors raised basic legal questions about the nature of land ownership in most parts of Australia. In Victoria changes were made regarding land tenure at Lake Tyers and Framlingham. Aboriginal persons brought an action in the Supreme Court in connection with sacred sites at Portland. The feelings of Aborigines were brought to the attention of Australian and overseas media audiences during the Commonwealth Games in Brisbane in 1982.

### PROBLEMS OF STATISTICS AND PERCEPTIONS OF ABORIGINALS

A description of Aboriginal persons in Victoria since 1934 has difficulties in coverage and several possibilities of misunderstanding. This is due mainly to two factors. The first concerns statistics.

A Census question relating to each person's race has been included in every Australian Census since Federation. Prior to 1971, persons were asked to state their race (e.g., European, Aboriginal, Chinese, etc.) and, if of more than one race, to indicate the mix of races. One of the reasons for collecting data in this form was to identify Aborigines, who were defined at the time as persons of greater than half Aboriginal descent, to enable the counts of such persons to be excluded from figures of the total population. Such action was required by section 127 of the Constitution which stated that "in reckoning the numbers of the people of the Commonwealth, or of a State or other part of the Commonwealth, aboriginal natives shall not be counted".

A major difficulty has been how to classify part-Aboriginals, and how they have described themselves in Census returns. The Statisticians' Conference in Perth in 1926 resolved that "for the purpose of statistics of Australian aboriginal population, persons of mixed blood living with aboriginals shall be classed as half-caste aboriginals, whatever be the degree of the white strain" and that "persons of mixed blood not living with aboriginals shall be included as 'half-caste' if the strains are approximately equal, as 'fullblood' if the predominant strain is aboriginal, and not included at all if the predominant strain is white" (Report: 4).

### 1967 Referendum and subsequent Censuses

The provision in section 127 was repealed after the 1967 Referendum in which the "yes" vote for Australia was 91 per cent and the "yes" vote in Victoria was 95 per cent. In order to meet the statistical requirements of Commonwealth and State authorities responsible for Aboriginal affairs it was decided that the 1971 Census question should attempt to ascertain the race with which persons identified themselves. Persons of more than one race were no longer required to indicate the mix of races but were asked to show the one to which they considered they belonged.

A similar approach has been adopted in subsequent Censuses although some changes were made to the wording of the question in 1981. In the analysis of 1976 data it was found that some 700 persons who were born overseas, and a further 1,500 persons whose parents were born overseas, reported that they were Aboriginal. In addition, approximately 2,000 persons who were born in Europe incorrectly identified themselves as Torres Strait Islanders. Subsequent investigations confirmed that the question caused confusion, particularly about what constituted European origin. Because of this, reference to European origin was deleted from the 1981 Census question which simply asked whether the person was of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander origin.

Changes to question wording, even though they appear to be minor, can affect the comparability of data between collections. More importantly, it should be emphasised that the questions are based on self-identification and responses at different points in time can be affected by changes in community attitudes. Apart from some tests of internal consistency, the Australian Bureau of Statistics can do little to verify the accuracy of answers given.

The following table sets out details of Aboriginals of full and partial descent, derived from various sources, for the years 1851 to 1981:

### ABORIGINALS OF FULL AND PARTIAL DESCENT: VICTORIA, 1851 TO 1981

Year	Number of Aboriginals		Total
	Of full descent	Of partial descent	
1851	n.a.	n.a.	(a) 2,693
1861	n.a.	n.a.	(b) 1,694
1871	n.a.	n.a.	1,330
1877(c)	774	293	1,067
1881	n.a.	n.a.	780
1886(c)	550	256	806
1887(c)	570	233	803
1891	317	248	565
1901	(d) 271	381	652
1911	196	447	643
1921	144	442	583
1927(c)	56	506	562
1933	92	773	865
1944(c)	29	925	954
1947	(e) 208	(e) 1,069	(e) 1,277
1954	(f) 141	(f) 1,254	(f) 1,395
1961	(f) (g) 253	(f) 1,543	(f) (g) 1,796
1966	n.a.	n.a.	(f) 1,790
1971	n.a.	n.a.	(h) 5,656
1976	n.a.	n.a.	(h) 12,415
1981	n.a.	n.a.	(h) 5,283

- (a) Estimated.
- (b) This figure is quoted from the *Victorian Year Book* 1902 and conflicts with the figure quoted in the *Year Book Australia* 1929 which gives a total of 2,384 in settled districts.
- (c) Denotes non-Census years. Figures as enumerated by the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines (1877, 1886, 1887) or Aboriginal Censuses (1927, 1944).
- (d) This figure quoted in the *Victorian Year Book* 1902 includes an estimation of unenumerated Aborigines. *Year Book Australia* 1929 quotes a figure of 250 as enumerated Aborigines of full descent.
- (e) Census totals included enumerated Aborigines, and an estimation of Aborigines living in a "wild state" was furnished by the Protector of Aborigines. (*Year Book Australia* 1957.)
- (f) The *Year Book Australia* 1969 records that there are doubts as to the accuracy of separate figures for Aborigines of full descent and those of partial descent in respect of the Census figures for 1954 and 1961, which together with those for 1966, are enumerated persons only. *Year Book Australia* 1968 notes that Aborigines are persons of fifty per cent or more Aboriginal blood, while *Year Book Australia* 1969 notes that they are persons who stated themselves to be Aboriginal, or of being more than half Aboriginal, or who were half Aboriginal and half European.
- (g) The *Victorian Year Book* 1963 states: "The estimated number of persons with a significant amount of aboriginal blood living in this State on 30 June 1961, was 2,300 of whom eighteen were recorded as fullblood". The figures tabulated are derived from *Year Book Australia* 1963 (fullblood Aborigines), the *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia 1961: Victoria Vol. 2* (Aborigines of partial descent), and *Year Book Australia* 1968.
- (h) Movements in the figures for these Censuses can be affected by a number of factors. The wording of the question was almost the same for 1971 and 1976 but was changed for 1981. Past experience has shown that even relatively minor changes to questions can affect response. Also, it should be emphasised that the question is based on self-identification, that is, persons were asked to identify as Aboriginal if they considered themselves to be such. Responses to questions of this nature at different points in time can be affected by changes in community attitudes and, apart from some tests of internal consistency, the Australian Bureau of Statistics can do little to verify the accuracy of answers given.

The second factor to be borne in mind concerns changes in perception among both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal persons in Victoria. Since 1934 Aboriginal persons have sought to identify more as Aborigines. This has posed the problem that non-Aboriginal perceptions and objectives could be misunderstood by the Aborigines just as Aboriginal attitudes and feelings could be misunderstood by non-Aboriginal persons. The upshot has been that non-Aboriginal attempts to be helpful have often been categorised as paternalistic, and their absence as negligent.

#### ABORIGINALS IN 1934

The Aborigines in Victoria in 1934 were a socially and economically disadvantaged people. During the previous fifteen years the Lake Condah Mission and the Coranderrk Station near Healesville had been closed. These were the only places which many of them knew as home. By 1926, most Aborigines cared for by the Board for the Protection of Aborigines had to live at Lake Tyers in Gippsland. They numbered only 88 fullblood and 303 part-Aborigines. Small groups also lived at Coranderrk and Framlingham, in children's homes and elsewhere.

The Aboriginal population of Victoria counted in the 1933 Census was 92 Aborigines of full descent and 773 of partial descent. They were considered to be a dying race. This belief is evident from the contemporary comment of Professor F. Wood-Jones in his article in the 1935 *Handbook for Victoria* published by the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science. He stated "only a moribund and degenerate handful remains in 1934. The exact number of fullblooded Victorian aborigines living at the present time (October 1934) is difficult to estimate, but it may be accepted as being very definitely less than 50 ... There are no grounds for believing that more than twenty males, or more than half that number of females of the pure Victorian stock, are now living. And with the passing of these few individuals the Victorian Aborigine will become extinct" (pages 137-8).

Aborigines living at Lake Tyers in 1934 experienced well meaning but paternalistic care from the Board for the Protection of Aborigines. For others living elsewhere — near the former reserves, on the Murray River or on the fringes of country towns — there was none. Their living conditions were squalid and overcrowded. Their general health was bad, child morbidity and mortality being exceptionally high. Unemployment was prevalent. They were the objects of real discrimination. They turned to alcohol in an attempt to find an escape from the continuing trauma of the dispossession of their lands, the compulsory transfer from the former missions and settlements, and from their non-acceptance by the white population. They were virtually ignored by historians, being written off as a dying race. In schools and universities, in newspapers and novels, the exploits of the early explorers and pioneers were extolled, and Aboriginal resistance and retaliation denigrated.

Since 1934, Aborigines of mixed descent have increased in numbers, although within a few years almost all fullblood Aborigines had died, so that in 1983 all Aborigines with Victorian ancestors were of mixed descent. This does not alter the fact that they are



Aboriginal persons. They identify clearly as Aboriginal persons. They have close affinity with each other and with the missions and settlements where they or their ancestors once lived.

### SECOND WORLD WAR

Shortly before the commencement of the Second World War some Aboriginal persons began to drift to Melbourne. Many came from Lake Tyers, Lake Condah, Framlingham, and Coranderrk. Some came from Cumeroogunga and other parts of southern New South Wales.

When the Second World War started more families migrated to Melbourne. They were members of the Lake Tyers, Coranderrk, and Framlingham groups. Aboriginal persons now began congregating in the inner suburbs of Fitzroy and Collingwood. They formed social groups and organised concerts in aid of the war effort. The Bethesda Aboriginal Mission started a Church in Fitzroy and in 1942 Pastor (later Sir) Douglas Nicholls commenced a congregation of the Church of Christ.

In 1939, the Commonwealth Government had proposed a new deal for Aboriginals in the Northern Territory. The new policy was outlined in the McEwen Memorandum, so named after the then Minister for the Interior, the Honourable J. (later Sir John) McEwen. The Memorandum laid down guidelines for a policy of assimilation, whereby Aboriginals would be assimilated into the wider Australian way of life. In formulating this policy McEwen had sought the advice of Professor A. P. Elkin of Sydney University, a leading protagonist for Aboriginal development. In recent times assimilation policies have been regarded as being misinformed. In the 1940s they seemed to be the logical though radical step forward from protection and welfare. Preoccupation with the Second World War delayed the implementation of the Memorandum until the early 1950s. This Commonwealth move towards assimilation, however, had little impact upon Victoria. The Victorian changes came about from local pressure on the Victorian Government from small groups of persons and some Aboriginal leaders.

From a much wider perspective, the experiences of the Second World War and its aftermath resulted in an entirely different attitude to "natives" of the Third World. Within a short space of time countries in Africa and Asia which had been subjugated by western colonial powers for the past three centuries became independent nations. The new nations of the Third World became a significant power block in the United Nations. Colonialism was denounced. The United Nations imposed sanctions on South Africa because of its apartheid policy. Countries having minority groups of native peoples came under close scrutiny. By the 1960s, Aboriginal affairs in Australia became a sensitive issue in the international arena.

### McLEAN REPORT AND ASSIMILATION

One important factor in the Victorian Government's change in Aboriginal policy was the McLean Report of 1957. In December 1955, the Governor in Council appointed Charles McLean "to be a board to enquire into and report upon the operation of the Aborigines Act 1928 ... and any changes or modifications therein or in the existing system of administration which may be considered necessary or desirable in the interests of the aboriginal people ..." McLean was asked *inter alia* to ascertain the Aboriginal population, their capacity to live and maintain themselves, the factors, if any, "which militate against the absorption of people of aboriginal blood into the general community", whether Lake Tyers should be retained, and "what legislative and administrative provisions should be adopted to enable such a system to operate in the best interests of both the public and the aboriginal people".

Regarding the Aboriginal population McLean said that the "records of the Board show only about twenty persons, all adults, in Victoria as of full-blood, and the ancestry of some of these at least open to doubt. Of 186 residents at Lake Tyers at the time of a survey made during this inquiry, 62 were shown as half-caste, 25 with a greater percentage of Aboriginal blood, and 99 with less than half. Of the 1,346 persons of Aboriginal blood in Victoria, there are on average about 131 at Lake Tyers station, and 159 in the metropolitan area. The remainder are scattered in various country districts, the majority

in communities close to towns where seasonal work can be obtained and to a river, on which they depend for their water supply. The largest group is in the Mooroopna-Shepparton area, where there are 253 regarded as permanent, of whom 162 are children”.

McLean stated that Aboriginal living conditions in Victoria were very bad. He spoke of the two settlements at Mooroopna, one on the Shire rubbish tip, and one by the river. He said that the latter was subject to flooding, where 59 adults and 107 children lived “in most squalid conditions”. He found “similar conditions of squalor” existing in the Aboriginal camps in the Orbost district and at Dimboola and Antwerp. He found better conditions for the 60 Aboriginal persons living at Framlingham. He said that about 159 persons of Aboriginal descent were living in the Melbourne metropolitan area, the majority being in Fitzroy.

McLean disclaimed any suggestion that Aboriginals were in any way inferior in mental and physical capacity to non-Aboriginal persons. On the other hand the conditions in which they lived and the circumstances in which children grew up made education for them difficult and social acceptance very unlikely. They themselves considered that they were an under-privileged minority and acted accordingly. McLean claimed that given better living conditions and opportunities for education and employment there was no reason why they could not be absorbed fully into white society. Concerning Lake Tyers he said that conditions there were unsatisfactory. He recommended that the station be retained only for the aged and for the sick, the remaining members of the community being given opportunities to live in nearby towns. With a smaller community the settlement should be reduced to about eighty hectares.

In conclusion McLean advocated a strong and effective policy of assimilation in which housing, education, and employment were the key factors; that the constitution of the Board and general administration should be changed; and that Aboriginals should play some part in that administration.

The McLean Report contained many useful suggestions for improving the material welfare of the Aboriginals of Victoria. However, like Commonwealth attitudes at the time, the stated policy was that of assimilation, which implied that the only ultimate solution to what they saw as the “Aboriginal problem” was their rapid assimilation into the general community.

#### ABORIGINES WELFARE BOARD, 1958 TO 1967

The Victorian Government acted on recommendations of the McLean Report by the *Aborigines Act* 1957. The Central Board for the Protection of Aborigines was abolished. The Aborigines Welfare Board was established and its stated aim was to encourage the speedy assimilation of all Aboriginal persons into the European way of life. The Board’s membership included members nominated by the Ministers of Education, Housing, and Health, two Aboriginals, and an expert in anthropology or sociology.

As Aboriginal housing was seen as fundamental to the new policy of assimilation the Victorian Government passed the *Aborigines (Houses) Act* 1959 by which the Board could contract with the Housing Commission to build houses for Aboriginals. The *Aborigines (Amendment) Act* 1965 modified the Board membership and made the Minister for Housing responsible for Aboriginal affairs.

In 1960 the number of Aboriginals within the meaning of the Act (any person descended from an Aboriginal) was about 2,260, but only a few were fullbloods. During 1958-59, expenditure by the Board totalled \$67,174, a large proportion of this being spent on Lake Tyers and its administration. During 1960-61 the net expenditure on Lake Tyers alone was \$55,548.

During this time attempts were made to house the Aboriginals who had been camping on the Goulburn and Murray Rivers near Mooroopna and Robinvale by means of two transitional housing estates. In 1958 the Rumbalara (Mooroopna) housing estate was constructed by the Housing Commission on Crown land excised from a forestry area. In 1960, the Manatunga (Robinvale) housing estate was established on a temporary reserve. Most of the shanties and humpies on the river were destroyed and some of the people were processed through the transitional estates. They were then given housing in the towns. Although both transitional centres were closed in 1971, Rumbalara was the site of an Aboriginal co-operative in 1982.

The Aborigines Welfare Board was active in developing health, education, and social welfare for Aboriginal persons in Victoria. At the same time the legitimacy of the non-Aboriginal demand for assimilation of Aborigines into European society exercised the minds of many concerned with Aboriginal development at a Commonwealth and State level in the 1960s. Changing attitudes on the part of the Victorian Government were reflected in a statement on Aboriginal policy which the Aborigines Welfare Board of Victoria published on 11 March 1966. The document reaffirmed the Board's statutory obligation "to promote the moral, intellectual and physical welfare of the Aborigines ... with a view to their assimilation into the general community". At the same time the new policy statement went on to say that the Board accepted the definition of assimilation given by the Aboriginal Welfare Conference of Ministers and officials in Adelaide in July 1965, and approved by the responsible Victorian Minister, that the "policy of assimilation seeks that all persons of Aboriginal descent *will choose* to attain a *similar* manner of living to that of other Australians and live as members of a single Australian Community — enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities and influenced by the same hopes and loyalties as other Australians ..." (author's emphasis)

This was a radical departure from the earlier definition of assimilation accepted by the McLean Report. The emphasis now shifted from the European demand of conformity to Aboriginal choice in the matter. Moreover the new definition omitted significantly the following emphasised phrases: "enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities, *observing the same customs* and influenced by the same *beliefs*, hopes and loyalties as other Australians". (author's emphasis)

Changes were also made regarding land tenure. Lake Hindmarsh (Ebenezer Mission) and Coranderrk were permanent reserves, but that did not stop the reserved land being revoked by Acts of Parliament. There was little real security that Lake Tyers and Framlingham land would be safe so long as it was just reserved. In order to give a greater sense of security to the Aboriginal people, Lake Tyers and Framlingham were made permanent reserves in 1965 and 1967, respectively.

After the 1967 Referendum a Council for Aboriginal Affairs was established as the Commonwealth agency to recommend policies and to work for co-ordination with the States. Although the Council had a progressive influence on the Commonwealth Government, it was not until after 1972 that responsibility for Aboriginal affairs was taken over from some States.

#### VICTORIAN MINISTRY OF ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS, 1968 to 1974

By the *Aboriginal Affairs Act* 1967 which came into effect in January 1968 a Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs was established. The legislation also set up an Aboriginal Affairs Advisory Council to advise the Victorian Government on Aboriginal affairs. During the next seven years the Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs sought to further the welfare of Aborigines. Policies and programmes changed from time to time, but the Ministry provided housing, educational, and welfare services for them.

Because of a growing community awareness of the needs of Aborigines, together with the Victorian Government's commitment to more enlightened policies regarding Aboriginal welfare, the *Aboriginal Lands Act* 1970 was passed. Under this Act the Aboriginal reserves of Framlingham and Lake Tyers were vested in the Framlingham Aboriginal Trust and the Lake Tyers Aboriginal Trust. During the passage of the Bill, the Honourable E. R. Meagher said *inter alia* that "the sole purpose of this Bill is to give freehold title to this land to the Aboriginal residents ... The Government wants to meet them on the basis of carrying out their desires, rather than imposing its wishes and ideas upon them ... This is unique legislation, and I am privileged to be responsible for its introduction".

Under this legislation the Framlingham Aboriginal Trust and the Lake Tyers Aboriginal Trust received unconditional freehold title to 198 hectares and 1,518 hectares, respectively, in July 1971. His Excellency Sir Rohan Delacombe, the then Governor of Victoria, formally handed the title deeds to members of the Lake Tyers Aboriginal Trust on 24 July 1971. On 28 July 1971, the Minister formally handed over the deeds to Mr Percy Clarke at Framlingham.

In defining eligibility for membership of the Trust, the Act stated that an Aboriginal person referred to any descendant of an Aboriginal native of Australia. The ownership of

the two reserve areas, however, was limited to those persons who resided on them. In the case of Framlingham it applied to those Aboriginals who were resident on the reserve from 1 January 1968. In the case of Lake Tyers ownership was extended to those Aboriginals who became residents between 1 January 1968 and 1 January 1970 and, with the approval of the Lake Tyers Aboriginal Council, any children born before 1970 whose mothers were residents of the reserve. Any members of a family who had received a grant for the purchase of a house outside the reserves were not eligible to be included in the Register of Trustees. Each member of the Trust was granted a perpetual licence to occupy, use, and authorise entry on to the former reserve land. Each adult member was entitled to 1,000 shares and each child 500 shares. These shares were personal property and transferable only to the Trust, to another member, to the Crown, or to a relative. Each Trust had a Committee of Management of seven Aboriginals.

In 1970, the Victorian Government also passed the *Land Conservation Act 1970*. This Act established a Land Conservation Council whose functions were to carry out investigations and make recommendations to the Minister for Conservation on the use of public land in the State.

Another important piece of legislation was the *Archaeological and Aboriginal Relics Preservation Act 1972*. The provisions of this Act were not within the jurisdiction of the Ministry for Aboriginal Affairs. This Act established a Protector of Relics (the Director of the National Museum of Victoria), and an Archaeological Advisory Committee of ten members. This Act was amended in 1975 to include two Aboriginal members on the Committee, and the name was changed to the Victoria Archaeological Survey, responsible to the Minister for Conservation.

#### TRANSFER OF ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS TO THE COMMONWEALTH IN 1975

The administration of Aboriginal affairs in Victoria was transferred to the Commonwealth Government in 1975. This move followed the changes which took place following the new Government's assumption of office in December 1972. It introduced sweeping changes in Aboriginal policy. Aboriginals living in the Northern Territory were given the right of self-determination. They were allowed to determine their own future instead of being expected to conform to the lifestyles of the majority in wider Australian society. They were given the right to choose the nature and pace of their future development within the legal, social, and economic constraints of Australian society. The policy of assimilation was abandoned completely in favour of integration, whereby diverse cultures could develop as they wished, but together constitute the Australian community. Land rights, consultation with the Australian Government, bilingual education, and community incorporation were the main ways of effecting the new policy.

The Commonwealth offered to take over the administration of Aboriginal affairs from any State so requesting it. The State of Victoria accepted the Commonwealth offer. Under the *Aboriginal Affairs (Transfer of Functions) Act 1974*, the *Aboriginal Affairs Act 1967* was repealed. The Victorian Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs became defunct. Overall responsibility for Aboriginal affairs in the State was transferred to the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs. The transfer became effective on 11 January 1975. The Department of Aboriginal Affairs became responsible for policy, planning, and co-ordination of certain specific Aboriginal matters. It provided direct grants to Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal statutory organisations concerned with education, heritage and culture, recreation, legal aid and justice, health services, employment and training, business development, and welfare. The Victorian Government became responsible for administering Commonwealth funds for housing, health, welfare, and education. The Minister for Housing was nominated the Minister responsible for Aboriginal affairs in Victoria. In 1982, the Premier of Victoria accepted this responsibility.

On 4 April 1975, the non-statutory Victorian Aboriginal Land Council came into being, the first of its type to be formed outside the Northern Territory. It emerged from recommendations of Mr Justice E. A. Woodward who recommended that Councils should be established in each of the States to consider Aboriginal land needs, to record land claims, and to recommend how land claims might be handled. Mr Justice Woodward also stressed present needs as a basis for land claims. He said that he found it hard to believe that "claims based solely on historical association and depending on the availability of

historical evidence are likely to produce as satisfactory and fair results as claims based mainly on present needs".

The Victorian Aboriginal Land Council was an honorary and advisory body, and its all-Aboriginal membership was nominated by the Victorian Minister responsible for Aboriginal affairs. From the outset the Council encountered a number of difficulties. The basic difference arose from the central problem that the Aboriginals had a different perception of the role and function of the Council than that of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs. The Council ceased to function in 1977 without issuing a Report.

#### ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS IN VICTORIA SINCE 1975

Since 1975, the Victorian Government has taken a number of initiatives designed to implement its commitment to Aboriginal welfare, in addition to fulfilling its obligations under the Commonwealth-State arrangement whereby the Commonwealth agreed to meet the costs of approved Aboriginal programmes provided by the State.

In 1979, an inter-departmental committee of senior Victorian Government officers including representation by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and membership of the State Chairman of the National Aboriginal Conference was established. This committee is concerned with the co-ordination of State programmes funded by the Commonwealth in consultation with Aboriginal communities, advising the Minister responsible for Aboriginal affairs in Victoria, and arranging all consultations, information systems, and research projects necessary to keep the State Minister informed on all matters concerned with Aboriginal affairs in Victoria.

Further initiatives were taken in 1980. In that year the Victorian Government approved the establishment of a nine-member Aboriginal Housing Board to advise on all aspects of Aboriginal housing in Victoria. Also in that year an Aboriginal Adviser was appointed to the Minister for Housing who was responsible for Aboriginal affairs. The Aboriginal Adviser assisted in the development of policy and advised on Aboriginal affairs in the State excluding land rights and archaeological relics which come under the responsibility of the Minister for Conservation. This role was changed in 1982 when the Premier became responsible for Aboriginal affairs.

#### Land Rights

Land Rights are fundamental to Aboriginal well-being and are indispensable for Aboriginal dignity and identity for all Aboriginals throughout Australia. The associations which Victorian Aboriginal persons have with the land may be different from those of traditional Aboriginals in remote areas. For the latter the spiritual links between the land and people and their social organisation are clearly seen through totems and ceremonies. Such links are not so clear for Victorian Aboriginals. Most do not live on their traditional lands. Some are unclear as to the group to which they belong, but they all have very close connections with each other and most recall the missions and settlements where their parents and grandparents grew up. Their first stage in identity is to ensure that these places which were reserved for them in Victoria and New South Wales are preserved. Their second stage is to make claims for such land as they consider belonged specifically to their ancestors.

Land Rights for Victorian Aboriginals concern historical connection with former reserves and where possible, former tribal lands. Land Rights are concerned also with "present needs", to use Mr Justice Woodward's phrase. Present needs may be economic or emotional, and certainly could refer to present usage. Land rights may also involve the provision of land title and compensation which will enable Aboriginals to become economically independent.

Victorian Aboriginals are involved in discussions relating to the proposed Makarrata or treaty. The National Aboriginal Conference has chosen this word to give expression to the wish of Aboriginals for an agreement between them and the Government. The Makarrata would give expression to the Aboriginal view that there is need for a new agreement that goes beyond present legislation as a basis for reconciliation between Aboriginals and the general Australian population.

Victorian Aboriginals have made a number of claims for land to be sold to them in the

last decade. Of the six requests which they made between 1975 and 1977 two have been granted. The first was "Baroona", a 128 hectare property near Echuca purchased for the Echuca Aboriginal Co-operative Society in 1977, and New Norfolk in Gippsland for an alcoholic rehabilitation centre. By 1983, Victorian Aboriginals were able to acquire land through the Aboriginal Development Commission which has authority to buy land for Aboriginal land trusts and corporations.

In 1980, a conference of Aboriginals met in the Northcote Town Hall to re-establish the Victorian Aboriginal Land Council which became defunct in 1977. An interim council of fifteen members was given the responsibility of planning the establishment of the South Eastern Land Council.

### **Lake Tyers and Framlingham**

In the 1970s, the Lake Tyers Aboriginal Trustees endeavoured to make the settlement economically viable through farming and other forms of employment. Initial experiments at self-management of farming were a failure and attracted a lot of criticism from the media and the general public. Failure has been attributed largely to past policies of protection and paternalism, lack of training, and alcohol.

The Framlingham Aboriginal Trustees have made claims for the forest land which was part of the original reserve. The Victorian Government took over this land for State Agricultural colleges and experimental farms in 1908, but never used it. After the First World War the Victorian Government unsuccessfully tried to move the Aboriginals living on the remaining reserve to Lake Tyers and to use the land as a soldier settlement. Attempts to sell the land to the Closer Settlement Board in 1928 also failed.

In 1930, from 10 to 15 farms for Aboriginal persons were measured out in the Framlingham Reserve. Six of these farms were occupied and four-roomed houses were built on them. In 1937, an additional sixteen hectares of the former reserve were added.

In 1966, an area of about 1,092 hectares, which included the old mission and station, became a forest reserve managed by the Forests Commission. About four hectares were set aside for public recreation. This was the site of the old mission houses. The remainder became a State Forest. After consultation and confrontation during the next fifteen years, the Prime Minister met the Framlingham Aboriginals and agreed in a signed statement that the Commonwealth Government would try to help the Gundijtmara people acquire control of the 1,000 hectares of the Framlingham forest. However, the Commonwealth Government has no control over Victorian Crown land. At the end of March 1983 the enabling legislation had still to be passed through the Victorian Parliament.

### **The Portland Case**

The Aboriginal legal action to try to preserve tribal relics at Portland in Western Victoria raised a number of important points in law. In 1981, two members of the Gundijtmara people in the Portland district sought to institute proceedings for injunctive and declaratory relief against Alcoa of Australia Limited on the ground that the Alcoa project for an aluminium smelter involved a threat to tribal relics. They attempted to invoke the *Archaeological and Aboriginal Relics Preservation Act 1972* arguing that since that Act was passed for the benefit of the Aboriginal people as a class, any member of that class could sue to enforce the Act, without any need to show "special damage" or a "special interest". However the argument failed. In the words of Chief Justice Gibbs, the Act was passed "for the benefit of the public at large, with a view to the conservation of relics ... of interest and value not only to Aborigines but also to Archaeologists and Anthropologists and ... Australians generally. It is quite impossible to hold that the Act confers any private rights on Aborigines or any class of them". The High Court on Appeal ruled that they could claim a special interest. At the end of 1982, the issue was unresolved.

### **Victoria Archaeological Survey**

The Victoria Archaeological Survey, originally called the Archaeological and Aboriginal Relics Office, was set up to administer the *Archaeological and Aboriginal Relics Preservation Act 1972* and its subsequent amendment. In the late 1970s, the Survey expanded its scope to deal with historic and maritime archaeology in Victoria.

In regard to Aboriginal relics Victoria Archaeological Survey work falls into the two fields of management: public archaeology and research archaeology. In practice there is considerable overlap between these two areas.

#### **Aboriginal social services**

Since 1975, the Commonwealth and State Governments have funded Aboriginal housing, (through the Aboriginal Development Commission), education, health, welfare services, employment and recreation projects, and legal aid. Some of these services are administered through Aboriginal co-operatives. The two Governments have also encouraged the formation of a number of other Aboriginal organisations for specific purposes to service the Aboriginal population needs throughout the State. There are over thirty such organisations including housing co-operatives, land councils, child care centres, welfare organisations, and recreational committees. The Victorian Aborigines Advancement League and similar bodies have assisted in Aboriginal welfare.

#### **CONCLUSION**

Despite the government attempts at housing, education, welfare, and other services, Victorian Aboriginals, together with others throughout Australia, are still a disadvantaged people. The 1976 Commission of Inquiry into poverty, referring to Australia as a whole, found that "in every conceivable comparison, the Aborigines stand in stark contrast to the general Australian society, and also to other ethnic groups whether defined on the basis of race, nationality, birthplace, language or religion. They probably have the highest growth rate, the highest death rate, the worst health and housing, and the lowest educational, occupational, economic, social and legal status of any identifiable section of the Australian population".

In relation to discrimination against Aboriginals in Victoria, *Community Relations Paper No. 14* of May 1981, issued by the Office of the Commissioner of Community Relations, lists eight main areas — hotels, the media, the police, accommodation, the community, transport, education, and local and State Governments. The Report concludes: "Generally speaking Aboriginal communities in Victoria are oppressed communities. Yet there appears to be a general lack of awareness of the existence of racial discrimination by white residents of country towns which have significant Aboriginal populations ... In the Melbourne metropolitan area Aboriginals have better access to organisations which can offer advice or obtain help for people whose rights and freedoms are denied".

## INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

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### INTRODUCTION

In Victoria, the last fifty years have witnessed the continued evolution of many aspects of industrial conditions, especially in relation to industrial regulation and jurisdiction, industrial organisations, such as trade unions and employer associations, industrial disputation, wage rates and earnings, hours of work, leave, and workers compensation provisions. This Chapter traces these aspects. With the rapid growth in the size and complexity of the labour force in the post-war years (aided by the significant influx of migrants and women), and the economic difficulties experienced since the mid-1970s, major changes have become far more pronounced in the last fifteen years as attempts have been made to find practical solutions to meet long standing and newly emerging problems.

In the field of industrial jurisdiction, the relative power of the Federal system in the setting of minimum wages and the settling of industrial disputes has continued to grow while the State system has declined, with the development of the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Commission and the Commonwealth Industrial Court (now known as the Federal Court of Australia).

The long standing, complementary Victorian system of Wages Boards and an Industrial Appeals Court was replaced by a new co-ordinating body — the Industrial Relations Commission — in 1981.

The major non-government bodies involved with the industrial jurisdiction system — trade unions and employer associations — have been characterised by steady growth in their membership levels, a strong trend towards the formation and growth of national bodies, and a tendency towards amalgamation, more especially among trade unions. Increasingly, trade unions have come to see their role as not strictly limited to seeking higher wages and better conditions for their members, and have broadened their horizons into looking at ways of enhancing the general welfare, safety, and social well being of their members.

The period under review has seen many new developments in major conditions of employment such as wages, hours of work, and leave provisions. Notable events concerning wage fixing principles have included the replacement of the historically long standing “basic” wage and margins concept by the total wage concept in 1967, implementation of “equal pay for work of equal value” principles during the early 1970s, and the development of wage indexation guidelines in the mid-1970s and their abandonment and restoration in the early 1980s.

Significant reductions in standard hours of work have occurred. While the extension of the 44 hour week was delayed because of the severe economic Depression of the early 1930s, by the end of the 1930s the new standard had come to apply generally. In 1948, a 40 hour week became the norm, and by the late 1970s standard hours in many industries had moved downwards to as low as 35 per week, accompanied by increasing trade union pressure for a standard 35 hour week to be adopted. In addition to a reduction in the total number of working hours there was also a change in the pattern of working hours, with the growing emergence of a variety of flextime arrangements. Leave provisions applicable to workers such as annual leave (including a loading on pay), long service leave, sick leave, and maternity leave have been gradually and significantly liberalised, especially in the post-war era.



The increasing participation of women in the labour force has been recognised by the developments in equal pay and maternity leave and especially by the promotion of equality of opportunity between men and women and the passing of anti-discrimination measures at work on the basis of sex and marital status.

There has been growing recognition of the importance of the maintenance of the occupational safety and health of the labour force, both in terms of its impact on individual workers (through appropriate workers compensation payments) and the adverse effects which a significant incidence of industrial accidents and diseases can have on the efficiency of industry and the economy at large. The responsibilities of the Victorian Government in this field have been expanded significantly.

## INDUSTRIAL REGULATION

### **Jurisdiction**

#### *Introduction*

In Victoria conditions of employment are regulated partly by awards made pursuant to Commonwealth legislation and partly as a result of State law. The power of the Commonwealth Parliament to legislate on industrial matters is limited by section 51 Placitum XXXV of the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act to laws with respect to "Conciliation and Arbitration for the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes extending beyond the limits of any one State". The power of the State Parliament to legislate with respect to industrial conditions is unlimited.

Section 109 of the Australian Constitution has the effect that a law of the Commonwealth prevails over any law of the State which is inconsistent with the Commonwealth legislation. As interpreted by decisions of the High Court, this provision has resulted in Federal awards being accorded the force of Commonwealth law and thus prevailing over awards or determinations of State industrial authorities which cover the same subject matters.

The Federal system has developed to the present stage where it is predominant in the sphere of industrial regulation throughout Australia. Figures in 1976 showed that Federal awards covered 50.1 per cent of Victorian employees compared with 37.0 per cent under State determinations. The balance of 12.9 per cent were either covered by unregistered collective agreements or were not affected by awards, etc. Key areas where industrial conditions are solely or primarily regulated by State determinations include hospitals, shops, and commercial clerks.

#### *Federal jurisdiction*

In 1934, the Commonwealth system of conciliation and arbitration was administered by a tribunal consisting of a Chief Judge, three judges (of whom one had been seconded to other duties), and a Conciliation Commissioner. The tribunal, known as the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration, commonly referred to as the Arbitration Court, exercised both arbitral and judicial functions, and the judges were appointed for life in accordance with section 72 of the Constitution. Basic wage inquiries and variations of standard hours of work were undertaken by the Full Court comprising all three judges. Other matters were, in general, handled by a single judge or the Conciliation Commissioner.

In 1947, an amending Act prescribed that the power to make awards altering standard hours, the basic wage, the period of annual leave, and minimum rates for adult females in an industry was exercisable by the Full Court only. With the exception of purely legal matters and certain matters of practice or procedure, all other matters came within the exclusive jurisdiction of a Conciliation Commissioner sitting alone. Sixteen Conciliation Commissioners were appointed to handle this section of the tribunal's business. Originally there was no appeal from an award of a Conciliation Commissioner, but limited rights of appeal and of referring matters of importance in the public interest to the Full Court were introduced in 1952.

In 1956 in the *Boilermakers Case* the High Court held that certain sections of the Conciliation and Arbitration Act, which provided for the exercise by the Arbitration Court of powers which were essentially judicial in character, were invalid. To overcome this

situation the judicial and non-judicial functions previously exercised by the Court were split and allocated to two new tribunals established by the *Conciliation and Arbitration Act 1956*. The judicial functions which included the making of orders restraining organisations or persons from committing breaches of the Act or an award, giving interpretations of awards, imposing penalties for breaches of awards, and giving directions for the performance of organisations' rules were vested in the Commonwealth Industrial Court. The Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Commission was established to exercise the non-judicial functions.

Initially, both the Court and Commission operated through the same Registries and the Industrial Registrar fulfilled the duties of Registrar to both tribunals. However, following the establishment in 1976 of the Federal Court of Australia, the jurisdiction and powers vested in the Australian Industrial Court were transferred to the new Court to be exercised in its Industrial Division. Thus, the separation of functions, members, and staff of the two tribunals became complete.

When it commenced on 14 August 1956, the Commission consisted of the President and three Deputy Presidents, all of whom had been and remained judges of the Arbitration Court, and the Senior Commissioner and seven other Commissioners, all of whom had previously held office as Conciliation Commissioners. In addition, the 1956 Act provided for the appointment of conciliators whose functions were limited to conciliation and who were not members of the Commission. Three conciliators were appointed during the Commission's first year. The Act provided that disputes in the maritime and stevedoring industries and in the Snowy Mountains area should be dealt with by a Presidential member assigned by the President. Except for work in those industries the operations of Presidential members were as members of Full Benches either in respect of matters such as basic wage inquiries which were required by the Act to be dealt with by the Commission in Presidential Session, or in reference or appeal proceedings where the Bench was comprised of Presidential members and a Commissioner. Apart from those which the Act required to be assigned to Presidential members, the particular industries or groups of industries which came within the Commission's sphere were allocated by the President among the Commissioners, so that, in general, each industry was handled solely by the one Commissioner.

Following the Act of 1972 the conciliators became members of the Commission as required by the Act. The Commissioners were designated as Arbitration Commissioners or Conciliation Commissioners with their respective functions limited to each area. By the same Act the qualifications for appointment as Deputy President were widened, so that not only legally qualified barristers and solicitors, but also those possessing tertiary education qualifications in law, commerce, and industrial relations, or special experience in industry, commerce, or government service could also be appointed.

The 1972 Act also introduced the panel system of allocation of industries whereby the President places members of the Commission into panels consisting of a Presidential member as panel leader and at least one Commissioner. Industries or groups of industries are assigned to the panels and it is the duty of the panel leader to allocate the work of the members of the panel.

In 1973, the distinction between "arbitration" and "conciliation" Commissioners was repealed. Since then there has been little separation between the functions of conciliation and arbitration which are exercised by all members, both Presidential and Commissioners. However, a member of the Commission who has exercised the powers of the Commission with respect to conciliation shall not take part in arbitration with respect to the same dispute if any party to the proceedings objects to his doing so.

In 1978, the Industrial Relations Bureau was established. Its function as set out in the Conciliation and Arbitration Act is to secure the observance of the Act and the regulations and of awards. It has taken over the functions previously exercised by the Arbitration inspectorate, with more extensive powers.

Since 1934, the Arbitration Court and its successor, the Commission, have been concerned in many cases having wide implications for workers in all States. Included among these were:

(1) the basic wage inquiries which took place in 1934, 1937, 1940 and in almost every post-war year until the introduction of the total wage in 1967;

- (2) the Metal Trades Margins cases of 1952, 1957, 1959, and 1967;
- (3) the Standard Hours — 40 hour week case of 1947;
- (4) the Long Service Leave cases;
- (5) the Equal Pay cases of 1969 and 1972;
- (6) the Maternity Leave case of 1978-79; and
- (7) the Indexation and National Wage Fixation Principles cases of 1975 and succeeding years.

At 31 August 1982, the Commission consisted of the President, 12 Deputy Presidents, and 26 Commissioners. Its proceedings take place in all States and Territories of the Commonwealth and the matters which are lodged in its various registries for attention are increasing with every year of its operation.

#### *Victorian jurisdiction*

Since 1896 there has been a system of determination of minimum rates of pay for employees in the private sector in Victoria by Boards consisting of equal numbers of employer representatives and employee representatives together with an independent chairman.

By 1 January 1934, the powers of Wages Boards (as they were then called) had been extended to deal not only with wages but also with a wide range of conditions. One hundred and eighty-one Wages Boards were then in existence, affecting approximately 182,000 workers. Representatives were required to be *bona fide* and actual employers or employees in the trade concerned, and appeals from determinations were heard by the Court of Industrial Appeals. This Court consisted of a President, being a judge of the Supreme Court, and an employers' representative and an employees' representative nominated in writing by the interests they represented and empowered to act only in respect of the appeal for which they were appointed.

The legislation regulating the system of Wages Boards and the Court of Industrial Appeals was contained within the *Factories and Shops Act 1928*, and the administration was generally under the control of the Department of Labour. In 1936, the powers of the Boards were widened to empower a Board to determine any industrial matter whatsoever, and provision was made for the appointment of general Wages Boards for specified trades in respect of which no Wages Board determination was operative.

The classes of persons qualified to act as representatives were gradually widened. In 1934, provision was made for an employers' representative to be nominated to represent employers being corporations or public bodies, and it was provided that where such a nomination was made so that the employers' representative was not a *bona fide* employer in the trade, then one of the employees' representatives should be an officer of a trade union. In 1941, this was further widened to the present prescription whereby employers' representatives were to be either *bona fide* (one who has been nominated in writing and who must have been engaged in the trade concerned for at least six months during the three years immediately preceding his nomination), or actual employers in the trade, or officers of an association of employers or a person nominated to represent employers which are corporations or public bodies, and employees' representatives were to be either *bona fide* and actual employees in the trade, or officers of trade unions.

The provisions for the appointment of chairmen of Wages Boards were changed significantly in 1941. Prior to that year the Act required the employers' and employees' representatives to nominate some other person to be chairman of the Board, and in the event of no such nomination being received within 14 days after the appointment of the members then the Minister should appoint the chairman. This was changed by the *Factories and Shops Act 1941* which provided for a panel of two chairmen to be appointed by the Governor in Council for a period of five years, and for the Minister to appoint a chairman to each Wages Board from that panel. In 1950, an amending Act provided for the number of chairmen in the panel to be "not more than 3". However, it was not until 1969 that a third chairman was appointed.

The 1941 Act also altered the composition of the appellate court which was renamed the Industrial Appeals Court. It provided that the President would be a judge of the County Court and that the two other members would be persons having industrial experience

appointed by the Governor in Council. In practice the employer representatives and deputies have been senior officers of the Victorian Chamber of Manufactures and the Victorian Employers Federation and the employee representatives have been senior trade union officials. In the 1960s and 1970s, the areas of operation of the Court were extended considerably by legislation, but it remained a part-time tribunal sitting for only a limited period in each month.

Far reaching changes were made by the *Industrial Relations Act 1979* which came into operation on 1 November 1981. This Act established the Industrial Relations Commission of Victoria, a new body which replaced the Industrial Appeals Court and the Wages Boards with a system under the direction of a President having the status of a judge of the Supreme Court.

All members of the Commission are now full-time officers, and all functions of the Industrial Appeals Court together with a number of additional ones have been taken over by the President and two Commissioners sitting either in full session or alone. The Act renamed the Wages Boards as Conciliation and Arbitration Boards and granted to these Boards further powers to settle industrial disputes by conciliation or arbitration in addition to the primary functions of making awards. The chairmen of the Boards are members of the Commission.

Other important changes effected by the 1979 Act included provision for the making and registration of industrial agreements, the certification of "Recognised Associations" of employers or employees, and the establishment of an independent Registrar.

In the Victorian Public Service there were significant changes in 1940 and 1946. As a result the old Board of three Commissioners was replaced in 1946 by a three member Public Service Board vested with powers of appointment and wage and salary fixing responsibilities which had previously been the prerogative of the Victorian Parliament and the Executive. The functions and powers of this Board were last revised in the *Public Service Act 1974*.

An Industrial Relations Task Force which is a Cabinet Sub-committee was set up in 1982, comprising six members, five of whom were Ministers. Its objective was to co-ordinate and deal with industrial matters involved in major government projects.

## INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATIONS

### Overview

In Victoria, most of the trade unions and the major employer associations are registered organisations under the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act. As there is no provision within the State system for the registration of associations as industrial entities, Victoria has not experienced any of the problems of dual Federal and State registration of organisations which are typified by the case of *Moore v Doyle*, where it was held that the Transport Workers Union of Australia, New South Wales Branch, was a separate legal entity distinct from the Federal organisation, the Transport Workers Union of Australia.

Since 1934 there has been a steady growth in the membership of trade unions and employer associations, and the period has been characterised by a strong trend towards the formation and growth of national bodies.

### Trade unions

In 1934, trade unions were in a weakened condition by reason of the economic depression and resultant deterioration of industrial conditions. Large-scale unemployment and wage cuts had led to a marked decline in membership. Since that year the situation of trade unions in Victoria has strengthened considerably. Of the 173 unions in Victoria in 1980, 93 unions were affiliated with the Victorian Trades Hall Council (VTHC), representing over 500,000 members, and there are eight provincial trades and labour councils associated with the Council.

The majority of unions affiliated with the VTHC are national unions registered as organisations under the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act. However, in certain areas such as breadmaking, cigarette manufacture, and the printing of metropolitan daily newspapers, the unions concerned were not registered under the Federal Act during

most of the period since 1934, but they were affiliated with the VTHC. Other non-registered affiliates include unions of secondary and technical school teachers.

Prior to 1934 employee representatives on Wages Boards were restricted to actual and *bona fide* employees in the trade. However, amendments made to the Factories and Shops Act in 1934 and 1941 widened the qualifications of such representatives to include officers of an association of employees connected with the trades. The increasing practice since then has been for union officials to be appointed as employee representatives. After the Industrial Appeals Court was reconstituted in 1941 the employee representative of the Court and his deputy were invariably the Secretary of the VTHC or a senior trade union official. Most of the advocacy on behalf of employees in appeals to the Court against Wages Board determinations has been undertaken by union officers. The role of trade unions in the State system was further acknowledged by Part V of the *Industrial Relations Act* 1979 which provides that associations recognised under the Act are entitled to nominate persons for appointment to Boards, to be kept informed of proceedings of such Boards, to appear before the Board, and to enter into an industrial agreement.

In the public sector the Victorian Public Service Association which represents most officers and employees in Victorian Government departments and the Hospital Employees Federation have throughout the period been actively concerned in proceedings before the Public Service Board. The Police Association has represented its members before the Police Service Board, while the Associations of State School and Technical Teachers have been increasingly active in supporting the claims of their members.

A feature of post-war years has been the diminishing of some old craft unions and the tendency of unions to amalgamate. A notable example is the Amalgamated Metal Foundry and Shipwrights Union which is an amalgamation in total of at least seven trade unions which in 1934 covered the separate crafts of fitter, boilermaker, blacksmith, sheetmetal worker, agricultural implement maker, oven and stove maker, and shipwright. That organisation became the largest trade union in Australia in 1972 when the merger of three unions was completed, and following further mergers its membership by October 1983 stood at approximately 162,000.

The national organisation of trade unions has developed enormously. Although by 1934 the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) had become recognised as the official voice of the unions before the Arbitration Court, it was then only seven years old. It had no full-time officers and the largest union in Australia, the Australian Workers Union, was not affiliated with it. Union membership was low and by the commencement of the war it amounted to little more than 10 per cent of all union members.

Industrial activity during wartime and the immediate post-war years resulted in a big increase in the activity of the ACTU which was the co-ordinating body of the union movement in major cases for increased pay and shorter working hours. In 1943 its first full-time officer position, that of Secretary, was created. In 1947 Congress was made the supreme governing body of the ACTU and the provision requiring ratification by State branches of the decisions of Congress was deleted. In 1949 the second full-time position, that of President, was created. In 1956 the ACTU was reconstructed with the halving of representation of the State Councils and the addition of representatives of six industry and service groupings elected by Congress delegates within those groupings. In 1967 the Australian Workers Union sought and obtained affiliation with the ACTU and was allocated an industry grouping and hence direct representation on the executive.

The ACTU expanded its activities to include certain business ventures. In 1970 it entered into an arrangement for the joint ownership of Bourkes Pty Ltd, a discount retail store in Melbourne. This arrangement was discontinued in 1980. In 1973 it ventured into the provision of holiday and travel services, and in 1978 this was further expanded when ACTU Jetset Travel Service was formed. In 1975 it entered the field of discount petrol selling when ACTU-SOLO was formed.

Social and education activities of trade unions in Victoria have included the establishment of a Trade Union Clinic and Medical Research Centre, and the inauguration of an Arts and Creative Arts Committee of the VTHC. Trade union training courses have been in operation at the Victorian Centre of the Trade Union Training Authority (TUTA) in Carlton since 1977 and at the Clyde Cameron College in Wodonga. A major initiative, in

an attempt to reduce the incidence of industrial accidents and diseases, was taken in 1981 with the establishment of the ACTU-VTHC Occupational Health and Safety Unit.

There has been a marked growth of white collar workers as a proportion of the total labour force since 1934 as well as a large increase in the membership of white collar unions in such fields as banking and insurance. A number of active unions such as the Association of Architects, Surveyors and Draughtsmen (now named "Association of Draughting Supervisory and Technical Employees"), and the Federation of Air Pilots was formed during the period, including in 1956 the Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Associations (ACSPA). This became the peak central labour organisation for white collar workers. In 1979 it had 16 affiliated associations within its Victorian division.

Since 1934, there has been a large growth in the Commonwealth Public Service with a consequent increase in the membership of Public Service unions. Throughout this period there has been a peak council of Public Service unions originally named the High Council of Commonwealth Public Service Unions, but later called the Council of Australian Government Employee Organisations (CAGEO). In September 1981, CAGEO ceased to exist and the member unions affiliated with the ACTU, forming the Australian Government Employees (AGE) section of the ACTU. In 1983, the AGE section comprised 24 unions with a total union membership of 229,000.

In September 1979, ACSPA merged with the ACTU and was granted three executive positions on the Council. However, one of the largest ACSPA affiliates, the Australian Bank Employees' Union voted against affiliation and did not join the ACTU, and teachers' unions in Tasmania and South Australia also withdrew. Nevertheless, the merger brought the total of unionists affiliated to the ACTU to more than two million.

#### TRADE UNIONS: NUMBER AND MEMBERSHIP, VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year	Number of separate unions	Members			Percentage of wage and salary earners (a)		
		Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons
		'000	'000	'000			
1935(b)	147	159.1	40.0	199.1	36	23	32
1940(c)	147	190.2	42.1	232.3	39	22	35
1945	139	232.5	74.2	306.6	43	34	40
1950	152	325.2	81.1	406.3	61	35	53
1955(d)	160	357.5	88.9	446.4	41	37	54
1960	157	381.1	98.1	479.2	58	35	51
1965	156	418.0	119.8	537.8	56	37	50
1970(e)	169	439.9	155.2	595.1	52	34	46
1975	171	507.5	218.9	726.5	59	43	54
1980(f)	173	523.6	246.6	770.1	59	45	53
1981	173	522.9	248.8	771.7	58	45	53
1982	175	533.4	256.7	790.1	61	46	55

(a) The estimated total number of employees, including juniors, in receipt of wages or salaries. This includes persons such as those in professional occupations who may not be eligible for membership in trade unions. In addition, persons who were unemployed were included in this figure up to 1950. Due to the changes which occurred in the calculation of the total number of wage and salary earners [see footnotes (b) to (f)], and the difficulty in obtaining a standardised reporting system from the trade unions, the figures should be only regarded as approximate and comparisons between different periods prior to 1975 should be avoided.

(b) For 1935 the number of wage and salary earners was calculated by using estimates derived from the 1921 Population Census.

(c) From 1940 to 1950 the number of wage and salary earners was based on data obtained largely from the National Register of 1939, the Civilian Register of 1943, the Occupation Survey of 1945, records of the Defence Forces, and details from the latest available Population Census.

(d) From 1955 to 1978, the number of wage and salary earners was based on payroll tax data and estimates for the rural industry and female private domestic services were obtained from the latest available Population Census. From 1955 persons who are unemployed are excluded.

(e) Figures from 1970 were subject to a review which resulted in a few additional unions being included which had previously been excluded due to their status as unions being in doubt, new unions being created, and some existing unions reporting for the first time.

(f) From 1979, the number of wage and salary earners has been based on the Labour Force Survey.

#### Employer associations

Industrial relations formed a comparatively minor portion of the activities of employer associations in 1934. At that time business was starting to recover from the Depression, but unemployment was still high, and membership of employer bodies was small. Very few employer associations were registered as organisations under the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act, and employer representation on State Wages Boards was limited to "bona fide and actual employers in the trade concerned".

In 1941, amendments were made to the Factories and Shops Act which significantly

increased the role of employer associations in the Victorian industrial system. The classes of eligibility for appointment as representatives of employers on Wages Boards were widened to include officers of an organisation of employers concerned with the trade concerned, and provision was made for nominations for prospective appointees to be made by an association of employers. As a result of these provisions an increasing number of employer representatives were made on the nomination of an employers' association and the influence of employer associations on the proceedings of Wages Boards has increased considerably.

The other significant amendments concerned the reconstitution of the appellate court as the Industrial Appeals Court. Provision was made for appointment as a member of the Court of a person having industrial experience to represent employers. This provision granted the appointee a continuous tenure for a period of five years which contrasted with the pre-existing position whereby the employer and employee representatives were appointed for the particular appeal only from representatives of the Wages Board from which the appeal was derived. The practice since 1941 has been for senior industrial officers of the Victorian Chamber of Manufactures and the Victorian Employers Federation to be appointed as employer representative and deputy representative. The participation of employer associations in the system has been acknowledged by the provisions as to the certification of recognised associations in Part V of the *Industrial Relations Act 1979*.

There has been a steady increase in the participation of employer associations in the Commonwealth system of conciliation and arbitration since 1934. Most of the larger of these associations have become registered as organisations under the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act. The Victorian Chamber of Manufactures achieved registration in 1941, and the Victorian Employers Federation in 1961. Other associations which have registered as organisations under the Federal Act since 1934 include the Victorian Automobile Chamber of Commerce, the Master Builders Association of Victoria, and the Retail Traders Association of Victoria. All of these associations are also members of unregistered national federations of associations such as the Associated Chambers of Manufactures of Australia.

Victorian employer associations have been slower to merge or to form national registered organisations than have trade unions. However, in the area of agricultural industry substantial amalgamations have been achieved, culminating in a merger in 1979 of the Victorian Farmers Union, the United Dairy Farmers of Victoria, and the Graziers Association of Victoria to form the Victorian Farmers and Graziers Association. Examples of the formation of national employer organisations which, since 1970, have included Victorian associations within their branches have been the Printing and Allied Trades Employers Federation and the Metal Trades Industry Association of Australia.

There was a marked development towards national employer co-ordination in industrial matters after the Second World War. National industrial cases such as the 40 hour week standard hours inquiry in 1947 and the basic wage and margins cases in the early post-war years caused employers to form a group to determine policy and plan employer submissions. Originally this was administered through a steering committee chaired by the chief industrial officer of the Victorian Chamber of Manufactures. In 1961 the National Employers Association (NEA) was formally constituted, comprising some 36 employer associations. The NEA formulated broad policies, but operated mainly through two committees, the National Employers' Policy Committee (NEPC) and the National Employers' Industrial Committee (NEIC). The NEPC directed the conduct of employer submissions in national wage cases and became recognised as the employers' equivalent of the ACTU.

In the 1970s there was a substantial merging at national level of the various manufacturers' organisations. The Associated Chambers of Manufactures of Australia and the Australian Council of Employers Federations formed the Central Industrial Secretariat to consolidate the industrial activities of both organisations. In 1977 the organisations merged fully to form the Confederation of Australian Industry (CAI). In addition to the various chambers of manufactures and employers' federations which were foundation members, the CAI admitted as inaugural members the bulk of the national associations affiliated with NEA. In industrial matters it operates through its Industrial Council. The CAI has supplanted NEA as the national employer umbrella organisation in industrial matters.

## INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

**Introduction**

As Australia entered the 1980s it was operating at a high plateau of industrial disputation and Victoria was no exception. This development had occurred despite the continued operation of the system which was established to prevent or settle disputation by conciliation or arbitration. Direct action has become more sophisticated. Unions now give more attention to the use of selective bans, work to rules, go slows, and other methods which allow all or most of their members to remain at work but which have a major impact on output.

A feature of the most recent period has been the increasing incidence of strikes as an element in bargaining whether the disputes concern wages or any other issue. Many such stoppages have caused widespread inconvenience to the public and brought about stand downs of employees in other industries. The secondary effects of industrial disputes such as rail and power strikes, can be substantial and significant. Another development has been the use of stoppages as a protest against unpopular legislation affecting unionists. In Victoria, a campaign in 1980 by the Trades and Labour Council against amendments to the Workers Compensation Act used successive 24 hour strikes by different unions in seeking to persuade the Victorian Government to reverse the changes.

Studies show that Victoria was experiencing a much higher plateau of industrial disputation during the late 1970s and early 1980s than at any other time during this century. The number of working days lost due to the effects of industrial accidents and diseases was greater than the number lost due to the occurrence of industrial disputes.

**Evaluation of disputes**

Data which would allow a detailed evaluation of industrial disputes over the whole period under review are limited. Comparisons of such indicators as numbers of disputes, workers involved, and working days lost may be misleading over long periods, unless related to changes occurring in the numbers of wage and salary earners employed.

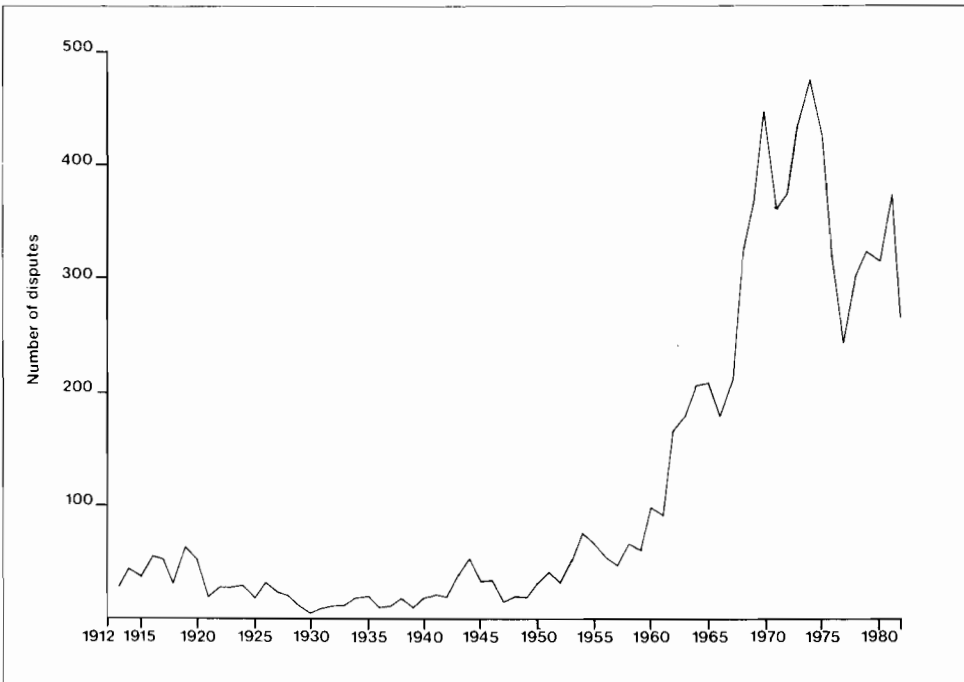


FIGURE 10. Victoria—Number of industrial disputes, 1913 to 1982.



Comparisons of wages lost needs to be seen not only in the context of changes in total employment but also movements in average earnings. Official statistics which would allow precise studies to be made along these lines are not available for the full period from 1934 to 1982.

Some observations need to be made on the limitations of the statistics that are available. They do not reflect stoppages of less than ten man days, stand downs of employees except at establishments where the stoppages occur, due to disputes, bans, or limitations on performance of work, or the economic impact of any form of industrial action, and do not count secondary effects.

Although each aspect of the published statistics holds interest, lost time statistics provide a helpful indicator of change in the level of industrial disputation. Despite the gaps that exist and the qualifications that have to be made on the data used, annual figures of working days lost give a perspective of changing employment levels.

Statistics set out in the following table showing number of disputes and workers involved confirm the acceleration which started in the 1960s and continued in the 1970s:

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982 (a)

Year	Number of disputes	Workers involved (b)	Working days lost		
			Number	Average days per worker involved	Working days lost per 1,000 employees (c)
1935	20	'000 7.9	'000 45.7	5.8	n.a.
1940	19	8.7	108.0	12.5	n.a.
1945	34	29.2	51.2	1.8	(d) 93
1950	33	74.0	1,208.4	16.3	1,658
1955	66	35.5	138.5	3.9	171
1960	98	86.0	102.8	1.2	112
1965	208	121.8	214.3	1.8	206
1970	447	333.0	510.8	1.5	410
1975	424	570.9	1,221.7	2.1	910
1980	315	538.3	1,115.4	2.1	(e) 792
1981	376	405.0	1,235.5	3.1	865
1982	266	117.2	368.0	3.1	260

(a) Refers only to disputes involving a stoppage of work of 10 man-days or more.

(b) Includes workers indirectly involved, i.e., those out of work at the establishments where the stoppages occurred but who were not themselves parties to the dispute.

(c) The formula used for the calculation of these was: 
$$\frac{\text{total number of working days lost} \times 1,000}{\text{total number of wage and salary earners}}$$

(d) The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) wage and salary earners series commenced in July 1941. The series relates only to civilian wage and salary earners and thus excludes employers, self employed persons, unemplyed persons, unpaid helpers, and the defence forces. Also excluded are employees in agriculture and private domestic service. However, working days lost due to disputes in agriculture are included in the calculations.

(e) Figures from 1979 are based on estimates of the labour force as derived from the ABS Labour Force Survey.

NOTE. Estimates in the above table may be affected by breaks in the wage and salary earners series. For details of the breaks see footnote to the "Civilian employees" table. For this reason figures presented in the above table should be treated with caution and should be regarded as showing broad estimates only.

Since the 1930s, there have been substantial changes in the contribution of different industries to the level of industrial disputation. These changes are difficult to quantify due to the industry classifications being altered significantly from 1968-69 to conform with the Australian Standard Industrial Classification (ASIC).

#### Trends in disputes

In the earlier years one or two long running disputes would tend to dominate the statistics. For instance, in 1934 a single dispute over an allegation of underpayment by wheelers at the State Coal Mine, Wonthaggi, ran for four months and accounted for 70,000 man-days of lost production in a State total for the year of about 109,000. Taken in the context of the period in which each occurred, five individual years of peak strike activity stand out, namely 1946, 1947, 1950, 1974, and 1979. The first two were the result of wage claims particularly in metal trades and public transport following the relaxation of wartime controls. The first year when over one million man-days were lost (1,208,365 lost days) occurred in 1950 and was mainly due to a 59 day bus and tram stoppage and a 55 day rail stoppage (1,157,785 lost days). The total days lost in stoppages for 1950 were

greater than the combined total days lost for the years 1951 to 1963. The next million mark year was not reached until 1974 (2,386,600 lost days). This was the last year of a concerted campaign for higher wages which commenced in the early 1970s. The campaign which was backed by industrial action coincided with a rapid acceleration of the inflation rate. Metal trades stoppages alone exceeded 1,000,000 lost days in that year.

It was not until the 1960s that annual working days lost moved permanently into six figures. Indeed as late as 1957 the total days lost was only 13,444. In the ten years to 1960 the average annual result was 85,349 working days lost. In the next ten years the average had risen to 271,871 and in the ten years ending 1980 the average exceeded 1,000,000.

It is interesting to note that the average days lost per striking worker markedly declined until the 1970s and even the recent figures are well below the pre-Second World War era. In the 21 year period prior to 1934 the annual average was 18.5 lost days per striking worker. The lowest ranking period was 1957 to 1972 when the range of annual figures fell between 1.1 and 2.2 days and averaged 1.6 days over the 16 years. Figures since 1972 have ranged between 2.1 to 4.9 lost days per striking worker and seem to be on a rising trend. The relatively low number of days lost per worker is consistent with Australia's reputation of having a high incidence of strikes of short duration. The latter fact is partly attributed to the operation of the conciliation and arbitration system which intervenes to assist in the resolution of the issues giving rise to the dispute.

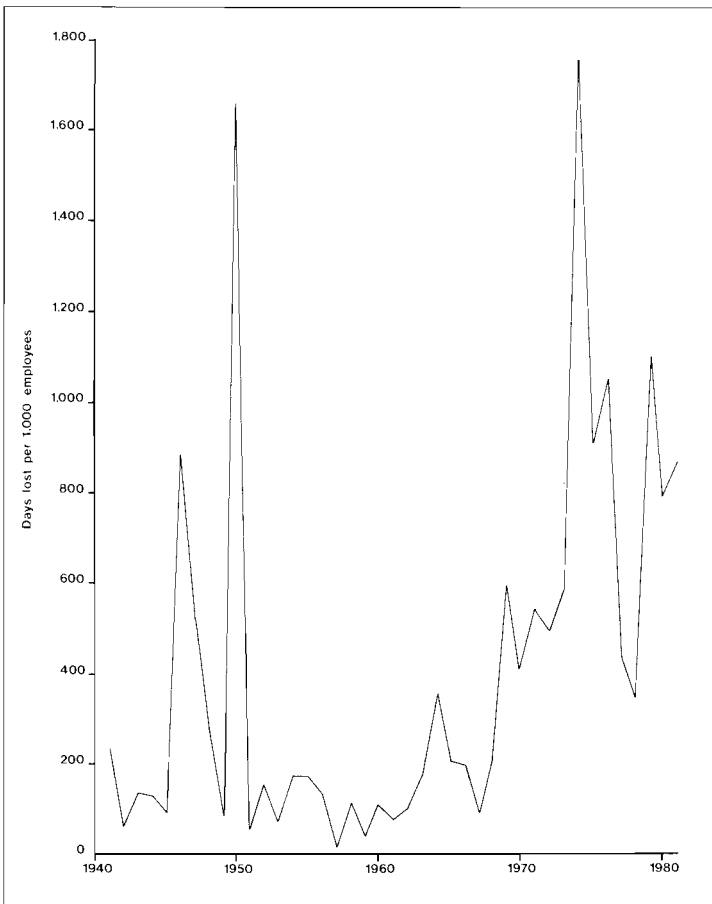


FIGURE 11. Victoria—Working days lost per 1,000 employees, 1941 to 1981.

## WAGE RATES AND EARNINGS

**Introduction**

The years since 1934 have seen a number of important changes in wage fixing principles. In 1953, automatic quarterly cost of living adjustment was discontinued; the total wage came into being in 1967; by 1975 equal pay for the sexes became a reality; between 1975 and 1981, a coherent set of rules, known as the indexation principles formed the basis of wage determination; in July 1981, these principles were abandoned and the fixing of wages reverted to a more decentralised arrangement. In the September 1983 National Wage Case the wage indexation principles were restored and the fixing of wages reverted to a centralised arrangement.

Until 1967, award wage rates generally consisted of two distinct components — basic wage and secondary wage or margin. The basic wage was not only the lowest wage payable for unskilled work, but also the common “foundational” element in all award rates. Skill, responsibility, and other special requirements to work attracted a margin additional to the basic wage. In 1967, the two parts of the wage were compounded into a single “total wage” for each award classification. The minimum wage concept introduced the previous year as an interim measure to protect the “low wage earner” was confirmed as constituting the limit below which no adult male under a Federal award should be paid.

Although the “foundational” aspect of the basic wage was an important factor in the development of national wage adjustments for “economic reasons”, its abandonment in 1967 did not impair the continuance of what had by then become a well established practice. National wage adjustments were henceforth applied to total wages. The new approach was justified by the Commission in the following terms:

“This new approach will ensure that under our awards wage and salary earners will annually have applied to them the increases for economic reasons which it is common ground they may normally expect and the increases will be applied to the whole wage instead of only to part as at present. We are sure that in work-value cases the fixation of total wages will bring to award-making both greater flexibility and greater reality. The minimum wage will give better protection to those whose needs are greatest, namely, those whose take-home pay would otherwise be below the standard assessed by the Commission and will give the Commission more flexibility in assisting them because we will have more scope to give them special consideration.” (118 Commonwealth Arbitration Reports p.658)

**Basic wage, 1934 to 1967**

The significance of the basic wage as the instrument of national wage adjustments for “economic reasons” goes back to 1931 when Federal award rates were reduced by 10 per cent. The basic wage was first determined in the 1907 Harvester case by Mr Justice Higgins as a “fair and reasonable” wage to meet the “normal needs of the average employee regarded as a human being living in a civilized community”. Prior to 1931, the basic wage stood at its original 1907 Harvester level in real terms plus an amount of 30 cents, known as the “Powers 3 shillings”, named after Mr Justice Powers who awarded it in 1921 to compensate wage earners for the lag in wage adjustment behind price increases. Between 1914 and 1922, the Harvester real equivalent was maintained by annual adjustment in the basic wage in relation to changes in an index of retail prices covering food, groceries and rents of all houses, known as the “A” Series; and in 1923 (17 Commonwealth Arbitration Reports p.376), the practice of automatic quarterly adjustments in relation to this index came to be applied generally.

The progressive extension in the jurisdiction of the Court and its indirect influence on the determinations of State jurisdictions, meant that a basic wage change and the resulting change in the general level of wages could have important national economic implications. Accordingly, in coming to its decision to cut wage rates under its award by 10 per cent in 1931, the Court took account of the depressed capacity of the economy to recover. Since then, although the “needs” aspect of the basic wage has not been discarded, basic wage decisions have emphasised national economic capacity considerations. This is evident from a succession of basic wage inquiries since 1931.



Building workers march up Bourke Street, Melbourne, to protest against increased health insurance charges in 1981.

*Australian Building Construction Employees and Builders' Labourers Federation*



Mr Clarrie O'Shea, Victorian Secretary of the Tramway and Motor Omnibus Union, being escorted to Pentridge Prison on 15 May 1969 for "Contempt of Court". His arrest resulted in nation-wide union protest and ultimately led to the repeal of the penal provisions of the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*

# 40-HOUR WEEK FROM JANUARY

## But Court Says "No Overtime Ban"

**Took Big Mass Of Evidence**

INTRODUCING the judgment, the three judges pointed out that more than 22 months have passed since the case began in November, 1945. 825 pages of evidence have been dealt with, evidence has been heard from 22 witnesses and 100 exhibits have been produced.

### JUDGMENT AFTER 2-YEAR HEARING

Forty hours will be Australia's standard working week from the first pay period in January.

This is the decision of the Federal Arbitration Court, announced today.

The court, however, added that reasonable overtime should be worked, and that there should be no overtime bans.

The court did not specify the number of days in which the 40-hour week should be worked, but left it to the judge or commissioner in charge of each industry.

Explaining why the court had fixed January for introducing the 40-hour week, the judges said that it had long been considered that it would be necessary to already



READING THE JUDGMENT on the 40-hour case, Judge Foster was photographed in his chambers today before entering the court. He is surrounded by piles of transcript and shorthand evidence which comprised nearly 8½ million words. The case was the biggest ever heard by the Arbitration Court. The hearing began in November, 1945.

**NSW Eggs Hatched In U.S.**  
 Australian Associated Press UPLAND (California).

**17 Arrested In Plot To Bomb London**

**Shortage Of Power For Years—P.3.**

**Jews Land At Hamburg**

HAMBURG, Monday — Jewish illegal migrants began to leave tonight (Sunday) tonight and will arrive in Hamburg tomorrow.

**PRICE OF TIN INCREASED**

CANBERRA, Monday — The price of tin will be increased from 22s 6d to 24s 6d. The Minister announced that the preliminary price had been increased from 22s 6d to 24s 6d. The preliminary price was to be increased from 22s 6d to 24s 6d.

**FOURSCORES GOLF**  
 100-100 made by G. Brown, 18.  
 100-100 made by G. Brown, 18.

Newspaper headlines announce the granting of the 40 hour week to Australian workers in 1947.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*

Sir John Moore (centre), President of the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission, reads out a wage indexation decision.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*



**BASIC WAGE: WEEKLY RATES, FIXED  
BY THE CONCILIATION AND  
ARBITRATION COMMISSION,  
MELBOURNE, 1935 TO 1967**

Operative at 31 December	Weekly adult rate	
	Males	Females
	\$	\$
1935	6.60	(a)
1940	8.40	(a)
1945	9.80	(a)
1950	16.20	12.15
1955(b)	23.50	17.60
1960(c)(d)	27.50	20.60
1965(d)(e)	30.70	23.00
1967	(f)	(f)

- (a) Prior to December 1950, the relationship of female basic wages to male basic wages varied from award to award but was generally between 54 and 56 per cent. As a result of the 1949-50 basic wage inquiry the then Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration fixed the basic weekly wage for adult females at 75 per cent of the corresponding male rate.
- (b) The basic wage in 1955 remained at the level reached at the August 1953 quarterly adjustment. The 1953 adjustment represented the end of the system of regular quarterly adjustments which was introduced in 1921.
- (c) The basic wage in 1960 remained at the level reached at the June 1959 adjustment.
- (d) Rates declared subsequent to any inquiry as distinct from automatic adjustments in accordance with a price index.
- (e) The basic wage in 1965 remained at the same level reached at the June 1964 adjustment.
- (f) In July 1967, basic wages and margins were eliminated from Commonwealth awards and total wages introduced. Following this decision, award rates for adult males and adult females have been increased at various times by granting general increases in award total wages.

### Basic wage inquiries

1934. This marked a "fresh starting point" for the basic wage. Economic recovery since 1931 made possible restoration of a substantial proportion of the 10 per cent cut, allowing the basic wage to revert to the Harvester level in real terms. Quarterly automatic adjustments were henceforth to be based on the "C" Series Retail Price Index — a more comprehensive and more representative index of wage earners' consumption patterns than the "A" Series.

1937. On the evidence of improved economic capacity, the Court restored the 1929 pre-Depression purchasing power of the average basic wage for the six capital cities. The increase averaged about 7 per cent and was awarded as a "prosperity loading".

1940. The importance of economic considerations was given added force with the outbreak of the Second World War. In the words of the Chief Judge, "More than ever before wage fixation is controlled by the economic outlook". Union applications for an increase in the real value of the basic wage were deferred indefinitely. The Court commended the proposed child endowment scheme announced by the Commonwealth as a means of alleviating the hardship being experienced by lower paid wage earners with families.

1946. The applications stood over in 1940 were relisted. The Court awarded an increase of 70 cents (7 per cent) in the basic wage as an interim amount pending the completion of the unions' claim for shorter standard hours.

1949-50. The case begun in 1940 was finally concluded by this inquiry which followed the reduction of standard hours from 44 to 40 a week in 1948. By a majority decision, the basic wage was increased by \$2 (14 per cent) and the prosperity loading of 1937 was compounded into the adjustable portion of the wage. Economic considerations were once again paramount and it was repeated that the basic wage should be fixed at the highest level which the economy could sustain. However, for the first time in its history, the Court was confronted with having to determine economic capacity in peacetime in circumstances of low unemployment, prosperity — especially in the export sectors — and serious inflation. While the inflation did not deter the majority of the Bench from awarding a substantial basic wage increase, the dissenting Chief Judge was of the opinion that in these conditions, any rise in the basic wage standard would endanger the economy.

1952-53. In September 1953, the system of automatic quarterly adjustments of the basic wage, which had been applied since 1923, was discontinued. The Court reasoned that acceptance of "economic capacity" as the main principle in basic wage determination had made such a system inappropriate because "there is no ground for assuming that the capacity to pay will be maintained at the same level or that it will rise or fall co-incidentally with the purchasing power of money" (77 Commonwealth Arbitration Reports p. 497), especially in an economy highly dependent on exports and imports. The Court also supported its decision to abandon the automatic system on the ground that "It has undoubtedly been an accelerating factor in the rapid increase in prices which has afflicted Australia, notably in the years 1951 and 1952". (77 Commonwealth Arbitration Reports p. 498)

Since 1956, the Court (and its successor, the Commission) began the system of annual national wage inquiries in which various economic indicators, including price movements, formed the basis of the tribunal's assessment of national economic capacity to sustain general wage increases. The unions continued to press for a restoration of automatic quarterly "cost of living" adjustments and in 1961 the Commission announced a system by which the level of the real basic wage would be determined on the basis of "a review of the economy generally and in particular of productivity increases" to be undertaken every three or four years. In the intervening years, the basic wage would be adjusted annually to the movement in the Consumer Price Index (CPI) unless the Commission was "persuaded to the contrary by those seeking to oppose the change". Because of the stability in the CPI during 1962 and 1963 no change was made in the basic wage, but in 1964 the Commission reverted to the principle of annual reviews. This principle was continued following the move to the total wage in 1967.

### **Margins**

The history of margins determination is outlined in the 1954 Metal Trades Case. In the years between 1934 and 1967, margins were adjusted from time to time on a case-by-case basis, with metal trades margins as the pace-setter for margins generally. Recognition by the Court of this fact and of the increased speed of flow-on from metal trades margins, led to a shift of primary emphasis from consideration of the economic capacity of the metal industry to that of industry generally. The effect of the leading margins decisions since 1934 has been to correct the compression of relativities between skilled and unskilled wages caused mainly by the intervening increases in the basic wage element. In particular, the 1954 Metal Trades Case resulted in the "2 ½-times" formula which was generally applied to restore the 1937 relativities between skilled and unskilled rates.

### **Total wage**

The logic of the move to the total wage concept referred to earlier, lay in a recognition that the determination of both the basic wage and the pace-setting metal trades margins were in the nature of national wage cases, resulting in general wage adjustments based on national economic reasons. It was intended that annual total wage adjustments would result in only minor adjustments in local wage cases. However, large increases in wages at industry and plant levels persisted, thus duplicating the economic increases being awarded in annual national wage cases. In its 1972 national wage decision, the Commission referred with some concern to the continuance of "a three-tiered wage system whereby the overall movements may come from national wage cases, industry cases and overaward payments", a state of affairs it described as a problem which may be insoluble except by some consensus of view reached between the interested parties either inside or outside national wage proceedings.

In 1974, in rejecting the unions' claim for the restoration of automatic quarterly adjustments, the Commission noted that in the "absence of an acceptable consensus", it had little alternative "but to treat indexation as adding a new tier to the available methods of wage fixation". (157 Commonwealth Arbitration Reports p. 293) It called for a conference of the principal parties, chaired by the President, "to see whether consensus can be reached on the two interacting issues — wage fixation methods and indexation". However, the conference failed to establish consensus.

MINIMUM WEEKLY WAGE RATES FIXED  
BY THE COMMONWEALTH  
CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION  
COMMISSION: MELBOURNE, 1967 TO 1975

Operative date (a)	Wage rates for adults	
	Males	Females
	\$	\$
1967 — 1 July	37.45	(b)
1968 — 25 October	38.80	(b)
1969 — 19 December	42.30	(b)
1971 — 1 January	46.30	(b)
1972 — 19 May	51.00	(b)
1973 — 29 May	60.00	(b)
1974 — 23 May	68.00	(c) 57.80
— 30 September	..	(d) 61.20
1975 — 1 January	76.00	68.40
— 15 May	(e)	(e)

(a) Rates are operative from the beginning of the first pay period commencing on or after the date shown.

(b) Minimum wages for adult females were introduced for the first time on 23 May 1974.

(c) The Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Commission set the female minimum wage at 85 per cent of the adult male minimum amount.

(d) The female minimum wage was set at 90 per cent of the adult male minimum amount.

(e) A system of wage indexation was introduced at this date.

### Indexation, 1975 to 1983

In April 1975, subject to substantial compliance by the parties, the Commission tentatively proposed a set of principles which included: quarterly wage adjustments in respect of movements in the Consumer Price Index, annual adjustments based on national productivity movements, catch-up for 1974 community wage movements, and pay increases on account of work value changes. These "indexation principles", as they came to be called, were confirmed in September 1975. A number of refinements were made in reviews of the principles in May 1976, September 1978, and March 1980. Half-yearly instead of quarterly Consumer Price Index adjustments were introduced in September 1978.

The indexation principles, have generally also been followed by State tribunals and mark a major step in the direction of an orderly and centralised system of wage determination. In embarking on this step the Commission noted that the submissions of the parties implied that:

"The Commission should act in a way which will promote economic recovery in a socially equitable and industrially harmonious way. To strike the right balance between economic, social and industrial considerations is a difficult task, particularly when important differences exist on the causes of the economic difficulties and how the Commission should act in the current economic circumstances. But this is the task which is reposed in the Commission by the Act under which it works." (167 Commonwealth Arbitration Reports p.18)

The national wage decisions of the Commission since April 1975 are contained in the following table:

### AWARD WAGE RATES: FEDERAL AWARDS, MELBOURNE, 1975 TO 1983

Operative date (a)	Adult males and females	
	General increase in weekly award total wage	Minimum weekly wage
		\$
1975-15 May	3.6 per cent	80.00
30 June (b)	..	80.00
18 September	3.5 per cent	82.80
1976-15 February	6.4 per cent	88.10
1 April	\$5.00	93.10
15 May	3.0 per cent	95.90



AWARD WAGE RATES: FEDERAL AWARDS,  
MELBOURNE, 1975 TO 1983—*continued*

Operative date (a)	Adult males and females	
	General increase in weekly award total wage	Minimum weekly wage
		\$
15 August	1.5 per cent	98.40
22 November	2.2 per cent	100.60
1977-31 March	\$5.70	106.30
24 May	1.9 per cent	108.30
22 August	2.0 per cent	110.50
12 December	1.5 per cent	112.20
1978-28 February	1.5 per cent	113.90
7 June	1.3 per cent	115.40
12 December	4.0 per cent	120.00
1979-27 June	3.2 per cent	123.80
1980- 4 January	4.5 per cent	129.40
14 July	4.2 per cent	134.80
1981- 9 January	3.7 per cent	139.80
7 May	3.6 per cent	144.80
1983- 6 October	4.3 per cent	151.00

(a) Operative from the beginning of the first pay period commencing on or after the date shown.

(b) Final stage introduction of the minimum weekly adult male wage for adult females. The female minimum wage was \$72.00 at 15 May 1975 and was brought into line with the male rate at 30 June 1975.

By 1976, national wage increases accounted for 95 per cent of male award wage movement and 94 per cent for females. These percentages remained high until 1979 when the male percentage fell to 71 per cent and in 1982 the figure was 82 per cent while the female percentage had dropped to 70 per cent.

The wage indexation principles were discontinued on 31 July 1981. In its decision in this connection, the Commission said:

"The essential feature of such a system was the need to regulate and limit wage increases outside National Wage to allow high priority to be given to the maintenance of real wages. It was accepted by all that a set of rules would be necessary to achieve this priority.

"The viability of the system depended on the voluntary co-operation of all participants in industrial relations including those not directly represented at National Wage hearings. Monitoring of sectional claims through the processes of conciliation and arbitration was fundamental to its operation.

"From time to time since 1975, the Commission has pointed to the fragility of the package and in June 1979 the Commission came to the brink of abandoning the system. A decision about whether we should persist with the system was given as recently as April this year. The Commission refashioned some of the principles to strengthen the priority for the maintenance of real wages but the essential requirements of the package were otherwise unaltered.

"The events since April have shown clearly that the commitment of the participants to the system is not strong enough to sustain the requirements for its continued operation. The immediate manifestation of this is the high level of industrial action in various industries including the key areas of Telecom, road transport, the Melbourne waterfront and sectors of the Australian Public Service. In many cases action was taken on the pretext that the claims could not be processed because of the principles. Some of these disputes have resulted in substantial increases being agreed to without regard to the test of negligible cost or the implications of flow-on.

"To accommodate these strong pressures the ACTU and the Commonwealth proposed widening the safety valve provided by the principles dealing with anomalies and inequities. The belief that the answer lies in greater flexibility of the kind proposed is illusory. Such flexibility would resolve sectional claims at the expense of national adjustments and destroy the priority expected of a centralised system. It cannot be otherwise.

"For these reasons we have decided that the time has come for us to abandon the indexation system." (Print E7300, p.2)

From 31 July 1981 until 23 December 1982 award adjustments were made on a case by case approach. Due to the seriousness of the economic situation arising from the combined effect of a deep and prolonged international recession, a serious drought, and a substantial increase in labour costs, the Arbitration Commission, on 23 December 1982, applied a six-months' pause on improvements in wages and conditions. The pause was specifically continued on 28 June 1983 until rescinded or altered by the National Wage Bench. On 29 September 1983 the National Wage Bench made a decision to return to a centralised wage fixation system and granted a 4.3 per cent wage increase.

The return to National Wage Cases was made subject to certain principles on the basis that the great bulk of wage and salary movements will emanate from national adjustments to CPI movements and national productivity.

### WOMEN'S WAGES

Since 1934, the determination of women's wages has moved through a number of phases leading ultimately to equal pay for equal work.

Until 1942, the prevailing practice was for a base wage for women to be fixed industry by industry as a proportion of the male basic wage depending on the nature and general circumstances of the industry to be covered. This proportion was generally 54 per cent, but in some cases it was as high as 56 per cent. The justification for the lower rate for women was the assumption made by Mr Justice Higgins in 1912 (6 Commonwealth Arbitration Reports p.72) and accepted by the Court in later cases that the responsibilities and needs of female workers were less than those of male workers. It was succinctly expressed by the Court in 1934 as follows:

"The Court does not think it necessary or desirable, at any rate at the present time, to declare any wage as a basic wage for female employees. Generally speaking they carry no family responsibilities. The minimum rate should, of course, never be too low for the reasonable needs of the employee, but those needs may vary in different industries." (33 Commonwealth Arbitration Reports p.156)

The war years saw a significant increase in women's wages in certain industries considered necessary for war purposes as a result of the activities of the Women's Employment Board (1942 to 1944) and the proclamation of National Security Regulations affecting the Court's authority. (For an outline of the relevant cases in this period, see Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Labour Report*, No. 43, 1954.) The Board was set up in conjunction with wartime measures to encourage women to undertake work normally performed by men, and it was required to fix wages of women within its jurisdiction on the basis of their efficiency and productivity in relation to men engaged in such work, provided that such wages should not be less than 60 per cent nor more than 100 per cent of the male rate. National Security Regulations provided that in respect of "vital" industries specified by the Minister, the pay of women should not be less than 75 per cent of the corresponding minimum male rate.

The industry by industry approach came to an end following an amendment to the Conciliation and Arbitration Act in 1949 empowering the Court to determine or alter a "basic wage for adult females". In the 1949-50 basic wage inquiry, a single female basic wage corresponding conceptually to the male basic wage was determined for the first time, and its value was fixed at 75 per cent of the male basic wage. This was followed by three decisions of the Court's successor, the Commission, which, over the period from 1969 to 1975 established the basis for the full realisation of equal pay for the sexes in federal awards.

In 1969, following the lead of a number of States, the Commission formulated a set of principles to give effect to the concept of "equal pay for equal work". In essence, the principles provided that equal pay would apply where the work performed by adult males and females was of the same or like nature and of equal value and where the males and females concerned were working under the terms of the same award or determination. The move to equality was in stages, and applied fully by 1 January 1972.

In December 1972, the Commission determined a new set of principles based on the more liberal concept "equal pay for work of equal value", the effect of which was that female rates would be determined by work value comparisons without regard to the sex of the employees concerned and if necessary by work comparisons with classifications

outside the award under consideration. The Commission stated that the eventual outcome should be a single rate for an occupational group or classification regardless of whether the employee performing the work was male or female. Finally in 1974, the Commission decided to extend the adult male minimum wage to adult females. The resulting increase in pay under the new principles was to be applied in three equal instalments, the last being no later than 30 June 1975.

As a consequence of these decisions, the percentage of adult female minimum wage rates as compared to the male equivalent rose from 75.3 per cent in Victoria for 1972 to 93.4 per cent for 1982.

#### VICTORIAN WAGE DETERMINATIONS

Wages Board determinations have generally followed Federal awards in relation to basic wage, total wage, and minimum wage. Amendments to the Factory and Shop Acts in 1934 and 1937 directed Wages Boards to include in their determinations appropriate provisions of relevant Commonwealth awards. A departure from this practice occurred in the period November 1953 to August 1956 when, following the abandonment of automatic quarterly cost of living adjustments by the Commonwealth Court, an amendment of the Labour and Industry Act (section 33) required Wages Boards to continue these adjustments. Section 33 was further amended in 1956 to provide that Wages Boards be required to take into consideration the relevant awards and certified agreements of the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Commission.

It will be seen from the following tables that by 1959, Wages Boards determinations on the basic wage had moved into line with the Federal basic wage, the difference existing in 1956 having been progressively narrowed in the intervening years.

The fixation by the Commission of the minimum wage for adult males in 1966 and the establishment of the total wage concept in 1967 referred to above were also applied by Wages Boards, as have been the subsequent movements in the minimum wage and total wage.

The 1969 and 1972 Equal Pay decision of the Commission and the extension of the adult male minimum wage to adult females in 1974 were progressively reflected in Wages Boards determinations. By 1976, almost all Wages Boards had prescribed wage rates without reference to sex. The few which had not done so were inactive Boards or those which had not received applications to review wages or conditions of employment. It is most likely that persons nominally covered by these Boards are now effectively covered by Federal awards or determinations of other Wages Boards.

#### BASIC AND TOTAL WAGE RATES: VICTORIAN STATE WAGES BOARD DETERMINATIONS, ADULT MALES, MELBOURNE, 1935 TO 1975

Year	Wage rate	Year	Wage rate	Year	Wage rate
	\$		\$		\$
1935	6.60	1950	16.20	1965(c)	30.70
1940	8.40	1955(a)	24.60	1970(d)	42.30
1945	9.80	1960(b)	27.50	1975	(e)

(a) Automatic adjustments continued after adjustments for Federal Awards ceased in August 1953.

(b) The basic wage remained at the level reached at the June/July 1959 adjustment. This adjustment represented the period when the State Wages Boards adopted the Commonwealth basic wage rates again.

(c) The basic wage remained at the level reached at the June/July 1964 adjustment.

(d) In July 1967, total wages were introduced. The figure for 1970 represents the minimum weekly wage rate for males. The figure remained the same as the December 1969 adjustment.

(e) After an adjustment on 1 January 1975 which set the minimum wage rate for males at \$76.00, wage indexation was introduced.

#### WAGE RATES

The following tables show movements in weekly and hourly wage rates for adult males and females from 1935 to 1982. From 1935, statistics are taken from the nominal weekly rates of pay series. Nominal weekly rates of pay indexes were based on weighted rates of wages prevailing in different industries, as paid in the capital city of each State. However, with certain industries, such as mining, rates were taken for places other than the capital cities. The weighted rates were derived by using industry weights which were current in or about 1911.

In 1960, the Nominal Indexes were replaced by the Minimum Wage Rates Indexes. Generally, the overall trends of the Nominal and the Minimum Wage Rates Indexes show comparatively little divergence from each other. Minimum weekly wage rates of pay were based on the occupation structure existing in 1954, and include improved weighting and important changes in industry classification. The "miscellaneous" group in the early series was split into "wholesale and retail trade" and "public administration and professional". New groups of "road and air transport" and "communication" were added. "Domestic, hotels, etc." now includes amusement, sport, and recreation, but not domestic. Because of coverage difficulties, "rural industry" was dropped from the index. Altogether Minimum Wage Rates Indexes cover 15 industrial groups for adult males and 8 for adult females.

The wage rates used are the lowest rates for a full week's work (excluding overtime) prescribed for a selected range of representative occupations. For some occupations, general loadings of various kinds are included. Loadings, etc., which are not applicable to all workers in a specified award occupation (e.g., those payable because of length of service; working in wet or confined places; excess fares incurred due to location of building site) are not included in the wage rates indexes. In the majority of cases the rates used are those prescribed in representative awards or determinations of Commonwealth or State industrial authorities or in collective agreements registered with them. Rates prescribed in unregistered collective agreements are used where these are dominant in the particular industries to which they refer. The indexes are designed to measure movements in minimum wage rates as distinct from salaries. Those awards, determinations, and agreements which relate solely or mainly to salary earners are excluded.

Since 1954, the industrial structure in Australia has undergone changes which are likely to have had some effects on the representativeness of the regimen of the indexes. These effects are mitigated because occupations in new or expanding industries are often covered by existing awards and the wage rates for new occupations usually conform very closely to those of existing occupations. Also, where an entirely new award has been made and the number of employees affected has warranted such action, occupations from new awards have been introduced into the indexes. These latter cases have not been of marked significance.

From September 1982, a new wage rates index has been introduced based on the occupation structure that existed in 1976. The new series relates to a representative sample of both wage and salary earners who are full-time adults and whose rates of pay are normally varied in accordance with awards, determinations, or registered collective agreements. The previous series relates mainly to wage earners.

## WEEKLY WAGE RATES: VICTORIA AND AUSTRALIA, 1935 TO 1982 (a)

Year	Rates of wage (b) \$		Index numbers (c)	
	Victoria	Australia	Victoria	Australia
	ADULT MALES			
1935	7.98	8.30	28.3	29.4
1940(d)	10.09	10.18	35.7	36.0
1945	12.11	12.06	42.9	42.7
1950	20.18	20.20	71.4	71.5
1955	29.56	29.70	104.7	105.2
1960	34.99	35.50	123.9	125.7
1965	40.34	40.76	142.8	144.3
1970	53.68	54.20	190.1	191.9
1975	117.32	117.95	415.4	417.6
1980	185.95	187.09	658.4	662.5
1981	215.65	216.16	763.6	765.4
1982(e)	(f)231.70	(f)231.73	(f)820.5	(f)820.5
	ADULT FEMALES			
1935	4.42	4.50	22.2	22.6
1940	5.34	5.42	26.8	27.2
1945	7.56	7.34	38.0	36.8
1950	14.29	14.04	71.7	70.5
1955(g)	21.04	20.69	105.7	103.9
1960	24.66	25.17	123.9	126.4

## WEEKLY WAGE RATES: VICTORIA AND AUSTRALIA, 1935 TO 1982 (a)—continued

Year	Rates of wage (b) \$		Index numbers (c)	
	Victoria	Australia	Victoria	Australia
	ADULT FEMALES—continued			
1965	28.46	29.10	143.0	146.2
1970	38.65	39.68	194.2	199.3
1975	109.20	108.61	548.5	545.6
1980	174.61	174.07	877.1	874.4
1981	r197.85	r198.19	993.8	995.5
1982(e)	(f)217.79	(f)215.35	(f)1,039.9	(f)1,081.7

(a) Weighted average minimum weekly rates (all groups) payable for a full week's work (excluding overtime) and index numbers of wage rates, as prescribed in awards, determinations, and collective agreements. For mining, the average rates of wage on which index numbers are based are those prevailing at the principal mining centres.

(b) The amounts shown should not be regarded as actual current averages, but as indexes expressed in money terms, indicative of trends.

(c) Base: weighted average minimum weekly wage rate for Australia, 1954 = 100.

(d) In 1960, the minimum weekly wage rate series was introduced. This new series was backdated for adult males to 1939. The backdated figures appear in this table. The figures exclude rural industries.

(e) Preliminary figures only.

(f) At August 1982 only. These figures are the last to be published in this series.

(g) In 1960, the minimum weekly wage rate series was introduced. This new series was backdated for adult females to 1951. The backdated figures appear in this table.

## HOURLY WAGE RATES: VICTORIA AND AUSTRALIA, 1935 TO 1982 (a)

Year	Rates of wage (cents)		Index numbers (b)	
	Victoria	Australia	Victoria	Australia
	ADULT MALES			
1935	17.50	18.75	24.8	26.5
1940(c)	22.22	22.52	31.4	31.8
1945	27.54	27.54	38.9	38.9
1950	50.48	50.58	71.4	71.5
1955	74.06	74.47	104.7	105.3
1960	87.57	88.92	123.8	125.7
1965	100.95	102.07	142.7	144.3
1970	133.91	135.35	189.3	191.3
1975	292.02	294.06	412.8	415.6
1980	463.95	467.74	655.8	661.1
1981	538.43	540.77	761.0	764.3
1982(d)(e)	586.88	586.12	829.5	828.4
	ADULT FEMALES			
1935	9.79	10.00	19.5	19.9
1940	12.08	12.29	24.1	24.5
1945	17.09	16.67	34.1	33.2
1950	35.63	35.21	71.0	70.2
1955(f)	52.86	52.16	105.3	104.0
1960	61.94	63.44	123.5	126.4
1965	71.50	73.36	142.5	146.2
1970	97.10	100.03	193.5	199.4
1975	274.31	273.78	546.8	545.7
1980	438.62	438.80	874.3	874.6
1981	497.02	499.59	990.7	995.8
1982(d)(e)	549.24	544.83	1,094.8	1,086.0

(a) Weighted average minimum hourly rates payable. Excludes rural industry, and shipping and stevedoring.

(b) Base: weighted average hourly wage rate for Australia, 1954 = 100.

(c) In 1960, a new series was introduced. Figures were backdated for adult males to 1939. The backdated figures appear in this table.

(d) Preliminary figures only.

(e) At August 1982 only. These figures are the last to be published in this series.

(f) In 1960, a new series was introduced. Figures were backdated for adult females to 1951. The backdated figures appear in this table.

## AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS

The figures in this section are derived from particulars of employment and of wages and salaries recorded in payroll tax returns, from other direct collections, and from estimates of the unrecorded balance. The figures relate only to civilians.

Particulars of weekly wages and salaries paid are not available for males and females separately from these sources prior to September 1981. Average weekly earnings have, therefore, been calculated in terms of male units, i.e., in Victoria total male employees

plus a percentage of female employees. This proportion is derived from the estimated ratio of female to male earnings. The number of male units used in calculating Australian average weekly earnings is the sum of the estimates for the States, and a separate ratio for Australia as a whole is not used.

The statistics have gone through a number of changes since the first series was published in 1941. Although the figures in the different series are not strictly comparable with each other, some idea of the magnitude of the increase in earnings since the 1940s may be obtained from the following table. The method of obtaining data on average weekly earnings was fundamentally changed in September 1981 when a sample survey of employers was introduced.

**AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS  
PER EMPLOYED MALE UNIT:  
VICTORIA AND AUSTRALIA,  
1941-42 TO 1981-82 (a)  
(\$)**

Period	Average weekly earnings per employed male unit (b)	
	Victoria	Australia
1941-42(b)	11.40	11.20
1944-45	13.50	13.10
1949-50(c)	20.20	19.40
1954-55(d)	35.30	34.30
1959-60	45.50	43.90
1964-65	56.40	55.50
1969-70(e)	78.40	76.30
1974-75(f)	147.80	148.30
1979-80	248.80	247.90
1980-81	280.60	281.30
1981-82(g)	292.40	307.00

(a) Average weekly earnings are calculated in terms of male units, i.e., total male employees plus a percentage of female employees. This proportion is derived from the estimated ratio of female to male earnings. Reference should be made to the following footnotes for details of these calculations. The earnings include, in addition to wages at award rates, earnings of salaried employees, overtime earnings, over-award and bonus payments, payments made in advance or retrospectively, during the period specified, etc. The averages may be affected not only by changes in the level of earnings by employees but also by changes to the overall composition of the labour force such as employment levels, occupational distribution, and the proportions of part-time, casual, and junior employees.

This collection has involved a number of different series. Each of the footnotes (b) to (g) refers to the beginning of a new series. For each series, the estimates relate only to civilians.

For a number of reasons, average weekly earnings per employed male unit cannot be compared with the minimum weekly wage rates.

(b) The employment totals were based on the 1945 Occupational Survey. This series fixed the male equivalent ratio for females at 45 per cent.

(c) From 1949-50 to 1980-81 each series calculated estimates for average weekly earnings from particulars of employment and wages recorded on payroll tax returns, from other direct collections, and from estimates of the unrecorded balance. The male equivalent ratio for females was set at 55 per cent.

(d) A new series was introduced. The features mentioned in footnote (c) still applied for this series.

(e) This series revised the system of calculating the male equivalent ratio for females. Separate ratios were calculated for each State with a weighted average of these being used for Australia.

(f) A new series was introduced. This series is only a slight modification of the series mentioned in footnote (e).

(g) Figures from 1981-82 are not comparable with those for earlier years. From September 1981, a new series was introduced based on a sample survey which obtained, from employers, information on earnings in respect of a specific pay week each quarter for males and females separately. The figures relate to earnings of all males instead of earnings per employed male unit and are subject to sampling error.

### HOURS OF WORK

In fixing weekly wage rates most industrial tribunals prescribe the number of hours, referred to as "standard hours", to constitute a full week's work for the wage rates determined. By the turn of the century, 48 hours had become the standard working week

in most industries. In the early 1920s, standard hours in a number of industries including engineering were reduced to 44 for a short time but because of adverse economic conditions the awards reverted to 48 hours.

In the 1927 main hours case, the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Court once again reduced standard hours in the engineering industry to 44 following an application by the Amalgamated Engineering Union and it indicated its willingness to extend the new standard to others: "Employees under similar disadvantages in other industries may be entitled to a similar reduction, but no justification has been shown for a general reduction of the standard week of 48 hours". (24 Commonwealth Arbitration Reports p. 756) Claims for other industries were treated individually in the light of the nature and economic circumstances of the industry. The extension of the 44 hour week was delayed because of the economic depression but by the end of the 1930s the new standard came to apply generally.

Unlike earlier cases, the 1945 applications of the unions for a 40 hour week were treated as a national test case for reduced standard hours. In September 1947, the Court awarded a 40 hour week to operate from January 1948. (59 Commonwealth Arbitration Reports p. 581) Victorian Wages Boards followed suit by which time standard hours of nearly all employees covered by industrial tribunals were 40 or less. A major exception which persisted until 1978 was in the pastoral industry where the Federal tribunal refused to reduce standard hours below 44 because of seasonal factors affecting the nature of this industry. But in 1978, the Commission awarded a 40 hour week to the pastoral industry, noting that this industry was the only one in Australia for which standard hours were still greater than 40 while some industries had moved down to 35 hours.

Attempts by employers in 1952-53 (77 Commonwealth Arbitration Reports p. 477) and 1962 (97 Commonwealth Arbitration Reports p. 376) to persuade the Federal tribunal to increase standard hours failed. Since then manual workers in the coal industry, the oil industry, and on the waterside have succeeded in obtaining a 35 hour week.

It should be noted that white collar and professional workers, especially those in the Public Service, generally have a shorter working week. In the Victorian Public Service the weekly hours are 38 while in the Commonwealth Public Service a 36¾ hour week has applied for many years. The 36¾ hour standard was extended in the Federal jurisdiction during 1976 and 1977 to other employees in Telecom, Australia Post, and some other Commonwealth establishments to bring them into line with the white collar employees in these establishments. The shorter week in these establishments was based on "productivity bargaining" between the parties which involved changes in work practices resulting in higher productivity to offset the increase in cost of the shorter working week. A similar arrangement formed the basis of the reduction of weekly hours in power generation to 37½. Following the reduction in standard hours to 38 in the metal industry award by consent of the parties in December 1981, weekly hours in many other awards, both State and Federal, were also reduced to 38 by consent. These reductions were generally based on productivity bargaining and similar cost offsetting arrangements.

Statistics for the average weekly hours worked are calculated for each State and Australia according to the weighted average standard weekly hours of work (excluding overtime) for a full week in industries, except for the agricultural industry and shipping and stevedoring for both males and females, and also for mining and quarrying and building and construction for females. These statistics show that the average weekly hours worked by males in Victoria dropped from 46.9 in December 1931 to 40.0 in December 1948. At December 1981, this figure stood at 39.9 hours. Average weekly hours worked by females in Victoria dropped from 45.4 in December 1931 to 40 in December 1948. At December 1981, this figure stood at 39.7 hours.

In recent years, in a number of public and private establishments, employees have been allowed greater discretion, in line with their individual leisure preferences, to vary the pattern of working hours within the constraint of standard hours and certain "core" times during which the employee is required to be at work. There are a variety of such "flexitime" schemes in operation, some of which enable employees, generally white collar, the choice of earlier or later daily starting times, longer working days, and varying number of working days weekly, fortnightly, or monthly.

## LEAVE PROVISIONS

**Annual leave**

One week's annual leave on full pay was first awarded by the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration in 1936 to employees in the commercial printing industry. (36 Commonwealth Arbitration Reports p. 738) This provision was subsequently extended to other awards. The Federal award standard was raised to two weeks in 1945 and to three weeks in 1963 following New South Wales legislation in each case for two weeks and three weeks annual leave, respectively, to all workers in that State.

In 1974, the standard moved to four weeks following the decision of the Commonwealth Government to grant its employees four weeks annual leave and agreement between the parties to the Metal Industry Award to adopt this standard.

In their determinations, Victorian Wages Boards have generally adopted the standard of the Federal awards. However, for the small number of employees not covered by Wages Board determinations, the minimum provision of three weeks provided by the Labour and Industry (Annual Holidays) Order 1967, still applies. From 1 January 1973 employees of the Victorian Public Service and government instrumentalities were granted four weeks annual leave.

In 1972, the Federal tribunal rejected applications for an annual leave "bonus" of one week's pay. However, by agreement between the parties to the Metal Industry Award, the Commission ratified, later that year, a 17.5 per cent loading on pay for the period of annual leave. By 1974, this provision had become a standard feature of awards and determinations. At December 1976, there were 176 determinations which provided for the loading. Officers of the Victorian Public Service were awarded the 17.5 per cent loading from 31 December 1973.

It is an established principle that additional annual leave should be granted to employees subject to special disabilities. For example, seven day shift workers generally receive an extra week annual leave.

**Long service leave**

Long service leave for workers in Victoria was first provided by the *Factories and Shops (Long Service Leave) Act* 1953. The content of this Act was later incorporated in the Labour and Industry Act which provided for thirteen weeks' paid leave after twenty years continuous service with the same employer and thereafter, an additional 3¼ weeks for each additional five years of continuous service.

Until 1963, the Federal tribunal had been reluctant to award long service leave except by consent of the parties. The first arbitrated Federal award was made in 1964 in respect of the Metal Trades and Graphic Arts Awards which provided for 13 weeks' leave for 15 years' unbroken contract of employment with an employer; thereafter, for each ten year period, employees would be entitled to an additional *pro rata* period of leave calculated on the same basis. Those who had served between 10 and 15 years and whose employment was terminated by death or by the employer for any cause other than serious and wilful misconduct, or by the employee on account of illness, incapacity or domestic or other pressing necessity, would be entitled to *pro rata* payment. In 1977, the Commission amended this provision allowing, as from January 1979, *pro rata* entitlement after 10 years service where the employee terminates for any reason. It was further provided that continuous service would include service with related companies.

Following the 1964 Federal awards, the Victorian Labour and Industry Act was amended to provide for 13 weeks leave after 15 years continuous service, with further periods of 5 years service entitling the employee to additional 4½ weeks leave. Another amendment entitled an employee with between 10 and 15 years continuous service to *pro rata* payment so long as his employment was terminated for reasons other than by the employer for serious and wilful misconduct.

Commonwealth and Victorian Public Servants enjoy a more generous entitlement: 3 months after 10 years' service and thereafter cumulatively at the rate of 3/10 month each year for Commonwealth and 1½ months every 5 years for Victorian Public Servants.



### Sick leave

Awards and determinations generally provide for paid sick leave entitlement. The prevailing Federal and Victorian standard for manual workers is 5 days in the first year and 8 days in each of the following years but in the building industry the entitlements are 8 and 10 days a year, respectively. Unused sick leave is generally allowed to accumulate to a certain limit but many awards and determinations provide for unlimited accumulation.

White collar and professional employees generally enjoy a greater entitlement than manual workers. Commonwealth and Victorian Public Servants, for example, are entitled to 10 days on full pay and 10 days on half pay a year.

### Maternity and paternity leave

Maternity and paternity leave were introduced for Commonwealth employees by the Maternity Leave (Australian Government Employees) Act in 1973. The Act provided *inter alia* for up to 52 weeks leave for a pregnant employee including 12 weeks paid leave and paid paternity leave of one week for male employees. The Act was amended in 1978 abolishing paternity leave and providing for a qualifying period of 12 months before paid leave entitlement is available for maternity leave.

Following a test case before the Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission in 1979, in order to promote job security for women who are absent from work for maternity purposes, the Commission provided for up to 52 weeks unpaid maternity leave for full-time and permanent part-time employees, including a compulsory period of 6 weeks immediately following confinement. Maternity leave will not break continuity of service of an employee but such leave will not count as time worked in calculating the period of service for any purpose of any relevant award or agreement.

The standard awarded by the Commission in 1979 was adopted with minor variations in Federal awards and Victorian determinations where a significant number of women are employed.

### Equality of opportunity

The developments in equal pay for the sexes were noted above. A related matter concerns the promotion of equality of opportunity between men and women and the prevention of discrimination on the basis of sex and marital status. To this end the Victorian Parliament passed the *Equal Opportunity Act 1977*. Subject to various exceptions provided in the Act and special exemptions granted by the Equal Opportunity Board set up under the Act, it is unlawful to discriminate on the grounds of sex or marital status in respect of:

- (1) Employment, including appointments, promotions, conditions of appointment, and training opportunities — except where the employer employs less than five persons, or where employment is offered in connection with a private household, or where the offer of employment relates to actors or performers.
- (2) Education, including choice of subjects, and sporting or other facilities offered to boys and girls in schools — except in respect of a school or college established wholly or mainly for students of the one sex.
- (3) Provision of goods and services, including banking, insurance, credit, and public facilities.
- (4) Accommodation, including the conditions under which accommodation is offered — except where accommodation is provided for less than seven persons in the same premises apart from the family providing the accommodation.

Certain other areas are also excluded by the Act, the main one being pensions, superannuation, and some insurance policies based on actuarial data; some provisions in wills; internal policies of religious bodies; and membership of clubs and sporting organisations.

Although discrimination in the above matters is prohibited against men and women, the Act is of particular importance to women against whom discrimination has been rather more marked than men.

### Public holidays

Federal awards and Victorian Wages Boards determinations provide for 10 paid public holidays a year.

### Bereavement leave

In recent years, paid bereavement or compassionate leave has become a common provision in awards and determinations. The provisions vary from 2 to 3 days paid leave for the death of a spouse, child, brother, sister, parent, or parent-in-law.

## OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY, HEALTH, AND WELFARE

### Introduction

While the determination of rates of pay and other non-physical conditions of employment is vested in the various State Conciliation and Arbitration Boards, the safety, health, and comfort of employees has generally been prescribed in legislation setting out the minimum conditions under which work can be performed. The primary legislation is the *Industrial Safety, Health and Welfare Act 1981* and regulations made thereunder, a consolidation of safety, health, and welfare enactments previously provided under the various Factories and Shops Acts since 1873 and more recently the *Labour and Industry Act 1958*.

### Safety

The earliest attempt at regulating the conditions of labour in Victoria was made by the passing of an Act dated 11 November 1873, forbidding the employment of any female in a factory for more than eight hours in any day. Since then legislative enactments have covered the safety, health, and comfort of workers.

A Board of Inquiry representing government, trade union, and employer interests was set up in 1940 to examine and report on the need for changes to the then existing Factories and Shops Acts. Due to wartime exigencies, the Board sat intermittently over a nine year period and issued its Final Report in 1950. Widespread changes to the legislation were recommended in the Report, the majority of which were adopted by the Victorian Government and incorporated in the *Labour and Industry Act 1953*.

Although a Department of Labour was formed for administrative purposes in 1915, the Department of Labour and Industry was formally established by the 1953 statute to co-ordinate the administration and development of the new legislation. The power to make regulations under the Act was expanded so that changing circumstances affecting the interests of workers could be dealt with speedily.

The inaugural Victorian Industrial Safety Convention was held in 1958 and has been an important triennial industrial safety event since. The Conventions provide a forum for the exchange of opinions and ideas on modern concepts of industrial accident control from the wide range of persons engaged in that field.

A further development occurred in 1960 with the establishment of the Industrial Safety Advisory Council. The Council comprised eight members who had expertise in safety administration and who represented the interests of private industry, trade unions, and government departments. The Council acted in a consultancy capacity to prepare reports and recommendations to the Minister of Labour and Industry and generally to offer suggestions to the Minister on the prevention of industrial accidents and the promotion of occupational safety.

There were many changes to the legislation following the 1958 consolidation to reflect changing labour standards. As a result, the Minister of Labour and Industry appointed a Committee for Review of the Labour and Industry Act on 17 March 1975. Committee members included representatives of the Department of Labour and Industry, employers' organisations, and trade unions. In its First Report, the Committee recommended that the Labour and Industry Act be split into several new statutes, each dealing with one broad subject.

The Fourth Report, presented on 31 March 1978, dealt specifically with the matter of industrial safety, health, and welfare. At the end of 1981, and on the basis of recommendations of the Committee for Review, the Victorian Parliament passed new

industrial safety, health, and welfare legislation which replaced the safety provisions of the *Labour and Industry Act 1958*.

The Industrial Safety, Health and Welfare Act adopts a more broadly based approach to industrial safety, health and welfare, and covers employees in both the public and private sector including self-employed persons, partnerships, contractors, and sub-contractors. The Act contains three key features — broad statements of principle, a clear outline of the responsibilities of employers and employees, and extensive regulation-making powers.

The legislation placed specific responsibilities and duties on the occupier of workplaces, the manufacturers and installers of all equipment used in the workplace, and the sellers and hirers of machinery. In addition, all employees are required to work in a safe manner, to ensure the safety of their workmates, and to co-operate with all safety requirements. Employers must prepare and display a written statement of general policy on the safety and health at work of persons employed in the workplace.

There is provision in the legislation for extensive consultation on safety matters within a workplace through safety representatives and safety committees and more widely through a key tripartite body, the Industrial Safety Advisory Council. The new Council which was established on 22 March 1982 under the Industrial Safety, Health and Welfare Act comprises a chairman and ten members and has the same broad representation as the previous Council, with the addition of the agricultural industry.

In 1982, the Victorian Government announced that a Health and Safety Commission would be established as a means of amalgamating and rationalising the operations of existing agencies dealing with occupational health and safety.

### Health

By 1934, the Victorian Government had recognised the special problems associated with occupational health and in 1937 an Industrial Hygiene Division was established within the Health Department. As the range of available services developed and became known, requests for investigation and advice continued to grow so that by 1955, some 1,500 inquiries per year were being received from medical practitioners, management, union officials, government officers, and individuals. The Division had also taken responsibility for the initiation of regulations made under the Health Act.

The role of the Division has changed from one primarily concerned with toxicology to that of overseeing the problems of occupational health in the community, but the wider toxicological problems posed by the use of such substances as lead and asbestos, and their impact on the environment, are subjects on which the Division's advice is often sought. Executive health, psychological stress, noise pollution, and alcoholism in the working community are all new but important aspects of occupational and environmental health.

The Health Commission of Victoria, incorporating the previous Health Department, was established in 1978 following the recommendations of the Syme-Townsend Report into Hospital and Health Services in Victoria.

### Workers compensation

Comprehensive details of the history of, and recent significant amendments to, workers compensation legislation in Victoria were provided in the *Victorian Year Book 1981*, pages 224-8.

Legislation to provide for workers compensation in Victoria was first introduced in 1914. The *Workers Compensation Act 1914* gave certain workers in industry, or in the case of death, their dependants, the right to claim limited compensation from their employer, without proof of negligence or breach of statutory duty by the employer, in respect of accidental injuries sustained by them arising out of and in the course of their employment.

Since then, the impact of the compensatory benefits has become extended significantly as a result of both legislative change and judicial interpretation. Payments have also been increased in line with movements in average community wage levels (although different indices have been used over the years) and have been widened to include medical and hospital costs and allowances for dependent children.

The *Workers Compensation Act 1958*, consolidated the previous legislation. The general principle of the legislation is to provide coverage for workers who have entered into or

work under a contract of service or apprenticeship with an employer, whether by way of manual labour, clerical work, or otherwise. Such workers are also covered during travel to and from work, during recess periods, and from injury by recurrence, aggravation, acceleration, exacerbation, or deterioration of any pre-existing injury or disease where employment is a contributing factor.

By the mid-1970s, it had become clear that there had arisen many contentious issues and difficulties in the field of workers compensation in Victoria, largely because the present legislation had evolved as a matter of course over many years, rather than by deliberate direction.

The Report of the Board of Inquiry into Workers Compensation in Victoria, submitted in 1977, recommended a complete restructuring of the legislation. The Report stated that "workers compensation in Victoria has developed into an elaborate but rather disordered scheme for social security benefits". It noted that the system now provided financial benefits not only for the typical workplace injury to the traditional worker, but for disabilities sometimes only slightly related to work, and for individuals quite outside the accepted labour force. The level of benefits show considerable fluctuations because of the existence of a great number of subjective decisions required regarding the cause and extent of the injury. The Board of Inquiry also found that overhead costs of the system were enormous and capable of substantial reduction and that insurance premiums were at very high levels yet benefits were low in comparison with the other States. The Report recommended that, until further developed, the rate of weekly benefits should be revised in accordance with movements in the average weekly earnings index as seasonally adjusted, and furthermore such adjustments should be made regularly, at not more than annual intervals.

Legislation was passed to amend the principal Act in line with many of the Board's comments and recommendations. Among other things, the *Workers Compensation (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 1979* increased weekly compensation and death benefits by approximately 44 per cent and provided for annual adjustment of such benefits. However, the act eliminated "split action" claims whereby families could be compensated twice upon the death of the breadwinner through the expedient of different dependants taking separate action, under the Workers Compensation Act on the one hand and common law (Wrongs Act) on the other, and altered the definition of "injury" in order to tighten the guidelines for assessing damages, especially those based on heart attack or stroke cases. These amendments led to an unprecedented level of industrial unrest as the Victorian Trades Hall Council sought to have the latter two amendments reversed. The loss of wages and production was estimated to be about \$120m. After some nine months, agreement was reached between the unions and the Victorian Government to eliminate the requirement that the employment must "contribute substantially" to the injury or disease and substitute a requirement of contribution "to a recognisable degree".

The Victorian Government made various changes to the Workers Compensation Act in 1981. A new Division relating to industrial deafness was inserted into the Act. This Division is the sole basis for compensation for industrial deafness and is not dissimilar to the existing provisions in the Act covering industrial diseases. The Division determines when the industrial deafness will be deemed to have occurred, permits the worker to claim against one employer only, and provides that the amount of compensation will be in accordance with the existing provisions of the Act.

In 1981, the legislation was also altered to provide for uniformity of protection for Victorian workers employed outside Victoria whether they are in private or public employment.

Another amendment passed during 1981 was the *Workers Compensation (Actions) Act 1981*, which among other things, gave the claimant the option of seeking compensation under the Workers Compensation Act or instituting proceedings under common law while still being assured of receiving in total no less than that allowed under the *Workers Compensation Act 1958*.

Insurance premiums which cover both statutory and common law claims have risen well in excess of the rate of inflation. This has occurred for a number of interacting reasons including decisions of the High Court and Victorian Supreme Court which raised the permissible level of lump sum payments in common law cases for loss of income.

## EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

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### INTRODUCTION

The fifty years to 1984 have seen various phenomena including war, depression, large-scale immigration, technological innovation, and demographic change which have led to significant changes in the composition of the Victorian labour force.

Despite the fact that employment prospects had decreased during the Depression of the early 1930s employment in manufacturing industries increased steadily from 1934.

During the period from 1950 to 1968 employment in manufacturing industries rose by 42 per cent. Demand for labour had increased beyond supply and in part large-scale immigration had been implemented to meet the deficiency. Technological change leading to the development of mass-production facilities increased productivity, requiring more process workers with lower skills. Development of high technology in the 1970s and 1980s contributed to the decline in employment of unskilled workers in the manufacturing industries and the demand for a higher proportion of workers with special skills.

Since the early 1970s employment in agricultural and manufacturing industries has declined. At the same time there has been an increase in employment in the business, community services, and recreation industries.

Participation of women in the labour force, which had increased considerably during the Second World War, particularly in production processing jobs, fell in the late 1940s. Changing attitudes in society and implementation of anti-discrimination legislation has consistently increased participation of women in the labour force since the early 1970s.

The level of unemployment has fluctuated considerably over the past 50 years and, since the mid-1970s, has been steadily increasing. By August 1983 the unemployment rate for Victoria was 8.8 per cent.

### RECOVERY FROM THE DEPRESSION

In 1934 Victoria was recovering from one of the most severe economic depressions ever experienced by the State. Depressed economic conditions had prevailed for the previous four years, a period of economic difficulty sufficiently long to impair the social fabric of the State.

Unemployment in Victoria became so serious during the early 1930s that the usual methods of providing funds for relief works and sustenance were found to be inadequate. The number of persons put out of work increased rapidly, with little prospect of conditions improving. Special grants were, therefore, made to the State by the Commonwealth Government, and legislation was enacted in Victoria which provided for additional taxation on incomes to create funds for relief works and sustenance for the unemployed. In addition, a stamp duty was imposed on receipts for certain salaries and wages, which was replaced in November 1932 by a system of annual assessment. The revenue obtained from unemployment relief taxation was paid into an Unemployment Relief Fund and disbursed to create employment. Loans for relief purposes were also raised.

Statistics of unemployment among trade unionists, collected from trade union secretaries at quarterly intervals from 1913 to 1950, indicated that the highest percentage of unemployed trade union members ever recorded in Victoria was reached in the quarter ended June



Sustenance workers employed on the site of the Yarra Boulevard during the Depression of the 1930s.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*

Men waiting at a soup kitchen during the Depression of the 1930s.

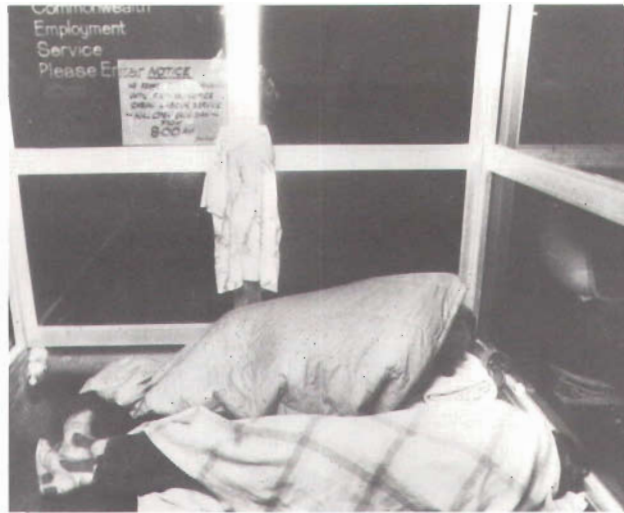
*The Salvation Army Media and Information Section*





A sign of the times—a sight familiar to many unemployed.

*Brotherhood of St. Laurence*



Two unemployed people sleeping outside a Commonwealth Employment Service office to ensure first choice of the new jobs available.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*

Job seekers searching Commonwealth Employment Service vacancy boards for suitable employment.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*





The "Work Skills Olympics" held at the World Trade Centre, Melbourne, in 1983 enabled apprentices to demonstrate their skills to the general public.

*Department of Employment and Industrial Relations*

The Equal Opportunity Act of 1977 has allowed many women to gain employment in fields traditionally considered to be appropriate only for men. This woman is employed as a plumber.

*Department of Employment and Industrial Relations*

Apprentices receive on-the-job training under the guidance of a tradesman.

*Department of Employment and Industrial Relations*







An officer from the Department of Social Security answers an inquiry from a member of the public.

*Department of Social Security*

Handicapped persons are encouraged to integrate into the labour force according to their capabilities.

*Department of Employment and Industrial Relations*



1932, when it stood at 27.7 per cent. It was not until the December quarter of 1937, when 7.3 per cent of unionists were unemployed, that it fell to pre-Depression levels.

The following graph shows unemployment rates during the period 1930 to 1983. It should be noted that the three series are not statistically comparable, since they are based on different definitions of unemployment, collection methods, and timing.

The trade union data were taken from a collection of unemployed trade unionists which ceased in 1950. The rates shown are the averages of the four quarters of each year. The Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) data are taken from a series of those registered as unemployed with the CES at June each year. Collection commenced in 1946 and was temporarily discontinued between March 1981 and March 1983. Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Labour Force series data are taken from the population survey conducted by the ABS and show the estimated unemployment rate at August in each year. Data are not available for periods before August 1966.

In the 1933 Population Census, 98,718 males and 21,032 females were recorded as unemployed. Included as unemployed were the number of persons who stated themselves to be employed part-time on sustenance or relief work. The unemployed represented 21 per cent of the total wage earning group.

About 63 per cent of the unemployed males in 1933 had not been in regular employment for a year or more, and large numbers had been out of work for periods ranging from two to three years. Unemployment among females was less severe, as the proportion of women in the labour force was then much lower.

During the Depression years, men in the younger age groups were forced by economic necessity to seek work away from their homes. Many town dwellers roamed country districts prospecting for minerals, seeking casual farm work, or applying for locally distributed government relief. Graduates from the University of Melbourne and the Teachers' College could often find no work.

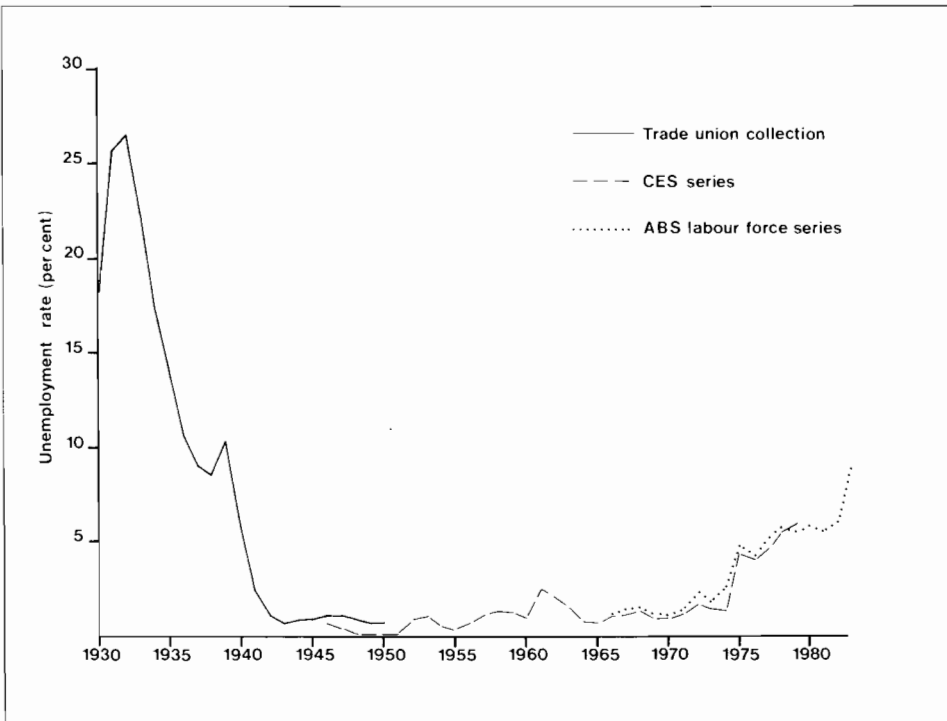


FIGURE 12. Victoria—Unemployment rates, 1930 to 1983

Sustenance, based originally at 60 cents per week for an individual, with additional amounts for dependants, was provided to the unemployed, subject to an income test, which set out the maximum weekly permissible income, with the total amount of income and sustenance received by a family unit to not exceed \$6.50 in one week. Sustenance payments were administered locally by Public Assistance Committees appointed by municipal councils. The system of "working for sustenance" became general in July 1933. Every male person who received sustenance could be called upon to perform work of a prescribed nature for the municipality from which he received assistance. By June 1934, 21,127 recipients of sustenance were working. Payment was made in cash where work in return for sustenance was performed. In cases where the municipality was unable to provide work, sustenance sometimes took the form of food relief vouchers drawn on suppliers. A table showing details of unemployment relief during the period 1932 to 1944 follows:

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF : VICTORIA,  
1932 TO 1944

Year ended 30 June —	Unemployed males (a)	Sustenance registrations	Number working in return for sustenance
1932	61,155	47,098	1,034
1933	36,877	27,468	8,525
1934	35,679	26,966	21,127
1935	32,078	25,703	19,072
1936	18,552	14,723	12,096
1937	14,895	12,008	10,341
1938	16,669	13,187	11,443
1939	19,902	15,653	13,666
1940	9,671	8,744	7,988
1941	2,171	2,447	2,165
1942	n.a.	422	347
1943	n.a.	237	145
1944	n.a.	154	—

(a) Number registered with the State Government Labour Exchange. This Labour Exchange was taken over in March 1942 by the Commonwealth Department of Labour and National Service.

In addition to sustenance relief, assistance was also afforded by employment on a rotational basis at the current basic wage on unemployment relief works undertaken by government departments, charitable institutions, and various public authorities, such as municipal councils, sewerage authorities, and waterworks trusts.

A marked recovery, with a consequent drop in unemployment, took place after 1932. From a peak of 61,155 males registered as unemployed with the Government Labour Exchange in June 1932, the number declined to 35,679 by June 1934, and 19,902 by June 1939. At 30 June 1932, 47,098 family units were in receipt of sustenance; by June 1934 this number had fallen to 26,966, and by June 1939 to 15,653.

As economic conditions improved, employment began to rise and industry recovered quickly—employment in factories rose from 128,265 in 1931-32 to 191,383 in 1936-37, and by 1938-39 it had reached 201,831. In November 1939, the Commonwealth Government allocated \$940,000 to Victoria for defence works.

Prior to the establishment of the Commonwealth Employment Service in 1946, the Victorian Department of Labour and Industry had operated a Victorian Government Labour Exchange which had provided a free service from its establishment in October 1900. The head office was located in Melbourne with branches at Geelong, Ballarat, and Bendigo administered by its own staff, and agencies in other municipalities administered by local police officers. Applicants were registered for temporary or casual employment principally as artisans and labourers on government works, including railways.

Special legislation in 1930 for the relief of unemployment provided that registration at the Exchange was essential before relief work or sustenance could be obtained. This resulted in increased registrations for employment as skilled and semi-skilled workers registered for relief work when they found little prospect of securing work in their usual occupations. Men were selected for relief jobs according to their order of registration, and

subject to physical fitness for the work involved. Preference was given to men with dependants.

In addition to sending men to government and municipal works, the Exchange supplied labour to private employers. It also advanced railway tickets to applicants who found work in country districts on their own initiative. Until labour shortages began to develop following the outbreak of war in 1939, country employers were major users of the Exchange. The Exchange did not register women for employment.

Because of concern for the large number of young men who found themselves unemployed or in "dead end" jobs through failure to obtain vocational training during the Depression years, the Commonwealth Government allocated \$110,000 to Victoria in 1937-38 to develop a scheme of technical and other training for disadvantaged youths. This grant was repeated in 1938-39. The principal features of the scheme covered:

- (1) The supplementing of wages during the time that trainees were acquiring proficiency;
- (2) training for technical trades, commercial pursuits, and for agriculture, forestry, and mining; and
- (3) additions to training facilities.

In early 1940 the training scheme was merged with the Commonwealth Wartime Technical Training Scheme to provide skilled workers for the Armed Services and defence factories. Between July 1937 and December 1940, 998 disadvantaged youths underwent training in Victoria.

#### WAR YEARS, 1939 TO 1945

The National Register of July 1939 listed 767,000 occupied persons, including 4,400 members of the Armed Services, in Victoria. Total occupied persons included those in the defence forces, all persons fully occupied as employers, or self employed in businesses or on farms, and wage or salary earners fully employed, or occupied as casual, part-time, intermittent, or seasonal wage earners. Unemployment among trade unionists in Victoria was 11.2 per cent in the September quarter 1939.

When Australia declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939, three of Australia's four existing munitions factories were located in Victoria—one at Footscray and two at Maribyrnong. There were two aircraft factories at Fishermens Bend. Consequently, Australia's war production effort was initially centred in Victoria and later extended to other States as new factories were built in New South Wales and South Australia. At 30 June 1940, direct munitions employment in Victoria (including annexes) was 10,448 persons or 72 per cent of the Australian total. By June 1943, the Victorian proportion had fallen to 35 per cent. Unemployment of trade union members in Victoria fell to 5.8 per cent in 1940, and 2.5 per cent in 1941, and remained lower in Victoria than in the other States for the duration of the war.

Soon after the outbreak of war, a shortage of skilled metal workers for the production of aircraft and munitions became apparent. Mechanisation of the Armed Services also created a demand for additional tradesmen and technicians. To overcome this shortage, dilution agreements were negotiated in May 1940 between the Commonwealth Government, employers associations, and the engineering unions concerned, for the use of less skilled labour in war production factories than would have been the case during peacetime production. Under these agreements the status "added tradesman" was granted to selected workers who were upgraded or to persons who had completed intensive courses of instruction at State controlled technical colleges and schools. Prior to February 1941, the dilution agreements were administered under the Commonwealth Wartime Technical Training Scheme by the Department of Munitions. After February 1941 the Scheme was administered by the Department of Labour and National Service which had been established in October 1940.

By the end of 1940, there were 10,919 "added tradesmen" in employment or training in Victoria. By June 1944, the numbers had increased to 12,524. By June 1947, 41,806 persons had completed or were undergoing a course of training under the scheme in Victoria. This figure included 31,987 technicians for the Armed Services.

Total wage and salary earners employed in industry in Victoria reached a wartime peak of 597,900 persons in November 1941. This represented an increase of 19.5 per cent over

the June 1939 figure compared with an Australia wide increase of 13.4 per cent over the same period. At the end of 1941, Australian and Victorian manpower needs had been met despite an enlistment of 300,000 persons into the Armed Services by July 1941.

The situation changed markedly after the Japanese entered the war on 7 December 1941. Australia, under threat of invasion, required a greater productive effort at a time when large-scale enlistments into the Armed Services were draining its labour resources. By June 1942, the number of wage and salary earners employed in industry in Victoria had fallen to 575,700 persons, a decline of 4 per cent from the November 1941 peak. Manpower resources to meet increased wartime needs were no longer so readily available.

A Manpower Directorate was established within the Department of Labour and National Service under regulations gazetted on 31 January 1942. The Directorate's task was to allocate manpower to the Armed Services, war industry, and civilian industry in such a way as to maximise the Australian war effort. The Directorate had the power to exempt from military service persons with particular skills for reserved occupations, to prevent workers in protected industries from leaving employment or being dismissed without permission, to control engagements of labour, to direct labour to essential undertakings, and to register all civilians. A system of National Service Offices was set up in districts based largely on Commonwealth military areas. These Offices took over the functions of the district military officials who had administered the List of Reserved Occupations, the National Employment Offices of the Commonwealth Department of Labour and National Service, and the Labour Exchanges administered by the State Governments. The Victorian Labour Exchange was taken over by the Directorate in March 1942. In the same month, a register of all civilians over 16 years of age was compiled. The register provided a data base for the National Service Offices and was utilised for the issue of identity cards.

The Allied Works Council was established under regulations promulgated on 14 April 1942. The Council was responsible for organising the defence construction programmes of the Australian and Allied Armed Services within Australia. The Civil Construction Corps was established to carry out these programmes. Members of the Corps consisted of volunteers, those employed by contractors engaged upon Allied Works construction, and those compulsorily enrolled. The Corps did not enrol men certified by the Manpower Directorate as required in their present industries. Most members of the Corps were aged over 35 years, and thus above the preferred age group for military service. Employment in the Corps reached a peak in June 1943 when 53,518 persons were employed in Australia, 11,166 of whom were in Victoria.

In Victoria, direct employment in munitions factories (including annexes) reached its peak of 32,635 persons in June 1942. While the number of persons in direct munitions employment was relatively small, the Manpower Directorate estimated that 75 per cent of all male factory workers were employed on defence contracts in June 1943.

This massive diversion of labour into war production was brought about by several means. First, the Manpower Directorate used its powers to support industries involved in war production. Second, many factories normally working to satisfy civilian needs were contracted to deliver their output to satisfy defence needs. Third, the Department of War Organisation of Industry curtailed or prohibited much non-essential production and prohibited new manufactures except under permit. The rationing of consumer goods did not free resources but enforced the fair distribution of scarce supplies.

In June 1943, there were virtually no unemployed persons in Australia apart from the sick and injured. There were 714,000 persons in the Armed Services of whom 198,000 were Victorians. The number of males in civilian employment in Victoria had decreased by 68,000 since July 1939, while the number of females had increased by 36,600. Factory employment in Victoria reached its wartime peak of 262,357 persons in the year ended 30 June 1943.

To meet wartime production needs, workers were recruited for essential industries from the ranks of employers and the self-employed, from agricultural industry, and from those who would not normally have been part of the labour force in peacetime. Between July 1939 and June 1943, non-agriculture employers and the self-employed in Victoria declined from 101,000 to 55,400 persons. Over the same period, agriculture workers in the State declined from 130,300 to 104,500 persons.

Female employment in Victoria increased rapidly from 1939. Civilian female wage and

salary earners, excluding rural workers and domestic workers in private homes, reached a peak of 205,400 in June 1943, an increase of 69.6 per cent over the July 1939 figure. In July 1939, females made up 28.6 per cent of Victorian civilian wage and salary earners. By June 1943, the proportion had increased to 36.6 per cent.

Between 1939 and mid-1943, female employment increased in all sectors of the economy apart from private domestic service. The proportion of females in the labour force varied from sector to sector. While female employment in Victorian factories rose from 65,613 in June 1939 to 87,017 in June 1943, the female proportion of total factory employment increased only marginally from 32.5 per cent to 33.2 per cent. On the other hand, the female proportion of total employment in Government munitions factories rose from 13 per cent in June 1939 to 27 per cent in June 1943. The Manpower Directorate's figures show a similar large increase in the proportion of female employment in the banking and insurance sector from 20 per cent in June 1939 to 46 per cent in 1943. The proportion of female employment in this sector reached its wartime peak of 48 per cent in June 1944 after practically every fit male aged between 18 and 35 years had been withdrawn for military service.

A Women's Employment Board was established in March 1942 to regulate wages and conditions of women in industry. Female wage rates rose significantly during the war. In certain industries, for work normally done by females before the war, the Board set wages ranging from 60 to 70 per cent of the male rates. In other industries, for work not previously done by females, the Board set wages ranging from 90 to 100 per cent of the male rates. The importance of women in the labour force was recognised in August 1942 when the Manpower Directorate placed certain restrictions on enlistment into the Women's Auxiliary Services. In June 1944, enlistments in the Women's Auxiliary Services reached approximately 50,000, of whom 12,700 were enlisted from Victoria.

In October 1943, the War Cabinet decided to reduce the direct Australian military effort. Discharges from the Armed Services began to exceed enlistments for the first time since the outbreak of war. In 1944, the demand for munitions eased but the demand for other supplies for the Allied Forces remained high.

In 1943, a food production programme was developed. Since the labour force in rural areas had been depleted by enlistments into the Armed Services and the majority of itinerant seasonal workers had become permanently employed in the wartime economy, severe labour shortages were experienced. Between July 1939 and June 1943, 25,800 persons had left agricultural employment in Victoria.

The Manpower Directorate formed District War Agricultural Committees to ensure the effective use of local labour and to organise community self-help. By June 1944, there were 18 District War Agricultural Committees and 180 Local Committees in Victoria. From October 1943, the agricultural labour force was supplemented by selective releases from the Armed Services and by the release of labour from sectors of the war economy. Between June 1943 and June 1945, the number of agricultural workers in Victoria increased from 104,500 persons to 113,100 persons.

The Women's Land Army, established under the jurisdiction of the Manpower Directorate in July 1942, assisted in overcoming agricultural labour shortages. At 31 July 1944, the total strength of the Women's Land Army in Victoria was 507 permanent members.

Italian prisoners of war were used throughout Australia to ease acute agricultural labour shortages. By mid-July 1944, over 1,400 Italian prisoners were employed on agricultural properties in Victoria. Additional Italian prisoners were used as seasonal workers in locations such as the Goulburn Valley where they assisted in harvesting vegetable crops which had been established on a large scale as part of the Commonwealth Government's wartime food programme.

Between June 1943 and June 1945, the number of persons in civilian employment increased from 731,800 to 743,000 in Victoria. The agricultural sector absorbed 8,600 of this increase, while 3,600 entered other industries.

The movement of labour and productive capacity out of war production began in 1944 and accelerated in the final months of the war. In June 1945, shortly before the war against Japan ended, direct munitions employment (including annexes) had fallen to 12,700 persons in Victoria.

## POST-WAR RECOVERY, 1945 TO 1949

During the war years, massive arrears in housing construction, maintenance, and public works had built up throughout Australia. Before the war's end, the Commonwealth and State Governments had together begun to plan a large-scale housing construction programme and, through the National Works Council, a programme of public projects. In the first six months of 1945, selective releases of skilled personnel from the Armed Services to manufacturing industry were made, to prepare a sound basis for post-war expansion.

On 30 May 1945, the White Paper *Full Employment In Australia* was tabled in the Commonwealth Parliament. This paper outlined the Commonwealth Government's policy of full employment and dealt with the transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy. The paper stated that: "Full employment is a fundamental aim of the Commonwealth Government. The Government believes that the people of Australia will demand and are entitled to expect full employment and that for this purpose it will be able to count on the co-operation of servicemen's associations, trade unions, employers' associations, and other groups". Full employment had been achieved in the war years through the absorption of the able-bodied into essential work or the Armed Services. In comparison with pre-war policies, the Commonwealth Government hoped to maintain full employment in peacetime by the use of appropriate fiscal and monetary measures.

General demobilisation of the Armed Services began on 1 October 1945. In June 1945, there were 648,900 persons in Australia's Armed Services. By June 1946, the number of service personnel had fallen to 143,400. Demobilisation was largely completed by June 1947.

Despite demobilisation, Australia and Victoria experienced severe labour shortages during 1945-46 and 1946-47. Deaths of members of the Australian Armed Services had totalled 34,283 during the war and the careers and training of many ex-service personnel had been interrupted. The growth of the labour force was slowed by three factors. First, many persons who had entered employment solely because of wartime conditions retired. Second, substantial numbers of ex-service personnel commenced full-time training or remained on extended leave prior to resuming civilian employment. Third, the number of new entrants to the labour force began to reflect the slump in the birthrate of the Depression years of the early 1930s.

Many ex-servicemen and women became eligible for training under the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme (CRTS) which was introduced in March 1944. The Scheme provided professional, trade, and agricultural training under certain conditions to enable ex-servicemen and women to become re-established in civilian employment. Full-time trainees received allowances during their period of training; vocational trainees were placed in subsidised employment while acquiring trade skills. The Scheme was administered by the Ministry of Post-War Reconstruction. At the peak of the retraining programme in 1947, 4,129 full-time CRTS students were enrolled at the University of Melbourne and 375 at the Melbourne Technical College (subsequently renamed the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology).

The number of female wage and salary earners in Victoria decreased from 193,800 in June 1945 to 183,700 in June 1946. Although the number of female wage and salary earners in Victoria increased steadily after June 1946, the female proportion of total wage and salary earners decreased from 35.1 per cent in June 1945 to 29.6 per cent in June 1947, and remained below 30 per cent until 1965.

### Immigration

The Commonwealth Government decided to launch a programme of population expansion through immigration in 1945. In July 1947, it entered into an agreement with the International Refugee Organisation for the resettlement in Australia of European displaced persons. Following the agreement, net overseas migration into Victoria turned around from a loss of 2,952 persons in 1947 to a gain of 21,142 persons in 1948. Because of the acute shortage of shipping space and accommodation, priority was given to single men and married couples without children who could be directed to areas of work where they would make the greatest contribution to production. In return for a free passage to Australia, migrants were required to sign an undertaking to work where directed for two

years, after which they were granted permanent resident status and became free to change their employment or move to other parts of Australia as they wished.

Priority in placement was given to essential industries that had experienced difficulty in obtaining Australian labour, particularly those associated with the supply of building materials such as timber, clay products, and cement. Workers were also supplied for road and rail construction and water and sewerage projects. Women, for the most part, were employed as nurses' assistants and hospital domestics. Between December 1947 and June 1952 a total of 170,700 "displaced" persons from Europe arrived in Australia. A large proportion of these were allocated to Victoria where they were initially housed in former Army and Air Force camps under emergency conditions.

Economic bottlenecks were caused by post-war demands. The freeing of economic conditions took time and until the end of the 1940s, the Australian economy remained under serious pressure, plagued by power shortages and black-outs (caused by strikes on the New South Wales coal fields), petrol rationing, waiting lists for consumer goods, massive housing shortages, and a rundown of public transport facilities and rolling stock. Conditions for Australia's acceptance of migrants were eased, initial accommodation was improved through the establishment of migrant hostels at Brooklyn, Fishermens Bend, Holmesglen, Maribyrnong, Nunawading, and Preston in the Melbourne metropolitan area, and at Norlane and Belmont in Geelong, work contracts were abolished, and the emphasis on the migration of single males was reduced.

As the refugees were progressively resettled in various countries, it became apparent that more definite arrangements would have to be made if Australia was to continue to receive sufficient numbers of workers in the years ahead. In the early 1950s agreements were therefore negotiated with the governments of various European countries such as Holland, Italy, Greece, and West Germany to permit the recruitment of migrants. Agreements between Australia and the United Kingdom (1947) and Malta (1949) were already in operation.

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

The Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) was established under section 47 of the *Re-establishment and Employment Act* 1945. The principal function of the CES was to provide services and facilities in relation to persons seeking to change employment or to engage labour. Additional functions related to the re-establishment of ex-service personnel and the placement in employment of workers among the displaced persons arriving in Australia under the terms of the Commonwealth's agreement with the International Refugee Organisation.

The CES functioned within the Employment Division of the Department of Labour and National Service and was based on the organisation of the former Manpower Directorate. Manpower controls over the employment of male labour ceased on 1 March 1946. The CES began operations on 2 May 1946. At its inauguration, the CES had 39 District Employment Offices in Victoria.

An important addition to the Commonwealth Government's social legislation was made when the Unemployment and Sickness Benefits Act came into operation on 1 July 1945. Its provisions were later incorporated in the *Social Services Act* 1947. The Act provided for the payment of unemployment and sickness benefits to persons of working age who were unemployed or temporarily incapacitated for work and thereby suffered loss of income.

To qualify for unemployment benefits a person had to establish that he was unemployed and that his unemployment was not due to direct participation in a strike; that he was capable and willing to undertake suitable work; and that he had taken reasonable steps to obtain such work by registering with the CES. The Act provided for the payment of benefit for the duration of unemployment. Both benefits were subject to an income test and there was a waiting period of seven days before benefits were payable. A person could not receive both benefits simultaneously. The CES assisted in the administration of the unemployment and sickness benefits provided under the Act. During the period 1946 to 1949, the proportion of the Victorian labour force receiving unemployment benefits did not exceed 1 per cent.



## SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH, 1950 TO 1970

After the Korean War began in June 1950, export prices rose sharply and a condition of excess local demand arose. The buoyant economic conditions were reflected in the growth in factory employment, numbers of registered vacancies, and the decrease in numbers of registered unemployed. The numbers employed in factories rose from 265,757 in 1946-47 to 316,792 in 1950-51. At the end of June 1951, the number of registered vacancies in Victoria was 49,453 while the number of registered unemployed had decreased to 1,458 persons.

A mild recession followed in 1952-53 when export prices fell and financial restraints were imposed to counter the inflationary trends. For a time the number registered as unemployed exceeded the number of jobs available. Factory employment declined to 310,759 in 1952-53, during which period the number of registered unemployed persons in Victoria peaked at 16,139 in January 1953, but did not rise above 1.5 per cent of the labour force. Total employment began to rise again early in 1953. Factory employment had risen to 331,277 by 1953-54 and to 381,844 in 1959-60. Building and construction had also begun to expand. The major areas of employment growth in the 1950s were the electrical products industry, industrial machinery, transport equipment, and general engineering. The number of persons employed on establishments with agricultural activity rose from 1950 but had declined by 1970.

Despite a continuous strong influx of additional labour through immigration, labour shortages prevailed during most of the 1950s. This was a period when competition for labour exerted an upward pressure on wage rates and when the additions to the labour force through immigration could not keep pace with the increases in demand for labour.

Throughout 1959 there was a continuing expansion in industrial production and by 1960 labour shortages began to intensify together with greater inflation. In November 1960, the Commonwealth Government applied restrictions on credit, raised sales tax on motor vehicles, and increased the maximum interest rate on bank overdrafts so as to reduce internal demand and safeguard Australia's overseas funds.

The increase in the rate of sales tax on motor vehicles from 30 per cent to 40 per cent had the most direct impact of any of the Commonwealth Government's deflationary measures. The increase produced a sharp fall in sales and, consequently, in the demand for locally produced vehicles and components. Retrenchments followed in the motor vehicle industry almost immediately. Between June 1960 and June 1961 in Victoria, the total number of employed wage and salary earners fell from 913,200 to 909,800. The number of persons registered as unemployed with the CES in Victoria increased during the same period from 11,333 to 30,764.

In February 1961 the increased sales tax on motor vehicles was removed, and other restrictive measures of November 1960 were eased during the second half of the year. By June 1962, the number of employed wage and salary earners in Victoria had reached a new peak of 930,800 persons, while registered unemployed had fallen to 26,160 persons.

During the 1961 to 1963 recession the Commonwealth Government made a special grant totalling \$95m to the State Governments for public works to relieve unemployment. Victoria's share of \$21.2m was allocated to labour intensive projects in areas where unemployment was highest.

Throughout the remainder of the 1960s, civilian employment in Victoria increased rapidly against a background of steady economic expansion. Registered unemployment remained at less than 2 per cent of the labour force. The number of employed wage and salary earners in Victoria increased by 34.5 per cent between June 1960 and June 1969 compared with a 13.8 per cent increase between June 1950 and June 1959.

The major sources of growth in the labour force during the 1960s were, first, the entry into the labour force of persons born in the post-war period; second, the movement of women into the labour force; and, third, immigration effects.

The increase in the number of women in the Victorian labour force during the 1950s and 1960s resulted largely from the increased number of married women entering employment. Factors affecting the participation rate of married women in the labour force were the expansion of the economy's service industries which traditionally provided a high proportion of jobs for females, the trend towards marriage at a younger age, and the trend to a smaller family size with child bearing concentrated in fewer years.

The 1961 Population Census showed that 27.4 per cent of Victoria's labour force had been born overseas compared with 20.4 per cent at the 1954 Census. Improving economic conditions in Britain and Europe necessitated a further intensification of the drive to attract migrant workers by the introduction of assisted passages for migrants from countries with which Australia did not have migration agreements. While the rate of apparent net migration into Victoria during the 1960s ran at approximately two-thirds of the rate of the 1950s, the contribution of immigration to the labour force was still very significant. By 1971, 31.7 per cent of the Victorian labour force had been born overseas.

In 1967-68, most of Victoria was affected by a severe drought which caused unemployment in country areas. In November 1967, the Victorian Government began to organise relief works to sustain employment in the most severely affected areas of the State, mainly the Western District and the north-west. The State Co-ordinator of Works prepared programmes of short-term employment on public works in those drought affected areas where the number of persons registered with the CES as unemployed was high. By the time the Victorian Government's Drought Relief Programme ended on 30 September 1968, 8,100 jobs had been provided. The Commonwealth Government made \$7.3m available to Victoria for drought relief employment.

#### EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT SINCE THE 1970s

For the first time since the 1930s, unemployment emerged as a significant economic and social problem in Victoria (and indeed, throughout Australia and much of the Western world) during the mid-1970s. More than half of the unemployed were under 25 years of age, reflecting the serious youth unemployment situation in the latter half of the 1970s and early 1980s.

Prior to October 1974 monthly CES statistics of unemployment had provided the only regularly available measure of unemployment in Victoria from which unemployment rates could be calculated. In November 1974 the ABS commenced publication of unemployment rates for individual States based on sample surveys of the population, and these were backdated to 1966. Relatively high unemployment rates were experienced by some demographic groups including women, Aborigines, and newly arrived migrants. Further, from 1974 onwards the average duration of unemployment experienced by unemployed persons increased rapidly. The emergence of "discouraged job seekers" (persons who stopped seeking employment because they believed they would not be able to find a job) and other forms of "hidden" unemployment and under-employment (e.g., over-qualified persons working in lower skilled jobs) was reflected in the growth, starting in the late 1970s, of persons not in the labour force.

The following tables and diagrams show major labour force trends:

#### CIVILIAN POPULATION AGED 15 YEARS AND OVER BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS: VICTORIA, 1966 TO 1983

August—	Employed	Unemployed	Labour force	Not in labour force	Civilian population 15 years and over	Unemployment rate (a)	Participation rate (b)
	'000	'000	'000	'000	'000	per cent	per cent
MALES							
1966	925.5	9.0	934.4	184.1	1,118.6	1.0	83.5
1967	939.5	9.4	948.9	187.9	1,136.8	1.0	83.5
1968	952.2	10.2	962.4	195.7	1,158.1	1.1	83.1
1969	959.3	7.8	967.1	209.3	1,176.4	0.8	82.2
1970	985.4	8.4	993.8	207.0	1,200.9	0.8	82.8
1971	994.4	11.9	1,006.3	225.8	1,232.1	1.2	81.7
1972	1,008.1	20.0	1,028.0	227.4	1,255.4	1.9	81.9
1973	1,040.3	15.0	1,055.2	223.9	1,279.1	1.4	82.5
1974	1,028.1	18.0	1,046.1	252.9	1,299.0	1.7	80.5
1975	1,028.0	37.0	1,065.0	256.2	1,321.2	3.5	80.6
1976	1,029.9	35.2	1,065.1	270.7	1,335.9	3.3	79.7
1977	1,036.2	41.9	1,078.2	277.0	1,355.2	3.9	79.6
1978	1,035.8	51.6	1,087.4	290.7	1,378.1	4.7	78.9

## EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

CIVILIAN POPULATION AGED 15 YEARS AND OVER  
BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS: VICTORIA, 1966 TO 1983—*continued*

August—	Employed	Unemployed	Labour force	Not in labour force	Civilian population 15 years and over	Unemployment rate (a)	Participation rate (b)
	'000	'000	'000	'000	'000	per cent	per cent
<i>MALES—continued</i>							
1979	1,044.0	49.5	1,093.4	307.2	1,400.6	4.5	78.1
1980	1,061.8	53.6	1,115.4	306.6	1,422.0	4.8	78.4
1981	1,076.3	50.4	1,126.6	315.2	1,441.8	4.5	78.1
1982	1,069.0	62.6	1,131.7	337.6	1,469.2	5.5	77.0
1983	1,046.0	93.1	1,139.1	358.1	1,497.2	8.2	76.1
<i>MARRIED FEMALES (c)</i>							
1966	237.3	4.2	241.6	516.7	758.2	1.7	31.9
1967	253.3	6.2	259.4	511.7	771.1	2.4	33.6
1968	264.0	7.3	271.4	519.8	791.1	2.7	34.3
1969	276.8	6.3	283.1	522.3	805.3	2.2	35.1
1970	306.0	5.6	311.6	517.2	828.7	1.8	37.6
1971	318.9	5.6	324.5	522.3	846.9	1.7	38.3
1972	335.2	11.3	346.5	521.0	867.5	3.3	39.9
1973	352.7	7.7	360.5	514.9	875.4	2.1	41.2
1974	372.8	14.8	387.7	512.7	900.4	3.8	43.1
1975	368.6	19.8	388.4	520.8	909.3	5.1	42.7
1976	380.5	16.9	397.4	515.8	913.2	4.3	43.5
1977	389.9	22.9	412.9	508.0	920.8	5.6	44.8
1978	381.3	23.0	404.3	516.3	920.5	5.7	43.9
1979	380.0	20.7	400.7	517.6	918.3	5.2	43.6
1980	405.5	20.7	426.1	504.5	930.7	4.8	45.8
1981	401.4	21.2	422.7	509.6	932.3	5.0	45.3
1982	392.3	20.7	413.0	518.8	931.8	5.0	44.3
1983	389.7	30.1	419.8	543.4	963.2	7.2	43.6
<i>ALL FEMALES</i>							
1966	431.8	7.8	439.6	716.0	1,155.6	1.8	38.0
1967	450.7	10.4	461.1	715.1	1,176.2	2.3	39.2
1968	461.6	11.4	473.1	727.7	1,200.7	2.4	39.4
1969	474.4	9.6	484.0	738.0	1,222.2	2.0	39.6
1970	506.7	7.5	514.3	732.8	1,247.1	1.5	41.2
1971	518.1	9.5	527.6	746.9	1,274.5	1.8	41.4
1972	526.8	17.5	544.3	752.7	1,297.0	3.2	42.0
1973	553.4	14.1	567.5	751.7	1,319.1	2.5	43.0
1974	571.9	23.3	595.1	746.9	1,342.0	3.9	44.3
1975	562.4	40.9	603.3	759.6	1,362.9	6.8	44.3
1976	582.4	35.4	617.8	763.0	1,380.8	5.7	44.7
1977	597.8	48.1	645.8	755.7	1,401.5	7.4	46.1
1978	588.0	48.4	636.4	790.4	1,426.8	7.6	44.6
1979	595.0	45.9	640.9	808.2	1,449.2	7.2	44.2
1980	638.7	50.7	689.4	782.2	1,471.6	7.4	46.8
1981	639.9	49.8	689.7	802.6	1,492.3	7.2	46.2
1982	644.7	47.4	692.1	827.0	1,519.1	6.8	45.6
1983	635.3	70.0	705.3	840.6	1,546.0	9.9	45.6
<i>PERSONS</i>							
1966	1,357.3	16.8	1,374.1	900.1	2,274.2	1.2	60.4
1967	1,390.2	19.8	1,410.0	903.0	2,313.0	1.4	61.0
1968	1,413.8	21.6	1,435.4	923.4	2,358.8	1.5	60.9
1969	1,433.7	17.5	1,451.1	947.4	2,398.5	1.2	60.5
1970	1,492.1	16.0	1,508.1	939.9	2,448.0	1.1	61.6
1971	1,512.5	21.4	1,533.9	972.7	2,506.6	1.4	61.2
1972	1,534.8	37.5	1,572.3	980.1	2,552.4	2.4	61.6
1973	1,593.7	29.0	1,622.7	975.5	2,598.2	1.8	62.5
1974	1,600.0	41.3	1,641.3	999.8	2,641.0	2.5	62.1
1975	1,590.4	77.9	1,668.3	1,015.8	2,684.1	4.7	62.2
1976	1,612.3	70.6	1,682.9	1,033.7	2,716.6	4.2	61.9
1977	1,634.0	90.0	1,724.0	1,032.7	2,756.7	5.2	62.5
1978	1,623.8	100.0	1,723.8	1,081.1	2,804.9	5.8	61.5

CIVILIAN POPULATION AGED 15 YEARS AND OVER  
BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS: VICTORIA, 1966 TO 1983—*continued*

August—	Employed	Unemployed	Labour force	Not in labour force	Civilian population 15 years and over	Unemployment rate (a)	Participation rate (b)
	'000	'000	'000	'000	'000	per cent	per cent
PERSONS— <i>continued</i>							
1979	1,639.0	95.3	1,734.4	1,115.4	2,849.8	5.5	60.9
1980	1,700.5	104.3	1,804.8	1,088.7	2,893.6	5.8	62.4
1981	1,716.1	100.2	1,816.3	1,117.8	2,934.1	5.5	61.9
1982	1,713.8	110.0	1,823.8	1,164.6	2,988.3	6.0	61.0
1983	1,681.3	163.1	1,844.4	1,198.7	3,043.2	8.8	60.6

(a) The number of unemployed in each group as a percentage of the labour force in the same group.  
 (b) The labour force in each group as a percentage of the civilian population aged 15 years and over in the same group.  
 (c) Excludes never married, widowed, and divorced.  
 Source: Population surveys conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. Estimates are not available for periods prior to August 1966.

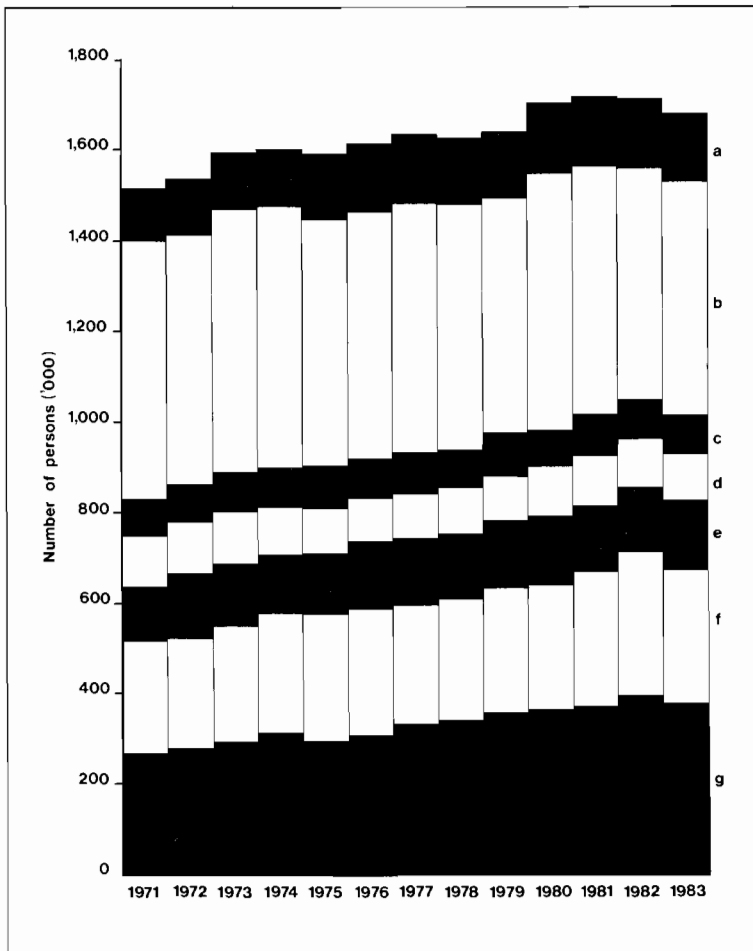


FIGURE 13. Victoria—Employed persons by occupation, 1971 to 1983. (a = service, sport, and recreation; b = tradesmen, production process workers, and labourers; c = transport and communication; d = farmers, fishermen, timbergetters, miners, quarrymen, and related workers; e = sales; f = clerical; and g = professional, technical, administrative, executive, and managerial.)

EMPLOYED PERSONS (a) BY OCCUPATION (b): VICTORIA,  
AUGUST 1971 TO 1983  
(<sup>'000</sup>)

Occupation group	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
Professional and technical	171.7	179.9	195.4	207.9	196.1	211.0	231.6	243.4	242.0	261.0	264.8	283.7	278.7
Administrative, executive, and managerial	96.4	99.4	99.6	104.2	101.0	98.9	102.7	100.6	115.7	104.0	107.7	115.2	99.0
Clerical	244.7	243.4	255.5	267.7	281.8	280.3	264.5	266.0	277.8	277.0	298.9	312.2	297.0
Sales	124.6	140.7	136.8	126.6	129.1	149.5	145.8	145.2	147.9	152.5	142.9	142.1	153.4
Farmers, fishermen, timber-getters, miners, quarrymen, and related workers	111.1	118.3	116.8	108.8	106.4	96.4	99.2	102.6	100.4	107.8	112.3	110.0	103.7
Transport and communication	83.0	80.7	86.8	85.7	88.7	82.9	90.4	85.0	93.6	80.1	89.7	86.8	84.5
Tradesmen, production-process workers, and labourers	568.6	552.6	577.9	572.1	545.4	541.4	549.1	539.5	516.8	566.2	547.3	510.3	513.7
Service, sport, and recreation	112.4	119.8	124.9	127.0	141.9	151.9	150.7	141.5	144.8	151.9	152.5	153.5	151.3
Total	1,512.5	1,534.8	1,593.7	1,600.0	1,590.4	1,612.3	1,634.0	1,623.8	1,639.0	1,700.5	1,716.1	1,713.8	1,681.3

(a) Civilians aged 15 years and over.

(b) Occupation is classified according to the Classification and Classified List of Occupations, Revised June 1976.

NOTE. Estimates in this series are derived from the ABS population survey, which is based on a multi-stage area sample of private and non-private dwellings, and covers about one-half of one per cent of the Victorian population. For further information, see *The Labour Force—Victoria* (6201.2) (monthly).

EMPLOYED PERSONS (a) BY INDUSTRY (b): VICTORIA, AUGUST 1971 TO 1983  
(<sup>'000</sup>)

Industry division or sub-division	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
Agriculture	95.1	105.9	102.1	97.8	91.7	85.4	87.1	86.4	89.3	94.5	94.1	92.3	86.9
Manufacturing — Food, beverages, and tobacco	50.6	56.5	61.0	59.3	54.0	58.1	61.8	53.1	51.1	54.2	51.0	49.7	56.1
Metal products, machinery, and equipment	51.8	56.4	54.3	59.7	54.5	58.0	56.4	45.1	44.9	41.9	49.3	50.0	53.3
Other manufacturing	351.1	325.2	342.0	345.7	317.3	323.7	314.8	311.1	296.1	324.0	303.6	294.8	282.9
Construction	120.4	112.2	127.1	127.7	123.9	119.6	118.2	119.1	111.5	107.1	112.5	98.5	96.3
Wholesale and retail trade	304.3	325.4	331.4	302.2	304.3	310.2	318.1	330.5	343.3	342.9	321.9	329.7	315.9
Transport and storage	69.8	71.0	72.0	76.3	88.6	81.9	82.7	82.2	96.5	83.2	92.6	96.8	95.7
Finance, insurance, real estate, and business services	102.1	107.2	104.9	115.9	115.1	130.1	125.2	121.5	131.1	134.8	154.0	158.9	147.4
Community services (c)	161.6	177.9	184.2	196.5	207.8	219.5	230.8	241.4	245.0	271.4	267.6	285.9	281.0
Entertainment, recreation, restaurants, hotels, and personal services	82.1	75.9	88.3	90.7	93.8	92.3	92.6	80.4	78.1	88.3	103.6	93.1	95.0
Other industries (d)	123.5	121.1	126.4	128.2	139.5	133.5	146.3	153.0	152.1	158.1	166.0	164.1	170.8
Total	1,512.5	1,534.8	1,593.7	1,600.0	1,590.4	1,612.3	1,634.0	1,623.8	1,639.0	1,700.5	1,716.1	1,713.8	1,681.3

(a) Civilians aged 15 years and over.

(b) Industry is classified according to the Australian Standard Industrial Classification 1978.

(c) Comprises health; education, libraries, etc.; welfare and religious institutions; and other community services.

(d) Comprises electricity, gas, and water; communication; and public administration and defence industries, forestry, fishing, hunting, and mining.

NOTE. Estimates in this series are derived from the ABS population survey, which is based on a multi-stage area sample of private and non-private dwellings, and covers about one-half of one per cent of the Victorian population. For further information, see *The Labour Force—Victoria* (6201.2) (monthly).

Similar tables classifying the population by industry and occupation can be found in Chapter 7. These tables are derived from the Censuses of Population and Housing.

There were major changes in the industrial and occupational structure of the labour force during this period—for example, the continued relative decline of employment in the agricultural sector; the contraction of manufacturing industry since the mid-1970s; the difficulties of the construction industry; the continued growth of the services sector; the reduction in the growth rate of government employment in the late 1970s; and the relative concentration of unemployment among semi-skilled and unskilled “blue collar workers”, represented by significantly higher unemployment rates for production-process workers

than for clerical, sales, professional, etc., workers. At the same time, there were also shortages of applicants for some skilled vacancies, leading to increased emphasis by the Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs on obtaining migrants with specific job skills which were in demand in the Australian labour market. During this period the growth in part-time employment was comparatively stronger than in full-time employment. The prevalence of part-time work was a reflection of such factors as people finding full-time work more difficult to obtain in a period of high unemployment; the growing proportion of women (especially married women) in the labour force, and their preference for part-time work because of domestic responsibilities (e.g., child care); and, to a lesser extent, the apparent declining acceptance of the "work ethic", with people experimenting with alternative lifestyles and work modes, opting for increased leisure time, etc. Another noteworthy movement during this period was the increasing trend towards earlier retirement by workers, reflected by declining labour force participation rates among all persons aged 55 years and over.

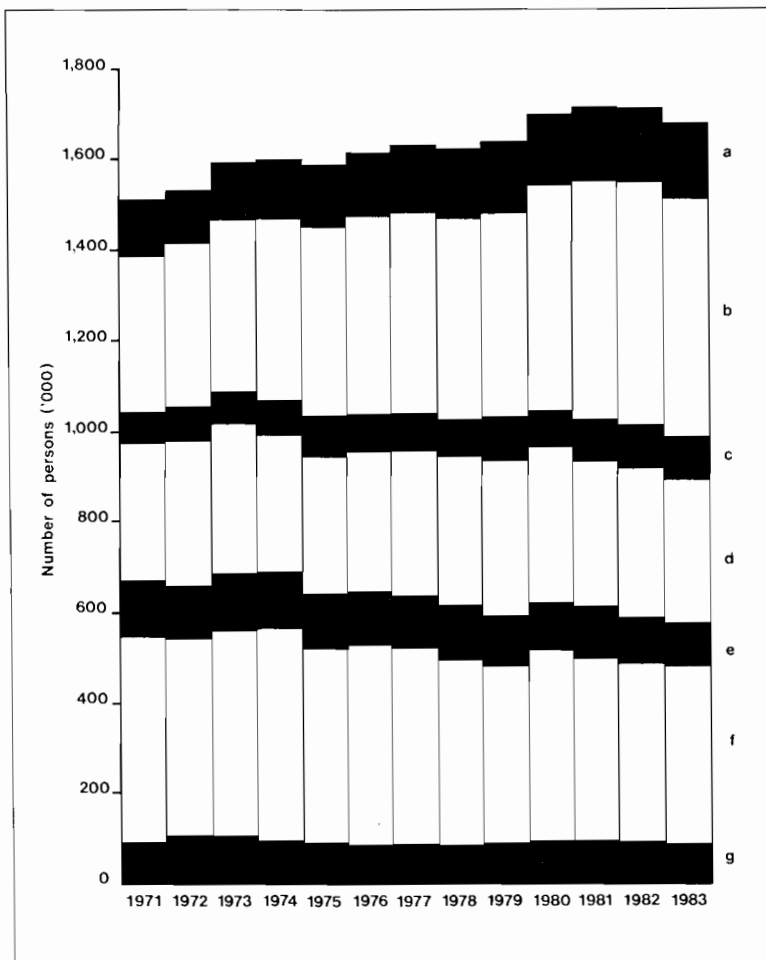


FIGURE 14. Victoria—Employed persons by industry, 1971 to 1983. (a=other—includes forestry, fishing, hunting, mining, electricity, gas and water, communications, public administration, and defence; b = finance, property, business services, community services, entertainment, recreation, restaurants, hotels, and personal services; c = transport and storage; d = wholesale and retail trade; e = construction; f = manufacturing; and g = agriculture and services to agriculture.)

**PARTICIPATION RATES (a) OF CIVILIAN  
POPULATION BY AGE GROUP:  
VICTORIA, 1971 TO 1983**

August—	Age of persons		
	55-59	60-64	65 and over
1971	61.6	46.6	12.4
1976	61.2	43.9	8.5
1977	61.2	40.2	8.8
1978	56.6	40.9	7.1
1979	56.3	34.8	7.7
1980	59.1	34.9	7.1
1981	56.3	33.4	6.5
1982	52.0	29.9	6.2
1983	56.0	29.6	5.2

(a) The labour force in each group as a percentage of the civilian population in the same group.

A Rural Unemployment Relief (RUR) Scheme introduced by the Commonwealth Government extended from December 1971 to October 1973. During this period Victoria received a total of \$24m for labour intensive projects in rural areas. More than 10,000 jobs were provided by State departments, instrumentalities, and local government authorities.

During 1973-74 wages rose rapidly, with average weekly earnings per employed male unit in Victoria increasing by 18.4 per cent over the year. The number of civilian employees at the end of August 1974 had reached 1,600,000 persons.

Despite the buoyant conditions, the number of persons estimated as being unemployed in Victoria rose from 37,500 at August 1972 (2.4 per cent of the labour force) to 41,300 at August 1974 (2.5 per cent of the labour force).

A general 25 per cent reduction in tariffs was implemented by the Commonwealth Government in July 1973. Due to the high concentration of the clothing, textile, and footwear industries in Victoria, the far-reaching structural changes required to meet greater import competition resulted in major employment dislocations. Labour retrenchments began in March 1974 and by December of that year 11,000 workers, the majority of them females, had been retrenched from the clothing, textile, and footwear industries in Victoria. Special assistance in the form of income maintenance for up to six months was provided under the Commonwealth Government's Structural Adjustment Assistance programme to workers retrenched as a direct result of the tariff reductions.

In late 1974 there was a sudden marked increase in unemployment. Unemployment in Victoria rose from 41,300 or 2.5 per cent of the labour force in August 1974 to 77,900 or 4.7 per cent in August 1975. Between August 1974 and August 1975, the number of employed persons fell by 9,600. During 1975 and 1976 the Australian economy rapidly moved into a more severe and protracted recession than any experienced in the post-war period. Unemployment at unusually high levels was prolonged, and in Victoria 5.8 per cent of the labour force was unemployed in August 1978. The rate of unemployment continued to grow into the 1980s reaching 9.7 per cent of the labour force in May 1983. New entrants to the labour force faced considerable difficulty in securing employment.

In each of the years 1976 to 1982, young people aged 15-19 years, including new school leavers, represented a high proportion of the total estimated unemployed ranging from about 40 per cent in January, the main school leaver period, to approximately 30 per cent in the middle of the year. Due to higher unemployment in older age groups, unemployed persons aged 15-19 years as a proportion of all unemployed dropped, in 1983, to 32 per cent in January and 25 per cent in June. Teenagers in country areas were generally subject to higher unemployment rates than their metropolitan counterparts.

Major labour force trends relating specifically to young people in the labour force are presented in the following table:

CIVILIAN POPULATION AGED 15 TO 19 YEARS BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS:  
VICTORIA, 1971 TO 1983

August—	Employed	Unemployed	Labour force	Not in labour force	Civilian population 15 to 19 years	Unemployment rate (a)	Participation rate (b)
	'000	'000	'000	'000	'000	per cent	per cent
MALES							
1971	79.8	(c)	81.4	66.8	148.2	(c)	54.9
1972	75.5	6.4	81.9	68.7	150.6	7.8	54.4
1973	88.2	5.5	93.7	61.8	155.5	5.9	60.3
1974	81.1	(c)	85.3	71.7	156.9	(c)	54.3
1975	85.8	9.4	95.2	66.7	161.9	9.9	58.8
1976	82.6	11.8	94.4	71.1	165.4	12.5	57.1
1977	84.5	13.5	98.1	69.6	167.7	13.8	58.5
1978	89.8	15.9	105.7	69.8	175.5	15.1	60.2
1979	89.2	13.6	102.7	72.5	175.3	13.2	58.6
1980	90.0	16.2	106.3	68.4	174.7	15.3	60.8
1981	90.2	13.8	104.0	69.1	173.2	13.3	60.1
1982	85.6	18.2	103.8	69.0	172.8	17.6	60.1
1983	75.5	20.5	96.0	78.1	174.1	21.3	55.1
FEMALES							
1971	79.0	(c)	81.7	71.1	152.7	(c)	53.5
1972	79.1	(c)	83.0	71.1	154.1	(c)	53.9
1973	80.5	(c)	84.5	70.8	155.3	(c)	54.4
1974	81.8	5.8	87.6	70.8	158.4	6.6	55.3
1975	71.5	15.7	87.1	72.0	159.1	18.0	54.8
1976	75.5	12.2	87.7	74.3	162.0	13.9	54.1
1977	77.7	19.2	96.9	70.5	167.4	19.8	57.9
1978	75.6	16.2	91.8	75.5	167.3	17.7	54.9
1979	71.2	16.7	87.8	80.0	167.8	19.0	52.3
1980	82.4	17.4	99.8	67.8	167.6	17.5	59.6
1981	70.0	16.4	86.4	80.3	166.7	19.0	51.9
1982	78.1	13.2	91.3	74.8	166.1	14.5	55.0
1983	67.9	23.7	91.6	75.3	166.9	25.8	54.9
PERSONS							
1971	158.8	(c)	163.0	137.9	300.9	(c)	54.2
1972	154.6	10.2	164.9	139.8	304.6	6.2	54.1
1973	168.7	9.5	178.2	132.6	310.8	5.3	57.3
1974	162.9	9.9	172.9	142.5	315.3	5.7	54.8
1975	157.3	25.1	182.4	138.7	321.0	13.7	56.8
1976	158.1	24.0	182.1	145.3	327.4	13.2	55.6
1977	162.3	32.7	195.0	140.1	335.1	16.8	58.2
1978	165.3	32.1	197.5	145.4	342.8	16.3	57.6
1979	160.3	30.3	190.6	152.5	343.1	15.9	55.6
1980	172.4	33.7	206.1	136.2	342.3	16.3	60.2
1981	160.2	30.3	190.5	149.4	339.9	15.9	56.0
1982	163.6	31.4	195.0	143.7	338.8	16.1	57.6
1983	143.4	44.1	187.5	153.5	341.0	23.5	55.0

(a) The number of unemployed in each group as a percentage of the labour force in the same group.

(b) The labour force in each group as a percentage of the civilian population aged 15 to 19 years in the same group.

(c) Subject to sampling variability too high for most practical purposes.

Source: Population surveys conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. Estimates are not available for periods prior to August 1971.

New graduates from universities and colleges of advanced education also encountered difficulties in securing employment. Until 1974 the great increase in the number of graduates—as a result of the expansion of tertiary institutions in the 1960s—was absorbed into the labour force with apparent ease because of the buoyant economic conditions and expansion of the public sector.

The incidence of unemployment among professional people increased significantly after 1976. Although professional workers comprised less than 5 per cent of the total unemployed segment of the labour force, their situation attracted considerable attention because of the widely held view that professional qualifications were a virtual guarantee of employment. Unemployment of qualified school teachers increased markedly. Unemployment has



remained generally over 5 per cent since 1977. The unemployment rate for females has been significantly greater than that for males during this period. The shortage of jobs discouraged many people, particularly married women from actively seeking work, and some firms offered early retirement and other provisions to encourage males over 55 years of age to withdraw from the labour force. The participation rates for males in the 55-59 and 60-64 year age groups dropped from 89.7 and 76.5 per cent, respectively, in 1971 to 85.8 and 69.8 per cent, respectively, in 1976, and to 81.3 and 45.8 per cent, respectively, in 1983.

Unemployment rates for migrant workers from non-English speaking countries were greater than those for the Australian-born population and were particularly high for the more recent arrivals. Migrant employment was concentrated in manufacturing industry and the building and construction sector; these industries were affected most by the recession and recorded absolute declines in employment in the years after 1974.

The Regional Employment Development Scheme (REDS) was introduced by the Commonwealth Government in September 1974 to improve employment opportunities in areas with high levels of unemployment. Labour intensive projects of a socially useful nature formed the basis of the scheme which was terminated in June 1976. During its currency 1,739 projects to the value of \$30m were carried out in Victoria. Peak employment was reached in July 1975, when over 6,000 persons were working on REDS projects in Victoria. These workers were drawn from the ranks of the unemployed registered with the Commonwealth Employment Service.

Despite the prolonged period of economic recession after 1974, shortages of skilled tradesmen, particularly in the metal trades, persisted in Victoria. In 1972 the Apprenticeship Commission had estimated that Victoria needed an annual intake of 15,000 apprentices to meet the needs of industry and provide for reasonable growth. However, throughout the 1970s this figure was not achieved.

#### *Industrial Training Commission*

With the introduction of the *Industrial Training Act 1975*, the Apprenticeship Commission was superseded by the Industrial Training Commission. Besides consolidating and updating previous legislation dating back to 1927, the *Industrial Training Act 1975* allowed for an expansion of activities from regulation and oversight of the training of apprentices to include pre-apprenticeship training and adult training. On 22 December 1981, further amendments to the Act provided for pre-vocational trainees, trainee technicians, and tradesman accreditation.

The Commission, which consists of 14 members is assisted in its functions by trade committees which are appointed under the Act for a trade or group of trades. These committees provide specialist advice and make recommendations to the Commission on matters pertaining to the trades for which they are appointed. At 30 June 1983, there were 54 committees functioning in respect of more than 100 proclaimed apprenticeship trades.

In the seven years prior to 1983, the number of apprentices in training in Victoria rose consistently. During this time employment was sluggish or declining in most of the major areas of the economy where apprentice training had been traditionally most important. The prevailing economic situation forced employers to cut back on the number of training opportunities available for apprentices. The resultant effect has been that the number of new apprentices hired by employers declined by 25.1 per cent from 13,413 to 10,045 during the year ending 30 June 1983.

The decline in intake coupled with a record number of completions saw the number of apprentices registered with the Commission fall from 41,155 at 30 June, 1982 to 38,382 at 30 June 1983.

To overcome reluctance on the part of many employers to engage apprentices, the Victorian Government looked at ways of making the apprenticeship system more flexible and attractive. In 1977, Victoria adopted a form of accelerated apprenticeship training aimed at making entrants into the skilled trades more productive in the initial years of training, thereby reducing training costs. From 1 January 1979, the Victorian Government also assumed responsibility for workers compensation claims in respect of first year apprentices, thus relieving employers of the obligation to pay premiums. Increased financial incentives to encourage apprenticeship had been provided by the Commonwealth Govern-



The Granny Flat (Movable Unit) Scheme enables pensioners to maintain a degree of independence while having access to family care and support.

*Ministry of Housing*



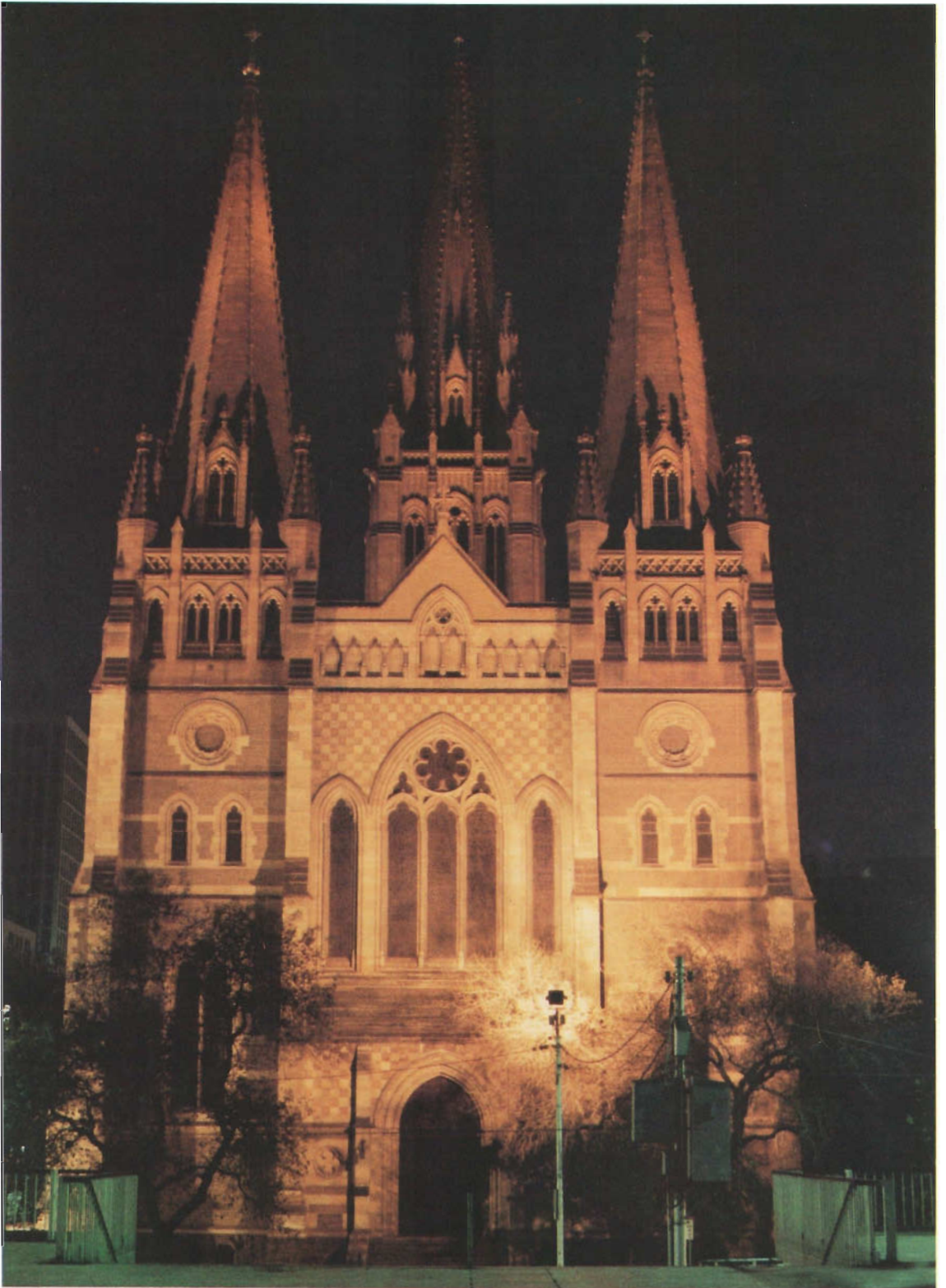
The dining room of a modern house highlights the use of natural timbers, plants, and light, to produce a more open living style.

*Australian Women's Weekly*



Adobe (mud brick) homes offer an alternative to the more traditional clay brick construction method.

*Ministry of Housing*



St Paul's Anglican Cathedral was constructed during the decade of Melbourne's great "boom" period in the 1880s.

*Grant Lynton*

ment when the Commonwealth Rebate for Apprentice Full-time Training Scheme was introduced in January 1977. From November 1981, employers were rebated payroll tax paid in respect of the first year's wages of apprentices. Other initiatives to increase apprenticeships have included the Group Apprenticeship Scheme, which assisted small firms involved in apprenticeship training, and the State Additional Apprenticeship Scheme which involved the employment of extra apprentices in State Government departments and instrumentalities.

### **Manpower and training schemes**

In the early 1970s, the Commonwealth Government developed a number of training schemes aimed at improving the employment prospects of particular groups within the community. Few persons were trained under these schemes, partly because of their narrow eligibility criteria but mainly because of the ease with which jobs could be found in the then still buoyant labour market. The most successful of these early schemes was the Redundancy Scheme introduced in 1972.

The National Employment and Training system (NEAT), which began operation in October 1974, consolidated a number of existing training schemes into one scheme administered by the Commonwealth Employment Service. NEAT provided for the use of formal courses at institutions as well as for subsidies to employers for in-plant training and for financial assistance to employers who retained apprentices during periods of economic downturn.

The three objectives of NEAT were to assist in resolution of short-term deficiencies in specified occupational categories, to relieve the imbalance in supply of labour caused by economic and technological change, and to improve the employment prospects of disadvantaged workers. Due to the worsening labour market situation and budgetary pressures greater emphasis was given, after October 1975, to in-plant training than to formal education as it provided a more immediate return to the community and was more relevant at a time of rising unemployment.

The Special Youth Employment Training Programme (SYETP) was introduced as part of NEAT in October 1976. Under SYETP, employers were subsidised for providing employment and training to disadvantaged young people for a maximum period of six months. In October 1976 the Relocation Assistance Scheme became available to help unemployed persons move to other localities to take up either employment or NEAT training.

In November 1976 the Community Youth Support Scheme (CYSS) was introduced to encourage participation by local community organisations in the provision of employment-oriented programmes for unemployed youth in areas of high unemployment. This was followed in February 1977 by the Education Programme for Unemployed Youth (EPUY) designed to enable persons for whom low or inadequate educational qualifications were a primary barrier to employment to participate in basic education and work orientation courses at Colleges of Technical and Further Education (TAFE).

The Commonwealth Rebate for Apprentice Full-time Training Scheme (CRAFT) which commenced in January 1977, provided rebates to employers for apprentice days at school, rebates to employers who ran training programmes for apprentices, and living away from home allowances to apprentices.

In May 1977 a National Strategy for Aboriginals was announced. This included the introduction of a Community Development Employment Projects scheme, increased efforts to stimulate employment and training of Aboriginals in private industry and the Commonwealth Service, and the establishment of a national committee to stimulate interest at top management level in the problems of Aboriginal employment.

Greater attention was also paid during the 1970s to the need for training programmes for industry and commerce. One innovation was the subsidisation of specialist officers for the development of manpower programmes in particular sectors of industry. In February 1981 a school-to-work transition allowance was introduced to enable longer-term unemployed young people to continue in education courses, such as pre-employment courses and EPUY, which would improve their employability.

During 1981, use of the term "NEAT" was discontinued and the various government

training schemes were identified by their function and purpose in the labour market. In March 1982 new guidelines were adopted for CYSS which placed greater emphasis on employment.

#### TRENDS IN FEMALE EMPLOYMENT, 1934 TO 1983

Many factors, both social and economic, contributed to the growth of the female labour force. The acute manpower shortages of the Second World War drew women into occupations previously filled by men. The manner in which women carried out their new jobs and the major contribution they made to the war effort dispelled many misconceptions about the ability of women to perform tasks previously thought suitable only for men. The female participation rate fell again immediately after the end of the Second World War. Women withdrew from the labour force as ex-servicemen returned. After the mid-1960s, the trend towards smaller family size with child bearing concentrated in fewer years enabled many women to re-enter employment. By August 1983 there were 705,300 women participating in the Victorian labour force. Women comprised 38.2 per cent of the labour force.

In the 1950s, married women born overseas began to participate in the female labour force in increasing numbers. There was a significant variation between the labour force participation rates of married women born overseas and those born within Australia. At the 1971 Census, 45.2 per cent of all overseas-born married women aged 15 years and over and living in Victoria were in the labour force compared with 36 per cent of Australian-born married women.

Technological change influenced female participation in the labour force. The mechanisation and simplification of many work processes in industry made possible the employment of a relatively unskilled female labour force. Similarly, the widespread availability of electrical household appliances from the early 1950s onwards reduced the amount of time spent on household tasks and enabled many women to undertake both domestic activities and paid employment.

The steady growth of the service industries during the post-war years also provided many job opportunities for females. Most female employment is now concentrated in this sector.

At the 1933 Census, only 5.9 per cent of married women aged 15 years and over were in the Victorian labour force but by the 1981 Census this proportion had reached 46.7 per cent. Married women constituted 11.2 per cent of Victoria's female labour force at the 1933 Census compared with 61.4 per cent in 1981. Of the total Victorian labour force, 2.8 per cent were married women in 1933 compared with 23.7 per cent in 1981.

In the early 1930s women usually withdrew from the labour force when they married. Community attitudes towards married women working gradually changed during, and in the decades following, the Second World War. The right of married women to employment became widely accepted in the community and new work patterns emerged. The increased demand for female workers made it possible for a greater proportion of married women to obtain paid employment. A recognition of the changed community attitudes was the removal in November 1966 of the barrier to the employment of married women in the Commonwealth Public Service.

There has been a considerable increase in part-time employment, particularly of married women. Since married women in the labour force frequently carry out additional responsibilities such as the care of children, many prefer to work part-time rather than full-time. In August 1971 it was estimated that 30.5 per cent of the 318,900 employed married women in the labour force worked less than 35 hours per week. By August 1976, this proportion had risen to 39.7 per cent and, in August 1983, 44.9 per cent of the 389,700 employed married women worked less than 35 hours per week. The proportion of all persons working part-time rose from 10 per cent in 1971 to 14.5 per cent in 1976 and 17.2 per cent in 1983.

Female unemployment, expressed as a percentage of the female labour force, has been higher than the male unemployment rate during most of the post-war years. This has been a reflection of the movement of women into the labour force, the limited range of occupations in which women participated, and the lesser mobility of female workers compared with male workers.

Historically, the female proportion of the Victorian labour force has been marginally larger than the female proportion of the Australian labour force, mainly because of the higher proportion of women employed in the manufacturing sector in Victoria, some of whose industries are relatively labour intensive. At the 1981 Census, females comprised 29.3 per cent of the Victorian and 25.5 per cent of the Australian manufacturing labour force.

Although the range of vocational opportunities open to women has broadened considerably, at the 1981 Census female employment was concentrated mainly in community and recreation services (31 per cent) and manufacturing industries (17 per cent). Occupations of women tended to be more predominant in the clerical (31 per cent) and sales (11 per cent) areas. Within these broad occupational groupings women tended to be concentrated into a relatively narrow range of jobs such as clerks, typists, stenographers, nurses, teachers, shop assistants, and clothing and textile workers. A marked feature of women's employment was its concentration in office occupations.

#### **Employment anti-discrimination provisions**

On 15 June 1973 the Commonwealth Government ratified International Labour Organisation Convention No.111 aimed at eliminating discriminatory employment practices and attitudes based on race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction, or social origin. Any distinction, exclusion, or preference in employment based on the inherent requirements of a particular job or other factors was excluded from the provisions of the Convention.

To investigate complaints of discrimination in employment and occupation and to foster changes in community attitudes, Discrimination Committees were set up at both national and State levels. The Committees were established on a tripartite basis, with representatives from government, employer organisations, and trade unions, together with an independent chairman. The Committees are assisted in their work by a panel of expert consultants representing various sectors of the community such as working women, migrants, and Aborigines. It was decided to implement the national policy to eliminate discrimination without imposing legislative sanctions.

In 1977 the Victorian Government passed the Equal Opportunity Act aimed at eliminating discrimination in employment on the grounds of sex or marital status. The Act is administered by the Commissioner for Equal Opportunity and presided over by the Equal Opportunity Board. It gave the Commissioner legal powers to impose fines and to grant compensation for acts of discrimination.

#### **EXPANSION OF EMPLOYMENT SERVICES**

Commercial employment agencies increased in the 1960s and 1970s, particularly in the Melbourne metropolitan area where they tended to specialise in certain fields of employment such as secretarial jobs for females and professional, managerial, and paramedical occupations. They also catered for temporary, casual and part-time employment, particularly for female clerical workers. A number of non-profit making organisations such as University Appointments Boards and the Hospitals and Charities Commission also operated in the employment area.

In October 1976 the Commonwealth Government commissioned Mr J. D. Norgard to carry out a review of the functions of the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES). This was the first comprehensive examination of the CES since its establishment in 1946 and gave rise to a number of recommendations to upgrade its services in areas such as public accommodation, self-service facilities, and the introduction of computerised employment systems. In May 1978 the Commonwealth Employment Service Act was passed to provide for the future development of the CES as a modern manpower service. Provision was also made for the establishment of advisory committees at the national and regional levels to advise on the operations of the CES.

## HOUSING, BUILDING, AND CONSTRUCTION

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### INTRODUCTION

This Chapter traces the main aspects of housing and building construction since 1934. Both the process of erecting buildings and their final appearance bear witness to the major social and economic trends of this era.

The themes follow a basic chronological pattern: pre-war beginnings, the effects of the Second World War on the building industry; the great changes in all aspects of building after the early 1950s (when the immediate post-war shortages no longer constrained building); the domestic impact of changes in home construction building legislation; building and its interaction with planning requirements; the work of the Housing Commission and the National Trust; and major private and public sector construction.

In the 1930s building activity, because of the Depression's after-effects, was somewhat muted, and during the war years all resources of men and materials were directed towards the war effort. It was only after the Second World War that Victoria entered on an era of wide-ranging construction never equalled since the boom years of the 1880s. Suburbs grew further and further away from the inner metropolitan area and the urban area underwent a great visual change, the totality of which was clearly evident by the late 1970s, when construction again waned.

Special attention is drawn to the developments in the urban and suburban areas of Melbourne. There was new building activity in most country towns, although the overall impression of new structures replacing the old was nowhere near as strong as in Melbourne. For example, Geelong, Ballarat, and Bendigo still retain most of their pre-war visual features. Not so Melbourne.

Also, as there was considerable rural prosperity in the 1950s and 1960s, many farmers were able to build new homes in that period.

The Chapter does not give a detailed treatment of the architectural trends of the period, but notes these as they impinge on the themes of building construction and the design of dwellings. An assessment of the impact of the functional style in city building construction which has had so profound an impact on Melbourne's visual environment awaits a definitive analysis.

### 1934 TO 1939, POST-DEPRESSION ERA

By the time the Depression began to lift, building activity in Victoria had dropped dramatically. Values had fallen, and housing finance was available to borrowers only with a wide margin of safety to lenders. Housing development was disorganised, and there had been an unusual number of mortgagee sales of houses. Many of the low and medium priced houses had been built on unsewered sites with unmade roads.

By 1934 housing values had begun to rise as the Depression years began to recede, and the demand for public and private buildings was gradually being met in areas including housing, commercial and industrial buildings, churches, sporting facilities, and hospitals.

Some technical innovations became evident in the housing industry, and the first comparatively modern display houses were built by A.V. Jennings on the Beauville Estate at Murrumbena for the Colonial Gas Company. These houses displayed innovations in the kitchen, stainless steel sinks replaced wooden sink tops, wood-fuelled bath heaters were

replaced with gas-fuelled hot water services, and refrigerators replaced the ice box. Lath and plaster ceilings were replaced by fibrous plaster, and timber houses with iron roofs by solid brick houses with tiled roofs. These all-brick houses complete with land, equipment, and services were sold for about \$3,500, many without a deposit at a time when the average nominal weekly wage for an adult male worker was approximately \$8.00. Roads were laid, including concrete footpaths with crossings for cars, and sewerage was connected. This first housing development by the Colonial Gas Company was followed by a comparable project of the State Savings Bank of Victoria at Fishermens Bend which included many two-storied individual and semi-detached brick houses, and all houses were available for purchase on very low deposits and repayments.

During the 1930s, building permits and approvals were easy to obtain, building techniques were improving, and there was comparative industrial peace. Strikes and disturbances were mostly minor.

The first attempt at organisation of the building industry, was the Building Industry Congress of Victoria, which brought together architects, engineers, unions, builders, sub-contractors, manufacturers and suppliers, with some success in understanding the industry and in settling difficulties.

In general, most building projects were completed on time with comfort installations such as air conditioning and acoustic controls in their early stages of development. Construction of several major institutional buildings proceeded on schedule, an early example occurring in 1933 with the completion of the Shell Company building, with the then height limit of 40.2 metres, in William Street. Designed by Kingsley Henderson and his partners, and soon followed by their Alcaston House, a comparatively modern apartment house at the top of Collins Street, these buildings typified the architectural standards of well mannered and restrained neo-classicism which was consistent with the several new banks and insurance company offices being constructed at this time in the City of Melbourne. The MacRobertson Girls High School, functional and modern in design, was built in 1934. With the average construction time for a 12 storey building decreasing from 2-4 years to 12-18 months the Manchester Unity building was completed in 12 months with organised construction and accurate planning. The Royal Melbourne Hospital, completed in the early 1940s, was one of the foremost hospital designs in the world and enjoyed wide acclaim.

The 1930s produced the first evidence of "Contemporary" or "International Style" architecture influenced by Burley Griffin, Mies Van Der Rohe, Walter Gropius and the Bauhaus, with dedication to traditional forms beginning to give way to the experimental freedoms of the new movement. Before 1934 the standard of the average house was mediocre, with little variation and no quality of design. Larger houses were usually of so-called Georgian design or Tudor or Spanish Mission. It was about this time that some of the more imaginative younger generation of architects including Roy (later Sir Roy) Grounds, Geoffrey Mewton, Robin Boyd, and Norman Seacourt, produced individual houses specifically designed for the Australian way of life and its climate. Many blocks of flats were also built in this manner. The movement gained impetus and gradually spread to the rest of Australia.

As the expansion of Melbourne increased with its almost invariable single home suburbs, it left in its wake depressed areas of sub-standard or semi-derelict houses in the inner suburbs which had developed into slums, many of which were occupied by pensioners or low income families.

In 1937 a Housing Act was introduced with the object of solving the problem of slum reclamation; it resulted in the creation of the Housing Commission of Victoria. In 1939 the Commission formed into an organised group the successful competitors in an architectural competition and entrusted them with the design and construction of the first housing estates to be developed by the Commission. Each member of this group was a principal in a well established firm and, therefore, brought to the service of the Commission considerable resources in equipment and experienced staff, which included architects, engineers, supervisors, and administrative personnel.

The Commission at the time had as its objective the role of a slum clearance (or urban renewal) authority with the aim of improving housing conditions and providing adequate



accommodation for persons of limited means. Finally, in 1938 it began the construction of the first housing estate of 412 dwellings at Fishermens Bend.

With the outbreak of war in 1939, the withdrawal of manpower and building materials restricted the Commission's construction activities, but throughout the war it continued with research and development into construction design and techniques for the future, especially concrete houses. Slum reclamation began again in the early 1950s and the immediate post-war period was devoted to overcoming arrears in house construction.

The Commission had erected its first concrete house at Fishermens Bend, and in 1943 took over the Fowler Construction plant to develop the project; by 1945, 2,000 such rental houses had been built. The plant at Holmesglen was taken over in 1946 and 2,000 concrete houses were built between 1945 and 1956.

The time taken to construct a house had increased from a few months in 1934 to between eight months and two years in 1951. From 1945 to 1952 building materials and labour were in very short supply, a maximum area for new houses was enforced, and ceiling height fell to below 3 metres. By the early 1950s brick veneer construction was twice as common as solid brick and timber. Land costs began to rise and the cost of sites became higher in relation to dwellings.

### 1939 TO 1951, ERA OF MATERIAL SHORTAGES

In the early period of the war in Europe controls were enforced slowly, and private building carried on at diminishing levels. Luxury homes, for example, were still being built in Melbourne during 1939-40 although, generally, housing construction declined.

Victoria, and in particular Melbourne, was a main contributor and centre for the administration and direction of the national war effort, and the base for the headquarters of the Directorate of Munitions under Mr Essington Lewis, the Department of War Organisation and Industry, and the Commonwealth Department of Works which designed many of the Australian war facilities.

The War Workers Housing Trust was also based in Melbourne to provide munition workers and their families throughout Australia with hostel and cottage accommodation, wherever it was demanded. Some 22,500 persons were supplied with accommodation, including two-bedroom family cottages selling at \$560 each.

Melbourne was the centre of many controlling authorities, including the Works Priority Sub-Committee, which met at frequent intervals to determine the priorities of wartime construction projects submitted to it by the Armed Services of both Australia and the United States of America. Representatives attended, supported their applications, and retired with an approval or rejection usually given on the spot. The Department of Defence was also still based in Melbourne.

Government wartime projects involving engineering and construction for both Australian and United States Forces included munitions factories, camps, airfields, military hospitals, war worker housing, roads, harbour facilities, utility services, and warehouses (all aided by United States heavy equipment such as bulldozers), and storehandling facilities with pallets, fork lifts, and other mechanical techniques. To save time, very direct procedures, often oral and without defined costs, were used to order and speed up completion of engineering and construction projects related to munitions, war equipment, and buildings.

Many of the projects were completed by normal on-site construction, although some of them were pre-fabricated. The Australian requirements were largely designed by the Commonwealth Department of Works, and by the various works sections of the Armed Services. In the main, on-site construction throughout Australia was carried out by a vast building construction organisation, the Allied Works Council, a co-ordinating and field construction body.

A significant part of the design of structures and projects for the war effort originated from Victoria. Melbourne representatives of the Institution of Engineers, Australia, and the Royal Australian Institute of Architects urged the use of partially employed private architects and engineers to assist the Commonwealth Department of Works in its design work load. Gradually these surplus professionals were employed by both Australian and American services. Within weeks of the attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941, United

States service personnel, called from scattered bases in the mid-Pacific and elsewhere, came at a steadily increasing rate to Melbourne.

The United States Navy, Army, and Air Force in the South-West Pacific area arrived in Australia without any organised engineering-architecture section and Engineer Headquarters immediately sought out and recruited local architects and engineers into a civilian design force of some 200, headed by the Chief Engineer of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, and the then President of the Royal Victorian Institute of Architects. With many top professionals from Victoria and some senior United States Army Engineers, the force was rapidly built up. This unit, which operated from Melbourne throughout the war with offices in each State or area, moved from Melbourne to Sydney and then Brisbane during successive years and was responsible for design of the major projects for the Navy, Army, and Air Force, using local techniques and materials.

In the early stages these projects were designed for normal construction but as the war moved north into the Pacific, much of the manufacturing capacity of Australia, largely based in Sydney and Melbourne, was transferred to a pre-fabrication programme, designed by the US Engineer unit and approved by the Works Priority Council. It began to operate early in 1942. The products were first used on mainland projects but soon were totally absorbed in New Guinea and the various islands of the Pacific zone of the war; fabricated and site tested on Randwick Racecourse in Sydney, these products were packed and shipped as required. They included such substantial items as 500 huts per week for camps, messes, hospitals, etc; a 500 bed hospital (including all accessories) per week; eleven warehouses per week; a portable hangar per week for transport in ships or in three Dakota aircraft loads; and various smaller projects. With the rapid shifting of operations much wastage occurred; for example, this programme produced and completed a 4,250 bed hospital at Herne Bay in Sydney, which was by-passed by the northward move of the war before it was used. Similarly by-passed was a major storage complex made from pre-fabricated hangars and constructed in Cairns, again to be almost unused.

When the end of the war came in Europe in May 1945, there was still a major war effort in the Pacific area. The Japanese surrender in August 1945 meant that Australia would be confronted by the effort required to repatriate and house returning forces and switch from a war-orientated to a civilian economy. The end of the war and a major industrial and social adjustment to peace called on the controlling authorities and the building and construction industry to adjust once more. In the background were various strong political tensions, such as the proposal to nationalise the banks, and a high level of industrial unrest.

Shortages of materials continued to and beyond 1951, including bricks, glass, steel, soft timber, petrol, and many other items. Controls persisted for some years with some rationing of petrol, clothing, and certain foods. Permits were still required for any civil building.

Uncertainty prevailed in the building industry, which had been disorganised by the war and was now trying to re-establish itself. There were tensions among construction workers and this era saw the emergence of greatly increased strikes, delays, and increasingly unstable construction costs. Industrial action and negotiations for improved conditions and salary levels, together with shortages of materials, created problems in erecting buildings on time and to scheduled costs.

In these conditions, the consumer market for commercial and other space was hesitant and investors were reluctant to undertake the risk of uncertain capital expenditure. For many years there was little commercial building, some industrial construction, and a limited but fast growing volume of housing. Provision of structural steel, available only from unpredictable rolling schedules, was uncertain and led to wide-scale importations at higher cost.

Some projects of importance were undertaken, and engineering works in Victoria included the Eildon Dam, a world standard earthworks project which included the Eildon township for housing some two thousand workers during the several years of construction, which was also designed to adapt to normal civil usage on completion.

During 1944-45, post-war housing needs had been assessed by the then Commonwealth Department of Labour and National Service. Its task was to assess the requirements of housing repatriated servicemen, and advise about the best means of ensuring adequate construction. In the event the problem was over-estimated and the target of some 70,000

houses per annum was never realised. However, the Department produced valuable technical housing data.

The Royal Victorian Institute of Architects Small Homes Service commenced operations in 1947 and provided, for people of limited means, plans, specifications, and contracts for well designed homes at a nominal fee. This service made a significant improvement to the quality of small home design in Victoria and indeed throughout Australia.

The Commonwealth-State Housing Agreements emerged in 1945 and 1956, and under these arrangements, methods of construction were examined, a strong swing from solid brick to brick veneer was established, and many pre-fabricated wall panel systems were tested. Shortages of materials and labour, and other factors, inspired the pre-fabrication programmes. These included the Victorian Railways' so-called "snail" project which included modern room units designed in Victoria, imported complete and ready for local erection, and widely used. Similarly, the Victorian Hospitals Commission sponsored a locally designed pre-fabricated hospital project, providing the total parts for some 1,200 beds, designed in Victoria, and imported ready for assembly.

The first large Victorian post-war hospitals were built by normal construction at Footscray and Northcote. Designed in the late 1940s, they each had several hundred beds. They proceeded to construction and completion in the early 1950s, with Footscray being the first fully air-conditioned hospital in Australia. Around these and other projects, firms of builders and architects started to find work again.

In the early 1950s some major industrial projects were constructed, such as the refinery at Corio (1954) and the petrochemical complex at Altona (1955). Towards the end of the decade, new commercial construction and industrial projects were begun. Designers, worried by rising costs and labour shortages, investigated new assembly techniques, new forms of construction, and the pre-fabrication of parts for major projects. All these were subsequently used in the early 1960s. Such developments were basically addressed to overcoming shortages and the high post-war cost of labour, and to achieving reduced construction time and improved standards.

The Commonwealth Experimental Building Station, together with the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation, carried out notable research and testing for architects, engineers, manufacturers, and owners. These agencies achieved the rationalisation of regulations covering fire protection, heat-resisting solar glazing, eye-protective anti-glare tinted glazing, acoustic controls by means of ceilings and sound-proofed partitions, curtain walls, light-weight steel frames and pre-fabricated steel floor sections, pre-fabricated stairs, and other components. These components were designed, tested, and in due course often used in city projects. These new techniques sought to lessen dependence on conventional labour intensive construction, and as far as possible transfer on-site exposed working conditions to the indoor workshop.

In engineering, too, there were far-reaching effects. The war had brought into use immense quantities of mechanical equipment for earth moving and trench digging. Techniques of air strip construction used growing knowledge of soil dynamics, and store handling methods using modern forklift-cum-pallet proved a short-cut to goods handling. Australian personnel learned many new techniques. As the American Forces left Australia and New Guinea much of this equipment was left behind and became accessible to Australian municipal engineers and various other organisations, and in a short time the advantages of these new mechanical techniques were being fully exploited by municipalities, road authorities, and others. The day of the labourer with pick and shovel had virtually ended.

The following tables provide statistics on the number of dwellings, and new dwellings commenced and completed in Victoria during the period since the end of the war:

## NUMBER OF OCCUPIED DWELLINGS: VICTORIA, 1947 TO 1981

Year (a)	Occupied private dwellings			Non-private dwellings	Total occupied dwellings
	Melbourne Statistical Division (b)	Rest of State	Victoria		
1947	310,863	206,972	517,835	9,571	527,406
1954	415,989	234,884	650,873	9,817	660,690
1961	518,476	263,057	781,533	8,996	790,529
1966	621,685	259,763	881,448	7,536	888,984
1971	731,687	278,499	1,010,186	5,299	1,015,485
1976	813,402	308,176	1,121,578	4,726	1,126,304
1981	892,047	346,898	1,238,945	4,506	1,243,451

(a) Censuses of Population and Housing at 30 June.

(b) The figures shown for the years 1947 to 1961 relate to the Melbourne metropolitan area. From 1966 onwards the figures relate to the dwellings within a fixed boundary embracing an area referred to as the Melbourne Statistical Division.

## NUMBER OF NEW DWELLINGS COMMENCED: VICTORIA, 1947 TO 1982

Year ended 30 June--	Commenced (a)		
	Melbourne Statistical Division	Rest of State	Victoria
1947	n.a.	n.a.	13,293
1950	10,870	9,101	19,971
1955	16,419	7,438	23,857
1960	19,065	7,657	26,722
1965	23,433	8,388	31,821
1970	31,228	6,852	38,080
1975	21,085	10,571	31,656
1980	15,598	10,346	25,944
1981 (b)	15,825	10,487	26,312
1982	15,110	9,208	24,318

(a) Figures prior to 1974 include alterations and additions of \$10,000 and over.

(b) Figures from 1981 are based on data supplied by local and other government authorities. Prior to this figures were obtained from builders.

NOTE: Dwelling statistics are not adjusted retrospectively for boundary changes to Melbourne Statistical Division (formerly Melbourne metropolitan area) and Rest of State.

## NUMBER OF NEW HOUSES AND OTHER DWELLINGS COMMENCED (a) BY OWNERSHIP: VICTORIA, 1947 TO 1982

Year ended 30 June--	Private			Public			Total		
	Houses (b)	Other dwellings	Total dwellings (b)	Houses	Other dwellings	Total dwellings	Houses (b)	Other dwellings	Total dwellings (b)
1947	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	12,981	312	13,293
1950	15,778	225	16,003	3,865	103	3,968	19,643	328	19,971
1955	18,948	178	19,126	3,726	1,005	4,731	22,674	1,183	23,857
1960	21,143	2,956	24,099	2,058	565	2,623	23,201	3,521	26,722
1965	19,641	9,030	28,671	2,126	1,024	3,150	21,767	10,054	31,821
1970	22,600	12,272	34,872	1,975	1,233	3,208	24,575	13,505	38,080
1975	21,102	6,961	28,063	3,116	477	3,593	24,218	7,438	31,656
1980	21,144	3,570	24,714	809	421	1,230	21,953	3,991	25,944
1981	21,040	3,909	24,950	906	778	1,684	21,950	4,687	26,630
1982	18,450	4,450	22,900	671	765	1,436	19,120	5,215	24,340

(a) Figures prior to 1974 include alterations and additions of \$10,000 and over.

(b) From 1981 figures are based on a sample of jobs. Prior to this figures were obtained from a census of builders. 1981 and 1982 figures are rounded to the nearest ten units.

## NEW DWELLINGS COMPLETED (a) : VICTORIA, 1946 TO 1982

Year ended 30 June—	Houses (b)		Other dwellings (b)		Total dwellings (b)	
	number (c)	\$'000	number (c)	\$'000	number (c)	\$'000
1946	3,666	7,604	14	14	3,680	7,618
1950	15,611	57,708	246	1,326	15,857	59,034
1955	23,839	135,276	781	3,664	24,620	138,940
1960	24,157	163,496	2,062	10,920	26,219	174,416
1965	22,821	185,692	8,674	47,564	31,495	233,256
1970	24,702	261,899	13,992	101,953	38,694	363,852
1975	26,902	511,546	10,440	129,749	37,342	641,295
1980	22,617	785,744	4,323	110,680	26,940	896,424
1981 (d)(e)	21,480	817,500	4,420	115,600	25,900	933,100
1982 (e)	19,960	870,500	4,530	132,100	24,490	1,002,600

(a) Figures prior to 1 July 1966 include alterations and additions of \$10,000 and over to other dwellings only. From 1 July 1966 to 30 June 1971, the figures include alterations and additions of \$10,000 and over to both houses and other dwellings. From July 1971 the figures exclude alterations and additions of \$10,000 and over to houses and other dwellings. The figures exclude all alterations and additions of less than \$10,000.

(b) Excludes value of land.

(c) Individual dwelling units.

(d) From 1980-81 statistics are based on a sample of jobs. Prior to this figures were obtained from a census of builders.

(e) 1981 and 1982 figures are rounded to the nearest ten units.

## 1950s AND 1960s, METHODS AND MATERIALS

**Houses**

Pre-war housing construction techniques predominated for a few years until many familiar aspects of the house began to change in the 1950s. Windows, once steel casements or double-hung timber, began to increase in size and soon almost entire walls were glazed. Roofs, once invariably hipped or gabled, became skillioned or flat. This latter form was made easier to achieve by using the new steel roofing materials. Originally introduced from the USA as formwork for concrete, such material became popular when an architect reversed it, placing its strengthening ribs uppermost. Concrete slabs laid directly on the ground became an acceptable floor and banished the State's long time fear of white ant.

The plan of the house became freer, and was opened up into wings of one room thickness, although the majority continued to be of the eighty year old shape in which one front room projected slightly, producing the L-shape and the U-shape house in significant numbers, to be followed by a fashion for angles and skews. Houses were angled in plan by moving entire wings or by skewing only one wall. Often the skew line was continued externally in a flower box.

Houses were also skewed in volume with ceilings following the roof slope and windows following the ceiling to present a curtaining problem as curtains themselves came to compete with the new venetian blinds. Unused for 60 years, they reappeared in the 1950s, with plastic coated metal replacing the earlier cedar strips.

In the early 1950s the pre-war disposition of rooms still prevailed: two bedrooms, a sitting room, and a dining room in addition to the usual service rooms. This gave way to the three bedroomed (and later the four bedroomed) house. To maintain the overall size, the extra space required came from the dining room which tended to become merely an adjunct of the living room and thus the L-shaped main room was born. When the dining room vanished as a second living/study area, the former small eating area in the kitchen was expanded to provide the lost work area and towards the end of the decade the family room adjacent to the kitchen was born. The introduction of television in 1956 made a second living/sitting area essential if conversation or homework was to be provided for. The bathroom, once a single room containing a bath with shower above it and a basin, became two and then three small compartments with the bath and basin in one, shower in another, and the lavatory, in the third, the latter a trend which began before the war.

The mechanical equipment of the house in the early 1950s showed little change from that of of the late 1930s. During the 1960s the house became mechanised with automatic washing machines, clothes drying cabinets, dish washing machines, and central heating systems, which made possible a more open planning of interiors. The automatic washing machine changed the house plan as the laundry and kitchen could now be combined. This kitchen/laundry amalgamation which originated in architect designed custom-built houses was soon adopted generally in less elaborate houses designed by the owner or a builder.

It was about this time that colours became fashionable and many details in houses were painted in a different bright colour.

As the decade proceeded the role of change in superficial details quickened, as the house itself became lighter and everything short of outright prefabrication and rationalised factory-based construction was welcomed as a means of containing costs and increasing amenity.

Changes again became evident in the 1960s. The Depression of the 1890s, the First World War, and the subsequent Depression had each been a major watershed of house design and the credit squeeze of 1961 was no exception. The post-1891 house exchanged stucco, slate hips, and double hung windows for red bricks, tiled gables, and casements, with electric light, telephone, and bathrooms and kitchens in the main block of the house (beyond stained glass panelled doors or beaded curtains draped from timber fretwork infills).

When the house of the 1960s appeared, it abandoned cream paint and reverted, after 40 years, to stain. To show off the new status of stains, timber was left rough-sawn and exposed along the new "cathedral" ceilings. Rumbled bricks and clinkers (once rejected because of their uneven shape), full height doors, and, in the lower price range, aluminium windows were preferred, and ceiling heights reduced to 2.4 metres. The new type of developer who sold the house as a complete package of site and building was responsible for many of these new facets of taste.

#### NUMBER OF NEW HOUSES COMMENCED: BY MATERIAL OF OUTER WALLS, VICTORIA, 1947 TO 1982 (a)

Year ended 30 June—	Melbourne statistical area						Victoria					
	Brick etc.	Brick veneer	Wood	Fibro	Other and not stated (b)	Total	Brick etc.	Brick veneer	Wood	Fibro	Other and not stated (b)	Total
1947(c)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	7,711	7,460	(c)	4,101	(c)	1,420	12,981
1950	1,980	2,632	5,594	295	84	10,585	2,750	3,340	11,208	2,070	275	19,643
1955	1,705	4,140	8,965	388	95	15,293	2,163	5,068	13,794	1,391	258	22,674
1960	972	9,511	5,016	122	7	15,628	1,517	11,228	8,436	1,808	212	23,201
1965	603	12,611	700	155	2	14,071	927	16,556	2,313	1,747	224	21,767
1970	510	17,457	364	430	10	18,771	642	21,126	937	1,797	73	24,575
1975	825	13,701	270	493	13	15,302	1,283	19,954	800	2,075	106	24,218
1980	929	11,737	332	205	16	13,219	1,839	17,714	966	1,372	62	21,953
1981(d)	977	10,495	364	60	1,182	13,078	1,978	16,007	1,067	940	1,615	21,607
1982	828	9,217	444	42	1,374	11,905	1,581	14,015	1,088	898	1,649	19,231

(a) Figures prior to 1974 include alterations and additions of \$10,000 and over.

(b) Not stated included from 1981 only.

(c) For 1947 only, brick veneer is included with brick etc. and fibro is included with other, etc.

(d) From 1981 figures are based on data from local government sources. Prior to this figures were obtained from a census of builders.

#### Flats

Flats had first appeared in Melbourne in the 1890s. Then they were for the very rich and later for the middle classes, but only as a second choice in housing. In the 1920s and 1930s, "family" flats appeared in very limited numbers and in the 1940s the "bachelor" flat, with bar-kitchen and fold-down bed became available.

From 1951 to 1959 the annual number of flats produced in the State grew significantly and all of them were built in Melbourne. This resulted, in part, from the idea of giving a flat its own entity, first by ownership of shares in a building venture and later by its own actual title which produced a new building type description, OYO for "own your own". With an adjustment to the Titles Act, an apartment could be owned, not rented. By the end of the 1950s, flats were well on their way to acquiring recognition and permanence. After the credit squeeze of 1961, flats became an attractive investment and acceptable shelter. The 1960s were noted for their construction.

Flats were rarely built in the country and in the city they were concentrated in St Kilda, Elwood, South Yarra, and Hawthorn. Because they were essentially speculative, they had even less professional involvement than houses. Some of the houses were designed by architects or designers, or were influenced by design philosophies.

The typical apartment block of the 1960s was three storeys high, set above a pillared, dark, parking area. Its garden consisted of stones and cacti. Back stairs, a requirement of

the 1930s were no longer built. Yellow bricks, interspersed with "feature" panels of bricks or mosaic tiles, emphasised the building's conceptual link with the 1950s. In the later years of the decade, flats accounted for more than a third of Victorian housing and this proportion was even higher in the metropolitan area. Thus Victoria had almost unconsciously altered course and changed its housing values. The visual changes in the 1960s and 1970s were very significant but limited in range.

From 1970 on, the number of flats declined. The economic climate towards the end of the decade contributed to the reduction in the building of flats.

#### 1970s AND EARLY 1980s, HOUSING AND LIFESTYLE

Houses in Victoria adopted central heating, using gas and oil discovered in Bass Strait in the 1960s. The typical kitchen of the decade possessed two sinks set in a tiled bench, the tiles sometimes showing striking colours. Cooking was by separate units: bench hotplates and a wall oven. A dishwasher solved some problems for the householders and three bedrooms were usually sufficient for the smaller family size which now became common.

#### FUEL USED TO HEAT PRIVATE OCCUPIED DWELLINGS: VICTORIA, 1976 (a)

Type of fuel used	Number of dwellings
Coal, coke, and briquettes	40,182
Wood	102,980
Electricity	212,690
Gas-mains	344,060
Gas—bottled or LP	27,446
Oil, kerosene	319,848
Solar energy	572
Other fuel	7,908
No fuel used	5,774
Not stated	60,118

(a) Figures from the 1976 Census of Population and Housing.

Two important planning developments which started in the 1960s, became increasingly popular in the 1970s. These were the *en suite*—the small bathroom (basin, shower, and pan) off the "master" bedroom, and the family room.

This latter development was really another shift in emphasis on living areas. The built-in eating "nook" of the 1940s used in conjunction with the L-shaped living/dining room no longer suited living patterns. The separate dining room was visually re-established, then the wall between it and the kitchen was eliminated. The small family gathered in the living room where they watched television.

During the 1960s very few buildings over four storeys were built thus preserving the existing character of the suburbs. The economics of construction preserved many suburbs. However, four level buildings could be and were built 1.8 metres away from the side boundary. Thus where redevelopment was intensive, adjacent dwellings faced the equivalent rooms of their neighbours only 3.6 metres away.

Although houses were regarded as the norm of family accommodation, the industry in the 1960s had turned to other forms of accommodation. After the imposition of the credit controls of 1961, house building began almost immediately to taper off, but the effects took several years to show up on statistical tables; the average house still took at least 6 months to build.

Home building volume declined each year throughout the decade and did not attain the 1960 level for another 10 years. The leeway was made up, to a certain extent, by flats. In 1960, 26,000 dwellings were built; 24,000 houses and 2,000 "other" dwellings. The houses were usually of brick veneer.

In the 1970s many houses were so designed that the operative in the kitchen could enjoy inter-meal family life and see the television screen at the same time. The formal living room was reserved for quiet activities, or more precisely, visitors. Outside the house the dramatic change came in the back garden. Swimming pools, formerly the preserve of the

rich, became more common. In the lower budget, they were "above ground". The ideal was the inground, i.e., a concrete pool and the bright blue rectangle (or kidney) soon surpassed the orange roof as the typical accent in an aerial view of suburban Victoria. The traditional trades, bricklaying, carpentry, etc., in the 1970s were supplemented by the pool sprayer, the air-conditioning unit installer, and the dish- and clothes-washer service man.

The following table shows households, living in all types of private dwellings with various water using appliances, in October 1980:

**HOUSEHOLDS (a) WITH VARIOUS  
WATER USING APPLIANCES:  
VICTORIA, OCTOBER 1980**

Type of appliance	Number of households
	'000
Washing machine —	
sole use	1,107.4
share	25.1
Dishwasher	179.9
Swimming pool —	
above ground	90.5
below ground	29.0

(a) Private dwelling households only. The total number of these was 1,247,000.

Carpeting became most popular. Houses were now more and more set on slabs while flats, by regulation, had concrete floors. In the 1930s this was invariably covered with timber but now carpet was applied directly to it. Carpet became one of the first rather than one of the last purchases by occupants.

The 1970s also produced the first significant luxurious houses since the 1930s. These houses, almost invariably designed by architects, were entirely different from their predecessors. They were smaller, but their main rooms were very large indeed. The saving in size came from several areas. Kitchens were simple and there were no servants' quarters. In the 1930s, a luxury home building budget would contain substantial items for brick work, masonry, and tiling. In the 1970s new major items of expenditure were airconditioning, inbuilt furniture, pool, and outbuildings. Some houses installed solar water heating systems and occasionally solar space heating plants, but these items were very expensive. Victoria's relatively cheap energy had encouraged consumption, but higher charges have educated people in more careful usage.

The table below shows households with energy using appliances and facilities in private dwellings:

**HOUSEHOLDS (a) WITH VARIOUS  
MAJOR APPLIANCES AND  
FACILITIES: VICTORIA, NOVEMBER  
1980**

Appliance/facility	Number of households	Per cent
	'000	
Electric refrigerator	1,242.3	99.5
Dishwasher	190.5	15.3
Washing machine	1,123.6	90.0
Clothes drier	549.3	44.0
Hot water system	1,240.5	99.3
Central heating	152.1	12.2
Oil heater	184.5	14.8
Gas heater	633.4	50.7
Fixed electric heater	329.6	26.4
Air-conditioning	323.1	25.9
Swimming pool	114.0	9.1

(a) Private dwelling households only. The total number of these was 1,249,000.



Fashion produced a reaction against apricot bricks (themselves reacting against the older red bricks) and as taste had turned against the extravagances of the polychrome phase, the brown timber stains of the 1960s now spread to bricks and tiles. The prototypical suburb of the 1970s was a collection of low brown tile roofs over low brown boxes. The window frames were brown anodised aluminium. The service room floors were brown vinyl pressed to resemble old tessellated tiles. The front door's sidelights were glazed in brown patterned glass.

The public sought houses with some visual and emotional content and as a consequence the post-modern attitude began to influence all design and thus were born "cathedral roofs" and other "romantic" features. The styles which became acceptable were "Colonial", "Homestead", or "Spanish Mission" houses which became a normal feature of suburban streets. At the bottom of the market a nostalgic wave brought back pressed cement balusters to form the extensive balustrading of some new houses. Carved front doors became a status symbol in some areas, and slates, shutters, and small paned windows (on modern spiral balances) appeared. The small panes did not complicate maintenance in some cases because the framework was clipped on and could be detached for cleaning.

Arches, carefully contrived from cut bricks, reappeared after forty years absence, and were used in commercial as well as domestic buildings. Cast iron lace (usually reproduced in aluminium) re-appeared after eighty years. Towards the end of the decade the cast iron of the 1880s and the Spanish Mission style of the 1920s were somehow married. Brick fences had the Spanish openings but were filled partially with cast iron or aluminium lace.

During the 1960s and 1970s there was a growing appreciation of the Victorian houses of earlier generations, so much so that any 19th century house commanded a high price. The Victorian revival was partly due to nostalgia and partly to the historical consciousness largely created by the National Trust. These old buildings needed refitting and, in addition, most owners went to considerable expense to enlarge them. This was usually done by the addition at the back of a "family room" usually displaying a slate paved floor.

Towards the end of the 1970s three isolated practices began. First, the apartment blocks of the 1960s and 1970s were repainted, and sunblinds, names in brass, and garbage bin housings were added. Second, in the wider streets behind brown brick and balustraded houses, newer recreations were being catered for. In large gardens it was tennis; in smaller areas it was a trampoline installed above a shallow depression in the back lawn. Third, in the inner suburbs, many of the high Victorian houses which had been sand-blasted in the 1960s and 1970s, were in difficulties. Specialist engineers and architects were in constant demand, because the bluestone footings were failing. The intensive planting and conscientious watering of the native trees was having its effect on the structures, and after 100 years of service—30 years of popularity followed by 50 years of disuse, then rediscovery—they appeared to be overcome by the simple gum tree, the effects of whose transpirations are felt over a surprisingly wide area.

A major trend in housing construction since the mid-1970s has been the increasing renovation of existing houses. The most common improvements have been the addition of extra living and leisure space, an additional bathroom, and the updating of kitchen equipment.

The following tables give an indication of more recent trends in house sizes and alterations and additions to dwellings:

AVERAGE SIZE OF HOUSES  
COMPLETED (a):  
VICTORIA, 1971 TO 1982

Year ended 30 June—	Average size of houses completed
1971	137
1975	143
1980	153
1981	156
1982	162

(a) Average size of floor area measured in square metres.

ALTERATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO NEW DWELLINGS (a):  
VICTORIA, 1972 TO 1982

Year ended 30 June—	Houses (b)		Other dwellings		Total dwellings	
	number (c)	\$'000	number (c)	\$'000	number (c)	\$'000
1972	237	n.a.	14	n.a.	251	n.a.
1973	332	5,283	1	10	333	5,293
1974	557	8,888	11	278	568	9,166
1975	1,187	18,560	22	515	1,209	19,075
1976	2,268	36,977	28	731	2,296	37,708
1977	3,780	63,734	52	1,610	3,832	65,344
1978	5,014	85,948	66	1,099	5,080	87,047
1979	5,578	90,660	63	1,303	5,641	91,963
1980	5,240	93,952	78	1,436	5,318	95,388
1981	5,830	115,534	90	3,954	5,920	119,488
1982	7,120	153,093	140	6,752	7,260	159,845

(a) \$10,000 and over only.

(b) From 1981, private sector component is based on a sample of jobs. Prior to that, figures were based on a census of builders.

(c) 1981 and 1982 figures are rounded to the nearest ten units.

Several reasons have contributed to the popularity of renovation. On the technical side, Uniform Building and Council Regulations have been modified to make renovations possible at a time when a new consciousness of the environment had made the restoration of old buildings desirable. Also higher social and educational expectations have raised the requirements for larger houses as has the increase in leisure time. Swimming pools, billiard tables, saunas, and the hobbies of a technological age all require extra space.

There have also been some significant economic and social factors contributing to this trend. The cost of moving house has increased: legal, mortgage, stamp duty, interest, and removal charges have become increasingly steeper. This has been part of the inflationary pattern since the early 1970s and has been reflected in other areas such as the rising cost of building materials, industrial disputes, and the threat of unemployment. On the other hand, in an inflationary age, property has been seen as a sound investment and renovation a comparatively lesser absolute cost than rebuilding.

Proximity to transport assumed an increasing significance in deciding property values after the "energy crisis" which began in 1973. A convenient location, not too far from the city, with good access to schools and other community facilities, was highly prized and encouraged the renovation of houses in such fortunate areas.

## BUILDING LEGISLATION AND MUNICIPAL RESPONSIBILITIES

The post-war reorganisation of the building industry presented the first real opportunity for translating the Uniform Building Regulations of Victoria into practical effect. Soon after these regulations were first published in 1945, they came under attack from the Master Builders Association, the Institute of Engineers, the Royal Victorian Institute of Architects, and the public in general. As a result, a Board of Inquiry was set up by the Victorian Government in 1953 to enquire into matters relating to the control of building operations by municipal authorities and this led to the establishment of the Building Regulations Committee.

By 1955 several amendments to the Uniform Building Regulations had been issued, with particular reference to numerous site requirements for town planning. By 1959 further amendments and modifications had been introduced to the extent that a revised issue of the Uniform Building Regulations had to be printed as a new volume. These included the interpretation of the 40.2 metres height limitation.

Until this time, building heights in the City of Melbourne were limited to 40.2 metres, being one and one-third times the width of the widest street, with most wide streets being 29.1 metres wide. Height restrictions were ended late in 1957 when a special dispensation as to height granted by the Building Regulations Committee in the design and construction of the ICI Building in East Melbourne. However, the actual regulation remained unchanged.

With increased high-rise construction within the inner areas of the City of Melbourne, many existing regulations required revisions to effect fire ratings and exit provisions, as well as allowing modern techniques in construction such as high tensile bolts and lightweight

construction generally. The regulations were re-issued on twelve occasions between July 1962 and February 1969.

Changing technologies and changing demands affected ceiling heights and toilet facilities for offices, shops, warehouses, and factories; revised site requirements for houses; and required new Standards Association codes. The amendments covering these factors resulted in five reprints between 1969 and 1973, and, with the acceptance of national metrication, another reprint in 1973.

Concurrently, several other State and local authorities had power to make building regulations. The Health Act of 1958 brought about many new separate health regulations, most of which dealt with various types of building occupancy and were frequently in conflict with the Uniform Building Regulations. Again, in 1958, some major changes in general building regulation philosophy took place with the introduction of the new Local Government Act, and, at the same time, a Housing Act was introduced, with power for other authorities to make building regulations.

The combination of authorities controlling regulations affecting buildings had become so complex that it was virtually impossible to design a complete building with the knowledge that it would comply with all of the regulations of all of the various authorities. Indeed, since 1945 there had been some fifty Acts and ninety sets of regulations. All of these together formed the total legislation and regulations controlling the design, construction, and maintenance of buildings.

In May 1965 the University of Melbourne staged a three day conference dealing with a review of building regulations. A submission to consolidate the multiplicity of Acts and Regulations into a single Building Act and a volume of technical regulations was made to the Premier in August 1965. A bill for a new Building Act however, was deferred, and thus the industry carried on, while the number of referee awards steadily increased year by year.

A new attempt was then made by the Institute of Architects in 1974, requesting the Premier to set up a special inquiry to investigate and to recommend better procedures in regard to obtaining building permits and planning approvals. The Premier appointed a special committee known as the Building and Development Approvals Committee (BADAC), which interviewed relevant departments and institutions. Its final report and recommendations dealing with the building controls were submitted to the Premier in April 1977.

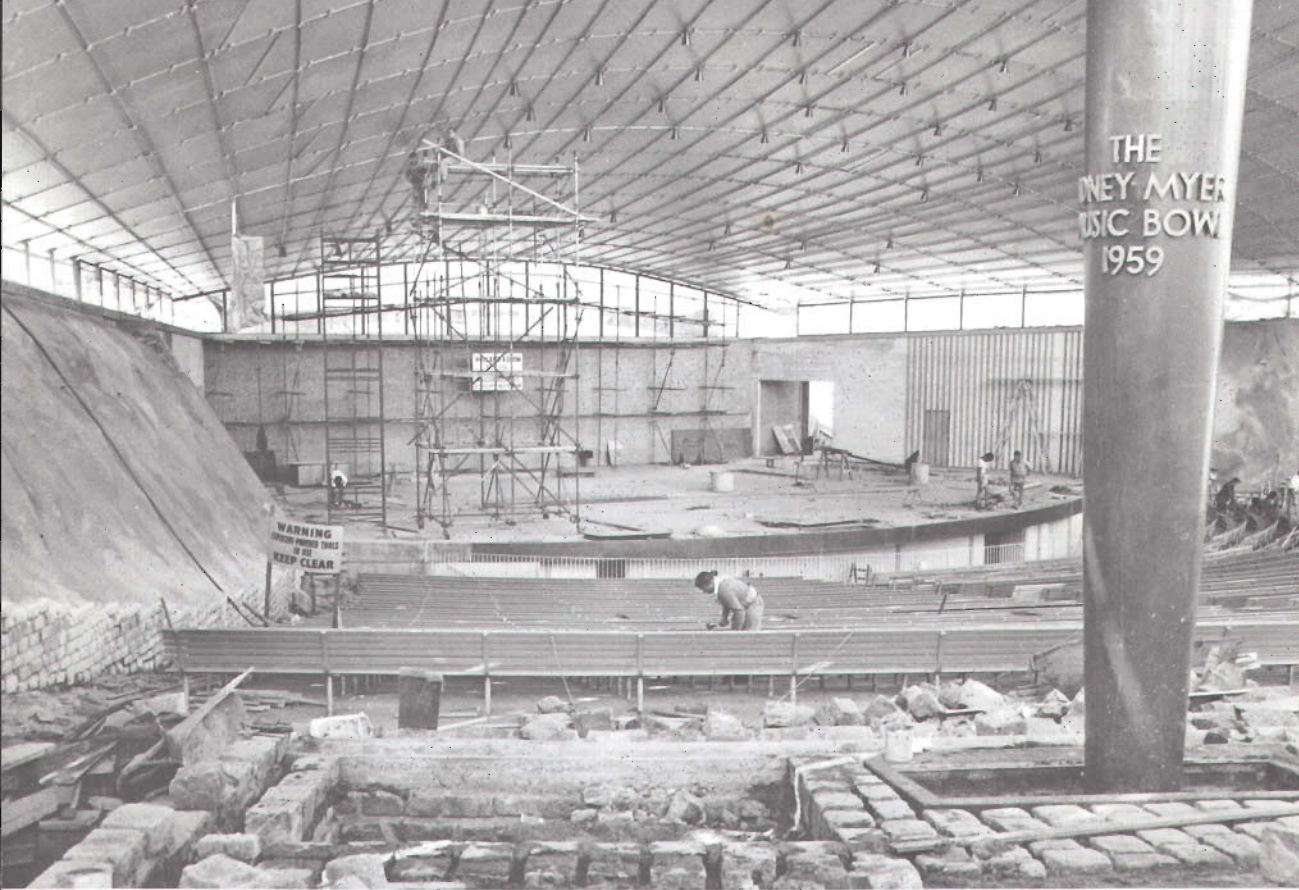
Victoria and the other States moved to a more uniform approach to Building Regulations in the mid-1970s by the adoption of the Australian Model Uniform Building Code (AMUBC). The acceptance by the Victorian Government of the principles in the BADAC Report of 1977 narrowed the gap towards the objective of a new and more up to date set of regulations comprising all types of occupancies and constructions of buildings.

On 12 January 1982, a new Act, the *Building Control Act 1981*, which provides regulations for the uniform control of building throughout Victoria, received Royal Assent and was operationally phased in with progressive proclamations of its various parts commencing on 2 August 1982. The Act, which was based on the recommendations of BADAC, consolidates, amends, and extends the law relating to building in Victoria.

Under the *Building Control Act 1981* the power to administer building regulations is vested in the councils of municipalities. The Uniform Building Regulations specify minimum requirements with respect to construction and it is the responsibility of the councils of the various municipalities to ensure that the regulations are complied with. If any doubt, difference, or dissatisfaction arises between any parties concerned or between any party and the Development Approvals Co-ordinator of a municipality or a relevant authority in terms of the building regulations, they may appeal to a Building Referees Board appointed pursuant to the provisions of the Act which will determine the matter. Building Referees Boards also have power to modify or vary any regulation or by-law provided that the modification or variation sought might reasonably be made without detriment to the public interest.

Under the provisions of the Uniform Building Regulations no person can commence any building work unless the Development Approvals Co-ordinator has granted building approval for the work and the appropriate building approval fee has been paid.

The Council of the municipality concerned is required to ensure that the building during



Construction of the Sidney Myer Music Bowl which was opened on 12 February 1959. Sidney Myer, founder of the retailing company, provided for the establishment of a Charity Trust in his will. The Music Bowl became the largest single donation from the Trust.

*Historian, Myer Emporium Ltd*

Collapse of one of the spans of the West Gate Bridge while under construction in October 1970. The collapse resulted in the deaths of 35 persons.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*





In 1937 more than 7,300 slum "shelters" were identified and later surveys showed more than 400 hectares of sub-standard inner city slums. Families of ten or more lived in one and two-roomed dwellings.

*Ministry of Housing*

(Below left) High-rise Housing Commission flats in Hoddle Street, Collingwood were constructed in 1968.

*Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*

(Below right) A pre-fabricated Housing Commission house under construction during the 1950s.

*Ministry of Housing*





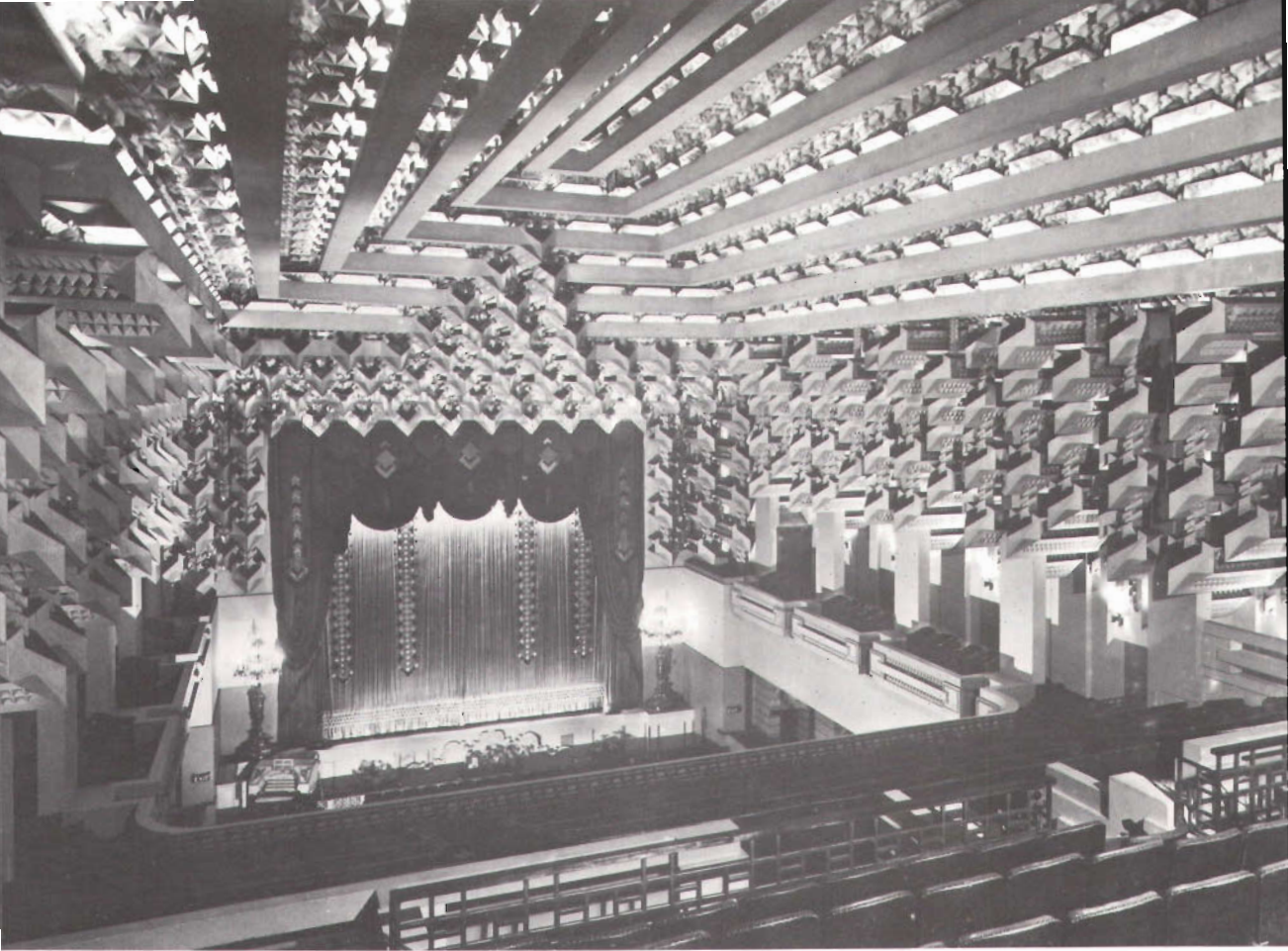
The view across Balwyn and Box Hill to the Dandenong Ranges from Beckett Park, Balwyn. The area in the foreground was first subdivided in the 1920s. Houses here are a mixture of 1920s and 1930s styles.

*Camberwell-Waverley Regional Library*

The Victorian Ministry of Housing undertakes the design and construction of low-rise high density family accommodation such as this development in Raglan Street, South Melbourne, which was completed in 1973.

*Ministry of Housing*





The interior of the Capitol Theatre, Melbourne, built in the mid-1920s. It was designed by Walter Burley Griffin.

*National Trust of Australia (Victoria)*



One hundred years of architectural styles: the mirror-clad exterior of Centennial Hall, opened in 1980, reflects the original Exhibition Building completed one hundred years earlier.

*Margaret A. Buck*

its course of construction, demolition, or removal complies with the Act, regulations, and the plans and specifications originally approved.

## PLANNING

The history of planning since 1934 has been deeply affected by a continuing conflict between land owners and statutory planning measures, as well as by gradually increasing support in Parliament for the concept of planning as a function of public administration.

The pioneer of twentieth century planning in Victoria was Dr James Barrett, a medical practitioner, who convened a meeting of citizens in Melbourne in 1914. This led to the formation of the body now known as the Town and Country Planning Association of Victoria. Barrett, as president, considered that extensive tramway and railway extensions, which had been activated at that time by land speculation, were the main obstacles to effective planning. He urged public acquisition of tracts of land to facilitate town planning.

At the time the Melbourne City Council took up Barrett's call for action. Then the Victorian Parliament itself responded, with some caution. In 1922 Parliament passed an Act to create the Melbourne Metropolitan Planning Commission. The Commission completed its work and submitted its report in 1929. Stressing the need for legislation the Report included a draft of a Bill for the whole State.

Late in 1930 a State Planning Bill was introduced and debated in Parliament. Enacted, it would have allowed consideration of the Commission's report and approval of a plan for Melbourne. It provided for betterment and for the control of subdivision of land throughout the State to be exercised by a Town Planning Board. Members expressed fears that such a provision might weaken the powers of local government. The debate was adjourned, not to be resumed.

This first period of planning in Victoria was not entirely without physical achievement. In 1921 Yallourn was established. That it was founded with comparative ease, according to Dr Barrett's prescription, seemed to go unnoticed. Due to the vision of Sir John Monash, the same prescription was to facilitate the town's removal, for the winning of coal, half a century later.

Parliament did not consider the orderly settlement in urban and rural Victoria again until the closing stages of the Second World War. Barrett, supported by local government, had kept up his representations, but the Government was probably also inspired by a nation wide interest in post-war reconstruction. In 1944 the Town and Country Planning Bill was approved and set up the Town and Country Planning Board.

The new legislation, together with an amendment approved five years later, was to set the stage for planning in Victoria for the next twenty years. Through the actions of the Town and Country Planning Board and the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, land-use controls made their first impact in key areas. Planning legislation in this period did not include the measure for State control of land sub-division proposed in 1930. Although the Town and Country Planning Association continued to condemn land speculation, it was rampant throughout the period.

The Town and Country Planning Association ambitiously proposed a Town, Country and Resources Planning Act. However, there was no clear concept at the time of the functions of resources management, land-use planning, and development promotion, and the Government ignored the Association's proposal in setting up the Central Planning Authority to implement the proposals of the State Regional Boundaries Committee. Within two years of the inception of official planning, the State had two State planning authorities—one to study regional resources under the Premier, the other to administer land-planning under the Minister for Works. In 1949, legislation empowered the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works to prepare a planning scheme for a defined Melbourne metropolitan area of some 1,800 square kilometres.

The scheme was exhibited in 1954 and was intended to provide for a future population of 2.5 million. It introduced a system of urban zones, reservations for public purposes, and a peripheral rural zone intended to provide for further urban expansion as required. Policy proposals related to the Central Business District, suburban centres, inner area redevelopment, industry, recreation, and transport. Interim control began in 1955 and continued until the amended scheme was approved in 1968.



Nevertheless, the outlook for planning in Victoria in the 1950s was promising, for the State at long last had a comprehensive planning system. By 1954 planning action could be initiated anywhere in the State; Melbourne had a plan and an assurance that it would be implemented; the training of planners had been undertaken by the University of Melbourne; and a professional society had brought practitioners together. The Town and Country Planning Association continued to flourish.

In the 1960s soon after planning had become ministerially linked with Local Government instead of Public Works, planning administration was to experience a significant reform. In introducing a Bill to amend the Town and Country Planning Act, the Minister announced in 1968 that the new legislation was to provide for strategic planning at the State level and for regional and local planning. To implement this system there would be Statements of Planning Policy bearing the imprimatur of the Victorian Government, a State Planning Council for co-ordination and consultation between government authorities concerned with planning, and regional planning authorities for key areas throughout the State.

With its new functions the Town and Country Planning Board gave its attention to the Dandenong Ranges and other countryside areas in the shadow of Melbourne's continuing expansion. Thus it became government policy to protect the environments of the Mornington Peninsula, the Dandenongs, Mount Macedon, and the Yarra Valley. Soon the whole of the principal urban area of the State embracing Melbourne, Geelong, and Western Port was under regional planning.

Following the State Government's call for a revision of planning policies, the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works in 1967 recommended an urban corridor/green wedge form for future growth within an expanded metropolitan planning area and limited redirection of growth to the north and west of Melbourne. In 1971, the Board submitted policies and exhibited two amending schemes giving statutory recognition to the Government's adopted corridor/wedge policy, zoned additional urban land, and provided for staged outward development, permanent non-urban zones, and a series of metropolitan parks.

At the beginning of the 1970s, Victoria's expansion was covered by planning schemes for almost the entire eastern and central areas of the State. The decade proved to be the most eventful period in the State's history of planning; however, many unexpected events prevented it from achieving all its objectives.

One major unexpected event was a stirring in the community conscience over the condition of the physical environment. Responding to widespread reaction, Parliament approved the formation of such bodies as the Environment Protection Authority and the Land Conservation Council. These new circumstances made it essential that the inter-related functions of environment assessment, resource management, land-use planning (itself just strengthened by far-reaching measures approved by Parliament), and development promotion should all be closely linked administratively. The legislation introduced under the conservation banner did not acknowledge any land-use planning relationship. Indeed, in some respects it was almost identical with previous planning legislation. Two additional consultative councils, similar in composition to the State Planning Council, were established.

Another unexpected event after 1972 was the Commonwealth Government's promise of financial assistance for urban and regional activities. As a consequence impetus was given to the concept of growth centres including Albury-Wodonga and, closer to Melbourne, Geelong, Melton, and Sunbury. Also, a Commonwealth financed Urban Land Council charged with the responsibility of developing residential land in competition with the private sector was established and considerable effort was made to improve conditions in the capital cities themselves, and to protect the national estate.

The projects for growth centres and the national estate both highlighted, to a degree previously unknown, the historic conflict between land-use planning and the land owner. Both Albury-Wodonga and Geelong were classic areas in which to pursue the principle espoused 50 years earlier by Barrett and practised on a small scale at Yallourn.

A notable feature of the late 1970s was the attempt by the Victorian Housing Commission, under the instruction of the Victorian Government, to embark on a land acquisition programme, which eventually attracted charges of extravagance and even impropriety in administration. In 1977 the Government appointed a Board of Inquiry to report on certain

land purchases by the Housing Commission. Its findings were critical and this discouraged further attempts at public land purchases.

By the time the Commonwealth Government decreased its involvement in urban and regional planning and development after 1975, a Victorian Ministry of Planning had been created. Although conceived as a means of lifting the status of planning, the portfolio nevertheless held a relatively junior place in the Ministry, jointly with the Ministry of Local Government. The Ministry for Conservation, established in 1972, and the Department of State Development, which looked after Victoria's interests in Albury-Wodonga and Geelong, set up their own planning offices.

As though to match the external administrative overlapping of functions, State planning administration had developed into a tripartite system consisting of the Town and Country Planning Board, the Ministry of Planning, and the Town Planning Appeals Tribunal. The latter had been given powers to make land-use determinations. In 1975 the Government replaced the State Planning Council with the State Co-ordination Council, directly responsible to the Premier.

In an effort to rationalise the administrative overlap, a single Department of Planning was established in 1981 through the amalgamation of the Town and Country Planning Board and the Ministry of Planning. The Town Planning Appeals Tribunal was merged with other similar tribunals, including the Environment Protection Appeals Tribunal and the Drainage Board, into a single Planning Appeals Board.

By 1979, in the Melbourne metropolitan area, changed economic, demographic, and social circumstances suggested the desirability of moving to a less dispersed, more contained metropolitan Melbourne. In a report to Government in 1980, the Board recommended an "incremental growth" strategy for Melbourne aimed at balanced development, maintaining the Central Business District as a prime focus, some increased density and diversity of housing, growth of centres with transport and locational advantages, co-ordinated provision of services, and community facilities and other measures. A major amendment to the Metropolitan Scheme to implement the strategy was initiated. Concurrently, legislation was passed which aimed to ensure that henceforth the Board would concentrate on strategic planning with local planning being managed at the municipal level.

During 1981 the Department worked closely with the Melbourne City Council and the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works to prepare the first detailed local planning controls for the Central Business District. It also approved a planning scheme amendment providing specific controls over Melbourne's inner boulevards, including St Kilda Road and Victoria Parade, and protecting areas surrounding Melbourne's inner park networks from inappropriate redevelopment.

## PLANNING AND THE CITY OF MELBOURNE

The 1954 Metropolitan Planning Scheme proposed by the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW) zoned, by means of a set of coloured maps, the metropolitan area broadly according to the existing land-use.

The City of Melbourne, as the focal point of the metropolitan area, and the State, was analysed in the Scheme, and a Central Business Area defined as the area bounded by Flinders, Spencer, Franklin, Victoria, and Lansdowne Streets, although it was also recognised that some central area activities extended into North and South Melbourne. This was the main area within which retailing, entertainment, cultural, business, and government activities were contained, although decentralisation of certain activities of the central business area was also recommended as part of the Scheme.

The Scheme concluded that existing site development regulations provided by the Uniform Building Regulations were deemed sufficient for the time being. These controls provided that, subject to the angle of light and other specified matters, any property owner in the central area of Melbourne could develop a site abutting on any of the main streets to a maximum height of 40.2 metres.

Thus the 1954 Planning Scheme did not drastically alter the control systems of development or redevelopment of city properties, nor did it set out detailed goals, policies, or objectives for the future of the city. Planning at this stage was purely physical land-use planning expressed through statutory documents. However, the MMBW considered that detailed

planning for the City of Melbourne was more appropriately the province of the Melbourne City Council.

In 1961, the Council resolved to prepare a Planning Scheme for the area bounded by the Yarra River, Spencer Street, Dudley Street, Peel Street, Victoria Street, Spring Street and the prolongation of the western building line of Spring Street until it meets the Yarra River. A planning scheme was submitted to the Council in 1964.

The principle of applying "plot ratios" (referred to in the 1954 Scheme as "bulk zoning") was then introduced. This new development control, unlike the Uniform Building Regulations, took into account distances that buildings were placed from the boundaries and their configuration at street level. Through the design and placement of a building it was possible to increase given plot ratios and so the height limit was no longer relevant.

Pedestrian thoroughfares were created, various areas of open space were designated, and particularly in the area between Flinders Street and the Yarra River, it was provided that no buildings be erected within a certain distance of Swanston Street to preserve the opportunity of creating an open area at the entrance to the city from the south. The Scheme also encouraged residential use on the upper floors of commercial buildings, in addition to existing flats and apartments.

The 1950s were a period of expansion following the war years. The availability of motor cars greatly increased mobility and encouraged growth beyond and between the existing railway network. Melbourne itself saw taller structures appearing because of the easing in height limit restrictions. A new practice of building taller structures on less of the site area gave more light to office dwellers and more open space to pedestrians.

In the 1960s high rise development continued in the city and spread to the St Kilda Road area. As the urban sprawl continued, serviced by modern urban shopping centres, freeways were built to cope with increased traffic volumes generated by the peripheral growth. The importance of the city as a retail centre declined markedly.

The 1970s saw an increasing awareness of the environment which led to public disenchantment with high rise buildings and the windswept spaces they created at ground level. At the same time road systems became clogged with traffic and access to the city increasingly difficult. Also, a major cause of the decline in building during the 1970s was the industrial disputes which caused buildings scheduled for 18 months completion to take three years and more, with costs more than doubling. This trend in the late 1970s eventually resulted in a shortage of city office space and a dearth of investors. As the economic prosperity of the previous decade came to an end large scale development was thus considerably reduced. Certain groups of people, such as academics and professionals, began to move back to the inner areas and rejuvenate old housing stock. Increases in the cost of labour and building materials saw recycling of commercial as well as private buildings, and the construction of high rise buildings declined markedly as a result of a world wide trend to nostalgia and a renewed appreciation of historical building.

In the period between the 1950s and early 1970s the City of Melbourne felt the effects of increasing decentralisation of central area activities, declining use of public transport as a result of the increased use of the motor car, and a declining residential population. In 1971, the Council resolved to appoint private consultants to prepare a strategy plan.

The Melbourne Strategy Plan of 1973 was concerned with the whole of the area of the City of Melbourne, comprising the Central Business District and parts of Kensington, Parkville, North Carlton, Princes Hill, Carlton, North Melbourne, West Melbourne, East Melbourne, Jolimont, and South Yarra. It sought to guide the activities within the City of Melbourne towards new goals by implementing Action Plans in specific areas. This new approach provided greater flexibility in making decisions and took into account not only physical but social and economic factors. The final plan was based on continuing high density employment within a short walking distance of present and future suburban railway stations in the Central Business District of Melbourne.

Greater reliance on public transport and restriction on the use of cars for commuting was recommended, together with the maintenance and enhancement of shopping, entertainment, cultural and historic areas in the Central Business District. The Plan recommended the provision of an area adjacent to the Central Business District where a mix of uses (including residential) could exist. It also recommended that the Council encourage the development of housing programmes that cater for a full range of income, age group and

family types as well as the development of compact neighbourhood shopping and community centres.

The Strategy Plan was adopted by the Melbourne City Council with the support of the State Government and the general public, but it lacked the legislative amendments to some of the authority previously vested in the MMBW, the Town and Country Planning Board, and some inner suburban councils. The Council's building codes were not enforced nor was agreement obtained by negotiation over a period of five years with the other controlling bodies. In 1980, the Victorian Government decided to impose its own controls to enable the Strategy Plan to be implemented.

### HOUSING COMMISSION

During 1952-53, the capital cost of the Housing Commission's work was \$9.5m, and its responsibilities included organising and supervising the importation of pre-fabricated houses from England, Austria, Holland, and France, and providing on-site inspections of fabrication in the countries of origin. At the time, the Commission's construction activities were divided into three sections of somewhat different character, namely, the construction of houses and flats of traditional construction, i.e., brick, brick veneer, or timber; the "Transfab" houses of timber which were pre-fabricated and transported in sections to their final location; and the pre-cast concrete houses produced at the Commission's factory at Holmesglen.

Up to thirty timber "Transfab" houses per week were produced at five depots around Melbourne and, by 1954, the Holmesglen factory was producing 1,150 pre-cast concrete dwellings per year consisting of two or three bedroom houses and two bedroom flats.

The Commission's programme of construction and distribution throughout the State was approximately 50 per cent in areas of Melbourne. The country work covered many centres and small estates, and houses were often required in very small numbers, sometimes even in single units.

At one time, construction was distributed over 22 estates in Melbourne and Geelong, and 44 estates in country areas. Included in the main estates being developed in 1954 were the Olympic Village, the Heidelberg and Maidstone Estates, and the Broadmeadows project. The creation of centres such as Heidelberg and Broadmeadows was an initial step in an attempt to control the spread of Melbourne.

The Olympic Village consisted of 700 dwellings to serve some thousands of athletes temporarily, and ultimately to serve as a permanent section of the Heidelberg Estate. The area selected had few roads and was unserviced, and the Village consisted of groupings of one, two, and three bedroom houses, two and three storey flats, and a variety of row houses.

The Heidelberg Estate was typical of a number of housing estates developed by the Commission in the Melbourne metropolitan area. Planning had commenced in 1944 on an eight year project for the completion of over 4,000 dwellings in an area by-passed by commercial development, but suitable as a residential area servicing the northern business area of Melbourne. The plan provided for the total requirements of a community, including landscaping, open spaces, schools, post office, banks, churches, and a major shopping centre.

The largest project undertaken by the Commission commenced in 1951 with the development of 15.5 square kilometres of open country at Broadmeadows. This project was to provide housing and all associated facilities for a total environment of 45,000 persons.

In 1956, a Committee of Inquiry was appointed to make recommendations on the future role of the Housing Commission. Its recommendations were not adopted and the Commission, with its panel of architects, was disbanded. A Royal Commission on housing recommended a comprehensive slum clearance and redevelopment plan, to include the demolition of slum areas at the rate of between 41 and 81 hectares per year. A newly reconstituted Housing Commission initiated a slum reclamation programme with some success in some areas, and constructed high rise flats in the 1960s, to replace the slums. High rise buildings were erected in South Melbourne, Richmond, Carlton, Fitzroy, and North Melbourne. These buildings altered the skyline near the city and were built in

concrete with manufactured components. Also, after the ratification of the Commonwealth-State Housing Agreement in 1956, subsequently extended, the Commission encouraged its occupiers to purchase their homes.

However, when some slum reclamation areas were declared in South Melbourne, Fitzroy, and Carlton, the occupants of the buildings described as slums expressed strong critical views against the policy of being rehoused in high rise flats. In addition, the owner occupants of houses in these areas formed action groups to make outspoken objection to their houses being declared slums. These resident action groups were finally successful in having the policy of demolition and rehousing in high rise accommodation deferred, and, finally abandoned.

The *Urban Renewal Act 1970* has provided for renewal procedures designed to ensure that urban areas could be rehabilitated through a system of co-ordinated research and consultation, which joins the interest and skills of the persons of the area, the councils, and the relevant State authorities.

The Commission thus in recent years had laid greater stress on quality and variety in housing such as lone persons' and elderly persons' units and, to this end had included in its building programmes different forms of housing, house and land "packages", and contracts for houses to be built to contractors' individual designs on Commission land. Greater emphasis had also been directed towards the provision, in collaboration with the local municipalities, and other government departments, of community facilities including schools and pre-schools. After 1973 the Commission purchased tracts of private land for housing development, but this led to irregularities eventually investigated by a Board of Inquiry in 1977 and 1978. Its findings were critical of the administration.

The Commission took cognisance of the desire to encourage home ownership until the late 1970s. Of 88,695 dwellings completed to 30 June 1979, the Commission had sold 48,386. However, this policy came to be criticised by some social welfare agencies such as the Brotherhood of St Laurence on the grounds that the sale of houses would automatically decrease the stock of housing available for rental. The Commission ceased to sell its houses in 1981.

Over the years, special projects have been developed for the housing of the aged. In addition to the normal types of accommodation provided for elderly persons, the Commission in 1976 introduced the "Granny Flat" designed to be erected in the householder's backyard for occupancy by pensioner parents.

#### **Social effects of Housing Commission policies**

The slums in the inner Melbourne metropolitan areas caused considerable concern in the 1930s and the establishment of the Housing Commission was mainly prompted by wishes for their removal. The Second World War delayed the attainment of this objective, but when they were finally removed and replaced by high rise flats in the 1960s, many social questions came to be asked about the effectiveness of this policy. For all the very serious physical shortcomings which made the removal of the slums inevitable, the families who lived in them did seem to share in a web of personal relationships which was never made possible by high rise flats. Also, the complete destruction of "streetscapes" which had been landmarks for many years caused concern and this in fact was the main factor which led to the creation of the Urban Renewal Advisory Committee in 1971 as part of the Housing Commission. By the end of that decade, the emergence of many social problems in the flats as well as in some isolated suburbs gave considerable concern to social workers and town planners.

#### **REGIONAL AUTHORITIES**

The Town and Country Planning Board established in 1944 was responsible for urban and regional planning throughout the State before the Department of Planning took over in 1979. Legislation to enable the establishment of regional planning authorities was passed in 1968. The initial authorities established under this Act were for the Geelong and Westernport regions, with the MMBW already performing the functions of a regional planning authority for Melbourne.

Part of the Town and Country Planning Board's work was to ensure that growth and

development were properly planned and managed so that the needs for housing, work, transport and recreation were met and natural resources preserved.

A practical example of local support and participation occurred in north-western Victoria, where the Loddon Campaspe Regional Planning Authority was established in 1973. The Albury-Wodonga Agreement Act of 1973, passed with the co-operation of the New South Wales and Victorian Governments, sought to establish a new growth area based on sound planning concepts. The next regional authority to be established was for Geelong and the surrounding districts. For many years prior to the passing of this Act, the municipal councils within the Greater Geelong area had co-operated to plan the region under statutes and ordinances provided by the Town and Country Planning Act; the new regional authority was designed to help the accelerated growth of the area. The Westernport Planning Authority, incorporating portions of the Shires of Flinders, Hastings, Bass, Cranbourne, and Phillip Island was established to assist in the development of a new port for the State, and to emphasise conservation throughout the region. Central and East Gippsland also established their own Regional Planning Authorities.

A different form of regional development occurred under the Soldier Settlement Act of 1945, which, between 1952 and 1974, established new farms in the west of the State (Hamilton), in the north-east (Cudgewa and Tallangatta), and the north-west (Murray River Irrigation System at Robinvale). Known as the Heytesbury Development Project, the most intensive development occurred in the south-west near Cobden and Timboon, where 40,671 hectares of virgin Crown land was taken over to establish 385 dairy farms for selected young settlers. As a result, Victoria obtained in the twenty year period 655 farms from this and two smaller projects in the Goulburn-Campaspe River area.

Under the direction of the Town and Country Planning Board, a number of regional planning offices were established throughout Victoria, including Traralgon, Warrnambool, and Bendigo to bring planning close to the people. The Board has also issued Planning Policy statements on Coastal Environments, the Gippsland Lakes, the Macedon Ranges, the Dandenongs, and the Upper Yarra River.

In addition to the work of the Rural Planning Authorities, the Town and Country Planning Board established a programme of regional studies.

## PRESERVATION

Many years before the Historic Buildings Act of 1974 there was a growing awareness of the fragility of Victoria's heritage in buildings and the need to conserve it. Lady Casey, with the assistance of several colleagues, produced a book *Early Melbourne Architecture* which was first published in 1953. It was a collection of quality photographs of, and notes on, early Melbourne buildings with the preface by the late Sir Owen Dixon in which he said, "For notwithstanding the growth of general interest in our history, there is not any noticeable solicitude for the preservation of old buildings of architectural or historical significance".

The impact of the book drew attention to the indiscriminate and alarming destruction of old Melbourne buildings accelerated in the post-war boom years. It was reprinted in 1954, the same year that the great domed mansion "Werndew" in Irving Road, Toorak, was demolished by developer interests despite concerted efforts to save it.

Lady Casey's book and the loss of "Werndew" were among the key factors in increasing public concern for historic buildings, which led to the formation of the National Trust in 1955, an achievement largely due to Sir Daryl Lindsay.

The National Trust of Australia (Victoria) set about the task of establishing a list of classified and recorded buildings throughout the State as one of its first commitments. Information about buildings was sought and the response from the community was spontaneous. The Trust, thus encouraged, was soon to extend its field of interest to the classification of groups of buildings, sites of industrial history, landscapes and townscapes of special distinction, and objects of interest. The fast expanding list included public buildings, cathedrals and churches, homesteads and houses, railway viaducts of stone, iron and timber trestles, lighthouses, a blast furnace, steam flour mills, a sailing ship, a Murray River paddle steamer, two Chinese joss houses, a cemetery, a milestone, and a cast iron drinking fountain.

In 1959 the National Trust acquired "Como" at South Yarra, a period residence in superb gardens overlooking the river. It was owned by the Armytage family and made over to the Trust under terms which amounted to a substantial gift. Headquarters of the Trust were set up at Como and remained there until moved to Tasma Terrace in Melbourne in 1979.

Membership of the National Trust increased steadily over the period. A number of preservation projects were undertaken and these included "Como", La Trobe's Cottage, Castlemaine Market, Henry Handel Richardson's home "Lakeview" at Chiltern, the "Nareeb" gates at the main entrance to the Royal Botanic Gardens, Melbourne, the Chinese Joss House at Emu Point, Bendigo, the sailing ship "Polly Woodside", the steam flour mill at Portarlington, and "Rippon Lea", Elsternwick, with its 5.4 hectares of fine gardens, waterfalls, lakes, and palmhouse, acquired in February 1974.

The granting of tax deductibility for donations made to National Trust sponsored appeals was of great importance and ensured the success of fund-raising for Trust projects. Of these, church restoration works have been prominent and include St John's Toorak, and the Lutheran Church, East Melbourne.

The Trust, as a private organisation with no statutory powers, could not enforce the preservation of its classified buildings if they were threatened with demolition or defacement. However, it obtained voluntary professional expertise and presented its case in the media, the press, and in its own journal "Trust Newsletter", a monthly bulletin of Trust activities. The threatened demolition in 1973-74 of the former CBA Banking Chamber in Collins Street, Melbourne, with its unique dome and lantern was probably the greatest challenge of strength to confront the National Trust since its formation. A campaign was organised to save the building, with the Trust taking to the streets and petitioning the public. The Victorian Government, strongly influenced by community support for this action, set up a Committee of Inquiry which found in favour of the case for preservation. This result enhanced the stature of the National Trust as guardian of the national heritage and its membership and influence increased.

For some time the Trust had been asking the Government to introduce preservation legislation for the protection of historic buildings. The CBA Banking Chamber issue weighed heavily in bringing about the *Historic Buildings Preservation Act 1974*. The Historic Buildings Preservation Council set up by this Act started work towards the end of 1974. There are ten members of the Council representing those interests concerned in the matters covered by the Act.

The Historic Buildings Preservation Council makes its recommendations to the Minister for Planning and forms part of that Ministry. As required by the Act, and soon after its commencement, an initial Register of Historic Buildings was gazetted. The National Trust's classification lists were used as the basis in compiling this Register which contained at first some 370 buildings in the various municipalities throughout Victoria. Government owned buildings were not included in the Register.

The functions of the Council have been to recommend to the Minister the buildings of architectural or historical importance which it considers should be added to the Register, and those buildings already designated which it considers should be removed. It must further recommend any alteration which it considers should be made to any item in the Register either upon its own initiative or upon a request from the Minister, and report as required.

The owner of a designated building is required to obtain a permit from the Council to alter the building in any way, or to demolish it. The Act provides for financial assistance to secure the preservation of designated buildings. However, the effectiveness of this measure is entirely dependent upon the adequacy or otherwise of funds made available by the Government from year to year for this purpose. The Council may also recommend the remission of rates and taxes after consultation with the rating authority or the Minister.

Since 1975 a strong trend has developed towards the conservation of buildings of architectural and historical importance throughout Victoria. Imaginative solutions in the adaptation of old buildings to new uses while preserving their essential character have shown a variety of interest and invention and have put pulse and sparkle into hitherto dreary areas—a redundant fine old church might become a theatre or library, a derelict factory a community centre, or a grand terrace the headquarters of a national organisation.

In Melbourne it is noticeable that some of the banks are moving their head offices to new buildings elsewhere in the city yet retaining their historic Collins Street buildings for their Melbourne offices. Such trends fulfil the aspirations of the National Trust and are encouraged and supported by the Historic Buildings Preservation Council.

#### PRIVATE SECTOR CONSTRUCTION

The fifty year period was notable for the construction of many private buildings, hotels, shopping centres, and sporting facilities.

During the 1930s, private sector construction was mainly confined to a few city buildings such as the Manchester Unity building, and private dwellings. After the war it took some years for new city buildings to appear and the Equitable building next to the Independent Church in Collins Street is usually regarded as the first major "post-war" building (1955). It was followed by the ICI building (1957), then considered a notable high rise structure. In 1962 it was followed by the CRA building at 95 Collins Street (replacing the old Melbourne Mansions) and then by many others. The Nauru House building (1979) and the Collins Place Towers (1981) have been the tallest city buildings constructed. Together the new high rise elevations completely altered Melbourne's skyline, from whatever direction the city is approached.

Another notable date in private sector constructions was 1961 when Melbourne's first regional shopping centre was opened at Chadstone. It was based on United States models and for the first time planned car parking as well as shopping diversification came under one project. It was later more or less copied in the southern, eastern, northern, and western suburbs of the Melbourne metropolitan area.

With Australian Rules football and other sports retaining their popularity in the post-war decades, the Victorian Football League built a new complex at Waverley—VFL Park. A new race track was also established at Sandown Park.

In the city itself apart from the Collins Place Towers (one tower of which has an international standard hotel), several large hotels appeared in the eastern part of the city. The earliest of these—the Southern Cross—was erected in the 1960s on the site of the old Eastern Market, a Melbourne landmark for many decades.

#### PUBLIC SECTOR CONSTRUCTION

During the 1930s there was very little public sector construction in Victoria because stringent State budgets did not allow for it. The major item of construction during this period was the Shrine of Remembrance, opened in 1934. Other projects completed for the Melbourne Centenary Celebrations were the Grange Road Bridge, the National Herbarium, and the MacRobertson Girls High School—the first school building in Victoria designed along functional rather than decorative concepts. In fact, the great volume of public sector construction after 1945 was not only a response to the needs of the post-war world, including the needs created by immigration, but also represented a significant amount of catching up of public works that were not undertaken in the 1930s. This applied especially to roads, schools, and hospitals.

One of the first new public buildings after the war was the Myer Music Bowl in the Domain which provided for various types of entertainment and performances. It was apparent at the end of the war that there was a demand for accommodating large audiences. The theatres, Wilson Hall at the University of Melbourne (rebuilt after the original gothic-style building was destroyed by fire in 1952), and the Town Hall had been the only places available for many decades and the latter was used regularly for symphony and choral concerts. Otherwise there was only the Stadium, renamed Festival Hall in the 1960s, which, however, was situated at West Melbourne. The Myer Music Bowl was situated among the fine trees in the Domain and was ready soon after the Olympic Games which had also stimulated the construction of an Olympic swimming pool in Batman Avenue, as well as the cycle track next to it—all situated either in the Domain or near the Domain and the Yarra River and accessible to the city.

The generally vigorous climate of economic activity from the 1950s on gave rise to extensive construction and improvements in the ports of Melbourne and Geelong and, to some extent, in Portland, where a breakwater was built to make the harbour accessible to



large ships. The various container terminals that were needed for this new form of sea transport and the roll-on roll-off ships meant that the port of Melbourne was extended by building on tracts of unused land; these extensions during the 1950s and 1960s were matched by the use of the old Dudley Flats between the Yarra and Maribyrnong Rivers for the erection of transport companies' Melbourne terminals. The growth of the Port of Melbourne during these decades coincided with the expansion of sea trade.

Transport in fact, was basic to many public works programmes in the 1950s and 1960s, as well as to the refinery complexes at Corio (1954), Altona (1955), and Western Port (1963). They were all built in areas not previously developed and formed the kernel of subsequent industrial development, especially after the discovery of gas and oil in Bass Strait in the 1960s. As the local motor car industry grew dramatically in these two decades and most people found themselves able to afford at least one car, the need for better roads and highways became greater than ever and the costs to meet them were partly met by Commonwealth Government grants to the Country Roads Board. Many of Melbourne's arterial roads were rebuilt and this was the beginning of by-pass roads on main highways. The South Eastern and Tullamarine freeways were built in the 1960s and the Eastern in the following decade. The construction of the Tullamarine freeway was a condition for the building of the Tullamarine airport, opened in 1970, a Commonwealth Government project which greatly helped Melbourne by enabling international flights to come here regularly. Although these two decades saw the growing supremacy of the motor car as a favoured form of transport the extension of rail services had to match the growing population and with this came the construction of new cuttings, bridges, level crossings and overpasses. There were also considerable upgrading of railway tracks and duplication of lines in areas which saw substantial suburban growth. Unlike the previous five decades, in the 1970s there was the first extension to a tram line—along Burwood Highway. This was of high significance as the retention of Melbourne trams was keenly debated in the 1960s but they were finally retained.

The Lower Yarra Crossing, later to be named the West Gate Bridge, was opened in 1978 after experiencing a tragic collapse during construction in 1970 with the loss of 34 lives. It provided the first direct land link between Melbourne and the south western metropolitan centres and the holiday areas south and west of Geelong. It also did away with the picturesque Williamstown ferry. However, the single largest public utility built since the Second World War has been the Underground Rail Loop, discussed in the 1950s and 1960s, begun in 1971, and opened for traffic in 1981. A major objective was its ability to smooth the flow of traffic and disperse suburban train travellers to various parts of the Central Business District instead of concentrating them around Flinders Street station.

The post-war decades, certainly until the 1970s, were notable for the high proportion of young people in the population and this demographic trend gave impetus to the widespread building of schools, universities, and colleges of advanced education. It also brought about other forms of public construction as it was confidently believed in the 1960s that Melbourne's population would rise to 5 million by the end of the century. The Borrie report on Australian population trends, published in 1975, removed this assumption. Public spending on capital works for education nevertheless had become one of the main items of State expenditure, first for primary schools, then secondary and later, post-secondary. Three new universities were opened between 1961 and 1980—a unique record in Victoria's history—and were major engineering and construction projects. The most extensive school building programme in the history of Victoria occurred in the 1950s and 1960s as a result of rising enrolments from the 1950s to the early 1970s.

The growth of population in the 1950s and 1960s also provided the necessity to build new hospitals and in some cases substantially extend old ones, a necessity also related to the establishment of a second medical school at Monash University. The most notable construction was that of the Royal Children's Hospital, opened by Her Majesty The Queen in 1963, and the large extension to the Preston and Northcote Community Hospital, and the Alfred and Austin Hospitals. New regional hospitals (for example, Dandenong, Maroondah, Caulfield, Geelong, Ballarat, and Wangaratta) were other new structures. There was also an increase in the workloads of the courts and a new high rise County Court was built opposite the old Supreme Court building.

In the arts, the most notable buildings were those of the Arts Centre complex; the

National Gallery was opened in 1968, the Concert Hall was opened in 1982, and the Theatre building was expected to be opened in 1984. Work on the Complex had proceeded from as long ago as 1961 and the latter presented some difficult problems of foundation structures, as well as of rising costs and industrial disputes. The complex is distinctive in its architectural features and gives a new atmosphere to the southern entrance to Melbourne.

The Commonwealth and State Governments built new offices in Melbourne and to some extent in the larger cities in the country such as Geelong and Ballarat. In Melbourne, the Commonwealth developed the site at the corner of Spring and La Trobe Streets, by erecting the first two of a planned four wing complex. The completion of the underground rail loop made these more accessible from the Parliament Underground Station. The major State Offices were built north and east of the old Treasury Building and were one of the happier post-war planning achievements, as they enabled the vista of the Treasury looking up from Collins Street to be maintained intact. Other large buildings for the State Government were erected in Bourke Street and Collins Street. Two places of special interest were the World Trade Centre near Spencer Street Bridge, and the new Centennial Hall of the Royal Exhibition Building extension; both projects bore witness to the importance of overseas trade in developing Victoria's economy.

The main energy, water, and sewerage developments of the period are described in chapters 12 and 13, respectively. Because engineering works involve a long lead time, these projects represented long range planning, again on the optimistic demographic assumptions prior to 1975, and involved a vast expenditure over the period. Besides being required by a growing population, they were also seen as contributing to a more productive agriculture, improved rural living conditions, and of course, further calls for industrial energy which were at first met by electricity and town gas, then by natural gas and oil, and latterly with the threat of oil scarcity, by even more electricity and the proposals to beneficiate brown coal for liquids and gas. The La Trobe Valley witnessed extensive construction developments: the Lurgi gas plant (opened in 1956 and closed in the early 1970s), the progressive dismantling of the Yallourn township in the 1970s with the relocation of its residents elsewhere in the valley, and the expansion of power generation at Churchill (in the 1960s) and Loy Yang in the 1970s and 1980s. During the early 1970s when natural gas replaced town gas, all domestic appliances in the metropolitan area were converted to its use and later the same happened in many country areas. The conversion also involved large scale pipe laying throughout Victoria. In the 1980s, the clamour for energy was highlighted by the completion of a new generating station at Newport and the construction of a new power grid across Victoria to Portland to service the proposed aluminium smelter, as well as the first stages of a proposed coal to oil beneficiation plant.

The most protracted saga of negotiation and counter negotiation occurred over the site of the City Square. It was finally opened by Her Majesty The Queen in 1980. The hope that Melbourne would have a mall one day was finally fulfilled in 1983. Its construction, too, had not been without some vicissitudes.

## ENERGY AND MINERALS

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### INTRODUCTION

This Chapter examines the utilisation of Victoria's energy and mineral resources. Both are fundamental to the needs of the community and the production of its economic wealth. Both have been major influences on the development of the State.

It was gold in 1851 that made Victoria a magnet for immigrants hoping to find quick wealth. The fact that the wealth was less easily found than expected produced a series of consequences which shaped the future of the State. After the First World War the decision to win brown coal from the La Trobe Valley for electricity (and later gas) generation helped make possible the growth of industry. The discovery of natural gas and oil in Bass Strait in the 1960s was the next major event.

The development of electricity, gas, liquid fuels, and minerals form the major sections of the Chapter. Their basic impact on agricultural and manufacturing industries, other sectors of the economy, and the lifestyle of the community are self-evident. In the 1930s agriculture was not yet fully mechanised and industry was modest in scale. During the 1950s and 1960s the growing use of energy enabled an increase in productivity per person in agriculture as well as the expansion of industry and the growth of suburbia based on the motor car. By the mid-1970s economic activities were affected by oil price rises and it became important to conserve rather than encourage the use of energy.

### ENERGY

#### Background

Although black coal was first observed by William Hovell at Cape Patterson in 1826, the first recorded discovery of brown coal—destined to become Victoria's prime energy resource—was in 1857 at Lal Lal, south of Ballarat, and in various areas, including Morwell, by 1876. The Victorian Government, sensing the importance of the finds, sent officers to Germany in 1891 and 1901 to study the use of brown coal, interest in which again revived sharply during the 1916 coal strike at Newcastle in New South Wales, which was then supplying Victoria's black coal.

The proving programme of the Morwell deposits after 1916 led directly to the establishment of the State Electricity Commission (SEC) under the leadership of Sir John Monash in 1919. Two years later the SEC began construction at Yallourn, and Melbourne received its first transmitted electricity in 1924. From then the enterprise gathered momentum.

The use of brown coal for gas manufacture, however, did not eventuate until the 1950s. By 1934 there were several privately owned gas companies supplying Victoria's requirements by processing black coal on a more or less regional basis. Technical advances were made, but the development of the industry was hampered by the State's complete dependence on New South Wales for black coal.

Technological advances helped supply the growing demand for petroleum products after the 1880s. At first these were imported from USA, but after 1891, the major companies began to set up facilities in Victoria. Kerosene was at first required for steam engine motor cars, but the emergence of spark ignition engines needed motor spirit (petrol). Imports gradually yielded to the locally refined product, the first being produced at Laverton in 1924. Overall demand grew as agricultural, aeronautical, and various industrial

engines came into use and as bunkering oil replaced coal in ships. The cumulative growth in demand for petroleum products eventually encouraged the first bulk shipment of motor spirit from Holden Dock to Spotswood bulk terminal after the First World War. The following table shows the end usage of fuels in 1980-81:

END USAGE OF FUELS BY SECTOR: VICTORIA, 1980-81  
(petajoules)(a)

Fuel	Transport		Industrial		Domestic		Commercial		Total	
	Quantity	Per cent	Quantity	Per cent	Quantity	Per cent	Quantity	Per cent	Quantity	Per cent
Oil	214.6	99.5	24.8	15.6	9.4	11.2	2.6	9.5	251.4	51.8
Electricity	1.0	0.5	45.6	28.7	29.0	34.7	14.4	52.8	90.0	18.5
Natural gas	—	—	86.0	54.1	40.5	48.4	10.3	37.7	136.8	28.2
Solar	—	—	2.5	1.6	4.8	5.7	—	—	7.3	1.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>215.6</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>158.9</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>83.7</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>27.3</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>485.5</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(a) One petajoule (PJ) is approximately equivalent to 100,000 tonnes of Loy Yang or Morwell brown coal, or 160,000 barrels of crude oil. Victoria as a whole uses 1.3 PJ of secondary energy (electricity, gas, and petroleum products) each day. 1 petajoule =  $10^{15}$  joules.

Source: Department of Minerals and Energy.

### Electricity

#### *From 1934 to 1939*

By 1934 the State Electricity Commission of Victoria was providing power, which had become the corner stone of Victorian industrial growth, and it took over the Ballarat and Bendigo undertakings of the Electric Supply Company of Victoria in July 1934.

In late November 1934, Victoria experienced record rains and by Saturday 1 December the Yallourn open cut was flooded by the La Trobe River, which had risen to a level 3.3 metres higher than any previously recorded—just 30 centimetres over the levee banks protecting the open cut. The coal supply from the open cut came to a halt, although part power production continued with the use of stock coal until the old north open cut was put into action again. Richmond power station was also flooded by the rains swelling the Yarra River and Newport B was shut down for overhaul. These stations were later restored to production and the Sugarloaf power station produced a record output in the meantime. Pumps were obtained from all possible sources and mounted on pontoons in the Yallourn open cut. By mid-April 1935, a coal dredger was back in operation and full production was restored in time to meet winter peak demands.

In order to increase capacity, the Commission recommended for consideration by the Victorian Government in 1937 a 104,000 kilowatt hydro-electric installation at Kiewa—a project that had many supporters even before the Yallourn operation commenced. It also planned to add 18,000 kilowatt and 30,000 kilowatt units to Newport B, bringing its capacity to 63,000 kilowatts and Newport C was to be constructed with two 30,000 kilowatt units. By 1938 Yallourn B was fully operative, site work had commenced at Kiewa and in the following year the Commission was serving 417 country centres and 4,376 farms, the rate of farm connections having reached 1,000 per year. Power had at last been brought to country industry and street lighting to country towns.

#### *War years, 1939 to 1945*

During the years of the Second World War, the Commission's resources were greatly strained because of manpower shortages and the diversion of Commission fuel to industry by Commonwealth Government fuel controls. Despite this, greatly increased power was supplied to industry, an achievement made possible by the purchase of equipment in the immediate pre-war years. Two wartime developments which were important to the post-war years were the introduction in 1940 of uniform tariffs throughout the State for industrial users, and the connection of power to 2,500 farms when agriculture was declared essential to the war effort.

After a committee appointed by the Premier in 1940 had recommended increases in output, the Commission, in the following year, reported that a new open cut mine would

be necessary for further extension of its electricity and briquette undertakings and that it had begun investigations for the selection of a site. The Commission had continued the Mines Department's brown coal drilling campaign in 1922, but by 1938, when drilling once more ceased, investigations had been concerned only with the immediate vicinity of the Yallourn open cut. In 1941, the area of drilling was systematically extended and the main areas of shallow coals in the La Trobe Valley were defined.

A site south of the town of Morwell was subsequently recommended and planning for briquette manufacture at this site began in 1943. The Commission intended that increased briquette production would relieve the shortage of black coal at its metropolitan power stations, which were subsequently converted to burn briquettes by the installation of grates manufactured from a special high temperature cast iron developed by the Commission. In 1941, the Yallourn North open cut was opened again to augment fuel supply, and the Melbourne City Council's Spencer Street power station was integrated with the Commission's system, but remained under the ownership of the Council.

In 1943 the use of Snowy Mountains waters for power generation, first proposed in 1928, was again being considered, this being in fact the first public reference to this topic by the Commission. Plans to use the discharge of the Hume Reservoir for power generation were already under way and Victoria intended to install two or three 21,000 kilowatt generators.

The first power to be delivered from the Kiewa hydro-electric scheme became available in 1944 at the same time as the Newport extensions commenced operation; both had, in fact, been delayed by late delivery of generation equipment. The Yallourn C briquette factory also came into operation at that time.

A disastrous bushfire commenced outside the Commission controlled area at Yallourn in February 1944 and caused the deaths of nine people, as well as the destruction of over 100 houses. Wind blown embers started a fire in the Yallourn open cut and, as a result of strong winds, the fire took four days to put out. Some equipment was damaged; coal supplies to the power stations were restricted; and the only electricity restrictions during the war had to be imposed. However, they lasted only 11 days. As a result of the fire, the Commission was given fire protection control over a wider territory and grazing licences in these areas were restricted.

During the first three years of the war, the demand for power had increased by 10 per cent and at a somewhat lower rate over the following two years. Despite flood and fire, wartime demands for both fuel and power had been met and, although domestic briquette supplies had been restricted, electricity was not, except for the brief period after the open cut fire.

#### *Early post-war years, 1946 to 1950*

The Commission had not expected the wartime power demand to be maintained in the immediate post-war period. However, after a brief decline in demand at the end of the war, an amazingly quick recovery, which was well beyond estimates, took place. This sudden rise was apparently due, in part, to the lifting of wartime controls and the permitted use of radiators and many other appliances which had previously been prohibited.

The effect of the increased demand was greatly exacerbated by the fact that wartime fuel controls had almost completely exhausted fuel stocks, because State fuel controls, continuing after the war, did not allow summer fuel stock build-ups to meet winter demands. The increased fuel demands of this period were aggravated by severe industrial troubles in the NSW coal fields. Metropolitan power stations, which in the winter of 1946 required 9,100 tonnes of briquettes a week, were getting only 6,900 tonnes. Delays in the completion of the Kiewa scheme due to wartime labour shortages, and plant delays had also contributed to the problem. Furthermore, equipment to alleviate the power generation shortage was not available and winter rationing became a regular feature for several years.

In May 1946, the existing power restrictions turned into severe rationing when a Yallourn dredger broke down. Two months later, the Premier asked the Commission to plan to achieve complete independence from imported fuels within 15 years and to maintain it thereafter; within a month the Commission submitted proposals for a 75 per cent increase in generating capacity by 1956. It was hoped that Snowy scheme power would also be

available within that time. In fact, the construction of the Snowy scheme commenced in 1949 under wartime emergency powers still in force, as agreement between the Governments concerned had not yet been reached.

The Commission in December 1946 expressed doubts in a public report about the economic soundness of enlarging the briquette enterprise to the independence level, pointing out that industrial users would buy fuel in the cheapest market. As it was, industrial trouble in the metal and building trades in the following year affected the Commission's construction work.

Parliament authorised the Morwell open cut and associated works in 1948. The Act also provided for the extension of the Kiewa capacity to 289,000 kilowatts. By 1950, the first bucket wheel dredger, capable of winning about 500 tonnes of coal per hour, was working at Yallourn and Newport C power station commenced operation. The Commission took over Newport A from the Victorian Railways in 1951.

Due to industrial disputes in the NSW coal mines, Australia had been forced to import coal from overseas. However, as a result of imports, 1952 was the first year since the end of the war for which sufficient coal was available to the Commission for full power generation. Rationing of electricity ceased.

At this time, also, a uniform tariff for farms throughout the State was introduced. In the seven years after the war, farms connected to the State system rose from less than 9,000 to over 20,000. In the same period, tariff increases occurred—the first since the Commission commenced operations. These occurred against a background of inflation. Trading deficits also occurred in this period, although a surplus was again achieved after 1951.

#### *From 1950 to 1963*

##### *Uncertainties*

In September 1950, the Commonwealth Government believed that it was necessary to make defence preparations, including expansion of fuel production and electric power generation capacity. A Commonwealth-State Consultative Committee on Electric Power was appointed which established priorities for loan support for power developments. But the investment risk remained with the States, which, in the case of Victoria, meant the Commission. Measures taken by the Commission included ordering from USA of packaged power stations for Geelong, Ballarat, and Mildura, enlarging the Kiewa scheme, and proceeding with the Morwell open cut and briquette project. In order not to be caught short of equipment again by war, the Commission also purchased a great deal of generation and transmission equipment and material.

Suddenly in 1951 export prices fell and the economy declined. Loan funds were cut. The effect of this was reduced by slowing down some contracts and arranging for others to be completed on a deferred payment basis. Nevertheless, the Commission was forced to dismiss thousands of men engaged in development. It was left with a large investment of materials and equipment on which it was obliged to pay interest, and, in fact, was compelled to dispose of some briquetting equipment at a loss. The Kiewa development was reduced by two thirds and the Morwell project stopped. To assist finances, tariffs were increased in 1952, but, in spite of this, only Tasmania with its hydro-electric power still had cheaper rates than Victoria. Even so, costs had been increased by the imports of fuel from overseas.

##### *Self help*

Many communities and industries that had anticipated that increased power would be available from the new developments were left disappointed by the 1951 cut back in construction. Yet out of this situation was born one of the most significant episodes of Victorian Government works financing. Material and labour costs to connect power to these communities were approximately equal. The Commission had the materials, but not the money to pay labour to use them. In 1951, the Commission conceived a scheme by which prospective customers—communities, industries, or individuals—put up an "extension deposit" to pay labour costs and the power connections were then made. Repayment of the deposits was by supplying electricity without payment until the deposits had been

repaid. Any balance at the end of five years could be repaid in cash, if desired, or the supply without payment method continued. It was a "pay now—use later" scheme and was most successful.

When the Commission's material surplus was used up, the scheme had to be suspended. But many communities, industries, and housing developments were willing to advance the whole cost of connections, so in 1953 self-help on this basis was effected. Self-help on a 50/50 basis or 100 per cent basis has continued, the demand being so great at times that waiting lists became a common feature.

Additional investigations of the brown coal resources were indicated in 1952, after it had been found that the continuous sampling and detailed analysis undertaken in 1941 had not been sufficiently extensive to define adequately the extent and quality of the coal.

### *Service extension*

Despite the recession after the Korean War boom there was a 13 per cent rise in sales by 1953 and by the following year the recession had faded and consumption rose sharply. In that year, the Commission embarked on a 10 year programme to connect 178,000 houses, acquire 48 local undertakings and extend supply to 650 centres that did not have a public mains supply. It was estimated that on the completion of this programme only 15,000 houses in remote areas would not have supply.

The Commission acquired the Mildura undertaking in 1953 and installed the packaged power plant already referred to. This development was matched by others. New oil engine powered plants at Shepparton and Warrnambool commenced service, and those at Ballarat and Geelong did likewise in the following year, as did the first of two Yallourn C units, each of 50,000 kilowatts. The second unit commenced operation in 1955.

Because of the changed outlook for briquette production resulting from the 1951 recession, the emphasis of the Morwell project, recommenced in 1954, was changed in the direction of power production. Kiewa began to deliver power through a 220 kilovolt transmission line in June 1955, and two years later the Commission announced that the scheme would be completed at 183,600 kilowatts instead of 289,000 kilowatts. The power station at Hume Reservoir shared its 50,000 kilowatt capacity equally between New South Wales and Victoria after it was completed in 1957. In the following year the Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Agreement was signed. This was to give Victoria 200,000 kilowatts of power within six years. Snowy Mountains power began to arrive in 1959 over a 330 kilovolt transmission line. The completion of the transmission line through the Snowy scheme enabled Victoria and New South Wales to help each other in meeting peak demands, assisted by the fact that the incidence of peak demands were slightly different in the two States.

In 1956 the first of two 60,000 kilowatt units at the reconstructed Eildon hydro-electric scheme commenced operation, and in the following year the first of two 50,000 kilowatt units at Yallourn D was commissioned, while the proposal was announced to construct the 1,200,000 kilowatt (6 x 200,000 kilowatt units) Hazelwood power station based on the Morwell open cut.

By 1959 the Morwell open cut had commenced coal production and briquette production, and the metropolitan peak load stations returned to the use of briquettes which eased their fuel problems.

In the following year, the last of the Kiewa programme was completed with the commencement of the McKay Creek power station (96,000 kilowatts) and the second Morwell briquette factory came into operation.

Yallourn E (240,000 kilowatts) was completed by 1962 and the 220 kilovolt ring main (Melbourne-Kiewa-Shepparton-Bendigo-Ballarat-Geelong-Melbourne) was put into service, as was the 220 kilovolt Murray Valley transmission line, connecting Mildura to the State system. It was thus possible to phase out the rural thermal stations and have the La Trobe Valley system take up the load more economically. There was a recession in 1961 which reduced power sales, but these resumed in the following year with a 13.4 per cent increase.

Alcoa of Australia Ltd commenced to develop its brown coal open cut at Anglesea for power generation for its Point Henry (Geelong) aluminium smelter in 1962. As the smelter was ready to operate before the Anglesea power station, the Commission provided power



A view of the modern Melbourne skyline looking west over the Central Business District.

*State Electricity Commission of Victoria*



The Regent Hotel design incorporates an open cylindrical core (or atrium) which extends through all guest floors to a transparent skylit roof.

*Regent Hotel, Melbourne*





The Mining Museum at Sovereign Hill in Ballarat consists of surface installations and an underground display area that traces the development of gold mining techniques.

*Ballarat Development Corporation*

(Below right) Visitors to the Sovereign Hill gold mining township in Ballarat are shown traditional gold panning methods.

*Ballarat Historical Park Association*

(Below left) Prospectors using a metal detector discovered this 27.2 kilogram nugget at Kingower, near Bendigo in 1980. The nugget, known as the "Hand of Faith", was eventually sold for \$1m.

*Peter Rummel*





The West Kingfish oil platform in Bass Strait with the workboat *Atlas Dampier*. West Kingfish is the third platform to produce oil (in 1982) from the Kingfish field, which was discovered in 1968.

*Esso Australia Ltd*

The semi-submersible drilling rig *Southern Cross* operating in Bass Strait.

*Esso Australia Ltd*





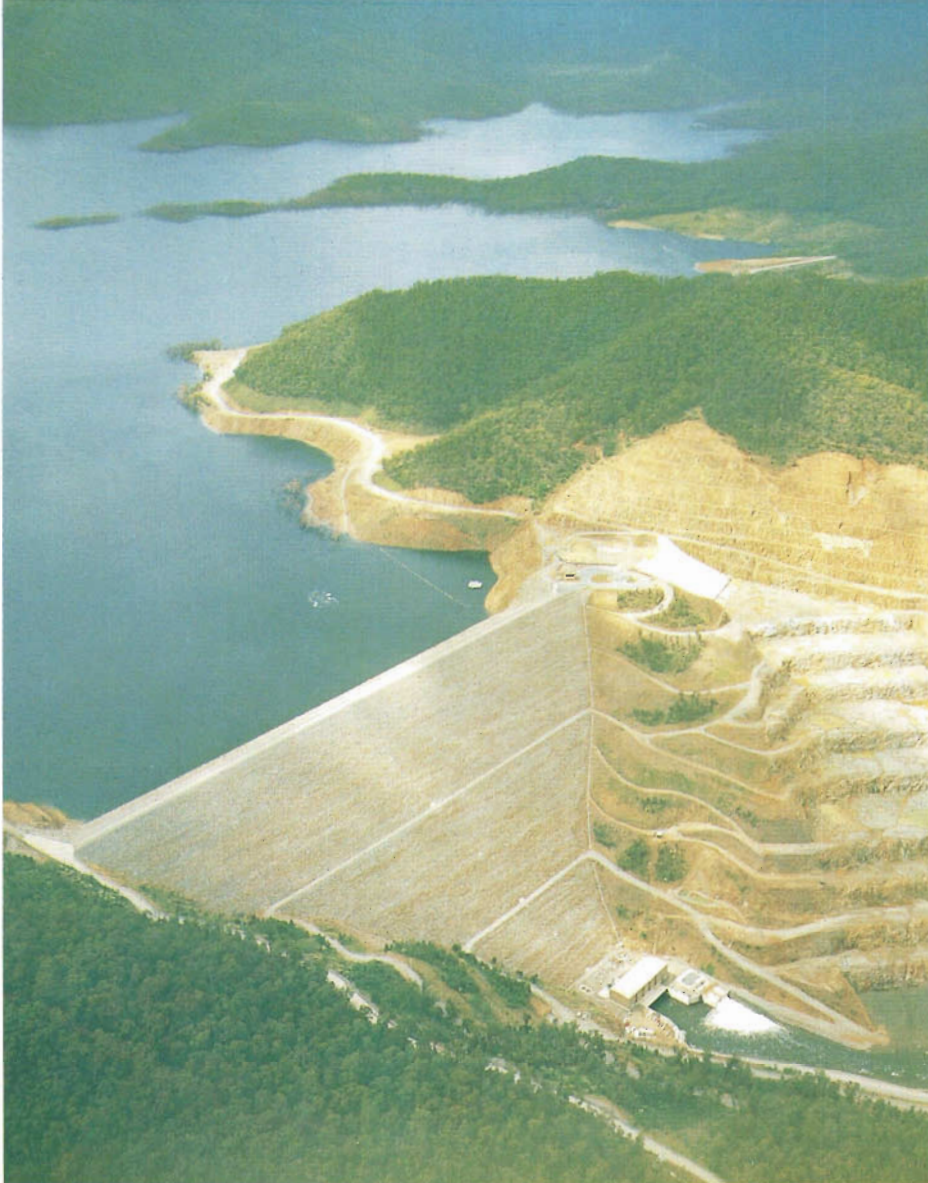
The Morwell open cut mine in 1970. The Hazelwood Power Station is in the background.

*State Electricity Commission of Victoria*

Yallourn "W" Power Station with the old power stations in the foreground.

*State Electricity Commission of Victoria*





The Dartmouth Dam which was completed in 1979 dwarfs the SEC's hydroelectric power station.

*State Electricity Commission of Victoria*

Three 500 kilovolt transmission lines link the La Trobe Valley power stations with Melbourne and the State grid.

*State Electricity Commission of Victoria*





The solar powered vehicle *The Quiet Achiever* which crossed Australia during December 1982 and January 1983 undergoing trials at the Esplanade, St Kilda. It was constructed at Mordialloc, Victoria.

*BP Australia Ltd*

Box Hill Indoor Recreation Centre has 185 square metres of PVC solar collectors installed on the roof. This is expected to provide about 22 per cent of the heating for the swimming pools.

*Victorian Solar Energy Council*



in the interim—a benefit to it as it earned revenue during this period from some of its reserve capacity that would not otherwise have been used. Subsequently the Anglesea output was integrated into the SEC system.

*Since 1963*

*Hazelwood*

Electricity sales rose by 94 per cent between 1961 and 1969 and generating capacity rose by 101 per cent. This was the era of the Hazelwood development close to Morwell township. Although Commission development has been virtually continuous since its establishment, the Hazelwood project working from the Morwell open cut, was a new phase, being the first major La Trobe Valley generating station to be established away from Yallourn and the first to have what were then described as the "giant" generating sets. Failure to deliver Hazelwood equipment on time meant that extra power had to be purchased from New South Wales for the 1964 winter; however, the first Hazelwood generation of 200,000 kilowatts commenced operation later in the year. This and more power from the Snowy scheme enabled the heavy demand of the 1965 winter to be met. That year also saw approval given for the Yallourn W station of 700,000 kilowatts (2 x 350,000 kilowatt units) planned for completion in 1973, which was designed to have Australia's first large natural draft cooling towers, as well as the introduction of uniform tariffs throughout the State of Victoria.

ELECTRICITY DEVELOPMENT: PRODUCTION AND GENERATION, VICTORIA,  
1934-35 TO 1981-82

Year	Total installed plant capacity	Electricity gained through State Electricity Commission power stations	Electricity available for distribution in Victoria	Brown coal produced by the State Electricity Commission	Briquette production	Number of customers (excluding bulk supplies)
	MW	GWh	GWh	'000 tonnes	'000 tonnes	'000
1934-35	133	632	867	2,258	232	213
1939-40	229	1,024	1,273	4,347	435	272
1944-45	370	1,502	1,731	5,532	438	311
1949-50	508	2,363	2,656	7,445	598	391
1954-55	926	3,970	4,049	10,274	641	532
1959-60	1,460	6,040	6,112	15,223	990	680
1964-65	2,288	8,253	9,636	20,990	1,923	842
1969-70	3,546	12,630	13,455	23,155	1,565	1,015
1974-75	4,395	15,585	17,003	26,320	1,092	1,160
1979-80	5,210	19,490	21,374	31,597	1,253	1,295
1980-81	5,792	21,457	23,255	30,847	1,081	1,321
1981-82	6,344	25,008	24,481	36,256	993	1,343

Source: State Electricity Commission Annual Reports.

A degree of integration of the Victorian and New South Wales systems had by now been achieved so that power was exchanged between the two systems at times favourable to both (under computer control)—a trend which has continued. The South Australian system supplied Nelson near the western border, Wentworth in New South Wales was supplied from Victoria, and Bendoc from Tumut, in New South Wales.

All of the original six Hazelwood generating sets were in operation by 1969, but, in the meantime, it had been decided to increase the station to eight 200,000 kilowatt sets. Thus, more power would be generated in one station on the Morwell open cut than on all the six stations established and, at this time, planned on the Yallourn open cut. The new bucket wheel dredgers being commissioned at Morwell in 1969 had a capacity of 30,000 tonnes per day, as compared with the original bucket chain dredgers at Yallourn with capacity of 15,000 tonnes per day. The installation of successively higher capacity equipment for coal winning and power generation, in addition to higher voltage and higher capacity transmission lines, was continually improving the efficiency of generation and distribution. By 1970 the seventh Hazelwood 200,000 kilowatt unit had come into operation and the eighth set was completed in the following year.

A review made by the Commission in 1968 of future coal requirements confirmed the earlier statement in 1961 that coal under the Yallourn township would be needed, and in April 1969 the Yallourn Town Advisory Council was informed of the Commission's plans for the gradual removal of the township.

Long-range planning again came under discussion in 1969 when the Prime Minister announced the formation of a National Consultative Committee on Nuclear Energy on which the States were invited to join the Commonwealth for the purpose of examining the administrative and legal framework which must be set up before nuclear generation of electricity could be introduced into the State power systems.

Another new dimension to energy production in 1969 was the provision of natural gas to the domestic and industrial markets, with intense competition ensuing between the Commission and the Gas and Fuel Corporation. Also, the first of two 500 kilovolt transmission lines from Hazelwood to Keilor was commissioned in 1970 and was the first at this voltage in the southern hemisphere. The second line was commissioned the following year.

In the rural areas, nearly 76,000 farms were served by 1970 and only one-third of one per cent of homes were not connected to the State system. The Commission was serving 2,330 centres outside the metropolitan area. Only one country centre in the far east of the State (Mallacoota) was still running its own electric supply. However, with the transfer to the Commission by 1972 of the independent undertaking at Mallacoota the electrification of the State was complete, except for some isolated properties in remote areas. In Melbourne, there were still 11 municipal councils supplying power purchased "in bulk" from the Commission. These franchises were acquired only at the request of the councils concerned unless Parliament legislated otherwise.

#### *Construction at Newport*

In November 1971, the Victorian Parliament authorised the construction of a 1,000,000 kilowatt natural gas fired steam power station at Newport—to consist of two 500,000 kilowatt units—planned for service in 1976 and 1978. This plant was to be flexible in operation and capable of handling peak loads or base loads, as may be programmed from time to time. The Minister for Fuel and Power authorised the dedication of 22,600 billion cubic metres of gas for this purpose, plus a probable further 11,300 billion cubic metres to be confirmed at a later time.

Site works commenced on the Newport project early in 1972, but union work bans on environmental grounds caused suspension soon afterwards. An Environment Protection Authority inquiry was followed by the issue of waste discharge licences containing stringent conditions, but work bans continued. Appeals against the EPA licences were heard and resolved, but still work bans continued. In a compromise plan to break the deadlock, the Victorian Government and the Trades Hall Council agreed to accept the decision of an inquiry by a Newport review panel—a four man committee acceptable to both. By a majority of three to one, the panel concluded that a 500,000 kilowatt station should be built, in lieu of the 1,000,000 kilowatt station originally approved. The Trades Hall Council did not accept this decision and union work bans continued.

In 1977 the Victorian Parliament amended its original authorisation for a 1,000,000 kilowatt station to permit a 500,000 kilowatt station, and the project was declared to be a vital project under the *Vital State Projects Act* 1976. Because of the continuing bans, the Victorian Government decided that the Public Works Department should commence construction using day labour. Contractors subsequently commenced work after a six-year delay in commencement of construction. The subsequent completion of construction was achieved during 1979.

POWER STATIONS: VICTORIA,  
AT 30 JUNE 1982

Station	Capacity (a)	Date fully com- missioned
MW		
Steam —		
Hazelwood	1,600	1971
Yallourn W	1,450	1982
Yallourn	521	1961
Newport D	500	1979
Morwell	170	1962
Spencer Street	60	1959
Total steam	4,301	
Gas turbine —		
Jeeralang	465	1980
Total gas turbine	465	
Hydro —		
Kiewa	184	1960
Dartmouth	150	1980
Eildon (b)	135	1960
Total hydro	469	
Total capacity	5,235	

(a) Manufacturers' maximum continuous rating.

(b) Includes Eildon, Rubicon, Lower Rubicon, Royston, Rubicon Falls, and Cairn Curran.

Source: State Electricity Commission Annual Reports.

### Other projects

Meanwhile, other works were progressing. The first 350,000 kilowatt unit of Yallourn W commenced operation in August 1973 and the Victorian Parliament authorised the doubling of the capacity of the station. Two more units were to be constructed and were to be increased to 375,000 kilowatts capacity by increasing the operating steam pressure. The second unit of Yallourn W Stage 1 (350,000 kilowatts) came into operation in July 1975, and the two units of Stage 2 came into service in 1981 and 1982. The Victorian Parliament also authorised the construction at Dartmouth Dam of a 150,000 kilowatt hydro-electric plant. Works on the project were put in hand with the dam construction contracts and the power station came into service in January 1980.

A 220 kilovolt transmission line from Horsham to Redcliffs was brought into service in 1973 to provide an alternative supply to north-west Victoria. The 220 kilovolt line from Keilor to Brooklyn was rebuilt to meet increased load growth and to transmit the output from the future Newport power station. A double circuit 220 kilovolt line between Brooklyn and Newport power station was commissioned in 1979 and 1980 to connect the completed Newport power station to the metropolitan system.

In 1975-76 planning and design commenced on a 330 kilovolt transmission line from Dederang to Wagga (NSW), in conjunction with the Electricity Commission of New South Wales, to improve the supply capacity to the Albury/Wodonga Region and to reinforce the interconnection of the New South Wales and Victorian supply systems through the Snowy Mountains. This line came into operation in 1979.

Because of the continued delays on Newport D construction and in order to avoid consequent power shortages, the Commission proposed the installation of 200,000 kilowatts of gas turbine generating equipment at Jeeralang for operation in 1979. Jeeralang A (4 x 56,500 kilowatts maximum continuous rating), with a used output of 225,000 kilowatts, came into service during 1978-79 and a further three units, each of 80,000 kilowatts, were constructed to compensate for the reduced capacity of Newport and came into service in 1980.



*Loy Yang project*

In 1976-77, after an inquiry by the State Parliamentary Public Works Committee, the Victorian Parliament authorised the construction of a 4,000,000 kilowatt power project at Loy Yang. This would consist of two 2,000,000 kilowatt stations based on a new open cut to be developed in an area with 6,000 million tonnes of coal reserves. Later in the year, it was decided that power supply from Loy Yang would be accelerated by the installation there of the 500,000 kilowatt unit which was to have been the second installed at Newport.

In February 1979, Governor in Council approval was given for three 500 kilovolt transmission lines between Hazelwood and Cranbourne, one of them to be ready for service in 1982 and another in 1985 to transport power from the initial stage of Loy Yang via Cranbourne and to connect into the metropolitan network at South Morang. A 220 kilovolt line from Dartmouth was planned for service in 1981 to bring output from the power station into the transmission system at Mt Beauty.

Thus, in 1980 the Commission was engaged on a capital works programme of unprecedented proportions—including the huge Loy Yang project, Stage 2 of Yallourn W, the Newport D station, the Jeeralang gas turbine installations and the Dartmouth hydro-electric power station—together with associated coal winning developments and transmission lines. The programme however was affected by strikes and work bans on construction which occasioned significant delays and increases in costs.

In July 1980 the Commission announced its Driffield power project proposal to duplicate Loy Yang with a 4,000,000 kilowatt complex on a new open cut on the Narracan coal field. The Commission made its report to the Victorian Government in November and the Parliamentary Public Works Committee began its public inquiry into the project in April 1981. Since that time the Committee has submitted progressive reports.

The SEC's other significant transmission line projects have been developed to augment supply to Geelong by the erection of two 500 kilovolt lines between Sydenham and Moorabool in 1983, and a complementary project to build a double circuit 500 kilovolt transmission line from Moorabool to supply power to an aluminium smelter planned for Portland. The 173km Moorabool-Portland line will be the longest 500 kilovolt transmission line in Australia. Three more 500 kilovolt lines are planned for construction between Loy Yang power station and Hazelwood power station to connect Loy Yang to the 500 kilovolt system.

*Finance*

The Commission was originally entirely dependent for finance on loan funds voted to it by the Victorian Government. In 1934 it was given power to raise its own loans—within limits determined from time to time by the Victorian Government. From that year to 1950 it financed its works by a blend of Commission loans and internal finance, i.e. funds from its own reserves. Between 1951 and 1970, State loans supplied about 16 per cent, Commission loans about 55 per cent, internal funds about 23 per cent and "self help" about 6 per cent of its financial requirements, including finance for new works and the redemption of maturing loans. By 1970 internal funds were supplying over 50 per cent of financial needs. However, by June 1982 the revenue derived from internal funding had progressively diminished to 15 per cent of total finances.

**Gas and fuel***Brown coal gasification*

By 1934, Victoria had a well established towns gas industry which was entirely dependent on New South Wales for coal supplies; however, research into brown coal gasification had commenced. The uncertainties of shipping, together with industrial disruption in the New South Wales coal fields in the late 1930s, stimulated interest in the possibility of brown coal gasification and in 1941 the then Premier of Victoria appointed a committee to inquire into the greater use of brown coal.

Following intensive investigation, both in Australia and overseas, the Lurgi high pressure gasification process was selected as the most suitable method of producing towns gas from brown coal. However, the erection of the necessary works required a large capital outlay which, in the financial climate of the immediate post-war years, was beyond the resources of the Metropolitan Gas Company acting alone.

After consideration by an all-party committee, Parliament enacted the *Gas and Fuel Corporation Act 1950*, which provided for the merging of the interests of the Metropolitan Gas Company, the Brighton Gas Company Limited, and the State. The Colonial Gas Association Limited elected not to participate in the merger.

The Gas and Fuel Corporation of Victoria was established as a public authority of the State owned jointly by the Government and the former shareholders of the Metropolitan and Brighton Gas Companies. It began commercial operations on 1 July 1951. One of its first tasks was to undertake the construction of a Lurgi high pressure gasification plant on a site at Morwell with adequate room for expansion. The plant was designed to produce towns gas from brown coal briquettes. In the initial planning it was envisaged that the Morwell plant would be progressively expanded and would eventually produce oil from coal using the Fischer-Tropsch system. As matters turned out, however, this phase of development never took place for economic reasons.

The plant, the first of its kind outside Europe, was commissioned in 1956 using briquettes supplied by the State Electricity Commission. It had an initial capacity of 425,000 cubic metres per day of towns gas with a heating value of 17 megajoules per cubic metre—approximately one-third of Melbourne's gas requirements at that time. Progressive increases brought the capacity up to 630,000 cubic metres per day by 1968-69.

A necessary adjunct to the Morwell plant development was the construction by the Corporation of Australia's first long distance gas transmission pipeline—a 127 kilometre long 450 mm diameter welded steel pipeline from Morwell to the Corporation's City Gate Station at Dandenong designed to operate at pressures up to 2,800 kilopascals.

The balance of the Corporation's gas requirements were still being supplied from the West Melbourne and the Highbury works, both of which in 1955 had commenced blending refinery tail gases from Petroleum Refineries (Aust.) Pty Ltd's oil refinery at Altona with coal gas, pipelines having been constructed to convey the refinery gas from Altona to these works. The Corporation was the first undertaking in Australia to make such use of refinery gases.

A subsequent development was the decision by the Gas and Fuel Corporation to begin a \$10m programme to convert its West Melbourne works from one based on black coal to one based primarily on petroleum products. This programme included the construction of an Onia-Gegi catalytic gasification plant in 1962 to produce towns gas from either heavy residual oil or refinery tail gases from the Altona refinery. The previous year the Geelong Gas Company had undertaken construction of a similar plant to produce towns gas by reforming refinery tail gases from the Shell Company's Geelong refinery. Part of this programme was the construction in 1962 at Derrimut of the second liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) refrigerated storage plant in the world for the purpose of supplying LPG and for blending for the West Melbourne Onia-Gegi plant.

In 1965 the Corporation constructed an LPG storage and blending plant at Dandenong. At this plant supplies of brown coal gas were supplemented with LPG and other refinery gases from the BP refinery at Crib Point. The Dandenong plant was later linked by pipeline to Highbury and West Melbourne.

Black coal carbonisation continued at West Melbourne on a reduced scale until 1969, one hundred and thirteen years after the commissioning of the first hand-stoked horizontal retorts on that site.

The brown coal gas, Onia-Gegi gas, black coal gas, and refinery gases used in this period were blended as necessary to produce a gas of heating value and other combustion characteristics similar to those of towns gas manufactured from black coal.

While the Gas and Fuel Corporation was producing gas from brown coal at Morwell, the Colonial Gas Association had continued to supply its metropolitan franchise areas with gas manufactured from black coal and LPG at Box Hill and Footscray.

**GAS PRODUCED AND PURCHASED BY THE GAS AND FUEL CORPORATION:  
VICTORIA, 1950-51 TO 1970-71  
(megajoules)**

Year	Black coal	Water	Oil	Lurgi	Refinery and LPG	Natural gas	Total
1950-51	3,575	1,142	—	—	—	—	4,717
1954-55	3,827	1,867	23	—	81	—	5,798
1959-60	2,632	848	—	2,160	2,215	—	7,855
1964-65	1,118	327	2,838	2,838	2,648	—	9,769
1969-70	345	45	2,233	1,499	3,432	7,434	14,988
1970-71	72	187	560	—	1,155	18,760	20,734

Source: Department of Minerals and Energy. Gas and Fuel Corporation.

*Towns gas in the country areas*

Meanwhile changes were taking place in the country areas. Concurrently with the initiation of the supply of Lurgi gas to Melbourne, a pipeline from Morwell was laid to supply Traralgon in 1957 and the local gas works ceased operation. The Warragul undertaking was purchased by the Gas and Fuel Corporation from the Colonial Gas Association. In 1959, gas was supplied to Warragul from the Morwell-Dandenong pipeline and the local gas works closed. New reticulation systems were commissioned in Morwell in 1959 and Trafalgar in 1960.

The availability of LPG from local refineries also had an impact in country areas where several reticulation systems were supplied with tempered LPG (LPG blended with air to produce a gas with heating value similar to black coal gas), and local coal gas manufacture was discontinued. LPG was provided by the Gas and Fuel Corporation, Colonial Gas Association, and Gas Supply Company using local high pressure LPG storage vessels replenished by road tankers. In addition, LPG supplied in portable high pressure cylinders ("bottled gas") and from on-site pressure storage vessels was used to meet the demand for gaseous fuel in areas where no reticulation systems existed.

*Natural gas*

The first commercial natural gas discoveries in Bass Strait were made in 1965. Commercial fields established were the Barracouta and Marlin gas fields. In addition some gas was associated with subsequently discovered oil and some found in lower geological horizons was regarded as non-commercial at the time.

The Victorian gas utilities, the Gas and Fuel Corporation of Victoria, Colonial Gas Association, Gas Supply Company, and Geelong Gas Company entered into negotiations with the discoverers, Esso-Hematite, and in March 1967 a letter of intent was signed relating to the supply of gas to meet the State's future needs for gaseous fuel.

The discoverers then put in hand the construction of production platforms on the Barracouta and Marlin fields, pipelines from these platforms to Longford, and a large gas processing plant at Longford.

The Victorian Pipelines Commission established by the Victorian Government in 1967 commenced planning of a gas transmission pipeline from the Longford metering station near the gas plant to the Gas and Fuel Corporation's City Gate station at Dandenong. This 174 kilometres long, 750 mm diameter pipeline, was designed and constructed by the Corporation as consultants for the Commission. The pipeline was completed in March 1968 (the Commission was subsequently dissolved in June 1971 and its powers, functions and responsibilities were vested in the Gas and Fuel Corporation).

At the same time the gas utilities put in hand the planning and execution programme which involved modifying every piece of towns gas burning equipment in their supply areas to suit the new gas. This course, necessitated by the higher heat value of natural gas (approximately double that of coal gas), was chosen by the companies in preference to the alternative of reforming natural gas to towns gas standards and had the great economic advantage of virtually giving an immediate doubling of the capacity of their distribution systems.

The Corporation's pre-conversion programme began on 8 April 1968. Natural gas was turned over at Carrum, the first section on 14 April 1969, and the mammoth task of conversion was completed on 23 December 1970. Colonial Gas had meanwhile completed a similar conversion programme in its franchise areas, thereby making Melbourne the first capital city in Australia to be supplied entirely with natural gas. The programme had involved the modification of 1.3 million appliances owned by 526,000 consumers at a total cost of \$35m.

As the changeover to natural gas progressed, gas manufacturing activities were phased out. The Corporation's Highbett works were closed on 12 July 1969, the Morwell brown coal gasification plant on 26 November 1969, and its West Melbourne works in December 1970, while the Colonial Gas Association's Box Hill works were closed in November 1969 and the Footscray works in March 1970. The large gas holders were progressively taken out of service and later dismantled.

The purchase of Colonial Gas Holdings by the Gas and Fuel Corporation in 1973 completed the unification of the gas industry in Victoria envisaged when the Corporation was formed, and made the Corporation the sole reticulated gas supplier in the State.

The Corporation's gas supply system has been subsequently boosted by the construction of a compressor station at Gooding, midway between Longford and Dandenong and by progressive looping of the main Longford-Dandenong gas transmission pipeline. In addition, the Morwell-Dandenong former brown coal gas pipeline was made into an effective loop for Melbourne supply by constructing a 16 kilometre branch from the main line at Tyers to the brown coal line at Morwell.

The Gas and Fuel Corporation also undertook the construction of the first liquefied natural gas (LNG) plant in Australia. This plant, which has a capacity to store 12,000 tonnes of LNG, was commissioned in 1980. Primarily intended to supplement the Melbourne supply at times of peak demand and to give additional security to the system, it was designed to operate in conjunction with an air liquefaction and separation plant constructed on an adjoining site by Commonwealth Industrial Gases Ltd.

#### *Natural gas supply to country centres*

In 1969, in an operation integrated with its metropolitan conversion programme, the Gas and Fuel Corporation supplied natural gas to the Gippsland towns of Warragul, Trafalgar, Traralgon, Morwell, and Sale. Subsequently supply was extended to Maffra, Rosedale, Drouin, Churchill, and Moe.

A pipeline to Geelong was constructed in 1970 and gas manufacture there ceased in 1971. Supply has subsequently been extended to Queenscliff, Point Lonsdale, and Ocean Grove.

In 1973 the Corporation constructed a transmission pipeline to supply natural gas to Bacchus Marsh, Ballarat, Castlemaine, and Bendigo. This system has subsequently been extended to supply Maryborough and Kyneton.

The following year the Corporation purchased the Albury Gas Company in New South Wales and commenced planning a transmission pipeline to supply natural gas to the Albury-Wodonga growth centre. This pipeline was commissioned in 1977, thus adding Albury-Wodonga, Seymour, Benalla, Wangaratta, and Shepparton to the natural gas supply system. Supply has subsequently been extended to Broadford, Euroa, and the Goulburn Valley towns of Mooroopna, Tatura, Kyabram, Stanhope, and Girgarre.

In accordance with government policy of supplying energy to country areas at Melbourne prices, the Gas and Fuel Corporation tariffs in country areas are the same as those in Melbourne.

#### *Gas marketing*

One of the vital aspects of the supply agreement between Esso-Hematite and the marketing companies was the need to expand greatly the use of natural gas in Victoria by comparison with the previous use of towns gas in order to render economic the very large capital expenditure required by both producers and marketers.

To ensure the viability of the whole project, therefore, the marketers, principally the Gas and Fuel Corporation, planned to sell more gas, particularly to the industrial sector,

but also to the commercial and domestic sectors. Public acceptance was shown by the fact that in 1969 gas supplied less than 8 per cent of the non-transport energy requirements in Victoria. Ten years later it was providing 48 per cent of non-transport energy, while electricity supplied 26 per cent, oil 18 per cent, and other fuels 8 per cent.

While the domestic market showed a dramatic increase, particularly in space heating, the most spectacular increase has been in the industrial sector, sales in 1981-82 amounting to 78,986 megajoules.

At 30 June 1982, approximately 80 per cent of the population of Victoria was within reach of natural gas supply and natural gas was providing 55 per cent of the State's non-transport secondary energy requirements.

**GAS SALES AND CUSTOMERS OF THE GAS AND FUEL CORPORATION:  
VICTORIA, 1970 TO 1982**

Year	Sales (megajoules)			Customers		
	Domestic	Commercial	Industrial	Domestic	Commercial	Industrial
1969-70	9,124	1,369	3,218	431,658	12,054	3,940
1970-71	11,116	1,810	5,923	477,921	14,177	4,124
1971-72	13,065	2,400	10,596	488,997	14,406	4,040
1972-73	16,609	3,315	22,544	596,014	15,852	4,650
1973-74	18,469	3,784	37,421	612,950	16,068	4,579
1974-75	22,721	5,561	43,971	637,511	16,107	4,451
1975-76	24,236	6,065	53,327	664,713	17,218	4,734
1976-77	29,669	6,428	59,374	689,451	17,551	4,855
1977-78	31,850	7,327	62,886	716,332	18,218	4,944
1978-79	35,056	8,675	65,407	746,617	19,775	4,811
1979-80	36,979	9,425	70,286	795,389	20,895	5,013
1980-81	40,495	10,276	75,627	845,343	22,189	5,254
1981-82	46,037	11,603	78,986	880,980	23,291	5,300

Source: Gas and Fuel Corporation, Annual Reports.

### *Reserves*

The reserves of natural gas in the Gippsland Shelf contractually committed to the Gas and Fuel Corporation are considered adequate to meet Victorian needs to beyond the turn of the century. However, recognising the need to ensure adequate supplies of gas in the long term, the Corporation has, in accordance with its charter, entered into joint ventures to explore for gas and oil in both the Gippsland and Otway Shelf areas. At the same time further exploration is being carried out by other organisations.

The Corporation has also maintained a continuing involvement with developments in coal gasification and has taken steps to ensure that brown coal resources are available to enable it to meet the demand for gaseous fuel when the supplies of natural gas available to Victoria are ultimately depleted.

### **Liquid fuels**

#### *Introduction*

Prior to 1939 Victoria's petroleum needs were being met through imports, supplemented by local production at the Commonwealth Oil Refineries' (COR) Laverton refinery, established in 1924. With the outbreak of the Second World War the oil industry managed to maintain supplies of motor spirit and other fuels and lubricants, albeit at reduced levels, to the civilian population. However, in 1940 petrol rationing was introduced in Australia and in 1942 Pool Petroleum Pty Ltd was established jointly by the importing companies to handle the co-ordinated distribution of petroleum products. Essential services were maintained throughout the period, although with some inconvenience, and the private motorist was left with a small ration to provide occasional recreation or to deal with emergencies. Gas producers burning charcoal were also available. Pool Petroleum was dissolved soon after the war but rationing was not finally abolished until February 1950.

There was substantial expansion of refinery capacity in the 1950s. In 1949 the Vacuum Oil Company refinery at Altona came on stream producing lubricating oil and bitumen. In 1954 the Standard-Vacuum Oil Company's crude oil refinery commenced operations at

a nominal capacity of 40,000 barrels per day (2.03 million tonnes per year) and incorporated the previous Vacuum refinery. In 1962 the company became Petroleum Refineries Australia (PRA). Successive increases brought the nominal capacity up to 100,000 barrels per day (5.08 million tonnes per year) by 1982.

In 1954 the Shell refinery at Geelong came on stream with a nominal capacity of 50,000 barrels per day (2.4 million tonnes per year) which was increased by several steps to 130,000 barrels per day (5.0 million tonnes per year) by 1982.

The COR refinery at Laverton, jointly owned by Anglo Iranian (named British Petroleum [BP] after 1957) and the Commonwealth Government, was closed in 1955. The Commonwealth Government sold its half share to the other partner and the COR company became BP Australia Ltd in 1957. The BP refinery at Western Port came on stream in 1965, having a nominal capacity of 50,000 barrels per day (2.2 million tonnes per year) which was increased by 1982 to 60,000 barrels per day (2.5 million tonnes per year).

The actual capacities of the refineries depend on the kind of crude oil being treated as also does the relationship between barrels per day and tonnes per year. The total refining capacity in Victoria in 1982 was 290,000 barrels per day, more than sufficient for local requirements and some of the production was marketed interstate.

After the Second World War the requirements of aircraft engines became increasingly sophisticated and by 1960 aviation gasoline (*Avgas*) was supplied in 100/130 octane and 115/145 octane grades. The introduction of prop jet and jet engines brought the need for further new fuels and led to the production of kerosene base aviation turbine fuels (*Avtur*) with low freezing point, high smoke point, and low vapour pressure. Melbourne Airport at Tullamarine was completed in 1971, supplied with fuel by underground pipeline from Spotswood terminals.

#### REFINERY CAPACITY: VICTORIA, 1960 TO 1981 ('000)

Year	Petroleum Refineries Australia (a)		Shell Refining (Aust.) Pty Ltd (b)		Shell Refining (Aust.) Pty Ltd —Lubricating Oil Plant (c)		British Petroleum (d)		Total	
	tonnes/year	BSD	tonnes/year	BSD	tonnes/year	BSD	tonnes/year	BSD	tonnes/year	BSD
1960	2,130	43	2,440	50	..	..	..	..	4,570	93
1965	2,570	55	2,540	60	80	2	2,240	50	7,430	167
1970	3,980	85	5,690	118	100	2	2,240	50	12,010	255
1975	4,670	100	5,390	104-110	100	2	2,540	60	12,700	272
1980	4,670	100	5,000	110-132	145	3	2,540	60	12,355	295
1981	4,670	100	5,000	110-132	145	3	2,540	60	12,355	295

(a) The Vacuum Oil Refinery came on stream in 1949. This company became the Standard Vacuum Oil Company (Aust.) in 1954 and Petroleum Refineries (Aust.) in 1964. The refinery is located at Altona.

(b) The Shell Refinery at Geelong came on stream in 1954.

(c) The Shell Lubricating Oil Plant at Geelong came on stream in 1965.

(d) The BP Refinery at Western Port came on stream in 1965.

NOTE: BSD = Barrels per stream day.

Source: *Oil and Australia*—Australian Institute of Petroleum (final publication December 1981).

#### *Petroleum and gas exploration*

Between 1934 and 1939 no new oil exploration drilling was carried out in Victoria. The Nelson bore, planned late during the war, reached total depth at 2,225 metres in 1945. This stratigraphic well was drilled jointly by the Victorian Mines Department and the Bureau of Mineral Resources. It showed no trace of petroleum.

The discovery of oil in Rough Range in W.A. in 1953, though non-commercial, gave new impetus to oil exploration in Australia and a number of wells were drilled between then and 1974 in the Gippsland, Otway, and Murray Basins. The discovery of natural gas and oil in the Gippsland Basin in 1965 and 1967, respectively, resulted from the utilisation for the first time in Victoria of modern exploration techniques including seismic surveys and geophysical well logging. Where earlier attention had been confined to Tertiary formations, in this second exploration phase many wells were drilled into Mesozoic rocks. This discovery of natural gas and oil in the offshore Gippsland Basin was the most notable event in the history of petroleum exploration in Australia. This discovery altered Victoria's and Australia's energy position from one of complete dependence on overseas supplies to one of partial dependence only. Although further oil and gas discoveries were made, the

full implication of the successful exploration decade from 1964 to 1974 became clearly evident late in 1973 when world oil prices began their climb, a major factor in altering the world's economic parameters during that decade. Victoria was able to supply Australia with some 60 per cent of its oil requirements.

An offshore aeromagnetic survey, carried out in 1956 by the Bureau of Mineral Resources, was the first major attempt to explore the sedimentary basins of the continental shelf of south-eastern Australia. The survey defined the offshore limits of the basin and revealed the presence of sediments up to 4,268 metres thick.

On 21 March 1960 the Broken Hill Proprietary Company Ltd, acting on the advice of Lewis G. Weeks, a noted American petroleum geologist, applied to the Victorian Mines Department for petroleum exploration licences in Victorian waters. The Minister for Mines granted three permits to the company on 1 April 1960 to search for oil in the offshore areas of Gippsland and western Victoria.

After carrying out geophysical surveys in three basins from 1960 to 1963, Hematite Exploration Pty Ltd, a wholly owned subsidiary of BHP, entered into a joint venture agreement with Esso Exploration and Production Australia Inc. in April 1964, whereby Esso would carry out further seismic surveys, and drill a number of promising structures in the Gippsland Basin. Similar agreements were later made in respect of operations in the Otway and Bass Basins.

Exploration drilling by Esso commenced on 27 December 1964, about 26 kilometres offshore from Seaspray in the waters of eastern Bass Strait and the discovery of natural gas quickly followed in the first well drilled, known as Barracouta 1. Natural gas was also discovered early the following year in the Marlin well, about 40 kilometres east of Barracouta 1.

In 1967 commercial discoveries of crude oil were made in the large Halibut field and the even larger Kingfish field. During development drilling over the Barracouta structure in 1968 a small reservoir of high-grade crude oil was located. Gas and oil were discovered in the Tuna field in 1968 and confirmed as commercial in 1970. Oil shows were located in the Mackerel 1 wildcat well in early 1969 and, after further drilling in this area, BHP announced on 1 June 1973 that Mackerel was a commercial field.

The following table indicates the number of wells drilled in the various basins—onshore and offshore—in each decade of the period under review. A brief account of the exploration in these various basins follows.

EXPLORATION WELLS DRILLED (a):  
VICTORIA, 1934 to 1982

Period	Onshore		Offshore	
	Gippsland	Otway	Gippsland	Otway
1934 to 1943	23	2	—	—
1944 to 1953	—	1	—	—
1954 to 1963	30	9	—	—
1964 to 1973	21	9	57	6
1974 to 1982	1	20	41	2

(a) Excludes Murray Basin  
Source: Department of Minerals and Energy.

### *Murray Basin*

Only four significant oil exploration wells have been drilled in this area but the results were disappointing, as no trace of petroleum was encountered. These wells were drilled into Tertiary and Lower Cretaceous rocks and in some cases bottomed in Permian glacial beds on Palaeozoic basement. Depths ranged from 276 metres to 1,001 metres.

### *Otway Basin*

#### *Onshore*

Onshore wells in the Otway Basin were aimed at both the Waarre Sandstone at the base of the Upper Cretaceous, and the Pretty Hill Sandstone at the base of the Lower Cretaceous (Otway Group). Offshore, however, because Tertiary and Upper Cretaceous rocks thicken

towards the south, sands at the base of the Otway Group were considered to be too deep a target and the top of the Otway Group was therefore considered to be economic basement. The North Paaratte No. 1, drilled in 1979, yielded a significant flow of gas. Further evaluation is necessary to determine whether an economic accumulation is present. In 1980 further exploration permits were granted in the Otway Basin, including the Otway Ranges area, where no previous seismic surveys or drilling had been carried out.

Between 1934 and 1943 two onshore wells were drilled, but little is known of these. In the following decade one well, drilled to 625 metres by Geelong Flow Oil near Torquay was reported to have encountered gas and water, the gas being analysed as containing 63 per cent hydrogen.

Between 1954 and 1963 nine wells were drilled to depths ranging from 1,818 metres to 3,546 metres. Six of these reported shows of gas and/or oil. In the 1964 to 1973 decade a further nine wells were drilled ranging from 1,235 to 2,597 metres in depth. Five of these reported shows of oil or gas. Between 1974 and 1982 twenty wells were drilled, seven of which reported shows of oil or gas.

All of the wells drilled before 1954—except the Nelson stratigraphic bore—were believed to have aimed at Tertiary targets and did not enter Mesozoic rocks. All of the wells drilled since 1954 had Mesozoic objectives.

#### *Offshore*

Between 1964 and 1973 six wells were drilled in the offshore section of the Otway Basin, three by Shell in 1967, two by Esso-Hematite in 1968-69, and one by Hematite in 1972. In the Shell wells the principal objective was the Waarre Sandstone, but they yielded only minor or non-commercial gas.

#### *Gippsland Basin*

##### *Onshore*

Between 1934 and 1943, 23 wells were drilled—all prior to 1940—ranging in depth from 337 metres to 536 metres. In the following decade no wells were drilled—reflecting the interruption to exploration during the Second World War and the general lack of interest in oil exploration in Victoria.

Between 1954 and 1963 a great increase in drilling took place due to the stimulus from the Rough Range discovery in Western Australia and a total of 30 wells were drilled to depths ranging from 170 metres to 3,661 metres. As previously mentioned, modern geophysical techniques were introduced during this period, although these were not applied to all wells drilled during this time. In the decade from 1964, 21 wells were drilled ranging from 361 metres to 3,795 metres in depth. The following decade saw a lull in drilling until 1980 when one well (East Seacombe No. 1) was drilled to 1,361 metres depth.

Most of the shallower wells were directed at Tertiary targets and a number of wells penetrated the prospective zone at the top of the La Trobe group (described more fully in connection with offshore exploration below). No significant hydrocarbon shows were encountered and the results indicated that this may be accounted for by fresh ground waters flushing the reservoir sands. Small gas shows were reported in this formation.

Only one well, Duckbay No. 1, fully penetrated the Strzelecki Group (Lower Cretaceous) passing through Permian volcanics and Permian sandstones and ending in Ordovician slates at total depth (1,292 metres). The 150 metres of the Strzelecki Group penetrated consisted of shales, mudstones, and claystones. The relatively thin Strzelecki section is due to the fact that the well is located near the northern margin of the basin. No hydrocarbons were reported. Other wells to enter the Strzelecki Group only encountered small oil and gas shows.

##### *Offshore*

The main offshore exploration did not commence until the period 1964 to 1973, although a limited number of geophysical surveys had been carried out earlier. Of the 57 wells drilled in this decade and the 41 in the following decade, 52 were wildcat wells (the industry term for new field exploration wells) and 33 were step-out (or appraisal wells in fields



discovered by wildcat drilling). These figures do not include wells which had to be abandoned at shallow depth for technical reasons and duplicated by new wells drilled close to the original site. Also included are two wells drilled from the Marlin platform which served the dual purpose of development and exploration wells.

All of the fields which are being produced or are planned to be produced were discovered by Esso-Hematite drilling. These include the Barracouta, Marlin, and Snapper fields which are principally gas (though Barracouta produced a small oil reservoir) and Halibut, Kingfish, Mackerel, Cobia, Tuna, Flounder, and Fortescue which are principally oil fields with minor gas reserves. The Seahorse, Bream, and Turrum fields, for which there are no current plans for production, contain oil and gas reserves and may later become productive. Several wells had shows of oil or gas; some of these shows cannot be counted as reserves; others can be regarded as sub-economic which could conceivably become economic at a future time.

**COMMERCIAL HYDROCARBON RESERVES AND  
PRODUCTION, GIPPSLAND BASIN: VICTORIA,  
AT 30 SEPTEMBER 1982**

Item	Unit	Initial	Produced	Remaining
Natural gas	giga cu.m.	220.4	40.7	179.7
Crude oil	giga litres	466.2	243.9	222.3
Condensate	giga litres	34.4	6.3	28.1
Liquefied petroleum gas	giga litres	88.7	28.9	59.8

*Petroleum production*

Production platforms have been erected at Barracouta (10 development wells), Marlin (23 development wells), Halibut (20 development wells), Kingfish A (21 development wells), Kingfish B (21 development wells), Tuna (9 development wells), Mackerel (17 development wells), Snapper (5 development wells), and West Kingfish (1 development well). Further platforms proposed are Fortescue, Flounder, and Cobia. An underwater production well has been completed at Cobia. The development of these offshore fields from platforms requires that most of the wells be deviated to give a sufficient areal coverage to provide effective drainage.

**COMMERCIAL HYDROCARBON PRODUCTION: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982**

Year	Crude oil (a)	Natural gas (b)	Ethane (c)	Propane (d)	Butane (d)
	cu.m.	'000 cu.m.	'000 cu.m.	cu.m.	cu.m.
1935	20	..	..	..	..
1940	18	..	..	..	..
1970	7,568,960	538,659.0	..	156,976	155,402
1975	21,691,496	2,424,848.4	68,139.8	1,064,941	1,203,374
1980	20,508,424	4,547,772.9	137,036.7	1,457,557	1,433,639
1981	21,349,102	5,701,778.8	148,549.0	1,539,434	1,498,854
1982	20,202,530	5,686,452.7	163,955.1	1,492,787	1,410,278

(a) Commercial production of crude oil was not undertaken between 1941 and February 1970.

(b) Commercial production of natural gas commenced in March 1969.

(c) Commercial production of ethane commenced in December 1972.

(d) Commercial production of propane and butane commenced in March 1970. Separate production data for each of these items was not available until July 1970. During this period 42,177 cubic metres of propane and butane was produced.

Source: Department of Minerals and Energy, Oil and Gas Division.

*Prices*

The considerable increase in oil prices since 1973 and the decision of the Commonwealth Government to permit local producers to obtain import parity prices for newly discovered

oil, stimulated interest in oil exploration and an increase in drilling in Victoria—both onshore and offshore. Refiners pay the import parity price for all Australian produced crude oil. The revenues from the sale of crude oil are shared between the producers and Governments, with State Governments collecting royalties, and the Commonwealth Government receiving excise on “old” oil (discovered before 18 August 1976) and a share of royalty for offshore production. “New” oil is excise free and this provided the major incentive to exploration and development.

Liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) is produced in conjunction with crude oil and natural gas as well as being a product of refining crude oil. A high proportion of the production of “naturally occurring” LPG is being exported. The Commonwealth Government’s policy was to reverse this trend by encouraging the local use of LPG, particularly in those areas such as automotive uses, where LPG had a premium value. By this means Australia would reduce its dependence on imported oil, and increase its security of supply.

To achieve this policy objective, the Commonwealth Government sets the price that the producers receive for LPG sold for automotive, domestic, and traditional commercial/industrial uses at a level that provides incentives for its use. Other LPG sales such as to the petrochemical industry, major non-traditional LPG users in industry and for export, are set by commercial negotiation.

#### *Legislation*

The legislation governing onshore petroleum exploration and production in Victoria is the *Petroleum Act* 1958 whilst the *Pipelines Act* 1967 controls the construction of transmission pipelines for oil and gas as well as other substances. Exploration, production, and pipeline construction in the offshore area was, prior to 1967, controlled in the Victorian area under the *Petroleum Act* 1958. It is controlled under the so called “mirror” legislation—i.e., the *Petroleum (Submerged Lands) Act* 1967 of the Commonwealth and a similar Act of the State. The legislative scheme was devised because of the absence of clear knowledge of whether Commonwealth or State had the offshore jurisdiction. In the Victorian “adjacent area” both Acts are administered by the Minister of Mines as the “Designated Authority”. The theory of the Designated Authority is that an administrative action of the Designated Authority is always taken simultaneously under both Acts and must be valid under one of them.

Standing behind the offshore “mirror” legislation was an agreement between the Commonwealth and the States. One clause of the agreement was that no Government would, without consultation, present to its Parliament any legislation which would affect the scheme of the “mirror” legislation. Nevertheless the Commonwealth Parliament in 1973 passed the *Seas And Submerged Lands Act* 1973 which asserted Commonwealth jurisdiction over the whole offshore area, including the territorial seas which had been accepted as an area of State jurisdiction since Federation. A challenge by the States in the High Court in 1975 against this legislation was decided in favour of the Commonwealth. As a result of the legal uncertainty which resulted from this decision with respect to many aspects of law such as ports, beaches, and the fishing industry the Commonwealth and States agreed, at various Premiers’ Conferences, that the problems should be remedied.

A parcel of legislation to be presented to all Australian Parliaments was agreed upon. This parcel included the *Petroleum (Submerged Lands) Amendment Act* 1980 which was passed by Commonwealth Parliament and proclaimed on 14 February 1983. Complementary legislation was planned to be submitted to State Parliaments.

The effect of the amending legislation has been that the authority in relation to “important matters of title” will reside with a “Joint Authority” consisting of the Commonwealth Minister for National Development and Energy and, in the case of Victoria, of the State Minister for Minerals and Energy. In the event of a disagreement between the Ministers the view of the Commonwealth Minister prevails. In all other matters decision rests with the State Minister as Designated Authority and the general administration of the whole of the legislation is carried out by the State.

**Developments in energy since 1970***Victorian Brown Coal Council*

The Victorian Brown Coal Council was established as a statutory body in December 1978 to succeed the Victorian Brown Coal Research and Development Committee. The enacting legislation is known as the *Victorian Brown Coal Council Act 1978*.

The Council, which commenced operation in January 1979, is subject to the direction and control of the Minister for Minerals and Energy and its Board comprises the principal officers of the State's energy agencies, with the addition of a representative from industry.

The Council's principal objectives are to examine and report on the quantity, quality, and location of brown coal in Victoria; to identify possible uses and develop markets for brown coal; to develop strategies for brown coal extraction and processing; to encourage brown coal conversion for production of fuels for transport and industry and other commercial uses; to co-ordinate brown coal development proposals; and to manage the brown coal resource (excluding areas provisionally allocated for electricity and substitute gas production).

Other activities of the Council include the supervision for the Victorian Government of the construction and operation of a coal-to-oil pilot plant, funding of which is being provided by the Japanese Government.

The Council, through consultants, has conducted a study designed to recommend a strategy which will achieve the best use of the Victorian brown coal resource taking into account all aspects including labour, infrastructure, and social and community needs, which was released for public comment in February 1983.

*Victorian Solar Energy Council*

The Victorian Solar Energy Council, established in December 1980, took over the role of the Victorian Solar Energy Research Committee, with terms of reference expanded beyond advising the Victorian Government on solar energy matters.

Its functions include promotion of solar energy, promotion of the manufacture of systems, review and evaluation of solar research, development and demonstration, provision of advice to industry, commerce and the public, and publication of ways in which solar energy can be used.

**MINERALS****Gold**

Although gold was the principal mineral produced in Victoria prior to 1934, the greatest part of this production took place prior to 1920. For the five years 1926 to 1930 inclusive, total production was the lowest for any similar period since discovery.

In 1930, following a rise in the price of gold, gold mining activity increased and reached its peak in 1940. Thus the period under review commenced with increased gold production and although this was quite small compared with the early years, it was a significant contribution to the economy of the State during the Depression years.

**GOLD PRODUCTION:  
VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982**

Period	Amount of gold produced	
	kilograms	fine ounces
1935 to 1944	37,144	1,194,199
1945 to 1954	21,391	687,746
1955 to 1964	10,197	327,855
1965 to 1974	3,005	96,603
1975 to 1979	322	10,347
1980	36	1,164
1981	76	2,441
1982	100	3,215

Source: From 1935 to 1971—Department of Minerals and Energy Annual Reports. From 1971 to 1982—Department of Minerals and Energy Quarterly Survey (results published by the Bureau of Mineral Resources).

A feature in recent years has been the number of gold nuggets found in the "nugget belt" north of Ballarat through the use of metal detectors—largely by relatively unskilled weekend prospectors. The largest of these was the "Hand of Faith" nugget found in the Wedderburn district in 1980 which weighed about 27.2 kilograms and was the seventeenth largest nugget ever found in the State. Because of the free marketing systems now operating for gold, the State does not have any records of gold won privately in recent years. It may form a significant amount of income to the small miner/pro prospector segment of the industry.

#### MAJOR GOLD PRODUCERS: VICTORIA, 1934 TO 1980

Mine	District	Production	Quartz or alluvial
		kilograms	
Wattle Gully Gold Mine	Chewton	10,985	Quartz
Morning Star Gold Mine	Woods Point	8,296	Quartz
A1 Consolidated Gold Mine	Woods Point	7,776	Quartz
North Deborah Gold Mine	Bendigo	4,015	Quartz
Victoria Gold Dredging	Newstead	3,646	Alluvial
Cook's Eldorado Gold Dredging	Eldorado	2,198	Alluvial
Central Victoria Gold Dredging	Amphitheatre	1,781	Alluvial
Tronoh Gold Dredging	Harrierville	1,706	Alluvial
Deborah Gold Mine	Bendigo	1,615	Quartz
Central Deborah Gold Mine	Bendigo	916	Quartz
Cook's Pioneer Gold Dredging	Eldorado	580	Alluvial

Source: Department of Minerals and Energy Annual Reports.

The Morning Star and A1 Consolidated Mines had operated almost continuously for over a century by the time they closed, the former during the 1960s and the latter in the 1970s.

The mines listed, accounting for just over half of the gold produced in the period, show only 23 per cent of production from alluvial sources as compared with some 60 per cent before 1934. This reflects the extraction in the early years of the rich shallow alluvial deposits and emphasises that the alluvial gold in the post-1934 period came principally from deep dredging operations.

#### Black coal

South Gippsland black coal production, principally from the State Coal Mine at Wonthaggi, continued at useful levels during the 1930s but thereafter steadily declined as the mining became uneconomic, because of thin seams and complex faulting. The State Coal Mine finally closed in 1968 after a series of heavy financial losses. By then it had long ceased its role of providing the railways with coal supplies during NSW strikes, as steam locomotives had been replaced by diesel locomotives.

#### BLACK COAL PRODUCTION: WONTHAGGI, 1934 TO 1971

Period	Amount
	tonnes
1934 to 1943	3,438,684
1944 to 1953	1,757,675
1954 to 1963	969,247
1964 to 1971	235,126

#### Brown coal

Brown coal has been by far the most significant mineral won in Victoria since 1934, its principal use for electricity generation having already been described.

Apart from the SEC's La Trobe Valley production, other brown coal production has come mainly from Bacchus Marsh and Anglesea. Production from the former area has been used mainly for industrial fuels, while the Anglesea deposit was developed by Alcoa of Australia Ltd for power generation to provide electricity for the aluminium smelting industry located at Point Henry near Geelong.

**BROWN COAL PRODUCTION:  
VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982**

Year (a)	Quantity
	'000 tonnes
1935	2,257
1940	4,347
1945	5,533
1950	7,445
1955	10,275
1960	15,207
1965	20,990
1969-70	24,311
1974-75	27,541
1979-80	32,896
1980-81	32,103
1981-82	37,567

(a) Prior to 1969-70 quantity data are on a calendar year basis.

Active exploration for brown coal has taken place by the Department of Minerals and Energy in the La Trobe Valley area and in the Stradbroke area of Gippsland and in south-western and northern Victoria. In addition, private industry is carrying out detailed exploration under the exploration licence provisions of the *Mines Act* 1958 referred to later.

The quantity of brown coal occurring in Victoria is estimated to be of the order of 132,000 megatonnes. The percentage of this coal which can be put in the category of "reserves" depends entirely on the economic criteria set for the calculation.

**Other minerals**

The substances here referred to as "minerals" are essentially those of the kind listed in section 3 of the *Mines Act*.

Some 500,000 kilograms of silver has been produced, mainly as a by-product of the production of gold with which it is inevitably associated in amounts varying from 2 per cent up to 70 per cent of the weight of the accompanying gold.

Among other minerals produced since 1934 have been minor quantities of tin, antimony, and bauxite and their available production figures are given in the following table.

**OTHER MINERALS PRODUCED: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982  
(tonnes)**

Period	Tin concentrate	Antimony concentrate	Antimony ore	Bauxite
1935 to 1944	1,274	1,690	—	14,666
1945 to 1954	525	611	17	26,822
1955 to 1964	50	—	14	35,317
1965 to 1974	217	294	1,576	23,722
1975 to 1979	4	—	5,157	13,189
1980	—	—	—	—
1981	—	—	—	7,104
1982	—	—	—	9,204

Source: From 1935 to 1971 Department of Minerals and Energy Annual Reports. From 1971 to 1982 Department of Minerals and Energy Quarterly Survey (results published by the Bureau of Mineral Resources).

The bauxite production was not used as a source of alumina but for the manufacture of aluminium chemicals. Very minor amounts of copper, lead, molybdenum, and tungsten were also produced.

**Construction material**

The regulation and production of aggregates and clays was, prior to 1966, controlled under the *Mines Act*. In 1966 the *Extractive Industries Act* was passed and took over the regulation of quarrying for crushed rock, sand, clay, and limestone. The Act and the

regulations provide for strict controls over operations from environmental and safety aspects.

### CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS PRODUCED: VICTORIA, 1954 TO 1980-81

Period	Sand	Gravel	Crushed and broken stone	Dimension stone	Other quarry products
	'000 tonnes	'000 tonnes	'000 tonnes	tonnes	'000 tonnes
1954 to 1958	4,532	638	17,634	57,699	1,952
1959 to 1963	11,061	6,790	44,860	34,051	5,067
1964 to 1968	20,481	15,779	71,888	52,672	9,011
1968-69 to 1972-73	28,910	16,775	82,609	63,545	15,441
1973-74 to 1977-78	41,085	23,175	89,074	61,597	17,453
1979-80	8,400	5,131	18,001	25,640	3,354
1980-81	7,930	4,751	14,271	29,004	5,394

Source: From 1954 to 1968 Department of Minerals and Energy Annual Reports.

#### Mineral exploration

Modern prospecting techniques involve stream and soil geochemical work over large areas followed by geophysical work over areas of any geochemical anomaly and the drilling of geophysical anomalies. Certain prospecting methods involve the use of airborne geophysical techniques requiring substantial areas to search.

Before 1955, the Mines Act did not provide for such large area prospecting methods and this had an inhibiting effect on exploration. In 1955, an amendment to the Act provided for the granting of areas up to 25.9 square kilometres for uranium and thorium and in 1964, the Mines (Exploration Licences) Act amended the Mines Act to enable the granting of exploration licences for gold and a limited list of minerals up to an area of 2,590 square kilometres. Subsequent amendments have reduced the maximum area to 860 square kilometres and increased the range of minerals to include gold and all minerals listed in the definition of section 3 of the Act.

The initial period for which a licence is granted is two years and extensions not exceeding twelve months may be granted from time to time for "good reason". Licensees gain the right to explore for minerals within the provisions of the Act and obtain a prior right to the grant of a lease within the area of a licence during its currency. Licensees are required to lodge returns covering all operations under a licence. By these means a great deal of geological information is accumulated which, six months after the expiration of a licence, may be made available to other prospective explorers.

A great deal of exploration activity has been engendered by the provisions and an immense amount of geological, geochemical and geophysical data has been amassed.

Although Victoria has always been regarded as a gold producing State, the new exploration has revealed a previously unknown potential for base metals in certain of the Cambrian greenstone formations of the State and in the Silurian acid volcanic areas in the north-east of the State (at Benambra). Interest in the latter areas was stimulated when these volcanics, previously believed to be Devonian in age, were remapped by the Geological Survey of Victoria as Silurian in age and related to the Silurian Volcanic formations of the Captain's Flat and Woodlawn areas of New South Wales where significant base metal mining occurred in the past. Much activity was being directed to gold exploration and to coal exploration in the 1980s, the latter being particularly stimulated by the rise in world prices of liquid fuels.

## WATER RESOURCES

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### INTRODUCTION

This Chapter describes the development of water resources and sewerage and waste disposal in Victoria spanning the period from the early 1930s to the early 1980s. The roles played by the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works and the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission in urban and rural areas are also examined. The Chapter concludes with a section outlining the measures taken to assist in river improvement, drainage, and flood plain management.

### HISTORICAL OUTLINE

The availability of natural water supplies substantially influenced the settlement of Victoria. The early European settlers, after they had experienced some poor seasons, came to realise that the rainfall of the State was both uneven and irregular, and that man-made attempts at husbanding available water resources would be needed for agriculture and domestic use. This need applied especially to settlements remote from the coastal areas, which were generally favoured with more regular rainfall.

A Board of Commissioners of Sewers and Water Supply for Melbourne was appointed as early as 1853 and this body was the precursor of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works (henceforth referred to in this Chapter as the Board), constituted in 1890.

The earliest of the more important country water supplies were generally installed against the background of gold mining in the 1850s — at Bendigo (1858), Ballarat (1860), and Geelong (1865). The construction of subsequent supplies was dictated by the needs of an expanding agriculture after the first flush of gold mining ended in the 1860s. The lessons of the disastrous drought between 1877 and 1881 prompted many to think about the possibilities of irrigation which became a lively issue in the 1880s.

During the following two decades water trusts and irrigation schemes were established, especially after the Irrigation Act of 1886. Practically all such schemes and trusts were finally brought under the legislative umbrella of the *Water Act* 1905, which set up the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission (henceforth referred to in this Chapter as the Commission), a body that was to control all rural water supplies. In 1915, the Water Commission became the authority for building and maintaining works in Victoria under the River Murray Waters Agreement, and in 1917 legislation was passed enabling the Commission to constitute flood protection districts and carry out necessary works.

### Agricultural development

Before the First World War, Dr Elwood Mead, the second chairman of the Commission, had advocated the closer settlement of northern Victoria as a means of intensifying and expanding irrigated agriculture. By the 1930s, an area of 200,000 hectares was irrigated and much of it was the result of closer settlement.

As a reaction to the Depression of the early 1930s, governments reduced their expenditure to a minimum, and the lack of funds prevented the construction of major water supply works. The position rapidly deteriorated to the point where the water demands of many cities and towns approached the capacity of water storages and distribution systems.

The previous decade had seen the State's value of production from manufacturing exceed that from agriculture for the first time. Every section of the community had felt the Depression, and unemployment probably affected city people most. When the Country Party gained and held the balance of power in Victoria for the decade after 1935, developments occurred particularly in irrigation, roads, and rural settlement in which the Commission was to play a leading part. L.R. (later Sir Ronald) East became its chairman in 1936 and was to lead it for the next thirty years through a period of major development of the water resources of the State.

In January 1936 a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the Commission's charges and costs and other matters. One of the results was that most loan liabilities were assumed by the Victorian Government, but the Government reaffirmed that irrigators had to pay for water rights whether they used the water or not.

Victoria experienced one of its most severe droughts in 1938-39; water in storages was far below requirements and supplies in several irrigation districts were limited. The cost of sand drift removal from Mallee channels was also very high, and in effect officers of the Commission were responsible for promoting soil conservation practices in the Mallee and elsewhere.

There was little construction work undertaken during the Second World War because materials and manpower were directed to the purposes of war. Although water supply was a reserved occupation, many men were released to the fighting forces while others were seconded for wartime construction work.

The years between 1950 and the mid-1960s were years of significant economic development in Victoria, but finance for waterworks, especially in the early 1950s, was greatly disrupted by financial constraints which brought many water conservation works to a standstill. However, although slowed down, the big Eildon Dam was completed, as were Rocklands, Cairn Curran, and Tullaroop Dams. Then in 1963 the Victorian Government asked for and approved a ten year programme of major works to provide for continuity of employment of the experienced engineers, workmen, and plant available after the completion of major projects such as the Eildon Dam.

In the 1950s and 1960s economists began to challenge the soundness of decision making on water development proposals. In 1966 the Commonwealth Treasury issued a paper on investment analysis that detailed the Commonwealth's attitude to the investment of government funds in public works. This paper provided the foundation for the Commission's appraisal of projects. In the 1970s the move to more rigorous economic assessment of developmental proposals was hastened by increasing Commonwealth participation in the field. A reflection of this was evident when the Mitchell River Dam's construction was deferred indefinitely in 1982.

Private financing of water, sewerage, and drainage services on a relatively large scale arose in the 1960s because of the very rapid increase in the subdivision of rural lands for urban use. The *Local Government (Subdivision of Land) Act 1973* required subdividers to enter into agreements with the service authorities for the provision of the services required for their subdivisions. These moves were reinforced by the community's growing concern for the environment, and the Victorian Government's view that the cost of preventing such problems from developing should be met by those receiving the greatest return from the development, i.e., the subdivider or developer. A similar arrangement had been used for many years in meeting the cost of works necessitated by subdivision of irrigated holdings. The urban use of land was more and more being determined in the light of the provision of services, topography, and environmental values.

### **Melbourne metropolitan development**

In 1934, the main storages for the water being supplied by the Board to Melbourne were the original Yan Yean system (completed in 1857), the Maroondah Reservoir (1927) near Healesville, the O'Shannassy Reservoir (1928) near Warburton, and the Silvan Reservoir (1931) in the Dandenong Ranges. In 1934, the number of properties in Melbourne supplied with water was 258,797, and the number of people was estimated at 1,027,000. A programme of major works in the 1920s had placed the Board in a good position to supply water in the early 1930s. However, the Depression curtailed new works but did not significantly slow down the increasing demand for water.



ANNUAL RAINFALL BY DISTRICT : VICTORIA, 1933 TO 1982  
(mm)

Year	North Mallee	South Mallee	North Wimmera	South Wimmera	Lower North	Upper North	Lower Northeast	Upper Northeast	East Gippsland	West Gippsland	East Central	West Central	North Central	Western Plains	West Coast
1933	319	399	473	567	477	548	732	988	742	794	802	595	785	615	721
1934	284	351	383	445	481	585	1,044	1,189	1,102	1,094	1,130	723	714	660	806
1935	228	307	374	473	466	526	796	1,199	1,010	1,156	1,073	665	736	645	824
1936	355	360	442	505	458	540	802	1,141	842	991	909	609	722	603	724
1937	298	326	422	440	315	372	549	787	638	742	787	483	507	592	702
1938	143	162	249	309	199	242	410	738	631	661	629	389	387	455	632
1939	338	411	446	545	588	800	1,212	1,612	767	1,079	1,126	793	955	722	876
1940	149	190	251	312	215	276	449	715	596	743	728	432	436	450	597
1941	304	316	465	533	380	492	632	1,049	756	903	961	641	646	691	792
1942	326	387	514	601	429	569	801	1,314	714	865	884	618	811	693	819
1943	190	223	306	375	233	320	580	872	642	841	708	438	514	534	720
1944	151	183	221	301	207	263	432	717	551	799	802	418	438	512	671
1945	214	269	346	421	341	413	644	996	667	769	661	471	553	517	707
1946	323	380	486	633	395	505	877	1,283	848	1,176	1,011	666	760	857	1,108
1947	372	397	511	630	453	578	894	1,330	649	1,086	1,025	640	837	760	913
1948	268	305	453	511	381	455	694	1,043	784	921	801	506	630	632	770
1949	271	328	387	447	470	566	755	1,042	946	918	951	697	795	616	714
1950	421	466	492	523	555	645	787	1,095	998	889	899	668	804	618	601
1951	259	340	438	548	459	568	814	1,219	959	1,125	1,029	732	810	745	894
1952	354	409	495	605	502	607	1,004	1,515	1,061	1,345	1,219	839	904	853	1,077
1953	300	321	437	549	376	475	771	1,176	703	1,014	988	579	728	669	831
1954	296	369	450	449	486	592	798	1,095	789	913	877	703	760	613	683
1955	407	482	519	615	616	701	1,059	1,622	673	986	1,024	722	915	699	888
1956	469	577	579	649	762	834	1,247	1,739	1,040	1,174	1,056	718	1,047	793	900
1957	223	264	340	407	309	377	599	903	711	886	764	520	584	581	737
1958	393	394	413	477	509	568	851	1,213	718	992	893	604	803	634	799
1959	230	271	344	417	392	443	600	931	924	797	783	588	664	603	630
1960	417	490	583	665	530	620	920	1,269	844	1,007	1,074	729	979	851	949
1961	331	354	359	403	356	397	641	845	904	789	690	492	643	544	648
1962	261	305	400	490	443	508	758	1,083	654	897	773	559	704	592	699
1963	399	417	438	495	498	544	812	1,101	857	945	803	642	774	670	648
1964	379	432	554	700	472	585	924	1,259	768	1,109	1,022	783	875	888	1,033
1965	271	319	339	429	340	437	573	850	583	733	748	542	655	536	677
1966	283	336	375	454	452	574	943	1,269	1,039	961	980	670	813	667	785
1967	111	144	188	250	205	274	372	606	527	638	564	317	407	334	460
1968	292	384	439	548	483	578	839	1,348	682	990	862	604	881	675	969
1969	388	423	401	477	443	519	834	964	896	929	789	545	691	594	727
1970	342	385	422	516	468	562	919	1,181	1,047	1,165	1,060	825	842	742	918
1971	324	428	478	633	480	576	782	1,157	798	930	973	730	891	769	991
1972	242	275	315	418	306	384	485	681	517	657	660	493	583	530	651
1973	605	648	712	790	864	933	1,224	1,476	786	993	1,027	820	1,126	779	884
1974	500	546	635	733	708	813	1,147	1,499	1,217	1,024	1,029	767	976	742	844
1975	399	411	421	616	559	680	978	1,330	832	984	935	667	885	683	881
1976	266	268	308	399	273	341	530	740	784	801	752	548	599	542	731
1977	233	277	274	379	280	367	554	802	709	805	862	591	621	552	725
1978	381	441	432	531	524	646	955	1,258	1,171	1,206	1,081	877	839	729	871
1979	385	416	456	580	435	504	678	950	460	759	752	499	717	583	723
1980	274	322	371	505	364	459	705	1,004	692	939	853	545	700	592	767
1981	339	378	449	556	471	618	1,008	1,278	753	874	874	628	797	607	704
1982	112	123	149	230	172	222	379	534	553	628	647	349	403	333	495

Source: Bureau of Meteorology.

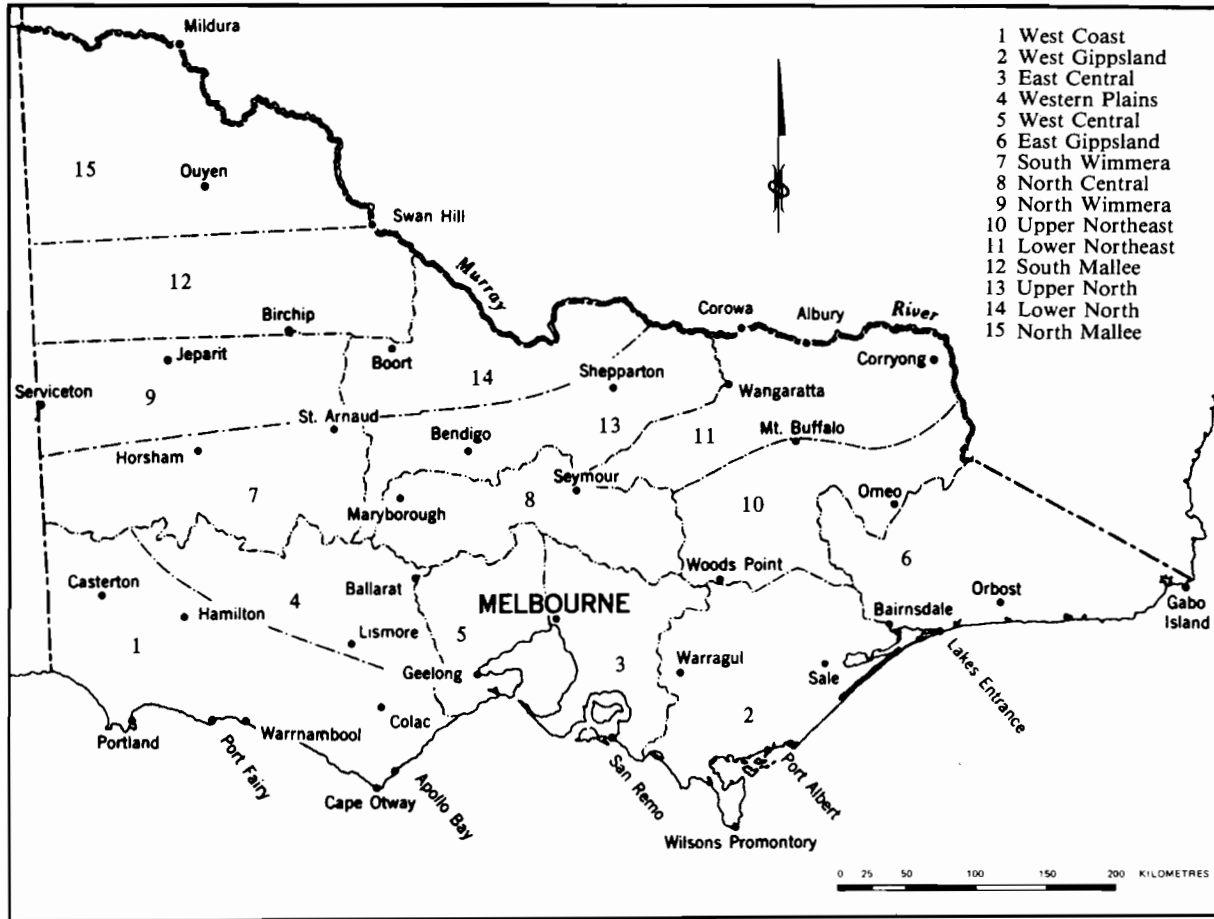


FIGURE 15. Victoria—Rainfall districts.

Source: Bureau of Meteorology

The winter and spring of 1938 were exceptionally dry, and the high temperatures of December brought about a crisis in the water supply. Only the imposition of severe restrictions on the domestic use of water prevented complete failure of supply to several areas. Valuable rains fell towards the end of February 1939, and the restrictions were lifted in June when storages had reached a satisfactory level. Abundant rainfall and favourable conditions prevailed until 1944-45 when another, but less severe, drought occurred. Those years of good rains proved most fortunate because the Second World War prevented any but the most urgent water works from being carried out.

In the 1930s investigations had continued into additional storages to supply Melbourne's needs. Attention was concentrated on the upper reaches of the Yarra River, which had long been regarded as the logical source of additional water. In 1940, the Board decided to proceed with the construction of a new storage in the vicinity of McVeighs but the Second World War delayed the scheme until 1946. This storage, the Upper Yarra Dam, was completed in 1957, just one hundred years after the inauguration of the Yan Yean system, and its capacity of 200,000 megalitres doubled the Board's total storage at the time.

The post-war immigration policies of the Commonwealth Government were to have a marked effect on Victoria's population growth, particularly Melbourne's. There was also internal migration from rural areas and country towns to the metropolitan area: Melbourne grew by 1.26 million persons between 1947 and 1976, while the population of the rest of Victoria increased by only 0.36 million; in 1933 the metropolitan area had accounted for 54 per cent of Victoria's population, in 1981 the proportion was 67 per cent.

Until 1975, the planning for future water and sewerage services had been based on estimates of the number of people requiring such services. It became evident, however, that the need for urban land and services was largely determined by the number of households being formed rather than by population growth. Therefore the declining birth rates and immigration of the 1970s would lower estimates of population growth but not affect to the same extent the estimates of households to be formed over the next two decades; these were mainly determined by the children already born and living in Melbourne. In 1975, policies were introduced to improve the rate of production of serviced residential land in Melbourne and to contain the cost of the services by providing them in "preferred development areas".

### General developments

Since the Second World War, the Commission has initiated the establishment of three new regionally based authorities. The first was the Latrobe Valley Water and Sewerage Board, which was created under the provisions of special legislation passed in 1951 (for drainage) and 1954 (for water supply). The Board was made responsible for the supply of water to the Morwell and Traralgon areas, and for the treatment and disposal of industrial and domestic wastes from the La Trobe Valley, including the highly toxic wastes from the gasification of brown coal.

The second regional authority was the Dandenong Valley Authority. The legislation setting up the Authority in 1963 established the principle of financing drainage services on a catchment basis, and gave the Authority wide powers in drainage and flood plain management throughout the catchment of the Dandenong Creek (the Cardinia Creek catchment was added to the Authority's area in 1976). The third of the special authorities was the West Moorabool Water Board which was constituted in 1968 to augment the supply of water to both Ballarat and Geelong.

Two drought periods in four years (1967-68 and 1972-73) resulted in Melbourne facing a serious water shortage in the summer of 1973. The Victorian Government appointed a Standing Committee to advise it on overcoming the emergency and to plan for future water conservation. The Committee, consisting of representatives of the Commission, the Board, and the Treasury, confirmed the need for a single body to co-ordinate the administration of Victoria's water resources.

In 1975, the Water Resources Act established a Ministry of Water Resources and Water Supply for the purpose of ensuring the most efficient utilisation of water resources. The Act vested in the Minister the responsibility for the administration, throughout the State, of water resources, water supply, drainage, and sewerage. It did not change the functions

of either the Commission or the Board. Instead, it brought both bodies under a single Ministry to enable the co-ordination of their activities, and created the position of Director of Water Resources as chairman of a Water Resources Council that was formed to provide information and advice to the Minister.

In 1979 and 1980, there were two developments with substantial implications for the future management of water services in Victoria. First, in November 1979, the Board of Review of the Role, Structure and Administration of Local Government in Victoria presented its report (the Bains Report) which noted that, outside the metropolitan area, water supply and sewerage could be the responsibility of local government. Then, legislation in early 1980 established the Public Bodies Review Committee with wide powers to review the efficiency, structure, and role of Victoria's public bodies. In 1980, the Commission and each constituted water, sewerage, drainage, and river improvement trust or authority, except the Board, was referred to the Committee for review. The Committee produced a series of reports, the sixth of which contained recommendations for the re-structuring of local water and sewerage authorities by substantially reducing the number of bodies providing water services.

With a worsening economy and scarce public funds, new directions became essential for the water industry. Increasingly, major projects were being subjected to more rigorous examination, and the beneficiaries of services were being more carefully defined and expected to bear their share of costs.

#### **Changes to the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works**

When the Board was constituted in 1890, it consisted of a chairman and 39 commissioners who were elected by the councils of the 22 municipalities in the metropolitan area. The numerical representation was determined by the size of the population and total valuation of properties in each municipality. In the ensuing years, the Board was reconstituted several times so that new municipalities that had become part of the metropolitan area could be represented on the Board. This principle of municipalities being directly represented on the Board was maintained until 1978. In that year, the Victorian Government initiated an inquiry into the functions and constitution of the Board. Acting on the recommendations of the inquiry, the Government replaced the Board of 54 commissioners with one consisting of a full-time chairman and six part-time members, four of whom were elected by representatives of metropolitan municipalities.

#### **Changes to the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission**

In 1961, the Commission consolidated its scattered offices in a new head office in Armadale. When the Commission began work in 1906, it had a total staff of 71 officers, but the growth in its responsibilities since then has been reflected in the growth in staff members to 1,800 in 1980; more than two-thirds of the staff are in country offices.

Until 1939 the Commission had authority for all staff appointments subject to obtaining Ministerial approval for appointments and promotions at salaries above \$500 per annum. Although the 1936 Royal Commission had recommended that the Commission should be free to make its own appointments and promotions and to set salaries, the Victorian Government made these matters the responsibility of the Public Service Board by the Public Service (Transfer of Officers) Act of 1937, which came into effect in 1939.

The *State Rivers and Water Supply Commission (Special Projects) Act 1969*, empowered the Commission to provide consulting services outside Victoria. Since then, it has assisted developing nations in the evaluation and implementation of water resource projects, particularly for irrigation and drainage works in Ethiopia, Indonesia, Fiji, Thailand, Ghana, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, and the Philippines.

#### **Commonwealth-State relations**

As in most areas of governmental activity, the Commonwealth Government co-operates with Victoria in matters relating to water. The prime instance of this is the Bureau of Meteorology's provision of data that are essential to the planning and management of water resources. The Australian Water Resources Council is another source of assistance particularly through its programme of funding water resource assessment and research.

Federal co-operation had its beginning in the River Murray Waters Agreement of 1915 between the Commonwealth and the States of Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia. The four governments are represented on the River Murray Commission which is responsible for the construction and operation of works under the agreement. The Commonwealth Government also entered into agreements with the States of Victoria and New South Wales to authorise the Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Scheme. A National Sewerage Programme was designed to overcome the backlog of unsewered urban development and began in 1973. Although the programme was ended in 1976-77, this effort reduced the number of unsewered properties in Melbourne from 162,000 in 1972-73 to 139,000 in 1975-76 and to 93,000 in 1978-79. The National Water Resources Programme began in 1976 whereby the Commonwealth undertook to provide grants to the States over five years for water conservation. It aimed at reducing the effects of flooding and at providing drainage and works to control salinity in the Murray Valley.

#### **Environmental concerns**

The constitution of the Environment Protection Authority (EPA) in 1970 was a most significant event in the management of water resources. It grew out of the inquiry of the Joint Select Committee on Drainage which, in its first report of 1967, recognised the problems caused by a lack of unified control of and responsibility for the wastes discharged to the environment, and recommended that a single pollution control authority should be created; in 1970, the necessary legislation was enacted.

The EPA delegated its powers for licensing of discharges into water to the Commission, the Board, the Dandenong Valley Authority, and the Latrobe Valley Water and Sewerage Board. The primary objectives have been the protection of the quality of surface water and control of waste discharges. The increasing requirement for the protection of the water environment has also led to the development of more sophisticated treatment plants and to a fundamental re-examination of the requirements for the collection and disposal of wastewaters with increasing recognition of the advantages of disposal on land.

Salinity of soil and water, particularly in the Murray River, has become a matter of national concern. Saline zones were already in existence prior to European settlement—these are an intrinsic part of the northern Victorian landscape—but changes in land-use since settlement (clearing of native forest and vegetation, introduction of irrigation) have substantially changed the hydrological balance. Major problems with salinity are now evident in many of the irrigated areas, and in parts of the unirrigated farming and grazing lands of northern Victoria, the Western District, and the Mallee. The wet seasons of 1973 to 1975 particularly caused sharp rises in water tables and pressures in the aquifers of the Goulburn and Campaspe Valleys. In 1975, the Commission produced a ten year plan for mitigating the effects of salinity and this became the subject of inquiry by the Parliamentary Public Works Committee.

### **URBAN WATER SUPPLY**

#### **Melbourne metropolitan area**

Although the period from 1950 onward was one of considerable construction work by the Board, the capacity of the system for transferring water to Melbourne and distributing it was insufficient to meet peak demands. Restrictions were applied to the use of water each summer from 1950-51 to 1960-61 (with the exception of 1952-53), pending the completion of major distribution mains and service reservoirs. Smaller distribution mains and service reservoirs were also constructed throughout the metropolitan area to provide water to new residential and industrial development. In the thirty years after the Second World War, the number of properties supplied with water increased almost threefold, from 308,731 in 1945-46 to 885,485 in 1978-79.

In 1962, the Board recommended to the Victorian Government that future increases in metropolitan demand should be met in three ways: by diversion of water from the Big River, a tributary of the Goulburn River; by more water from the upper reaches of the Yarra River; and by diversion of water from the Thomson River, which flows toward the Gippsland coast from a point some 120 kilometres east of Melbourne. The proposals were

based on predictions that Melbourne's population would reach five million by the year 2000 (a prediction that was substantially modified in 1975).

The proposal for the further use of stream flows in the Yarra catchment, in which Melbourne is mainly located, was received by the public without controversy. So too was the proposed diversion of the Thomson River, given that adequate provision would be made for both existing and possible future irrigation in the Thomson Valley. But the proposal to divert water from the Big River drew sharp criticism from rural interests in northern Victoria and from the Commission on the grounds that the Big River and all other streams serving the Goulburn-Murray irrigation system were already fully committed and that, apart from the need to expand irrigation, there was an urgent need to consolidate existing development.

In its case against the diversion of the Big River, the Commission drew attention to the unused water resources in the Lower Yarra catchment and in the coastal streams east of Melbourne, which were sufficient, in its view, to meet the domestic and industrial needs of a much greater metropolitan population. The Board opposed the use of the Lower Yarra because of the poor quality of water and the lack of sufficient control over land-use in the catchment. During this controversy, in 1964, the Premier, the Hon. H.E. (later Sir Henry) Bolte emphatically stated that his Government would not agree to the diversion "of one drop" of Big River water to the metropolitan area.

The proposals were referred to the Parliamentary Public Works Committee, which, after a five year inquiry, recommended to the Victorian Government in 1967 that the Board should proceed with the development of the water resources of the Upper Yarra tributaries and the Thomson, Aberfeldy, and lower Yarra Rivers. It was also recommended that a reservoir should be constructed on Cardinia Creek by about 1977. Development of the Big River for metropolitan supply was not recommended. The Board proceeded to implement the recommendations.

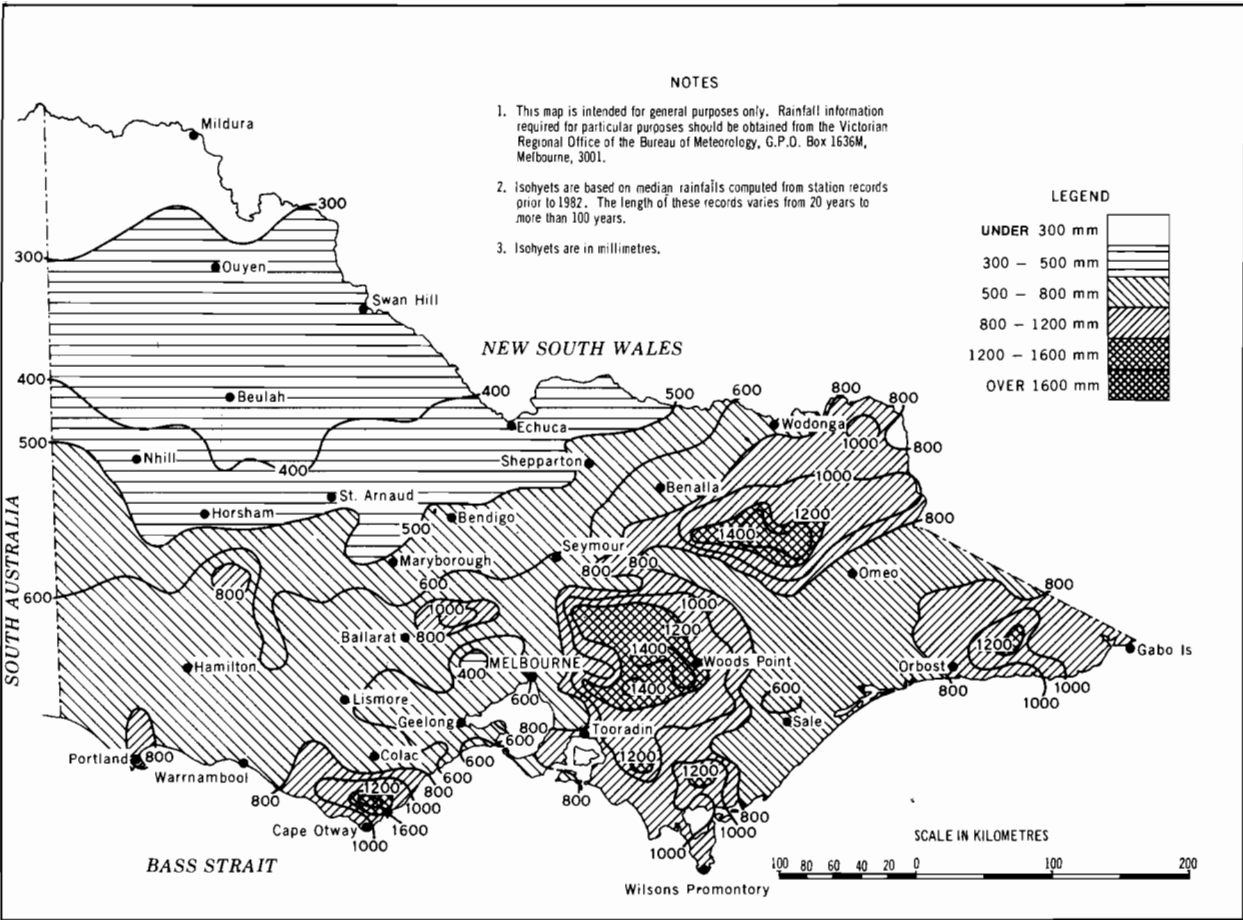
It was at this stage that one of the most severe droughts in Melbourne's history occurred. Unusually low rainfall throughout 1967 and the first four months of 1968 caused storages to be seriously depleted. Moderate restrictions on use were first introduced in September 1967, and progressively extended. By April 1968, the volume of water stored in the reservoirs had fallen to the equivalent of only about four months' supply. The drought broke at the end of April, storage levels gradually rose, and restrictions were removed by September. This drought emphasised Melbourne's vulnerability to severe droughts and highlighted the need for additional storage. As a result, construction of the Cardinia Reservoir and the first stage of the Thomson River diversion were advanced.

In 1972, below average rainfall from March onward resulted in Melbourne's storages failing to fill in the winter and spring. By early summer, another drought was in progress, which approached that of 1967-68 in severity. Unfortunately, neither the Thomson River diversion nor the Cardinia Reservoir was completed. Increasingly severe restrictions on water use were enforced and again drew attention to the lack of sufficient storage.

The new Standing Committee on Water Supply, formed by the Commission, the Board, and the Treasury, advised the Victorian Government in the emergency. On its recommendation of January 1973, the Government asked the Board to begin the Yarra Brae storage immediately, to begin the second stage of the Thomson River diversion as soon as possible, and to investigate immediately the siting of a major new reservoir on either the Thomson or Yarra Rivers.

Public opposition to the Yarra Brae storage was so great that, after the drought broke, the Victorian Government decided construction would not begin until the effects of the storage on the natural and social environment had been investigated and considered. A study by the Board to which other government bodies and the public contributed, indicated that another scheme in the Lower Yarra area was better and in 1974 the Victorian Government authorised the Board to proceed with building the Winneke Reservoir and associated works. These procedures were the forerunner to the development of formal environmental impact assessments.

Finally, in 1977, the Board was given approval to proceed with the third stage of the Thomson River diversion. The study ordered in 1973 of the siting of a major new reservoir had concluded that the Thomson was a better prospect than Watsons Creek in the Lower Yarra catchment. The third stage was designed to increase Melbourne's total storage of



Source: Bureau of Meteorology.

FIGURE 16. Victoria—Median annual rainfall. (The median annual rainfall is that value which has been exceeded during half the years on record and not exceeded during the other half.)

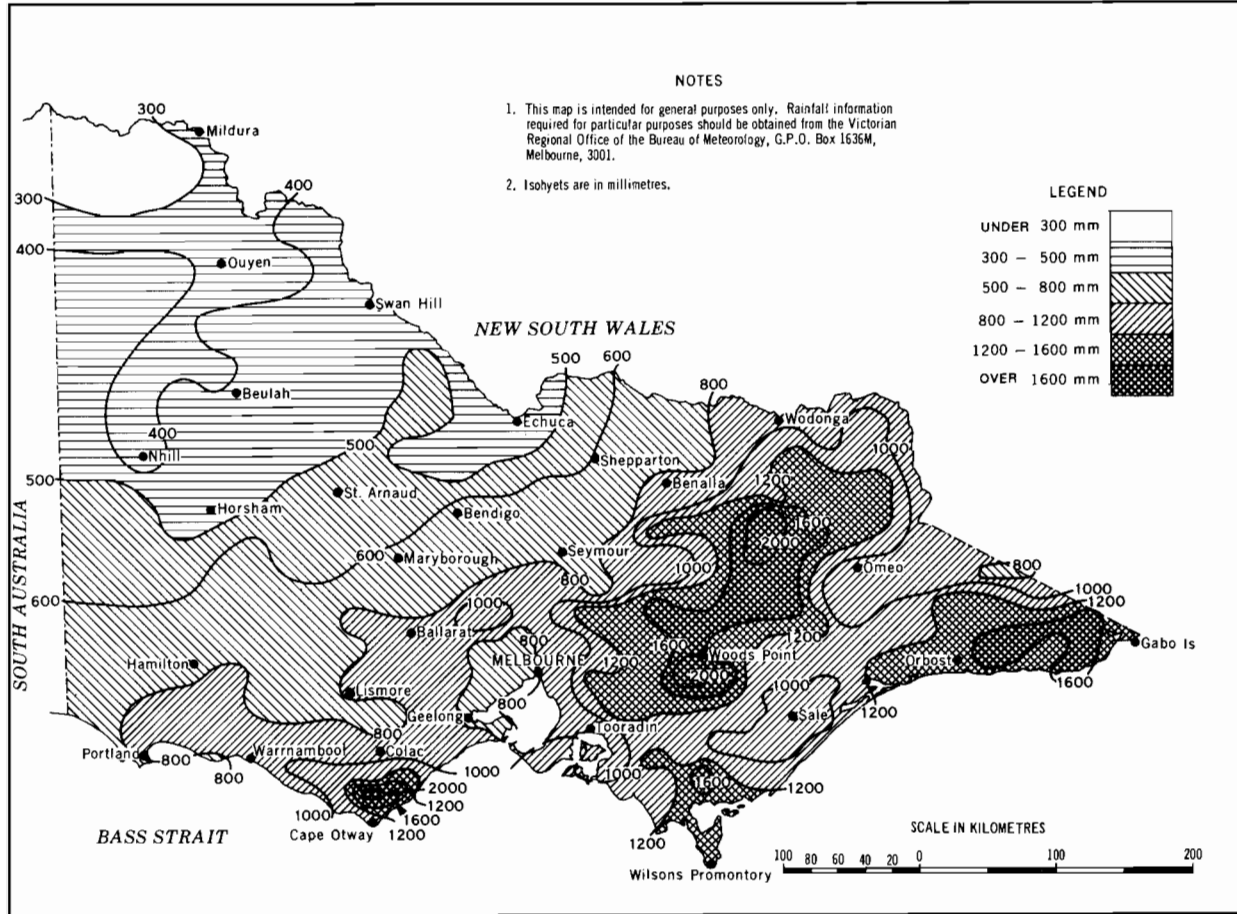
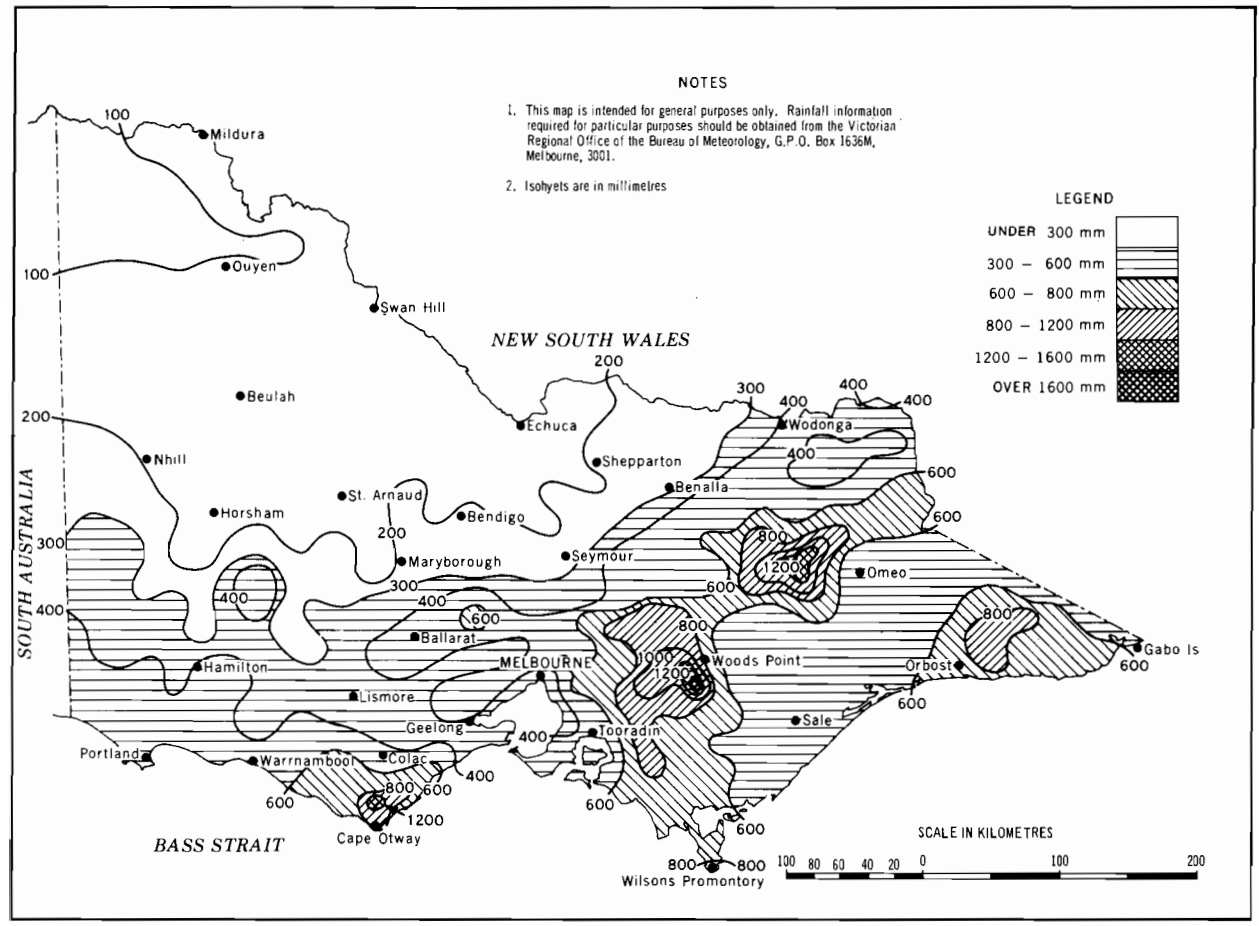


FIGURE 17. Victoria—Rainfall for the year 1978, representing a “wet year”.

Source: Bureau of Meteorology.





Source: Bureau of Meteorology.

FIGURE 18. Victoria—Rainfall for the year 1982, representing a “dry year”.

water to three times its annual consumption. This would afford such security of supplies that restrictions would be necessary only very infrequently, and would be no more severe than restrictions on garden watering.

Other major works constructed after the 1967 and 1972 droughts were the Greenvale Reservoir, the Yarra Valley Conduit between Upper Yarra Reservoir and Silvan Reservoir, the Silvan-Cardinia Conduit, and the Cardinia-Dandenong Conduit. The first two stages of the Thomson River diversion were completed by 1977, and the Cardinia Reservoir was filled in 1977. Diversion of waters from the Thomson River had been planned for both metropolitan use and to supplement the Mornington Peninsula system; the connection between the metropolitan and peninsula systems was made in 1981.

**MELBOURNE WATER SUPPLY:  
CONNECTIONS AND CONSUMPTION,  
1935-36 TO 1981-82**

Year	Number of improved properties supplied with water as at 30 June	Annual consumption	Maximum daily consumption
		megalitres	megalitres
1935-36	266,909	121,980	653
1940-41	297,392	142,134	772
1945-46	308,731	130,009	736
1950-51	354,415	169,229	970
1955-56	424,500	187,922	971
1960-61	510,078	253,772	1,550
1965-66	612,844	269,487	1,818
1970-71	696,018	332,506	1,863
1975-76	829,941	384,058	2,290
1980-81	913,652	453,306	2,933
1981-82	930,573	451,416	2,838

Source: Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works

**MELBOURNE WATER SUPPLY:  
ANNUAL WORKING EXPENSES  
(INCLUDING INTEREST),  
1935-36 TO 1981-82**

Year	Total	Average per improved property
		\$
1935-36	1.35	5.04
1940-41	1.47	4.96
1945-46	1.81	5.87
1950-51	2.83	7.98
1955-56	4.67	11.08
1960-61	8.08	15.83
1965-66	12.15	19.83
1970-71	19.18	27.56
1975-76	45.90	55.31
1980-81	95.96	105.02
1981-82	121.41	130.47

Source: Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works.

It has always been the Board's policy to use its catchments exclusively for water supply and to preclude all habitation and industry from them with the objective of obtaining an economic, virtually untreated supply of water for the city. The Board has undertaken detailed studies into the effects of different land treatments on the quality and quantity of water, setting up experimental catchments at Coranderrk, near Healesville, in 1955, and in the North Maroondah area in 1969. Valuable information was gathered, and a report published in 1981 that was intended to provide a basis for management strategies.

After the passage of the *Health (Fluoridation) Act 1973*, and the subsequent direction by the Commission of Public Health that fluoride should be added to Victoria's water supplies, the Board commissioned and constructed fluoridation plants at seven strategic points in the metropolitan supply system during 1976-77.

### Outer Melbourne metropolitan areas and country towns

By 1934, 401,700 persons in 223 towns were provided with a reticulated water supply; 98 of these town supplies were administered by the Commission and the balance was managed by local authorities. From 1933 to 1939, unemployment relief funds of some \$6m were an important source of finance for work on many town water supplies. Major projects were completed including extensions and improvements to the main urban systems of the Mornington Peninsula, the Otways, and the Coliban. Unemployment relief funds were also used for the removal of drift sand from the channels of the Wimmera-Mallee system.

During the Second World War, the only water works constructed by the Commission were for camps for servicemen or prisoners of war; work on the Rocklands Dam to store water for the Wimmera-Mallee system had to be suspended in 1942 and the site camp was used by the RAAF.

In the La Trobe Valley, water supply works constructed by the State Electricity Commission (SEC) on the Tyers River were extended by the Commission before being handed over to the Latrobe Valley Water and Sewerage Board in 1954. Later developments included construction of the Moondarra Reservoir and connection to the existing system by the Tyers River pipeline. These works provided bulk water supplies to Morwell and Traralgon and large quantities of water to the SEC for power generation and to Australian Paper Manufacturers Ltd (APM) at Maryvale for its paper mill.

From 1943, finance for town water supplies (and sewerage) was provided directly by the Victorian Government at the interest rate of 3 per cent per annum. Local authorities also had access to these funds as well as to capital borrowed on the private market on which the Victorian Government provides annual subsidies to limit the interest and redemption to 3.25 per cent in the case of water trusts and 3.5 per cent for sewerage authorities. During the 1970s, government funding of these services was generally restricted and the trend was for privately borrowed capital to form an increasing part of local authorities' total capital funds. Similarly, developers of land were required to provide the services as part of the land development process. In 1965, 80 per cent of the capital for country town supplies (about \$4m in that year) was met from government funds and the balance by private loans. By 1980, the annual capital expenditure had risen to \$18.2m of which \$13.4m or 74 per cent was financed from private loans. The provision of works for urban supplies directly controlled by the Commission has become a major part of its activities. In 1965 capital expenditure was about \$1m per annum; by 1979-80, this had risen to about \$9.6m. In 1981, the Victorian Government changed the basis of assistance for the urban water and sewerage services by adopting, in principle, the phasing out of interest subsidies and introducing revenue subsidies for the towns that were providing services at a cost well above the State average.

Since the Second World War, and particularly during the late 1960s and early 1970s, development on the Mornington Peninsula has been substantial (population increased by about 5 per cent per annum in the 1970s). In 1981, more than 270,000 persons lived in an area extending from Neerim South in the north-east to Portsea in the south-west. To keep pace with demand, the supply system has been developed from its small beginnings to a large integrated network of storages, pipelines, pumping stations, and associated works. The distribution network has grown from 40 kilometres of pipelines in 1930 to 1,900 kilometres in 1980.

The headworks of the present system are situated on the Bunyip and Tarago Rivers, with Tarago Reservoir, constructed in 1964, being the major storage. A high rate of growth on the Peninsula is expected well into the 1990s as the area continues to absorb part of greater Melbourne's growth. To provide security of supply until the turn of the century, additional water was obtained from the Board's Cardinia Reservoir from 1981.

In 1968 the Eppalock pipeline and pump station were installed to supplement the Coliban system, which supplies Bendigo, from Eppalock Reservoir. By 1980 a total of 70,000 persons received reticulated water, and a further 1,900 rural properties received water for domestic, stock, or irrigation purposes.

The Otway Waterworks District, extending from the Otway Ranges to Warrnambool, and including towns along the Princes Highway west of Camperdown, provided water to a total population of 120,000 in 1980. Since 1958, the resources of the system have been

supplemented by pumping from the Gellibrand River. Until 1976, the Otway Main pipeline was the only conveyor of water from the headworks. However, growing demand necessitated the construction of the South Otway pipeline and additional pumping facilities on the Gellibrand River. This pipeline delivers water some 80 kilometres to Warrnambool and provision has been made for boosting supply as demand increases.

Works were commenced in 1927 to augment the supply to Geelong and the Bellarine Peninsula by tapping the Barwon River. With the rapid growth of the city, the Commission handed over responsibility for the headworks to the Geelong Water and Sewerage Trust in 1955. The influx of holiday makers to the Bellarine Peninsula greatly increased the effective population to be supplied, and compounded the necessity to provide for a basic growth rate of 4 to 5 per cent per annum during the 1970s. In 1976, by arrangement with the Geelong Waterworks Trust, the Commission commenced the installation of a pipeline to augment the water resources of the Bellarine Peninsula system; the first stage was completed in 1978.

To indicate the trend in expansion of water supplies to country towns the statistics for Ballarat show that, between 1959 and 1979, the population increased from 55,000 to 71,500 (30 per cent) and water consumption from 7,986 megalitres to 13,516 megalitres (69 per cent). During the record dry year of 1967, in which water consumption by Ballarat reached 118 megalitres per day, the Ballarat Water Commissioners entered into negotiations with the Water Commission and the Geelong Waterworks and Sewerage Trust with a view to constructing a storage on the West Moorabool River at Bungal, near Lal Lal. The Bungal Dam was completed in 1973 by the West Moorabool Water Board set up for that purpose in 1968 with the pumping station, pipeline, and other works to convey water from the dam to Ballarat being completed in 1976. The storage has subsequently been managed by the Ballarat Water Commissioners.

By 1980, reticulated water supplies were provided to a total of 461 towns in Victoria outside the metropolitan area, serving a total population of approximately 1,080,000. Of these town supplies, 335 were managed and maintained by local authorities while the Commission directly controlled supplies to 126 towns. The position had been reached in Victoria where practically every community with more than 200 residents has a reticulated water supply, and each year new systems are constructed for even smaller communities. Artificially fluoridated water was used in 54 provincial cities and towns in 1981; the first to have fluoride added to its water supply was Bacchus Marsh, in 1962.

Since the first water treatment plant in Victoria was installed at Shepparton in 1930, several local water supply authorities have sought to improve the quality of the water supplied from their systems through the construction of treatment plants. The number of towns that receive a fully treated and chlorinated supply has increased from five in 1954 to 32 in 1980.

## RURAL WATER SUPPLY

### Closer settlement

One of the most important factors in water supply in rural Victoria has been the closer settlement of country districts. This already had a long history in Victoria and was seen as necessary if the Commission was to make irrigation in northern Victoria efficient. Government support extended to the acquisition and subdivision of land and the promotion of schemes overseas to attract settlers. After the First World War, closer settlement was also seen as a means of placing returned soldiers on the land. Legislation in 1918 transferred responsibility for the purchase and settlement of lands in irrigation areas to the Water Commission from the Lands Purchase and Management Board. Settlements were developed at Werribee, Nyah, Shepparton, Swan Hill, Red Cliffs, Kerang, Tongala, Woorinen, Maffra, and Sale. By 1934-35, the total area irrigated had reached 200,000 hectares.

After the Second World War, closer settlement in irrigation areas was conducted jointly by the Commission and the Soldier Settlement Commission (later the Rural Finance and Settlement Commission, then the Rural Finance Commission). This phase of development included the Murray Valley Irrigation Area, Robinvale, and the Nambrok-Denison Scheme in the Macalister Irrigation District. Dunbulbalane and the Campaspe Irrigation District were also settled at this time but as closer settlements, not soldier settlements.

### Royal Commission on Water Supply, 1936

Like most members of the community, irrigation farmers were badly affected by the economic Depression of the early 1930s. Many of them fell substantially in arrears with payment of their water rates and a number of the Commission's districts accumulated growing financial losses.

In 1936, the Victorian Government appointed the Royal Commission on Water Supply to inquire into, among other things, the financing of capital works in irrigation districts and whether irrigation farmers should be excused their arrears of rates. The Royal Commission recommended financial relief for irrigators, and the *Water Act* 1937 and an amendment in 1940 provided remission of substantial arrears and the payment of the rest in instalments. The Victorian Government also adopted the Royal Commission's recommendation that the liability for capital works should be transferred from the irrigators to the State.

### Soil conservation

Of all the difficulties faced by the Commission in the 1930s and 1940s, the most trying and expensive was sand drift in the Mallee. Closer settlement in the area meant clearing of the land and long fallows for wheat farming, and thus the Mallee sands began to drift. The drifts were worse in dry years when there was only poor germination of grasses and crops, and the period from 1938 until 1945 was the worst. It was during these years that dust storms frequently carried the Mallee soil to Melbourne and sometimes as far as New Zealand.

The significance of the sand drifts for the Commission lay in the Wimmera-Mallee Supply System, a network of 16,000 kilometres of open earthen channels that supplied in 1982 some 22,000 farm dams and 51 townships in the Wimmera and the Mallee with water for their livestock and domestic use; the source of water for the system lies in the reservoirs in the Grampians. Long stretches of these channels would fill with sand, and every year the Commission had to put men and horses on the job of shifting it so that the annual "channel run" of water could begin. The Wimmera-Mallee Division monopolised so much of the Commission's resources in those years that it was frequently referred to as "the second Commission", the "first" one being the rest of the Commission put together.

Because of the sand drifts, the Minister of Water Supply and the Commission became the sponsors of soil conservation in Victoria. After the severe drought of 1938, in which sand drift "reached colossal proportions", some lengths of channel were replaced by pipes, others moved to more stable land, and others provided with three chain (60 metres) reserves, fenced and sown with cereal rye to maintain cover. The Commission also acquired power under a by-law "to prohibit the clearing, cultivating or fallowing of land, likely to drift, within one chain of any channel under the control of the Commission". This power was incorporated in the *Water Act* 1942, which extended the distance from a channel over which that power could be exercised to three chains (60 metres).

In 1940 Harold Hanslow, one of the Water Commissioners, donated the Hanslow Cup to be awarded in a competition for the "Best Effort to Control Soil Drift on a Mallee Farm". In the same year, aided by Hanslow's recommendations, the Minister of Water Supply sponsored the *Soil Conservation Act* 1940, which established the Soil Conservation Board; the Board's functions were principally research, advice, and co-ordination of the activities of government departments insofar as they affected soil conservation.

The drought of 1944 and early 1945 saw more sand than ever drift into the channels, and in the financial year of 1945-46 the Commission had to spend \$645,654 on the removal of 9,400,000 cubic metres of sand from the channels—the same volume of material as was later required to build the embankment of Lake Eildon.

Soon after, the Victorian Parliament passed the Soil Conservation and Land Utilisation Act, which came into effect in July 1947. This established the Land Conservation Authority, which in 1949 became the Soil Conservation Authority; the Authority later took over the Hanslow Cup competition. The major difference between the Authority and the old Soil Conservation Board lay in the Authority's power to direct land owners to remedy erosion, to impose conditions on the use of land to prevent erosion, and to regulate the use of land in catchments.



Aerial view of the Werribee Farm showing lagoon treatment of wastewater on the edge of Port Phillip Bay.

*Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works*

The South-Eastern Purification Plant, near Carrum, treats approximately 30 per cent of Melbourne's wastewater. The final effluent is conveyed from Carrum to Bass Strait via a 50 kilometre outfall conduit, discharging at Cape Schanck.

*Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works*





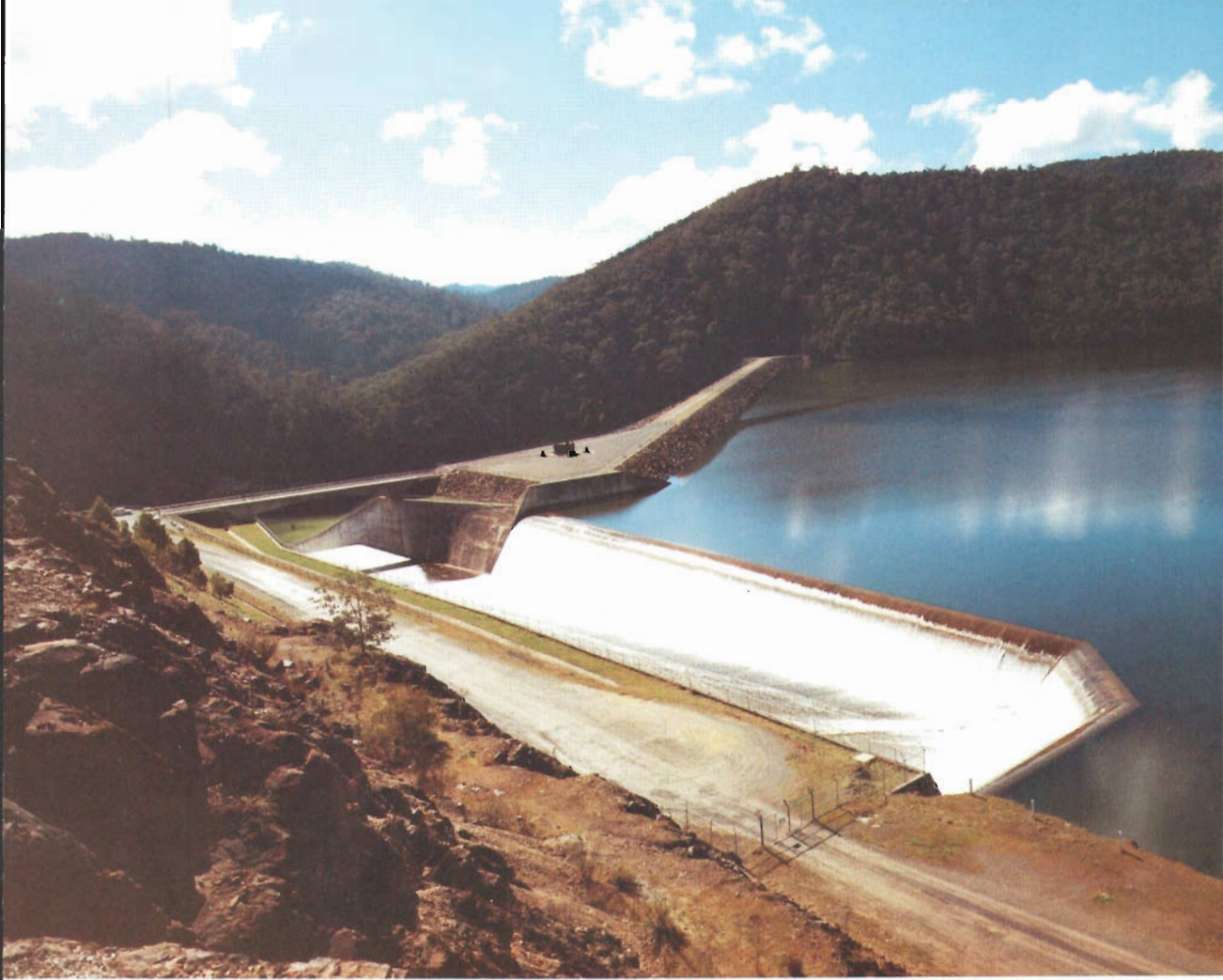
Cardinia Reservoir, near Emerald, an outer Melbourne suburb, is the largest operational reservoir in Melbourne's water supply system with a capacity of 287,000 megalitres.

*Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works*

The effects of dry-land salting in northern Victoria. The clearing of native forest and vegetation, and the introduction of irrigation agriculture has contributed to the salination and waterlogging of land.

*State Rivers and Water Supply Commission*





The Upper Yarra Reservoir near Warburton is a key storage in Melbourne's water supply system with a capacity of 200,000 megalitres.

*Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works*



The State Rivers and Water Supply Commission since its inception has managed rivers for the control and regulation of water supply. This includes river bank improvement and drainage works.

*State Rivers and Water Supply Commission*



Inspection of the old Eildon Reservoir in 1946 by Mr L. R. East (Chairman of the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission) (foreground), Mr M. G. Speedie, Dr J. L. Savage, and Mr E. D. Shaw (background, left to right). The new dam was being considered for construction at this time.

*State Rivers and Water Supply Commission*



Eildon Reservoir with the hydro-electric generator power station at the base of the dam wall.

*State Electricity Commission of Victoria*





Early private dam construction utilised teams of draught horses and scoops. This enabled layers of soil to be placed in and around dam sites which were later trodden down and compacted by the horses.

*State Rivers and Water Supply Commission*

The Thomson Dam near Erica in Gippsland under construction in 1982. When completed this dam will impound about 1.1 million megalitres of water and the reservoir will extend for some 23 kilometres from the wall.

*Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works*



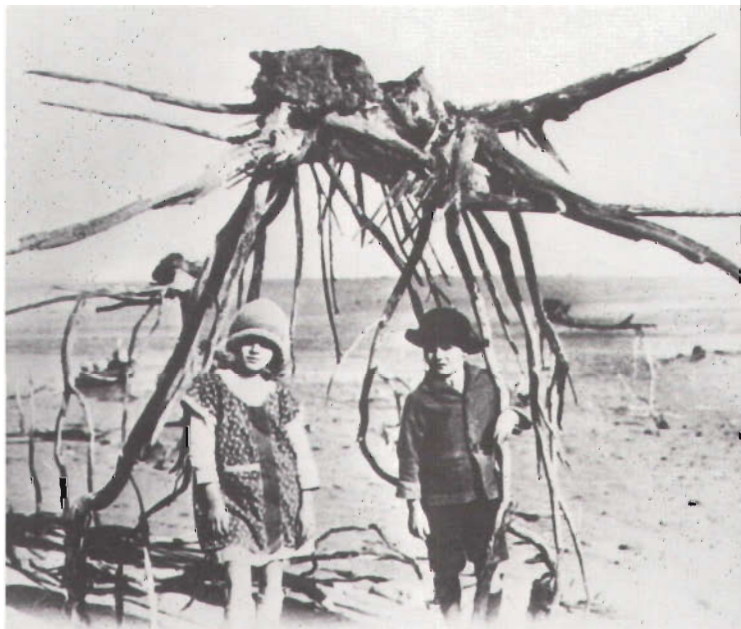


Flooding of the Yarra River in 1934 covered the Burke Road Bridge at Kew.

*The Age*

During the 1930s, high winds caused millions of tonnes of soil to blow away in the Mallee region. In some areas two metres of soil shifted, exposing tree roots.

*Soil Conservation Authority*



A dust storm heads towards Mildura, January 1968.

*Sunraysia Daily*



### **Millewa pipeline**

The Depression and the dry years of the 1930s had also caused some Mallee settlers to abandon their farms, especially in the north-west, the Millewa, where the farms were too small to support the settlers through a series of dry years. In 1950, under the North-west Mallee Areas Act, the area was re-subdivided, the holdings being increased in size and reduced in number, and this afforded the Commission the opportunity to re-organise the channel system on more economical lines.

The Millewa Waterworks District is supplied with water from the Murray River, originally through open earthen channels. However, the porous soils of the area meant that the channel system delivered to the farms and towns only about 12 per cent of the total water diverted from the river, and the State Development Committee in 1966 recommended the replacement of the channels with pipelines. The Committee and the Commission had as their model the piped water supply to Rainbow West which was completed in 1958. The piping of the Millewa District was completed in 1975; 621 kilometres of Commission channels and 370 kilometres of farm channels were replaced with pipelines and the volume of water saved annually was estimated to be 9,140 megalitres.

### **Water storage construction**

Closer settlement, the intensification of agriculture, and increased use of water had effected a large increase in the productive capacity of the northern areas of the State. This in turn generated an assured demand for water, but by the late 1930s development was limited by the volume of water available from storages and the capacity of the distribution systems. By 1941 the Commission was already studying the practicability of enlarging Eildon Reservoir, and the severe water shortages in the drought years of 1938, 1944, and 1945 further emphasised the need to conserve more water.

The Commission had built Yarrawonga Weir and the Hume Dam on behalf of the River Murray Commission before the Second World War, but it was only after the war that the Commission could begin the programme of enormous expansion in storage capacity that made possible the great post-war expansion of irrigation in Victoria.

The enlargement of the Eildon Reservoir in central Victoria was one of the biggest water conservation projects to be undertaken to that date in the southern hemisphere. The contract was let in 1950 to the Utah Construction Company. It proved to be a time of what was then regarded as rapid inflation, and during 1952 practically all the Commission's other construction work had to be shut down in an effort to keep up payments to the contractor. Even the Eildon project had to be slowed down because of the shortage of funds. The slowing down caused hundreds of workers to be dismissed, but the contractors completed the project in approximately the tendered time and at a cost of \$52m.

Eildon introduced large-scale American contractors and their methods to Australia, and Australians rapidly learned to emulate their achievements, as was later demonstrated on works carried out by Australian contractors and constructing authorities.

The completion of the new Eildon Reservoir in 1955 proved that its 3.4 million megalitres of stored water would be not only valuable in droughts. Exceptional weather conditions over the Murray and Goulburn catchments caused particularly severe and prolonged flooding along the Murray River. The new reservoir practically filled in a few months in 1956 instead of the forecast two and a half years under average conditions, and substantially reduced the volume of flood waters reaching the Murray from the Goulburn. It is believed that this saved the towns of Wentworth and Renmark from complete inundation.

Rocklands Reservoir on the Glenelg River was completed in 1954, and added 340,000 megalitres to the storages of the Wimmera-Mallee Domestic and Stock Water Supply System. The Rocklands scheme was the first in Australia to divert the waters of a coastal river on a large scale to supply the needs of the less well watered inland.

Work on the Cairn Curran Dam had been stopped by the financial conditions of the early 1950s, but was completed in 1956 and conserved the waters of the Loddon River for the northern irrigation districts.

Eppalock Dam near Bendigo was completed in 1963. Its waters are used both for supplementing the Campaspe Irrigation District and providing water to Bendigo. Power for its pumps is obtained from hydraulic turbines operated by part of the water released

for irrigation downstream; it was the first installation of this type in Australia. Water is also available to supplement the Goulburn-Murray system.

In 1963 the Bolte Government asked the Commission to submit a ten year programme for the construction of country water storages so that the Commission could proceed from one project to the next without having to disband its construction team every time a project was completed. The Victorian Government approved of the Commission's programme, estimated to cost \$74m, and promised that funds would be provided each financial year to meet the cost. This was the first time that any Victorian Government had promised funds for more than one financial year except in the case of the Eildon contract.

Apart from the Chowilla Dam, proposed for the Murray River downstream of Mildura, the Commission had completed the ten year programme of constructing country water storages by 1972, thus substantially fulfilling the target originally set by the Victorian Government in 1964. The individual projects were the Devilbend Reservoir on the Mornington Peninsula (14,500 megalitres) completed in 1964; Lake Buffalo near Myrtleford (capacity 24,000 megalitres) completed in 1965; Lake Bellfield near Halls Gap (78,500 megalitres) completed in 1967; the Greens Lake Scheme near Corop (capacity 32,500 megalitres) completed in 1968; Lake Nillahcootie on the Broken River near Benalla (capacity 40,000 megalitres) completed in 1968; Tarago Reservoir near Neerim South (capacity 37,500 megalitres) completed in 1968; the first stage of Lake Merrimu on Coimadai Creek near Bacchus Marsh (capacity 19,000 megalitres) completed in 1969; Lake Mokoan on Winton Swamp near Benalla (capacity 365,000 megalitres) completed in 1971; and Lake William Hovell on the King River south of Wangaratta (capacity 13,500 megalitres) completed in 1971.

#### MAJOR WATER STORAGES : VICTORIA, 1857 to 1981

Name of dam	Year of completion (or enlargement)	Height of embankment	Type (a)	Capacity of reservoir (megalitres)	Owner (b)
Yan Yean	1857	(metres) 12	TE	206	MMBW
Upper Stony Creek					Geelong Water and Sewerage Trust
No. 1	1868	29	TE	3,420	
Spring Gully	1869 (1929)	24	TE	2,500	SRWSC
Barkers Creek	1869	13	TE	2,700	SRWSC
Malmsbury	1870 (1887 and 1940)	24	TE	18,000	SRWSC
Newlyn	1871 (1960)	12	TE	3,300	SRWSC
Crusoe	1873	12	TE	1,500	SRWSC
Lower Stony Creek	1875	21	PG	640	Geelong Water and Sewerage Trust
Gong Gong	1877	30	TE	1,830	Ballarat Water Commission
Evansford	1887 (1940)	17	PG	1,620	Maryborough Waterworks Trust
Wartook	1887	11	TE	29,500	SRWSC
Mt Cole	1889 (1926)	24	VA	400	Ararat City Water Supply Commission
Goulburn Weir (Nagambie Reser- voir)	1890	15	PG	25,000	SRWSC
Laanecoorie	1891 (1909)	22	TE	8,000	SRWSC
Korumburra No. 1	1895 (1924)	15	TE	130	Korumburra Waterworks Trust
Upper Coliban	1903 (1917 and 1925)	28	TE	31,500	SRWSC
Waranga Basin	1905 (1917 and 1925)	12	TE	411,000	SRWSC
Korwein- guboorra	1910	12	TE	2,091	Geelong Water and Sewerage Trust
Pykes Creek	1911 (1930)	39	TE	24,000	SRWSC
Lance Creek	1911	17	TE	1,900	SRWSC
Moorabool	1915	18	TE	6,640	Ballarat Water Commission
Melton	1916 (1937 and 1967)	35	ER	17,000	SRWSC
Beaconsfield	1918	24	TE	900	SRWSC

MAJOR WATER STORAGES : VICTORIA, 1857 to 1981—*continued*

Name of dam	Year of completion (or enlargement)	Height of embankment	Type (a)	Capacity of reservoir	Owner (b)
		(metres)		(megalitres)	
Frankston	1920	19	TE	680	SRWSC
Taylor's Lake	1923	12	TE	36,000	SRWSC
Eildon	1927 (1955)	79	TE, ER	3,390,000	SRWSC
Maroondah	1927	41	PG	28,370	MMBW
Glennaggie	1928 (1958)	37	VA, PG	190,000	SRWSC
Pine Lake	1928	16	TE	64,000	SRWSC
O'Shannassy	1928	34	TE	4,220	MMBW
Silvan	1931	43	TE	40,210	MMBW
Lysterfield	1934	14	TE	4,200	SRWSC
Yallourn Weir	1935	12	PG	490	SEC
Tank Hill	1938	19	TE	760	SRWSC
Yarrowonga Weir	1939	22	TE, VA	117,500	River Murray Com- mission
Ryan's Creek	1940	21	TE	678	Benalla Waterworks Trust
Lauriston	1941 (1949)	33	CB, ER	20,000	SRWSC
Junction	1945	26	CB	1,480	SEC
White Swan	1951	41	TE	14,060	Ballarat Water Com- mission
Rocklands	1954	28	PG, ER	348,000	SRWSC
Bostock	1955	27	TE, ER	7,430	Geelong Water and Sewerage Trust
Cairn Curran	1956	44	TE	148,000	SRWSC
Clover	1956	24	CB	290	SEC
Korumburra No. 3	1956	17	TE	410	Korumburra Water- works Trust
Upper Yarra	1957	89	TE, ER	207,200	MMBW
Rocky Valley	1959	32	ER	28,370	SEC
Tullaroop	1959	41	TE, ER	74,000	SRWSC
McCay	1960	30	TE, ER	1,400	SRWSC
Moondarra	1961	41	ER	30,840	Latrobe Valley Water and Sewerage Board
Yallourn Storage	1961	21	CB	8,020	SEC
Eel Hole Creek	1962	21	TE	30,840	SEC
Eppalock	1963	45	TE, ER	312,000	SRWSC
Candowie	1964 (1977)	17	TE, ER	1,900	Westernport Water- works Trust
Djerriwarrah	1964	18	TE	750	Melton Waterworks Trust
Herne's Oak	1964	23	TE	350	SEC
Devilbend	1964	27	TE, ER	14,500	SRWSC
Buffalo	1965	30	TE, ER	24,000	SRWSC
Hyland	1965	22	TE	680	Leongatha Water- works Trust
West Barwon	1965	43	TE, ER	21,820	Geelong Water and Sewerage Trust
Running Creek	1966	20	ER	345	Hurstbridge Water- works Trust
Bellfield	1967	55	TE, ER	78,500	SRWSC
Nillahcootie	1968	35	TE, ER	40,000	SRWSC
Tarago	1968 (1973)	34	TE, ER	37,500	SRWSC
Merrimu	1969	37	TE, ER	19,000	SRWSC
Mokoan	1971	10	TE	365,000	SRWSC
William Hovell	1971	35	TE, ER	13,500	SRWSC
Greenvale	1971	52	TE, ER	26,540	MMBW
Bungal	1972	49	ER	59,600	West Moorabool Water Board
West Gellibrand	1972	23	TE	2,000	Colac Waterworks Trust
Cardinia	1973	86	TE, ER	279,000	MMBW
McCall Say	1973	21	TE	1,130	Benalla Waterworks Trust
Roslynne	1974	37	TE, ER	24,500	SRWSC
Battery Creek	1976	17	TE	136	Fish Creek Water- works Trust
Nicholson River	1976	16	PG	636	Lakes Entrance Water- works Trust

MAJOR WATER STORAGES : VICTORIA, 1857 to 1981—*continued*

Name of dam	Year of completion (or enlargement)	Height of embankment (metres)	Type (a)	Capacity of reservoir (megalitres)	Owner (b)
Swingler	1977	16	PG	400	MMBW
Lerderberg Weir	1977	14	PG	60	SRWSC
Mountain Hut	1978	17	ER	230	Euroa Waterworks Trust
Dartmouth	1979	180	TE, ER	4,000,000	River Murray Com- mission
Winneke	1981	85	ER	100,000	MMBW

Source: State Rivers and Water Supply Commission.

(a) CB: Buttress; ER: rock fill; PG: gravity; TE: earth; VA: arch.

(b) MMBW: Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works; SEC: State Electricity Commission; SRWSC: State Rivers and Water Supply Commission.

### Improvements in water distribution

Besides the construction of water storages, the Commission undertook many other major works after the Second World War in the renovation and enlargement of distribution systems. The two main projects of the 1950s were the electrification of the Red Cliffs irrigation pumps (1954) and the duplication of the Goulburn-Waranga channel.

The original, or main, channel connecting the Goulburn Weir to the Waranga Reservoir, now known as the Stuart Murray Canal, was completed in 1904 to deliver water from the Goulburn River to the Waranga Basin and to northern irrigation districts. It had a capacity of 3,600 megalitres per day, was 40 kilometres long, and was the major factor in the great development of irrigation in northern Victoria through its vast network of main and distributary channels. The question of increasing its capacity was investigated by a Parliamentary Public Works Committee in 1946 which decided that a channel capacity of at least 7,200 megalitres per day was necessary to utilise fully the water available from Eildon Reservoir. The Committee recommended duplication of the Goulburn-Waranga channel to increase capacity rather than enlargement of the existing channel, which was retained. The remodelling and enlargement of distributary channels in the Goulburn irrigation system was also begun in the 1950s so that they could carry the extra water available from the enlarged Eildon Reservoir.

Pipelines were used to improve the distribution of water in the Mallee irrigation districts that were supplied by pumps on the Murray, i.e., Tresco, Nyah, Red Cliffs, and Merbein. Earthen channels were replaced by pipes, most of which had thin concrete linings, and this reduced losses of water through evaporation and seepage. The Tresco district was completed in 1975, and at the end of 1980 Nyah was also completed, Merbein was nearly completed, and Red Cliffs over half completed. Robinvale had originally been constructed as a pipeline system in 1947 and served as a model for these later improvements.

### Chowilla and Dartmouth Dams

The construction of a dam at Chowilla on the Murray River, just downstream of the border of South Australia with Victoria, was deferred in 1967 by the River Murray Commission because of greatly increased cost and other factors. Subsequently, it was found in the exceptionally severe drought of 1967-68 that a flow of 2,200 megalitres per day was required below Mildura to keep salinity in the Murray below reasonable limits, which would be impossible if the dam were built. It had also been found that evaporation losses from the dam each year could be 50 per cent higher than originally envisaged. The River Murray Commission engaged consultants in 1967 to examine the question of salinity in the Murray River basin, and requested the Snowy Mountains Authority to report on the practicability of a dam site on the Mitta Mitta River at Dartmouth.

It was concluded from these investigations that a storage at Dartmouth would provide greater benefit in terms of cost and yield. The Dartmouth Dam (capacity 4,000,000 megalitres) was subsequently constructed by the Commission for the River Murray commission and was completed in 1979 at a cost of \$139m, borne equally by the Commonwealth Government and the States of New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia under the River Murray Waters Agreement. The embankment of the dam, the highest in the southern hemisphere, is 180 metres high and contains 14.1 million cubic

metres of earth and rock fill. Dartmouth Dam has increased the safe yield of the Murray system by approximately 900,000 megalitres per annum, subject to its being operated to give reasonable drought security.

#### **Irrigation expansion after the Second World War**

The expansion and intensification of irrigated agriculture in Victoria after the Second World War began with the settlement of returned soldiers. Soldier settlements at Robinvale and in the Murray Valley Irrigation Area began in 1947, and in the Nambrok-Denison district in Gippsland in 1950. In the Murray Valley the Commission not only constructed the channels to serve 24,000 hectares, but undertook the grading and preparation of a substantial part of each farm. Lucerne or mixed pastures were sown in readiness for the settlers so that they could be productive from the day they went into occupation; 450 mixed farms and 140 orchard blocks were prepared.

The additional water available for irrigation from Eildon and the other water conservation projects was used for the intensification of irrigation within the irrigation districts — for instance, water rights in the Goulburn-Murray Irrigation District have more than doubled since 1955 to about 1.8 million megalitres in 1980. Moreover, the efficiency of water distribution, i.e., the ratio of water delivered to that received from the headworks, increased steadily from around 50 per cent in the 1950s to around 70 per cent in the 1970s.

The area of irrigated agriculture in Victoria estimated by the Commission increased steadily from about 42,000 hectares in 1906-07 to about 350,000 hectares in 1954-55. With the increase in available water after the enlargement of Eildon, irrigation development accelerated and reached a peak of 600,000 hectares in 1972-73. The most recent statistics show that, in 1981-82, 576,000 hectares were irrigated. The predominant culture is flood irrigated pastures (native, annual, or perennial) which amounted to 80 per cent of the total area irrigated and are used for livestock production such as dairying, beef, wool, lamb, and mutton. Irrigated vineyards, orchards, and market gardens amounted to 58,000 hectares in 1981-82.

The total of 576,000 hectares irrigated includes 76,000 hectares irrigated by private diverters from surface and ground waters outside the irrigation districts. The private diverters' production is mostly horticultural and this accounts for the estimated value of their production in 1981-82 being \$152m out of a total for all irrigation of \$565m.

#### **Developments in administration and finance**

So far, the expansion and intensification of irrigated agriculture in Victoria can be seen to have depended on closer settlement, the expansion of storage capacity, and improvements in the distribution system. To these should be added several key developments in administration and finance. The first was the compulsory charge for water rights allocated to "commanded and suitable lands" in the irrigation districts. This was first imposed by the Water Act of 1905 but it was revised by the Water Act of 1909 which based the charge on the volume of water right; the previous Act had based it on the net annual value of farms. Surveys were necessary to define areas of commanded and suitable land and until they were completed the Water Commission charged a rate per acre per watering. Thereafter, the compulsory charge ensured an income for the Commission and stimulated use of the water right or the sale of the land to someone who would use it, developments that accorded with Dr Mead's views on how irrigation in Victoria could be made to pay. For some time, land owners resented this measure, but when the droughts of subsequent years proved the value of irrigation, the attitude changed.

The basis of water entitlements in the irrigation districts is a volume of water, the water right, that is allocated to each farm in proportion to its area of irrigable land. The water right is the basis for compulsory water charges. In most years, water in excess of water right can be made available and the total seasonal entitlement is expressed in terms of a percentage of water right. The volume of water made available in most years varies between 130 and 165 per cent of water right, while the water actually delivered varies between 120 and 140 per cent. The allocation of water and the operation of the supply system are aimed at maximum availability of water in each year and a guarantee that, should dry conditions prevail, at least the water right will be delivered.



The Depression of the 1930s drew attention to the irrigators' difficulty in financing both the capital liabilities and the maintenance of irrigation districts. This was resolved by the 1936 Royal Commission, and since then most capital expenditure on the storage, distribution, and drainage of water has been borne by the taxpayer. The ground for this is that, while irrigation certainly benefits the individual farmer, it also benefits the community generally through assured food supplies, the decentralisation of population, and the development of other related support industries in country areas. Nevertheless, the irrigators still found it difficult to pay for the operation and maintenance of irrigation districts, especially in periods of economic recession even though government held water charges down to such a level that the supply works deteriorated through lack of maintenance. There was an improvement in the finances of districts in the years following the Second World War but heavy operating losses occurred in many of the older ones.

Under the Water Acts, the Commission normally revised its valuations of lands within irrigation districts every five years. When the valuations were revised on the basis of the greatly increased prices being paid for irrigation lands in the 1950s, there were widespread protests and appeals against the valuations. A test case in 1959 upheld one of the appeals and reduced the Commission's valuation by 40 per cent. The court case showed that, in areas that had been settled and developed for many years, it was practically impossible to assess the unimproved capital value, i.e., the value of the land before clearing and improvement. On a technical point, the court also quashed Commission rates in all irrigation districts, and so, to validate those rates, Parliament passed the *Water Irrigation Districts Act 1959*; the Act also reduced all valuations from 1 July 1954 by 40 per cent, in line with the court's decision.

The Commission had long been urging that all valuations should be reviewed and reassessed, and in 1960 the Victorian Government passed legislation for the appointment of a Valuer-General to undertake this task. Further legislation followed in 1968 to clarify the definition of unimproved capital value under the name "site value".

The amalgamation in 1959 of all the irrigation districts served by the Goulburn, Loddon, and Murray systems to form the Goulburn-Murray Irrigation District (GMID) greatly assisted the financial management of the districts. The irrigation districts that had previously operated independently became irrigation areas within the GMID, with a common basis of water rights. They were then managed as a single financial enterprise with the same local administration and staffing as before. A similar advantage was gained by the formation of the Macalister Irrigation District, comprising the Maffra-Sale and Central Gippsland Irrigation Areas.

As water rights and sales in the GMID increased in the 1950s and 1960s, water deliveries and charges also increased. Since the increases were achieved with much the same staff as before, unit costs were lower and the district revenue began to match costs.

The drought of 1967-68 resulted in some 10,000 private bores being sunk throughout Victoria. This increase in the use of ground water caused a number of problems particularly around Koo-Wee-Rup and on the flats of the King and Mitchell Rivers where ground water levels declined dramatically. The *Ground Water Act 1969*, was the first legislation to control the use of ground water in Victoria, and the Commission and the Department of Minerals and Energy became responsible for its administration.

#### Salinity and drainage

By the time the area of land under irrigation in Victoria was reaching its peak in the 1970s, more and more questions were being raised about whether irrigation should be promoted further. The questions were concerned with the economics of irrigation and its effects on the environment—such as the salinisation and waterlogging of land in the irrigation areas, the increasing amounts of salt finding their way into rivers, particularly the Murray, and the modification of riverine environments, their flora and fauna, by reservoirs and regulation of flows for irrigation. At the same time, the Commission saw the need to concentrate on improving what had already been developed rather than expanding irrigation any further. The most pressing need was to solve waterlogging and salinity problems because, unless that were done, the future of considerable areas of irrigated land would be bleak.

In the early period of irrigation development, the provision of water was paramount and channel construction had preceded any provision for drainage. Within a relatively short time, water tables began to rise, particularly in the Cohuna and Kerang Irrigation Districts, and because of the salinity of the ground water, problems of soil salinity and alkalinity developed. Since 1920, the Water Commission has progressively provided surface drainage in the districts irrigated by gravity. In most cases, irrigators have been well served by these provisions although, in 1977, an irrigator near Sale claimed damages for flooding. The case was decided in 1979 in the Commission's favour, with the Supreme Court upholding the criteria the Commission uses for designing such drainage works—namely, that the system is to provide for a nominated level of service and there is no responsibility on the Commission for the consequences of floods beyond the capacity of the drain.

Surface drainage proved inadequate in coping with rising water tables and increasing salinisation of land. In the 1930s, sub-surface drainage had been installed to protect horticulture in the Sunraysia district, and in the late 1960s a combination of sub-surface drainage and piped water supply permitted much of the Tresco Irrigation Area to be reclaimed from salinisation. Then, in 1966-67, sub-surface drainage in the form of ground water pumping was used to reclaim land in the Macalister Irrigation District. The success of this work encouraged the Commission to investigate the suitability of ground water pumping for protecting irrigated land elsewhere.

The severe drought of 1967-68 caused a deterioration of water quality in the Murray River and led to the identification of the Sunraysia district and the Barr Creek catchment as the largest Victorian contributors to Murray River salinity. After the drought, the River Murray Commission engaged Gutteridge, Haskins and Davey as consultants to investigate and report on salinity in the Murray River. The consultants' report was published in 1970 and formed the basis of the Commission's own strategy for dealing with salinity and waterlogging along the Murray. That plan was published in 1975, and the Victorian Government referred it to the Parliamentary Public Works Committee for recommendations on its adoption.

Meanwhile, the very wet years of 1973 to 1975 resulted in serious waterlogging, with horticulture in the Shepparton region suffering the worst losses. The Commission began the extension of surface drainage in the region and the installation of a comprehensive grid of ground water pumps; the Victorian Government provided funds for the Rural Finance Commission to finance private ground water pumps that would complement the Commission's. The ground water is discharged to channels and drains and more than half is used for irrigation. Operating rules limit salinity in channels receiving ground water and the contribution of salt to the Murray.

The Parliamentary Public Works Committee recommended a number of the Commission's 1975 proposals. Two important schemes have recently been completed—works at Mildura and Merbein to intercept saline ground water flowing into the Murray and divert it to the Wargan evaporation basins (1980), and the remodelling of the Woorinen evaporation basins to increase their capacity (1979). The Victorian Government also accepted the Parliamentary Committee's recommendation of loans for works by irrigation farmers that would mitigate salinity and waterlogging on their own farms.

Other recommended works were a scheme to increase the evaporation capacity of the Barr Creek works, the extension of surface and sub-surface drainage in the Shepparton region, disposal works for the drainage proposed for Nangiloc and Colignan, and a wide ranging programme of investigations into ground water and salinity.

Perhaps the most unfortunate aspect of the spread of waterlogging and salinity in the 1970s was that their worst effects, during the wet years between 1973 and 1975, coincided with considerable economic difficulty in irrigated agriculture—over-production of wine grapes, the reduction in public subsidisation of dairying and canning fruits, and the collapse of the export market for beef. The loss of the British market consequent upon Britain joining the European Economic Community also contributed to these difficulties.

However, conditions improved, largely because of the coincidence of good seasons in the late 1970s with excellent markets for wheat and mutton. The rationalisation of the dairying, beef, and canning fruits industries also greatly improved returns to the remaining

farmers. The economic improvement has been reflected in a widespread resolution by irrigators to solve their waterlogging and salinity problems themselves, particularly by the remodelling of irrigation layouts in the GMID.

## SEWAGE AND WASTEWATER DISPOSAL

### Melbourne metropolitan area

The original sewerage system for Melbourne, commissioned in 1897, was based on a network of sewers collecting and conveying wastewater from the urban areas to a point at Spotswood on the west bank of the Yarra River. From there it was pumped to the Main Outfall Sewer, which then conveyed the sewage 25 kilometres to the Metropolitan Sewage Farm at Werribee. The scheme was designed for an eventual population of 1,000,000 persons and it provided a sound framework for extending the network of sewers as urban development occurred.

By 1935, the population served by the system just equalled the population for which it had been originally designed, and the enlargement of various parts was becoming necessary. In 1937, the sides of the uncovered portions of the Main Outfall Sewer were raised to increase its capacity from 409 megalitres to 545 megalitres per day. A separate system was completed in 1941 to serve the south-eastern suburbs of Mentone, Parkdale, Mordialloc, and Cheltenham; it included a new treatment plant at Braeside. By the early 1940s sewers had been provided for 96 per cent of the population of the metropolitan area and of the remaining 4 per cent a large proportion was either scattered in predominantly rural areas or in locations where sewerage was not justified.

When Melbourne's system was first commissioned in 1897, the sewage was treated by filtration through the soil of the Metropolitan Sewage Farm at Werribee, the sewage being applied to the land by flood irrigation. This method is still used, although grass filtration in the winter and lagoon treatment were introduced in 1930 and 1937, respectively, to augment the treatment capacity of the farm.

The lagoon system has been used extensively since the Second World War and now treats about 50 per cent of the wastewater received at the farm. It is the most extensive of such systems in Australia and was the first in the world to make use of anaerobic lagoons in modern sewage treatment.

Systematic grazing of the pastures has been essential to maintain the land and grass filtration areas in a suitable condition for sewage purification. For this purpose, large numbers of livestock (some 20,000 sheep and 15,000 cattle) have been grazed over the area. The revenue derived from the sale of fat stock has materially reduced the cost of sewage treatment.

Sewerage construction was suspended from March 1942 to conserve materials and manpower for war purposes. After the war the Board was unable to keep pace with the demand and by 1956, there were some 52,000 houses in areas more than half developed for which sewers were not provided. The unsewered houses used septic tanks and pan services, but other household wastes still flowed into drains and watercourses, thus giving rise to water pollution throughout the metropolitan area.

In the early 1950s, the extension of the sewers and the enlargement of the whole system were regarded as having equal urgency and it was proposed to carry them on concurrently at a rate permitted by the availability of designs, labour, materials, and capital funds. In 1952, several proposals were considered including one for the disposal of untreated sewage from part of the metropolitan area into the ocean near Cape Schanck. The estimated cost of the scheme and the time required for construction were, however, too great and would have delayed the provision of sewerage for the other suburbs. A modified scheme was, therefore, adopted by the Board in 1955 with the aim of providing sewers to the largest number of properties in the shortest possible time, having regard to the funds available.

This new scheme was to be constructed in two stages, the first being a new trunk sewer from Spotswood to Brooklyn, a new pumping station at Brooklyn to replace the Spotswood Pumping Station, enlargement of the Main Outfall Sewer, additional treatment capacity at the Werribee farm, and several large relieving and intercepting sewers. Enlargement of the Main Outfall Sewer began in 1958 and the Brooklyn Trunk Sewer and Pumping Station were completed in 1964. The Hobsons Bay Main Sewer, which crosses under the lower

reaches of the Yarra River, also had to be lowered to permit the river to be widened and deepened for shipping. The difficult task of tunnelling under the river was successfully completed in 1971.

The second stage of the enlargement programme was approved in principle by the Board in 1964 and consisted of the construction of a new sewerage system, the south-eastern system. The metropolitan area was divided into two zones, eastern and western; the western zone would continue to be served by the Werribee system while the eastern zone would change over to the south-eastern system. This required the construction of some 33 kilometres of trunk sewer extending from Kew to Carrum, and the first stage (290 megalitres per day) of a modern purification plant at Carrum. Considerable public discussion ensued about whether the effluent from the treatment plant should be discharged into Port Phillip Bay or Bass Strait. The matter was settled in 1969 when the Victorian Government directed that an ocean outfall 57 kilometres in length should be constructed to discharge the effluent into the ocean near Cape Schanck. In June 1975, the South-eastern Purification Plant commenced treating flows; by 1978, it was treating approximately 180 megalitres per day and the discharge to the farm at Werribee had been reduced from 570 to 410 megalitres per day.

In the 1960s, at the same time as the whole system was being enlarged, the rate of providing sewers for improved properties approximately doubled. The extension of the sewers received further help in 1974 when the Commonwealth Government initiated the National Sewerage Programme to overcome the backlog of sewerage works in Australian cities.

**MELBOURNE AND METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS:  
SEWERAGE CONNECTIONS, EXPENDITURE  
AND WORKING EXPENSES, 1935-36 TO 1981-82**

Year	Number of improved properties for which sewers were provided	Average annual expenditure between years shown	Total annual working expenses plus interest
		\$m	\$m
1935-36	251,507	0.52	1,650
1940-41	281,288	0.22	1,821
1945-46	291,536	1.16	1,891
1950-51	321,548	2.46	2,792
1955-56	358,805	6.93	4,235
1960-61	395,109	15.11	6,823
1965-66	467,705	24.89	11,971
1970-71	559,000	68.74	22,458
1975-76	662,912	71.38	65,274
1980-81	793,118	87.48	122,042
1981-82	820,075		146,903

Source: Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works.

In 1971, the Victorian Government transferred to the Board the responsibility for sewerage a substantial number of properties in the eastern fringe of Melbourne, in the northern part of the Dandenong Creek catchment, and the Brushy Creek catchment. To serve the area, the Board commenced the Eastern Region Sewerage Scheme, a feature of which is the use of temporary treatment plants until the Dandenong Valley Trunk Sewer is completed. Sewage from the area will then be conveyed to Carrum for treatment.

In the 1970s, a number of the major sewers were constructed as tunnels. This greatly

reduced the disturbance to the community, the interruption of other services, the cost of reinstating them, and the claims from property owners, all of which are associated with sewers constructed in trenches.

In the development of Melbourne's sewerage system, particular consideration has been given to the preservation and enhancement of the environment, particularly as it relates to the protection of the waters of Port Phillip Bay and the streams and water courses draining into the Bay. In view of the recreational and commercial value of the Bay, the Board, in conjunction with the Fisheries and Wildlife Division and the Port Phillip Authority, began a study in 1967 of the physical, chemical, and biological characteristics of the Bay waters. The first phase of this study was completed in 1973 and indicated that the Bay as a whole was relatively unpolluted. Wastewater discharges have risen progressively over the years as a result of population growth and industrial expansion. The per capita discharge of domestic wastewater also increased steadily during the fifteen years up to about 1960 because of extensive installation of hot water services, washing machines, and other water using appliances. Subsequently, the discharge per person levelled off and remained virtually unchanged.

The provision of sewers to new residential and industrial development has generally been hindered by a lack of capital funds, particularly since the Second World War. For several years, the Board, when requested by the subdivider, constructed sewers in new subdivisions at the subdivider's expense, and then refunded 80 per cent of the outlay to the subdivider when 80 per cent of the properties were connected. In 1968, the Board decided to reduce the refund and end it entirely for agreements made after April 1970. Then, in February 1970, the Board invoked its powers under the Melbourne and Metropolitan Planning Scheme to require subdividers to meet the cost of sewerage works in certain areas. In addition, they were required to contribute a minimum of \$1,730 per hectare of subdivided land towards the cost of main sewers and treatment facilities. These measures were strengthened in 1973 by the Local Government (Subdivision of Land) Act which ensured that sewerage would be provided in new subdivisions as they were developed.

#### **Outer Melbourne metropolitan areas and country towns**

By 1934, sewerage had been provided for 122,750 persons in eight country towns (Ballarat, Bendigo, Colac, Echuca, Geelong, Mildura, Swan Hill, and Warrnambool). The systems were installed and operated by local authorities under the general supervision of the Commission. From then until 1939, when resources were directed to military needs, another seven towns had been seweraged — Bairnsdale, Benalla, Castlemaine, Dandenong, Hamilton, Kerang, and Shepparton.

Sewerage construction was slow to resume after the war because of shortages of labour and materials. By the early 1950s, sewerage services were provided to some 260,000 persons in 60 centres — an increase of only 40,000 in a decade. In 1959, however, the Victorian Government provided substantially more funds and thirteen schemes were begun. Thereafter, construction was fairly vigorous and, by 1980, 137 sewerage authorities served 1,024,000 persons outside the metropolitan area in addition to those served by the Geelong and La Trobe Valley authorities.

The Sewerage Districts Act was amended in 1973 to allow authorities to require all new subdivisions to be seweraged. Provision was also made to allow authorities to sewer land that was already subdivided and recover the cost from the owners. In 1976, the Act was amended again to allow a sewerage authority to administer more than one district.

#### **Treatment processes**

Because of the cost of engineering works and equipment, biological oxidation and stabilisation in lagoons gradually became more usual in the 1920s and 1930s. The early lagoon systems used anaerobic basins for primary treatment, followed by aerobic ponds and a maturation lagoon. Although this treatment is most efficient, the anaerobic sections cause offensive odours. In more recent times, oxidation lagoons have been designed to operate so that they do not give rise to odours.

Fine-bubble activated sludge plants have recently been installed at Mornington, Melton, and Sunbury, where larger capacities can be provided in stages for future population increases. A recent variation of the activated sludge process has been the oxidation ditch.

In the mid-1950s, the Latrobe Valley Water and Sewerage Board constructed a pipeline to dispose of wastewaters from APM's paper manufacture and the Gas and Fuel Corporation's production of gas from coal. The pipeline went from Morwell to Rosedale from where an open channel took the waste to the coast, near the Ninety Mile Beach. Originally, it was intended that the effluents would be discharged into the sea but, when they were found to be suitable for irrigation, a large area of land was developed near Dutson for irrigation and disposal. After twenty-five years, the capacity of this land to absorb the wastes was exceeded and it was necessary to design an alternative disposal system. Just prior to this, the disposal of increasing quantities of saline water arising from power generation in the La Trobe Valley was provided for by a pipeline constructed from the Loy Yang power station to McLoughlin's Beach and completed in 1981.

In 1975, the Victorian Water Resources Council set up the Reclaimed Water Committee which continued earlier work by the Commission and the Board on the use of treated wastewater. Trials are being carried out on vegetables, cereal crops, trees, and other plants to determine safe standards for future uses; some golf courses and recreation areas are already being watered with treated effluent. The increasing interest in the use of reclaimed water also led the Health Commission to issue revised regulations for its use in 1978.

#### RIVER IMPROVEMENT, REGIONAL DRAINAGE, AND FLOOD PLAIN MANAGEMENT

The flood of most significance in Victoria was that which occurred in December 1934. Exceptionally heavy rain was recorded in Melbourne, the catchments to its east, and Gippsland. In just 36 hours, Silvan recorded 330 mm of rain, landslides threatened the conduits supplying water to Melbourne, and the Koo-Wee-Rup area was well under water, as were the suburbs adjacent to the Yarra River (the Yarra flood levels are now used as a guide for the issue of building permits). Large floods occurred in various areas of the State in other years, such as 1952, 1956, 1973, 1975, and 1978, and have significantly influenced changes to legislation and responsibilities.

As a contrast, the severe drought of 1938-39 climaxed in the disastrous bush fires of January 1939 when very large areas of Victoria—in particular, the forest areas of the Great Dividing Range—were devastated. The catchments for Melbourne's water supply suffered severely and, although extensive regrowth has now restored the heavy forest cover, the records of stream flows over this period illustrate the effects that loss of the forest cover and the subsequent re-growth of young trees can have on the water harvest.

#### River improvement

Since its inception, the Commission has had general powers to manage rivers for the control and regulation of water supply. Very little attention was given to the problems of stream management until the passage of specific legislation in 1948.

An inquiry in 1945 by the Parliamentary Public Works Committee made three major recommendations for river management. The first was that a land utilisation council should be established to advise on land-use in catchments; the council would comprise representatives of the Commission, the Departments of Lands, Agriculture, and Mines, the Forests Commission, and the Soil Conservation Board. This recommendation was given effect to by the *Soil Conservation and Land Utilisation Act 1947*.

The second recommendation was that the Commission should control river improvement and drainage works. Works could be undertaken either by locally constituted trusts or the Commission, but the Commission has not been able to do so because it has not been funded for that purpose. Considerable work has been carried out by the trusts, acting under the general supervision of the Commission. The third recommendation, that funds for these works should be increased and put on a regular basis, was accepted.

The first trust, the King River Improvement Trust, was constituted in 1950; by 1980, 32 trusts were operating. Each trust established since 1963 has been constituted to cover the whole of a municipality (or municipalities), to provide a wider base for consideration of benefit and associated revenue raisings; this approach is more consistent with consideration of stream management on a catchment basis.

In 1975, the Commission established a Standing Consultative Committee on River

Improvement representing a wide range of resource management agencies. The Committee has prepared guidelines for river management to ensure that consideration is given to the environmental consequences of proposed works.

### **Regional drainage and flood plain management**

Problems arise from the encroachment of residential, industrial, and sporting developments on land liable to flooding. There have been a number of measures over the years to assist in the control of such development, including approval of plans of sub-divisions by municipal councils (1914), provisions under the Health Act (1919), and the Uniform Building Regulations (1945).

Drainage works in the 19th century and early parts of the 20th century were essentially concerned with the development of land for rural purposes or to deal with specific problems of urban development. The 1934 flood can be seen as a significant event not only in its own right, but also in its influence on subsequent events. The Commission, for instance, established a Rivers and Reclamation Section with specific responsibilities for drainage works in the Koo-Wee-Rup and Carrum areas. The 1936 Royal Commission on Water Supply suggested that drainage rates should be levied over an entire catchment, not just the areas benefiting from drainage, and particularly referred to the Koo-Wee-Rup, Cardinia, and Carrum districts. This proposal was not adopted by the Victorian Government. As early as 1943, there were also moves to form a drainage authority encompassing the Dandenong Creek catchment.

During the 1930s and immediately after the Second World War, funds and materials for main drains were very limited and the Board had to construct drains to only "half capacity" in some metropolitan areas, particularly Brighton, Caulfield, Moorabbin, Mordialloc, Clayton, and Glenroy. Subsequent development in these areas led to frequent and severe occurrences of flooding and required the construction of relief drainage in the 1960s and 1970s.

In some areas of Melbourne such as along Gardiners Creek, Moonee Ponds Creek, and Merlynston Creek, the topography was suitable for the construction of retarding basins to reduce the run-off to amounts more suited to the downstream capacity of the drainage. The first of these basins was completed in Hawthorn East in 1927, but most of them were constructed between 1958 and 1968 when seventeen basins were completed, the largest being at Jacana on Moonee Ponds Creek. However, because of the extensive encroachment of residential, industrial, and sporting developments on lands liable to flooding, the Board also had to provide increased capacity by engineering works such as concrete linings, piling, and piping.

A means of controlling development on metropolitan flood plains came with the Melbourne and Metropolitan Planning Scheme in 1955 which enabled land to be reserved for public open space along many reaches of major water courses. In many areas, however, municipal councils proceeded to level or fill this land, which interfered with the passage of flood waters and plans for future drainage works. This led to the introduction in 1963 of a planning requirement that the natural condition and topography of the land could not be altered without the permission of the planning authority, the Board.

Outside Melbourne, the wet years of the early 1950s caused Lake Corangamite to rise to unusually high levels and flood surrounding farm land. The Commission constructed a channel to divert sufficient of its water to the Barwon River for the surrounding land to be protected from flooding in the future.

The *Drainage Areas Act* 1958 was the successor to previous legislation for the drainage of agricultural land. Eighty-four drainage areas were proclaimed under this Act and works carried out to improve agricultural productivity, but the legislation was deficient in that no adequate provision was made for subsequent maintenance of works.

After investigations overseas by the then chairman of the Commission, Sir Ronald East, a proposal was made in 1957 to provide for river boards that would manage regional drainage and rivers throughout almost the whole of the State. However, the State Government's proposal to give effect to this was not accepted in the Upper House in the Parliament and it was not until 1963 that the concept was to receive partial statutory recognition through the establishment of the Dandenong Valley Authority.

Rapid increases in run-off were being caused by extensive domestic and industrial

development in the catchment of the Dandenong Creek. Local councils recognised that flooding was becoming a problem in the upper part of the catchment and made urgent requests for action. The Dandenong Valley Authority Act established the principle of financing drainage services on a catchment basis by requiring all land owners, from the limits of the catchment to the outfall, to contribute to the cost of handling the run-off from the catchment. The Act also empowered the Dandenong Valley Authority to control all development, building, and works within areas it declared to be liable to flooding so that the capacity to pass flood flows could be preserved.

The Authority has been responsible for the development of two important concepts: namely, the organisation of contributory drainage schemes to cover the whole of subsidiary catchments by essentially voluntary agreement between land owners, and the use of a combination of small drains and grassed channels, instead of large main drains, to carry flood flows. The Authority also extended the use of retarding basins to include their use in controlling peak flows within quite small sub-catchments of comprehensive drainage schemes.

By the mid-1960s, virtually all municipal councils were using their power under a 1962 amendment to the Local Government Act to require construction of roads and drainage within sub-divisions at the time of sub-division. While the new sub-divisions were adequately drained and no regular flooding was likely to result within the sub-divisions, the provisions of the Act did not apply to the improvement of drainage along water courses. Consequently, the widespread construction of road pavements in sub-divisions led to an increased risk of flooding along many of the major metropolitan water courses.

Another consequence of the attempts by municipal councils and other authorities to control the use of riverine lands and the drainage of land, particularly in new sub-divisions, was that several drainage disputes went to court in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1965, the Victorian Parliament established a Joint Select Committee on Drainage that reported in 1967 and 1970, recommending many changes in the law associated with drainage and the use of riverine lands. These reports gave rise to the *Environment Protection Act 1970*, which regulated, among other things, the discharge of wastes into water courses.

In 1972, the State Development Committee reported on the provision of water and sewerage to new sub-divisions, which was followed in December 1973 by the passage of the Local Government (Sub-division of Land) Act. This Act provided, *inter alia*, amendments to the Local Government Act, the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works Act, the Dandenong Valley Authority Act, the Sewerage Districts Act, and the Water Act.

In short, the amendments to the Local Government Act gave drainage authorities the power to object to plans of sub-division on grounds of drainage, and the right to require proper measures to be taken to dispose of and control drainage from the proposed development. The Act also amended the Board's Act so that municipalities were no longer entitled to connect drainage to a system under the Board's control until "a drain or water course [was certified as] adequate or suitable for the acceptance of the additional water which is likely to enter it".

By this time, the increasing concern in the community for conservation and improvement of the environment was an important factor in the development of Melbourne's drainage. This was evident in the protests against the location of freeways along water courses and the channelling of creeks into constructed drains. Increased efforts were made by the Board to reduce the need for new drainage works by the use of retarding basins, and to landscape the creeks so that they not only provide the required flow capacity but are also visually attractive. This led to increasing interaction between responsible authorities and community groups.

The Joint Select Committee on Drainage had also recommended the establishment of regional drainage authorities, and flooding in 1971 and 1973 kept this issue under notice. However, the concept was omitted from the Drainage of Land Act, which was passed in 1975, basically because of opposition to the principle that people living in the highlands should contribute financially to the resolution of drainage problems occurring downstream.

The *Drainage of Land Act 1975*, empowered the Board and the Commission to seek declaration of areas along major water courses as being liable to flooding. New approaches to flood control under the Act were set out in the report of the Victorian Water Resources Council, *Flood Plain Management in Victoria*. The report gave principles for defining



flood plains, together with guidelines for permissible works and structures in flood prone areas, and led to the adoption in 1978 of the one per cent probability flood as the level for defining land that was liable to flooding and a guide for planning purposes.

The Drainage of Land Act attempted to set out the rights and obligations of individuals and authorities in relation to the passage of drainage waters. It aimed at the preservation of natural drainage characteristics, established a Drainage Tribunal for the settlement of disputes, and provided for the declaration of drainage courses by public authorities. These intentions proved difficult to translate into legislation, and amendments were necessary in 1978 and 1981. The functions of the Drainage Tribunal were incorporated in the functions of the Planning Appeals Board in 1981.

Urban development to the west of Werribee was identified in the early 1970s as being in the probable path of waters that might break away from the Werribee River in the event of a flood. A subsequent dispute reached the Town Planning Appeals Tribunal and resulted in a voluntary scheme between land owners, the Shire of Werribee, and the Victorian Government to identify the flood problem and propose solutions on a regional basis. This example led to the passage of the *Water (Drainage) Act 1978*, which empowered the Commission to develop regional drainage proposals. Provision was made for consultative committees to enable the widest possible participation by affected people in the drawing up of proposals.

In November 1978, the Uniform Building Regulations were strengthened so that municipal councils could impose appropriate conditions on development in areas liable to flooding; provision was made for consultation by councils with the drainage authority about the likely flood levels.

Some inadequacies in these provisions were immediately recognised particularly concerning the nomination of flood levels and the consequent risk of a council's being liable for damages. Specific problems occurred at Echuca and Horsham relating to buildings proposed for vacant allotments within otherwise well developed areas. The *Local Government (Land Liable to Flooding) Act 1979*, was introduced and specifically acknowledged that a risk of flooding could exist.

The *Building Control Act 1981* repealed previous legislation controlling buildings on land liable to flooding and a new building regulation defining the respective responsibilities of the municipalities and the drainage authorities was gazetted in 1982. Further legislation statutorily defining the "one per cent probability flood event" as the flood of reference and empowering the definition of flood fringe areas was introduced in 1982.

## FORESTRY

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### INTRODUCTION

Forestry is the protection, utilisation, and management of forest land and the vegetation on it according to demands for the benefits forests can provide and their capability to supply the desired benefits without detriment to their long-term productive capacity. Victoria's diverse forests yield a wealth of timbers and other products, providing protection for water catchments and many environments for wildlife and recreation.

Fire is the main concern of forest protection in Victoria. Virtually all of the State's forests have been affected by severe fire at least once in the past fifty years, and some have been burnt over time and again. Effective fire protection is the keystone of forestry in Victoria.

Sawmill logs remain the prime forest produce but demands for poles and other round timbers, hewn and split products, and firewood from the native forests have diminished a great deal in a generation. Markets for wood for pulp and chip products have developed since 1936 as large factories using eucalypt or pine wood, or both, have been commissioned. Pine plantations, established mainly in the 1930s and since 1961, are yielding an increasing flow of logs for sawmills and plywood mills, pulpwood from thinnings and the tops of log trees, and roundwood for direct use after preservative treatment. Increasing use of the forests by all sections of the public for a wide range of active and passive recreations has been a dominant feature of their utilisation during the past 20 or so years.

Forest management is the planning and implementation of where, when, and how each forest will be utilised while conserving its environmental values. Profound and rapid changes in the technology of transport, communications, mapping, data collection and processing, and the utilisation of wood as a complex raw material, and in the understanding of forest biology, as well as social changes, have resulted in momentous developments in forestry in Victoria.

### DEVELOPMENTS IN FORESTRY SINCE 1934

#### 1934 to 1939

##### *Background*

Before the Second World War, there were plentiful supplies of high quality mature mountain ash timber for sawlog purposes, and the box-ironbark and red gum forests supplied large volumes of poles, piles, railway sleepers, beams, and other naturally durable heavy construction timbers. The stringybark forests yielded general utility milling and miscellaneous timbers. The State Seasoning Works at Newport, established in 1910 to demonstrate potential uses of Victorian hardwoods when properly seasoned, had promoted their general acceptance, but commerce relied heavily upon imported softwoods, wood pulp and papers, plywood, and other wood products. Wattle stripping for tanbark, steam distillation of eucalyptus leaves for oil, and bee-keeping were important forest industries.

Vast tracts of the forests to the east of Melbourne were not traversed by roads. Many sawmills and mill settlements were situated deep in the forests. Steel and wooden tramways,

steam-powered cable systems, and bullocks and horses were used to bring logs to the mills. Timber workers and their families enjoyed few amenities and endured the hardships of isolation.

The silviculture (i.e. the tending of forests) practised in the forests, chiefly in the North and the Central Highlands, consisted of the thinning and liberation of re-growth, and cleaning out of weed species, as adaptations of European practices.

The forests were patrolled to only a limited extent to detect illegal activities, to control the operations of licensees, and to protect the forests from fire. Fires were not often detected quickly, unless they were near settlements or bush workers. For some years the Commonwealth Air Board had provided, upon request, an aeroplane to detect fires in the mountains, messages being relayed through its base at Laverton by telephone to the Forests Commission. By the time firefighters arrived by horse or on foot, remote fires were commonly too large to control with the equipment available, usually only rakes and slashers. There was seldom a telephone line in the vicinity to allow firefighters to keep in touch with headquarters.

Forestry provided work for many unemployed men and youths, especially during the Depression. They constructed tracks and firebreaks, ringbarked unwanted trees, thinned young stands of seedling and coppice re-growth, and cleared land for plantations and planted eucalypts and pines. Since 1925, the Victorian Government had been providing relief funds to employ men in the forests, and in 1933 unemployment relief was extended to employ also youths 16 to 20 years of age. In the winter of 1936 there were some 1,000 youths in 14 camps, and about 2,750 youths had been employed, usually for six months, when the scheme concluded in 1939. Camps for them were set up in the forests and they were supervised by skilled forest workers and foresters. During the six years prior to the Second World War, more than 33,000 men had been given some work in the forests, mostly from unemployment relief funds.

#### *Wood pulping*

Experiments and trials over many years by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and private interests had finally demonstrated that strong papers could be made from the short-fibred pulp yielded by lightweight eucalypt wood pulped by the alkaline sulphide or kraft process, but there was no mill in Australia pulping wood during the early 1930s. All wood pulp and paper was imported at a high cost in foreign exchange. The *Wood Pulp Agreement Act* 1936 ratified certain pulpwood cutting rights in specified State forests which would assure the newly created Australian Paper Manufacturers Limited (APM) of supplies of wood for a period of 50 years for a mill to be established at Maryvale. Consignments of wood to the pilot mill were made in 1937, and the main plant commenced production in October 1939.

#### AREA OF RESERVED FOREST: VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1981-82 (hectares)

Year	Area
1934-35	1,922,112
1939-40	1,966,830
1944-45	1,984,725
1949-50	2,013,333
1954-55	2,221,253
1959-60	2,249,540
1964-65	2,267,789
1969-70	2,289,173
1974-75	2,295,236
1979-80	2,229,900
1980-81	2,411,151
1981-82	2,889,933

Source: Forests Commission, Victoria.

*Bushfires in 1939*

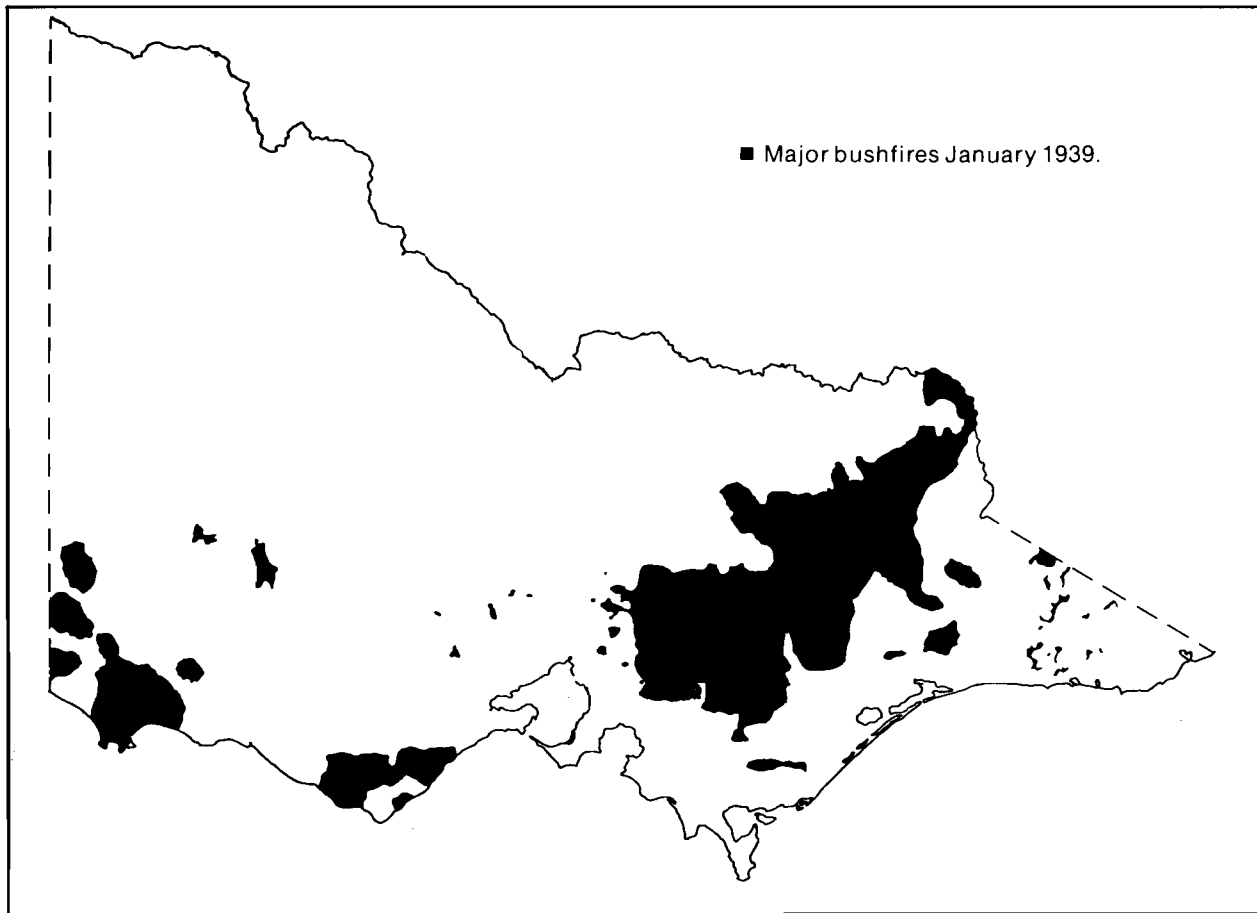
This pre-war period was notable for the fires of January 1939 and their profound after-effects. The Report of the Royal Commissioner, Judge Stretton, has become a classic document in the history of Victoria; the following extracts speak for themselves. "In the State of Victoria, the month of January of the year 1939 came towards the end of a long drought which had been aggravated by a severe hot, dry summer season. For more than twenty years the State of Victoria has not seen its countryside and forests in such travail. Creeks and springs ceased to run. Water storages were depleted. Provincial towns were facing the probability of cessation of water supply. In Melbourne, more than a million inhabitants were subjected to restrictions upon the use of water. Throughout the countryside, the farmers were carting water, if such was available, for their stock and themselves. The rich plains, denied their beneficent rains, lay bare and baking; and the forests, from the foothills to the alpine heights, were tinder. The soft carpet of the forest floor was gone; the bone-dry litter crackled underfoot; dry heat and hot dry winds worked upon a land already dry, to suck from it the last, least drop of moisture. Men who had lived their lives in the bush went their ways in the shadow of dread expectancy. But though they felt the imminence of danger they could not tell that it was to be far greater than they could imagine. They had not lived long enough. The experience of the past could not guide them to an understanding of what might, and did happen. And so it was that, when millions of acres of the forest were invaded by bushfires which were almost State-wide, there happened, because of great loss of life and property, the most disastrous forest calamity the State of Victoria has known.

"These fires were lit by the hand of man.

"Seventy-one lives were lost. Sixty-nine mills were burned. Millions of acres of fine forest, of almost incalculable value, were destroyed or badly damaged. Townships were obliterated in a few minutes. Mills, houses, bridges, tramways, machinery, were burned to the ground; men, cattle, horses, sheep, were devoured by the fires or asphyxiated by the scorching debilitated air. Generally, the numerous fires which during December, in many parts of Victoria, had been burning separately, as they do in any summer, either 'under control' as it is falsely and dangerously called, or entirely unintended, reached the climax of their intensity and joined forces in a devastating confluence. The speed of the fires was appalling. They leaped from mountain peak to mountain peak, or far out into the lower country, lighting the forests 6 to 7 miles in advance of the main fires. Blown by a wind of great force, they roared as they travelled. Balls of crackling fire sped at a great pace in advance of the fires, consuming with a roaring, explosive noise, all that they touched. Houses of brick were seen and heard to leap into a roar of flame before the fires had reached them. Some men of science hold the view that the fires generated and were preceded by inflammable gases which became alight. Great pieces of burning bark were carried by the wind to set in raging flame regions not yet reached by the fires. Such was the force of the wind that, in many places, hundreds of trees of great size were blown clear of the earth, tons of soil, with embedded masses of rock, still adhering to the roots; for mile upon mile the former forest monarchs were laid in confusion, burnt, torn from the earth, and piled one upon another as matches strewn by a giant hand.

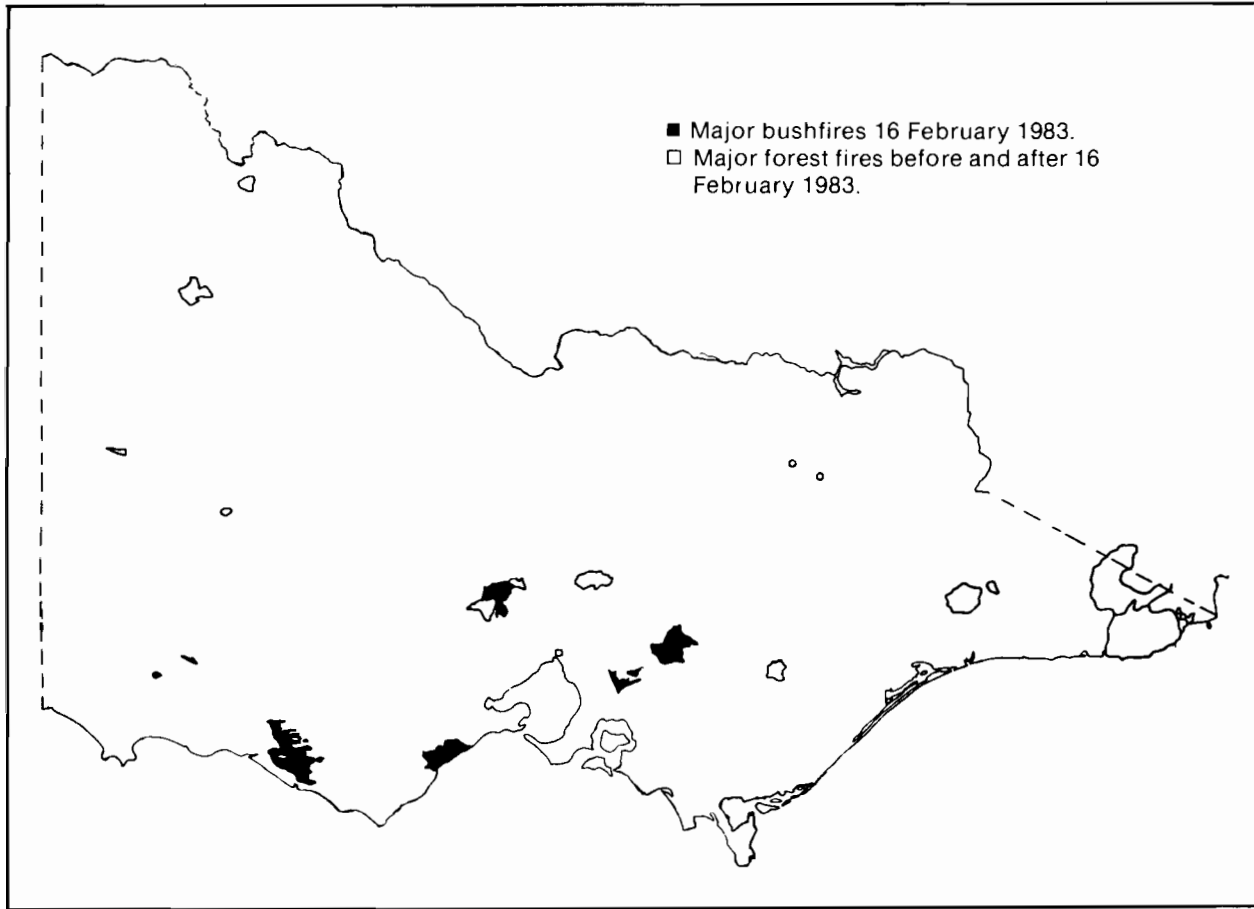
"There had been no fires to equal these in destructiveness or intensity in the history of settlement in this State, except perhaps the fires of 1851, which, too, came at summer culmination of a long drought."

The Royal Commission report prompted drastic revision of forest fire legislation. The *Forests Act* 1939 made it an offence to light a fire at any time of the year in a State forest or national park except by direction or as prescribed. The Forests Commission's responsibility for fire prevention was extended to all unoccupied Crown lands and a strip of land extending 1.6 kilometres beyond the boundaries of forests and parks, except in the Mallee and on land controlled by the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works. Other provisions included declaration by the Minister of Forests of a ban on lighting fires in the open air during periods of acute fire danger and suspension of forest operations, a mandatory duty of the Commission to enforce the construction of fire refuge dugouts at sawmills and the sites of forest operations, and other protective works. The *Bush Fire*



*Source: Natural Resources Conservation League of Victoria.*

FIGURE 19. Victoria — Major fires, Black Friday, 1939.



Source: *Natural Resources Conservation League of Victoria.*

FIGURE 20. Victoria — Major fires, Ash Wednesday, 1983.

*Brigades Act* 1933 was amended to empower the authorised captain of a registered Bush Fire Brigade to take steps under certain conditions to eliminate fire hazards on private property.

**NUMBER OF FIRES AND AREA BURNT  
IN THE FIRE PROTECTED AREA (a):  
VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1981-82**

Year	Total number of fires attended	Number of fires in fire protected area	Fire protected area burnt
			hectares
1934-35	56	n.a.	4,577
1939-40	144	n.a.	44,930
1944-45	176	150	13,638
1949-50	161	152	9,764
1954-55	316	307	30,871
1959-60	728	684	497,484
1964-65	557	481	326,822
1969-70	304	251	5,089
1974-75	443	371	94,990
1979-80	812	713	31,826
1980-81	875	793	449,977
1981-82	537	468	20,648

(a) Includes State forests, national parks, protected public land, occupied Crown land, and private property.

NOTE: After 1975 there was a change in the basis of classifying fires, e.g., a secondary fire from the same source is counted as a new fire.

Source: Forests Commission, Victoria.

### 1940 to 1945

#### *Background*

The war years were a period of change for forestry and one of unprecedented activity. Three essential tasks were constructing roads, pushing ahead with salvage logging after the 1939 fires and re-appraising the allocation of resources to fire prevention, fire protection works, and equipment, and planning fire suppression strategies. The amended legislation had given new responsibilities and powers to the Forests Commission and its officers with respect to fire protection. The policy of siting sawmills in townships, to give improved protection and facilities to the mills and the benefits of social amenities to the workers and their families, was implemented progressively to the extent which salvage logging and the overshadowing war allowed. The imperatives to restore sawmill output, supply raw material to the pulp mill, and provide guaranteed deliveries of poles, piles, and other forest products essential for defence purposes tested to the limit the resourcefulness and stamina of the depleted labour force.

#### *Timber salvage*

The Minister of Forests convened a State Timber Salvage Committee to recommend measures for the re-establishment of the sawmilling industry and for the salvage of fire-killed timber. The Committee, comprising representatives of sawmillers, timber workers, timber merchants, the Forests Commission, and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, completed its report within three weeks. It estimated that 33 million cubic metres of timber could be salvaged. It recommended that one-third should be moved directly into sawmills, and two-thirds should be felled as soon as possible, logs being made from most of the trees and dragged into storage dumps. Operational recommendations made by the committee included estimates of the financial assistance most of the sawmillers would require to re-establish mills and a proposal that payment of royalty be deferred until a miller had sold the sawn timber. Over-production of sawn timber would require control of prices and marketing to avoid dislocation of the market. There would be 50 sawmills: 11 which had survived the fires, 17 to replace mills burnt out, and 22 new ones.

Road and tramline construction was pushed ahead as quickly as possible. Although the severe winter caused setbacks to the work, salvage began in earnest during the summer of

1939-40, when 48 bush sawmills were cutting fire-killed timber. The salvage programme was highly successful and resulted in the recovery of considerably more timber than had been anticipated.

The volume of high quality timber in the principal sawmilling regions ravaged by the 1939 fires was estimated to exceed 72 million cubic metres, well over 20 years' full supply for the existing mills. In the forests nearest to Melbourne, tramways, bridges, settlements and mills, had gone in a few hours. The effective milling life of the standing dead trees would be about two years owing to cracking, rot, and attacks by insects. If felled to lie in the protection of the scrub tree re-growth and kept moist with water sprays, the millable life of the timber would be extended to six or so years. The largest logs were in fact found to last a decade or more, in good millable condition.

The anticipated glut of timber sawn from mountain and alpine ash killed by the fires in 1939 did not occur; imports of timber were cut off by the war, which increased demands for sawn timber of all kinds. A State mill was built at Erica in 1940 to salvage timber in the Thomson River Valley. Wood for boxes, crates, and light framing sawn from small logs was in strong demand. The greater proportion of the smaller logs were sawn up at mills in Melbourne and some country centres, not at the bush mills. By 1944, 178 kilometres of road and 26 kilometres of tramway had been constructed especially for timber salvage, and the number of sawmills on salvage had increased to about 60. By the end of 1945, the original salvage target of 33 million cubic metres of log for sawn timber had been exceeded.

#### *Departmental logging*

Before the war all hardwood logging in State forest was carried out by licensees or lessees. Felling and log-making in pine plantations had been done by employees of the Forests Commission, who, in many instances, had also snigged the logs to roadsides for collection by contractors. From January 1939, the Commission began some departmental hardwood logging to supply logs for scantling and boards, and material for crates and cases. During the war departmental logging, pole cutting, and firewood production became a major departmental activity. Such operations were to become a feature of forest utilisation in Victoria for many years, where they came to fulfil special silvicultural or marketing requirements better than operations conducted by licensees.

Dispatches of hardwood pulpwood to the pulp mill at Maryvale, which commenced production on the eve of the Second World War, increased from 12,700 cubic metres in 1939-40 to about 65,000 cubic metres in the last two years of the war. Most of this was fire-killed mountain ash. The output of hardwood pulp, and some pine pulp for special purposes, from this new industry was very important to the nation during these years. Pine pulp was used for making guncotton and other cellulose products.

War brought an urgent need for a fuel to replace petrol for motor vehicles, and it was decided to set up a State Charcoal Branch under the Forests Commission to organise the production of up to 45,000 tonnes of hardwood charcoal a year in 500 kilns for gas-producer units. By mid-1942, there were 221 kilns and 12 pits in State forests which produced 39,500 tonnes of charcoal in 1942-43. Private production of charcoal was encouraged, and by 1944 the Commission was able to report that private enterprise could supply all the charcoal required. In addition, the State's pine plantations provided special grades of charcoal for many military and industrial purposes.

#### *Emergency firewood*

A critical shortage of firewood in the Melbourne metropolitan area had developed by the winter of 1941, owing to petrol rationing, reduced availability of railway trucks for civilian use, transfer of woodcutters to charcoal production for gas producers for motor vehicles, and a diversion of coal briquettes from household to industrial use. During the following winter, firewood was so short that the Commonwealth Government agreed to put interned aliens and prisoners of war to work in forest camps cutting firewood. In 1943 there were about 600 internees and 300 prisoners of war in more than 20 camps in Victorian State forests. Hundreds of secondary school boys responded to a call for assistance, and they cut thousands of tonnes of dry firewood. Volunteers unloaded railway trucks at



weekends to aid the distribution of fuel to metropolitan homes. The peak of emergency firewood production occurred in 1943-44 when 242,000 tonnes were cut. Production under the scheme diminished quickly after the war and ceased in 1956.

#### *Fire training and equipment*

Major fire protection works in the forests achieved in the four years after the winter of 1939 included the construction of 174 refuge dugouts, 177 dams and water storages, 23 additional fire lookouts, 420 kilometres of bush telephone line, 1,870 kilometres of road, and nearly 2,000 kilometres of firebreaks and firelines.

Nearly 1,500 kilometres of tracks and firebreaks had been improved to carry motor traffic. By the end of the war, 50 radio sets, about 20 trailer-type water pumps, about 100 portable types of power pump, and 60 kilometres of fire hose (mainly unlined canvas in lengths of just over 15 metres), and stocks of knapsack spray pumps, fire rakes, slashers, beaters, and axes had been distributed to forest depots. There were some tank trailers, of various capacities up to about 1,100 litres, which were usually towed by utility trucks. These provided a supply of water for filling knapsack pumps which were the main equipment for applying water to the edge of the fire, burning trees, and other hot-spots. Annual fire schools, at which forest workers practised dry firefighting, pump operation and hose laying, were becoming part of routine preparations for the summer. The number of Bush Fire Brigades, 396 in 1938-39, reached 700 in 1943-44.

#### *"Save The Forests" Campaign*

Community interest in forest conservation was aroused when a group of parliamentarians and other citizens launched the "Save the Forests" Campaign at a public meeting in Melbourne in January 1944. Primarily this group was concerned that the public be made aware that it was imperative to protect the young mountain ash forests from fire at least until such time as they were old enough to have fertile seed and to regenerate themselves in the event of another fire catastrophe. Their broader purpose was to impress upon the people of the State the fundamental importance of forest conservation in relation to the timber, soil, and water resources of Australia. By 1946, the Campaign had enlisted the participation of some 50 organisations with a membership of 300,000, and had secured the support of government departments for tree plantings, fire prevention, and general forest publicity. This Campaign, which had inspired a popular forest conscience when the re-growth mountain forests were especially vulnerable to fire, was incorporated in the Natural Resources Conservation League of Victoria when it was inaugurated in 1951.

### **1946 to 1956**

#### *Background*

For several years after the Second World War a feature of the sawmilling industry continued to be a high proportion of small mills, typically steam-powered but requiring manual handling of the logs and sawn products. The economic log haulage distance to such mills was still quite limited. The post-war upsurge in private and public building and the accompanying strong demand for timber resulted in the establishment of more than 300 additional sawmills. The number operating in Victoria in 1946 was 332, in 1951 it was 615, and in 1956 there was a peak of 636.

In the late 1940s, it became necessary to relocate sawmills. The anticipated transfer of sawmilling capacity from the burnt forests near Melbourne commenced in 1947 with the release of logs to supply 14 new mills at Mansfield in north-eastern Victoria and Heyfield in Gippsland. In 1950, new allocations were also granted in the Orbost, Bruthen, and Nowa Nowa districts of East Gippsland. By 1955, the traditional milling centres of the Yarra Valley, such as Noojee and Yarra Junction no longer produced the bulk of Victorian output of sawn hardwood. Further releases of timber in the ensuing 15 years from forests opened to large-scale logging for the first time, in the Omeo (1958-59), Cann River (1959-60), Tallangatta (1961), and Orbost (1970) districts, virtually completed the major relocation of sawmills drawing logs from original forests.

*Forest utilisation activities*

The salvage of fire-killed timber had virtually come to an end by 1953, although it continued, mainly for pulpwood, on a restricted scale until 1956. The total volume of fire-killed logs from State forest milled since 1939 exceeded 52 million cubic metres. This co-operative enterprise, despite the depleted labour force and shortages of machinery, liquid fuels, and engineering supplies was a notable achievement.

Burning in forests, particularly in the mountains, by lessees and licensees to improve grazing conditions was severely criticised in 1939. In 1946, a Royal Commission inquiring into forest grazing found that it had harmed vegetation and in some areas greatly accelerated soil erosion. The report recommended stricter control over graziers, and the creation of an authority charged with the duty of protecting all land. A Land Utilization Authority (replaced by the Soil Conservation Authority in 1949) was established in 1947. The provisions of the legislation, especially those establishing a Land Utilization Advisory Council and prescribing its functions, tightened controls over grazing areas and promoted progressive review of their future use.

In fighting fires, foresters in Victoria had for many years tried various hand tools which would perform slashing, raking, pushing, and hoeing actions, and increase the effectiveness of small crews of firefighters, especially where equipment had to be carried long distances from a road. None of these tools had been really successful until 1952 when a combination rake and wide-bladed hoe to a North American design was introduced. This firefighting tool, manufactured in Australia as the "Rakho" was an immediate success and superseded other hand tools during the next few years.

During the 1950s, fire detection from lookouts and aircraft and radio communications were greatly improved, and increasing numbers of water tankers of various capacities were built especially for forest and general rural firefighting.

The increasing use of aerial photographs by forest managers accelerated the topographic mapping and delineation of forest types and various classes of timber stands. Basic maps showing contours and other topographical data were prepared and forest assessment data were superimposed. Where satisfactory aerial photographs were available, stratified random sample plots were located by field parties and the vegetation assessed. This procedure was superior to assessment of the forests by the older method of systematic strip sampling, combined with ground mapping of topographical details.

During the 1950s, substantial areas of forested Crown land were alienated for farming, mainly through applications for individually fairly small areas under selection purchase lease. The total area of timbered land on private holdings was also reduced a good deal to establish new pastures during the post-war years. The Rural Finance and Settlement Commission started development of the Heytesbury Settlement in 1956, for which the total forest area cleared within 20 years amounted to 42,500 hectares.

An important change in the marketing of sawlogs occurred during this period. During the 1930s and 1940s, most sawmillers had paid royalty according to the volume of marketable wood sawn from the logs hauled to their mills. This did not promote careful and maximum conversion of logs to sawn timber. A gradual change to the sale of timber by log measure was introduced in 1935 but this was arrested in 1939 when it was decided to charge royalty on timber salvaged from fire-killed forest on output of sawn timber, to attract investment of private funds to sawmilling. In the immediate post-war years, when the centres of hardwood timber production were beginning to move further east and north-east from Melbourne and other centres of consumption, there were strong moves for increases in timber prices. In January 1950, the present royalty equation system for hardwood logs was introduced, and fully applied to softwood logs in 1960. It set up an equated scale of royalty rates with the aim of enabling sawmillers in remote areas to compete on the Melbourne market. In principle, royalty rates were fixed so that the sum of royalty and transport costs involved in placing a base grade of sawn timber on a specified key market were the same for all operations with access to that market. Adjustments for licensees' roading costs, log quality, species groups, the value of the different grades of sawn timber, and the relative locations of mills, were built into the royalty rate determination for each logging area. The equated royalty system succeeded in promoting the utilisation of distant and low grade log supplies.

*Nurseries*

From early days the Victorian Government had encouraged the owners and managers of land to grow trees for shade and shelter, as well as for timber production. A wide range of trees and shrubs were raised at State nurseries at Macedon established in 1872, Creswick (1886), and Merbein (1916) for sale to municipal bodies and to the rural community. Technical advice on selecting species and establishing trees was made freely available. A nursery was set up at Wail near Horsham, in 1945, primarily to raise stock for farm and town plantings throughout the Wimmera. The catalogues of species available from the four nurseries now offered the public, for the first time, a range of trees and shrubs tested and well suited to all districts of the State.

*Forestry research*

The progress of forestry depends upon a solid foundation of scientific information. The ash eucalypt forests occupy only about 500,000 hectares but their importance far outweighs their proportion of the total forest area in Victoria because of their high productivity and the protection they give to water catchments. Research by the Forests Commission, CSIRO, university departments and other research groups has, since 1955, concentrated on the biology, hydrology, and growth dynamics of these forests. In 1954, the Commission's research branch began its major contributions to this work by investigating the various factors controlling the germination of eucalypt seed and survival of the seedlings, which led to an understanding of the field conditions favouring regeneration of the species. Research to provide knowledge on which to base improved field practices included development of techniques for control of competing vegetation prior to burning and aerial sowing, and for preparing the seed for sowing. Long-range research programmes are necessary in forestry because of the long periods involved in the growth and development of forest systems.

**1957 to 1960***Background*

By the mid-1950s, to improve its efficiency in dealing with expanding activities under more complex circumstances, the State Forests Department revised its administrative structure. An entire re-organisation into central and field divisions took effect in 1957, which set up six functional divisions of the central administration and a number of territorial divisions each directly responsible to the Commission. The State was divided into 45 forest districts, which became the units of executive field management. The direct lines of responsibility for task performance and budgetary control established by the new structure, brought about much closer control of forestry practices and co-ordinated responses to changing conditions during the ensuing decades.

By the late 1950s, much of the general roading required for survey and protection of the forests had been constructed, but extensive areas in the mountains and higher foothills were still inaccessible, even to four-wheel drive vehicles which had become commonly available. Fire crews sometimes walked for a full day to reach remote fires. The men were tired before beginning work on the fire. The possible need to transport an injured man to the nearest road was a constant concern. Supplies, brought in by pack horse or over rough, hastily bulldozed tracks, followed the firefighters slowly. For some 11 years after 1957 efforts were directed to making jeep tracks from roads into inaccessible country, primarily to allow first attack on fires by fresh men while the fires were smaller, and to provide control lines for fuel reduction burning.

*Water catchments*

As many town water supply catchments in Victoria are partly or wholly within State forests, the Forests Commission in 1959 issued a consolidated set of principles to be followed in formulating prescriptions for multiple-use forest management in town water supply catchments, and provided for specific documented measures to adequately protect individual catchments according to local conditions. To provide information for reviewing existing catchment practices, several studies were established during the 1960s of streamflow

and other characteristics of neighbouring catchments during an initial calibration period, as well as of the effects of different silvicultural and land-use practices in the catchments.

The majority conclusions and recommendations of an inquiry by the State Development Committee into the utilisation of timber resources in the watersheds of the State, published in 1960, substantially endorsed the long-standing policy of controlled logging based on established silvicultural practices. The *Soil Conservation and Land Utilization Act 1958* provided for proclamation of water catchments, imposition of conditions for land-use within them, and for determination of the most suitable forms of land-use within catchments.

A complete inventory of State forest resources was commenced in 1960. Beginning in the central districts, field parties mapped all accessible productive forests in stand height and tree size classes by field interpretation of existing aerial photographs and measurement of systematically located sample plots.

#### *Genetic studies*

Seeds for the radiata pine plantations growing in Victoria had been collected from several distinct varieties of the species in California and on islands near the American west coast, and from cone crops in plantations in Australia and New Zealand. There is a good deal of genetic variability in tree form and vigour, branching habit, spiral grain, and persistence of old cones on the trunks of radiata pine. These differences between individual trees in the plantation crops are reflected in growth rates and the quality of timber produced. Buyers of pulpwood were also aware of variation in fibre length, an important paper-making property. In 1958, research foresters began a systematic assessment in plantations throughout Victoria for trees displaying desirable characteristics. From the best trees found in this search about 30 outstanding or "plus" trees were vegetatively propagated in 1959 by grafting buds from them on to ordinary nursery seedlings. The number of "plus" trees used as breeding stock increased during the next few years as the search extended, and also by consignments of buds from other States, the Australian Capital Territory, and New Zealand.

A site for a seed orchard, a special area to be managed for large-scale production of improved seeds, was selected in a forest area south of Daylesford. Isolated from other pines, grafts of the best trees were planted at wide spacing in order that cross-pollination in later years would produce crops of seeds combining the desired genetic characteristics of the original selected trees.

#### *Timber preservation*

For some years prior to 1956 the availability of naturally durable timbers from the forests of box, ironbark, and stringybark eucalypts suitable for electricity supply and telephone poles had fallen far short of the demand. The trees in these forests, most of which are situated in the drier northern districts, grow slowly, and they had been exploited from the early days of the Colony and drawn on heavily during the gold-mining era. The continued availability locally and from other Australian States of strong durable timbers ideally suited for use as piles, poles, bedlogs, sleepers, and other construction timbers had served to delay the establishment in Victoria of commercial preservation plants which had been in operation overseas for many years. Two plants to pressure-treat the sapwood of poles of naturally non-durable species with creosote, established at Trentham in 1956 and Brooklyn in 1957, created a market for poles from the mixed species foothill forests. This market allowed the forest managers to carry out light thinnings over extensive areas of the forests and so improve the quality and growth of the remaining trees. By 1960, several additional plants impregnating fencing timbers and small poles cut from hardwood and softwood thinnings with either creosote or copper-chrome-arsenic had been established in Victoria, and about 15 per cent of all the sawn softwood produced was treated with water-borne or light organic solvent preservatives.

#### *Hardboard production*

Hardboard, for which a pulp is prepared by mechanical processing, requires the utilisation of large volumes of low-grade wood available from sawlog and other fellings in the mixed

species hardwood forests of the Central Highlands. Production of hardboard commenced at Bacchus Marsh following ratification of a 50-year marketing agreement with the Colonial Sugar Refining Co. Ltd (CSR) by the *Forests (Pulpwood Agreement) Act 1959*. This agreement was subsequently terminated and CSR ceased operating at Bacchus Marsh. However, a different agreement was made with another company which operates at this location. This market for eucalypt pulpwood allowed more intensive silviculture to be practised in the regrowth forests embraced by the agreement.

### 1961 to 1970

#### *Plantations*

The need for plentiful supplies of softwood was apparent early in the history of the State. Victoria's native commercial softwood resources are restricted to small areas of slow growing *Callitris* forests in the northern part of the State. Long-fibred pine wood is a versatile medium-density raw material, being used for sawn timber, plywood, papers and other pulp products, particleboards, poles and piles, and small round timbers. Sawn and natural round pine is readily treated with preservatives to protect it against rot, insects, and marine borers.

Of the many exotic softwoods given a trial for forestry, *radiata* pine was outstandingly successful and nearly all the softwood plantations in Victoria are of this species. They provide a large volume of useful wood in a relatively short time on a range of soil types and climates. Little planting had been done from 1939 to 1960, because of the war and then because of lack of funds. The main new post-war plantings, of pine and eucalypt, were to reforest marginal farmland in the south Gippsland hills which had originally carried prime eucalypt forest. Victoria was still importing about one-quarter of its total wood requirements when in 1961 the Victorian Government adopted an expanded programme to lift the annual plantings of pine to 2,020 hectares. These were concentrated into definite production and manufacturing zones, to gain economies in fire protection, roading, establishment and maintenance costs, and to provide future industries with large volumes of sawlogs and pulpwood within short haulage distances.

Hitherto about 20 small nurseries had provided all the pines required for approximately 450 hectares of new State plantations each year. To meet the requirements of the accelerated programme four new regional nurseries were established between 1961 and 1968 at Koetong, Trentham, Benalla, and Narbethong, and an existing nursery at Rennick was extended. The locations of the new nurseries were chosen to utilise a range of climates as much as to be near the main planting areas. The adoption of large regional pine nurseries allowed the introduction of mechanisation and improved nursery practices resulting in a more uniform high quality of seedlings and lower unit costs.

Subsequently a revised total plantation target to be achieved by the year 2000 was proposed, based on projections of the population and projections of consumption per head of wood and wood products. The Commonwealth-States Softwood Forestry Agreements Acts of 1967 supported a new State target of 4,850 hectares annually for 1967 to 1971, the State financing the first 2,430 hectares each year and the Commonwealth the balance with loans which would be interest free for 10 years. When the Softwoods Agreement was renewed in 1972, it provided for a reduced State planting target of 3,500 hectares per year for the period 1972 to 1976. The areas of new plantations established are summarised in the following table:

AREAS OF NEW STATE FOREST PLANTATIONS:  
VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1981-82  
(hectares)

Year	Hardwoods	Softwoods
1934-35	13	2,005
1939-40	n.a.	10
1944-45	n.a.	25
1949-50	36	880
1954-55	33	150
1959-60	73	263
1964-65	466	2,180

AREAS OF NEW STATE FOREST PLANTATIONS:  
VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1981-82—*continued*  
(hectares)

Year	Hardwoods	Softwoods
1969-70	526	4,675
1974-75	973	4,585
1979-80	329	2,815
1980-81	318	2,608
1981-82	270	3,128

Source: Forests Commission, Victoria.

#### *Regeneration of native forests*

Most of the eucalypt forests are regenerated after timber fellings by natural or induced seedfall from trees of the old crop. For several years, logged areas in some mountain ash forests had been regenerated by seed from scattered or grouped overwood trees (trees which remain after the harvesting of the merchantable trees) temporarily reserved as seed-trees, or by planting out seedlings raised in a nursery. The two-stage harvesting of the mature trees required by the first method was a prolonged operation and relatively expensive. Sometimes the crop of new seedlings was too patchy and further expenditure was necessary to plant large gaps with nursery stock. In view of these disadvantages some trials of direct sowing of eucalypt seed were undertaken, with mixed results, usually because foraging insects, mainly ants, took much of the seed.

An operational outcome in 1964 of research into the biology of eucalypt seeds and seedlings was the aerial sowing of alpine ash seed treated with DDT over nine separate areas totalling 310 hectares in the Gippsland Highlands. Encouraging results stimulated improvement of techniques, and by 1967 this method of sowing eucalypt seed had become an established practice. Seed is hand-sown where an area to be regenerated is too small or awkward to sow from the air, or where the receptive seed bed is very patchy. About one-quarter of the native forest area regenerated each year is sown by hand or from the air. Of the 15,700 hectares which received regeneration treatment in 1979-80, 48 per cent was naturally seeded, 25 per cent was induced from the overwood trees, 11 per cent was hand sown, and 16 per cent was sown from aircraft.

#### *Machinery*

Several new types of machines for forestry work became available during this period, when total output of sawlogs was increasing and new areas were being opened up for timber harvesting. Tractors of greater horsepower equipped with winches replaced stationary winches for extracting logs except in the steepest country. Rubber-tired skidder tractors replaced tracked ones for some purposes. In some plantations pine logs were hauled by specially-built light tractors and various types of winch trucks. One-man chainsaws became widely used in felling and the preparation of logs, pulpwood, poles, and other timbers. Their use allowed logging supervisors to insist that fallers make extra cross-cuts through logs containing pockets of rot, fire scars or other defects, to discard a defective butt or to make a shorter log each side of an unusable section. In a given logging area, more logs thus became available to sawmillers, State revenues were increased, unit harvesting and roading costs were a little less, and the protection of regenerating areas from fire was assisted. The speed with which fallers could produce logs enabled the diminishing labour force of skilled men to fill quotas for the sawmills. This ability was especially important in areas where the logging roads were affected by snow for up to five months every winter, and the use of tractors and trucks in the forests during and after heavy rains was suspended to protect water catchments.

After 1968, the making of jeep tracks into unroaded parts of the forests was a diminishing activity. Most of the jeep tracks needed had now been built. Use of these tracks to transport men and equipment for firefighting and fuel reduction burning had become an essential part of fire protection strategy. The improved access had also accelerated progress with detailed mapping of the forest vegetations, and with timber, wildlife, and other surveys. Public use of the tracks increased as four-wheel drive vehicles and motor cycles became popular for recreation.

SILVICULTURAL TREATMENT OF STATE FOREST  
HARDWOOD PLANTATIONS: VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1981-82  
(hectares)

Year	Coppice	Thinning	Regeneration (includes liberation)	Other
1934-35	32,181	11,972	4,547	n.a.
1939-40	19,894	4,715	295	n.a.
1944-45	n.a.	1,441	489	n.a.
1949-50	6,510	3,118	1,310	n.a.
1954-55	5,326	4,640	6,759	n.a.
1959-60	2,650	6,707	3,301	n.a.
1964-65	1,231	4,866	8,198	n.a.
1969-70	1,245	5,597	6,100	718
1974-75	675	5,054	12,786	366
1979-80	623	2,770	18,189	877
1980-81	283	3,565	16,694	1,078
1981-82	508	3,131	17,273	2,363

Source: Forests Commission, Victoria.

SILVICULTURAL TREATMENT OF STATE FOREST  
SOFTWOOD PLANTATIONS: VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1981-82  
(hectares)

Year	Cleaning	Pruning	Thinning
1934-35	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1939-40	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1944-45	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1949-50	2,102	1,664	763
1954-55	1,074	102	798
1959-60	625	328	886
1964-65	2,407	250	1,063
1969-70	8,178	393	1,223
1974-75	9,580	470	135
1979-80	6,040	127	1,099
1980-81	4,558	196	1,775
1981-82	4,435	101	2,287

Source: Forests Commission, Victoria.

*Fuel reduction burning*

The forest managers responsible for controlling forest fires had recognised for some years that widespread, very destructive fires were inevitable unless fuel reduction burning was used on a large scale as an essential part of a balanced fire protection programme. The effectiveness of fuel reduction in allowing wildfires to be controlled in bad fire weather had been proved time and again in various districts of the State. Scientific research into fire behaviour and forest fuels had provided the basic knowledge and techniques for lighting fires, aerially or on the ground, in a definite pattern according to the amount and condition of the fine fuel, the topography, and the prevailing weather, to achieve low intensity firing over large areas within patrolled control lines. Large-scale forest fuel reduction burning in the State forests, national parks, and protected public land began in 1964-65; prior to that, relatively small areas had been burned as protective strips and patches. Since 1964, the annual area of fuel reduction burning has exceeded 150,000 hectares ten times; on two occasions the area exceeded 300,000 hectares.

*Commercial developments*

Long-term wood supply agreements, are subject to revision as circumstances change. For example, the *Forests (Wood Pulp Agreement) Act* 1961 amended the original agreement with Australian Paper Manufactures Ltd (APM) made in 1936 principally by revising the forest area available for supplies of pulpwood (because of changes in forest conditions over the quarter-century), and by providing for increased and differential royalties, and increasing the quantities of hardwood to be made available until 1987. The company, which had invested extensively in freehold forest land, was granted a 60 year lease of 3,533

hectares of State forest land in the south Gippsland hills, mainly covered with scrub and bracken, to reforest within 15 years with hardwood or softwood species suitable for making paper pulp.

#### Particleboard

The successful practice of silviculture depends on markets for the materials produced. Where there is a sustained market for small-diameter roundwood from early thinnings, and for crooked or knotty lengths from older trees, plantation or other even-aged tree crops can be thinned at the best time to increase profitability, to promote the vigour of the remaining trees, and to grow larger logs in a shorter time. Particleboard is a relatively new product which has had far-reaching effects on the furniture and fittings industries. It is a composition board made up largely of individual dried wood chips, splinters, and flakes in various layers which have been coated with an adhesive and hot pressed to form a long, wide smooth sheet. The main raw materials for making wood particleboard are medium density pale woods such as pine and poplar. Roundwood and billets used for particleboard are called pulpwood but the wood is reduced to flakes and chips, not to pulp. The first particleboard plant to be established in Victoria opened in 1964 at Rosedale, and all of its intake of wood came from private pine plantations. Production finished and the plant was sold in 1977. Agreements to supply particleboard plants at Ballarat and at Portland from State plantations were ratified by legislation in 1969 and 1975, respectively.

#### Pests

Protection of eucalypt forests from plagues of insect pests had assumed new urgency in 1958 when nearly 465,000 hectares of messmate-peppermint-gum forest in the north-east were infested by the leaf-eating phasmatid *Didymuria violescens*, a stick insect. Apart from causing the loss of timber, phasmatid infestations can result in deterioration of water catchments, wildlife habitats, and the landscape. Nearly 11,300 hectares of forests in 33 localities were sprayed with insecticide between 1961 and 1970. Since 1967, whenever a large population was predicted, an aerial spraying of malathion in January has been used very effectively to control the phasmatids by killing it in its early nymphal stages.

The wood wasp *Sirex noctilio*, an insect from southern Europe, was found on the Australian mainland in December 1961 in radiata pines at Woori Yallock, near Melbourne. The Sirex wasps insert their eggs under the bark and susceptible trees die within six weeks. The tunnels made by the feeding larvae ruin the wood for most uses. A National Sirex Campaign to co-ordinate a programme to control Sirex populations and support comprehensive research into Sirex biology was launched in January 1962. By 1970, valuable shelterbelts and many trees in some unthinned plantations 16 to 20 years old had been killed. Areas known to be infested had been placed under quarantine, and affected trees felled, cut up on the spot, and burnt. Concurrently the testing was commenced of the potential efficacy of various species of parasitoid wasps to exert biological control of the Sirex populations in pine plantations.

#### Alpine recreation

One aspect of the increasing public use of forests for recreation at this time was renewed public interest in the development of snow resorts. Before the Second World War, Mt Buller was Victoria's most developed ski resort for tough and hardy enthusiasts. By 1957 there were about 50 club lodges on Mt Buller, with an average accommodation of 10 beds. The first ski tow on Mt Baw Baw had been set up in 1955 and the committee of management was formed in 1959. In 1959 all grazing rights on the mountain were cancelled.

#### OUTPUT FROM STATE FORESTS: VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1979-80 (cubic metres)

Type	1934-35	1939-40	1944-45	1949-50	1954-55	1959-60	1964-65	1969-70	1974-75	1979-80
Logs for sawing, peeling, or slicing —										
Hardwoods	35,585	249,359	348,234	870,591	1,336,849	1,361,093	1,227,083	1,221,290	1,181,532	1,119,066
Softwoods	1,942	16,848	31,035	31,361	46,182	57,003	107,778	131,780	194,211	315,237
Pulpwood —										
Hardwoods	-	12,390	69,376	93,973	111,925	181,078	231,852	326,821	287,909	296,776



OUTPUT FROM STATE FORESTS: VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1979-80—*continued*  
(cubic metres)

Type	1934-35	1939-40	1944-45	1949-50	1954-55	1959-60	1964-65	1969-70	1974-75	1979-80
Softwoods	-	2,646	2,322	320	16,071	31,955	57,645	58,766	59,432	100,414
Firewood	404,279	502,579	961,093	1,248,858	500,232	372,712	393,297	253,272	129,972	92,944
Mining timbers	4,475	3,631	612	870	1,353	1,612	888	433	431	-
Other timber	86,129	50,297	46,800	92,018	125,248	125,447	119,218	94,101	81,636	56,816
Number of sawmills operating in Victoria	n.a.	327	332	615	636	521	441	314	278	245

Source: Forests Commission, Victoria.

### Since 1971

#### *Land-use policy*

In the 1970s, public interest was centred on the potential of undeveloped natural forests to provide some balance in the essentially urban lifestyle of most Victorians. The special interest of some groups in the preservation of forests for the joint conservation of flora and fauna, with a general but not so well defined public interest in the scenic and other natural qualities of forests for their value for recreation, brought about pressure for public participation in forest land-use decisions. The possible loss or deterioration of natural environments and use of forests for wood production in some areas became public issues.

Controversy following proposals to alienate public land for agricultural development in the Little Desert in 1969 led to the establishment of the Land Conservation Council in 1971 with the responsibility of making recommendations to the Victorian Government on the balanced use of public land in Victoria. The function of the Council has been to make detailed investigations of the basic resources of public lands and to receive submissions on land-use from private individuals, organisations, industry, and government departments. Proposed recommendations are formulated and made available for public comment before submission of the final recommendations to the Government through the Minister for Conservation. At 31 March 1981, the Land Conservation Council had prepared final recommendations for 70.8 per cent of the public land in Victoria and the majority of these recommendations had been accepted by the Victorian Government.

Victoria's forests are within relatively short distances of most centres of population and are readily accessible to the public. Forests attract many visitors because they accommodate a wide range of active and passive recreations. During the 1970s a system for managing the visual resources within State forests was introduced. Its aim has been to provide consistent recommendations for objectives and guidelines for minimising the visual impact of timber harvesting, road construction, recreation facilities, and other alterations to forest landscapes. Systematic visual resource inventory and assessment procedures are used for broadscale and project planning.

State forests have been mapped into nine landscape character types, and three scenic qualities, based on variety in landform, vegetation, and waterform, have been delineated within each type. Social factors have been determined by assessing the sensitivity of the public to what is seen. Three levels of public sensitivity to the visual resource have been mapped according to the classes and numbers of observers using an area or travelling in or near it.

A local inventory of features such as vegetation types, regeneration potential, slopes, aspect, and soils is made and then the broadscale landscape objectives are evaluated with other resources of the particular project area, such as timber and wildlife, to determine priorities for multiple use management that properly recognises non-material forest values.

As far as the material forestry values were concerned, regeneration of eucalypts became increasingly important. Sowing of completely logged coupes in alpine ash and mountain ash forests by hand and from aircraft, was calling for increasing quantities of prepared seed. In 1970-71 about 1,620 hectares of ash forest were sown, of which one-third was sown by hand, and in addition about 2,000 hectares of mixed species forests were sown aerially or by hand. To meet the demand for seed, and to accumulate a surplus to make up deficiencies after poor seeding years, new equipment and improved methods were introduced for collecting the eucalypt capsules and extracting the seeds. Whenever it was practicable the seed sown on an area of forest was collected there or in the neighbourhood to preserve genetic continuity in the tree crop.

By the end of the decade six to seven tonnes of eucalypt seed were collected each year by contractors and Forests Commission workers. The capsules were carted to one of several forest depots equipped for seed extraction and storage, and there tumbled in a revolving drum of fine mesh in which a blast of heated air dried the capsules, opening their valves and allowing the seed to fall to a collecting tray.

Substantial areas of mixed species, river red gum, and box-ironbark State forests were also regenerated each year by seed from natural or induced seedfalls. In 1979-80, some 7,500 hectares of these forests received fellings which promoted regeneration from natural seedfall, and seedfall was induced over another 3,900 hectares by the heat from burning logging slash, or by ringbarking or poisoning over-mature trees remaining after logging.

By 1973, the annual plantings of selected radiata pines in seed orchards, commenced in 1961, had built up 112 hectares of parent trees in three separate orchards to provide seed for genetically superior commercial plantations. The orchards yielded 625 kilograms of seed in 1974, and the average since has been about 500 kilograms, enough to raise the seedlings required for 4,000 hectares of new State plantations each year and the areas replanted after clear felling of mature crops. Studies of the natural variation of eucalypts, notably mountain ash, alpine ash, shining gum, and messmate stringybark, also received much attention from several research groups during the decade.

Timber harvesting in hardwood forests by the Forests Commission, which had been introduced after the fires in 1939, had become an established practice where sawmillers or pulpwood cutters could not operate in the ordinary way as forest licensees because of special marketing or silvicultural requirements. The main departmental operation was the integrated harvesting of mountain ash for sawmill and pulpwood lengths. Notably in east Gippsland, it was necessary to remove scattered old trees and to salvage whatever marketable timber could be cut from very defective unwanted trees to regenerate cut-over areas satisfactorily. For these operations the Commission usually engaged labour and equipment by contract, which enabled close control to be exercised of the work itself and also of the cost of bringing timber to the point of sale.

Metric measures for logs, pulpwood, firewood, and sawn timber were introduced in July 1974. The old Hoppus measure for round timber, which had its origins in England 250 years ago and was used widely in the British Commonwealth, was replaced by the cubic metre as the unit of timber measurement. The measures for pulpwood are cubic metre or tonne, and for firewood they are cubic metre of stack or tonne. Cubic metre replaced the superficial foot as the unit of sawn timber.

#### *New forest industries*

An objective of forestry has been to provide a flow of roundwood in a region sufficient to sustain integrated wood-using industries, that is, manufacturing plants having complementary demands upon the mixed yield of wood sizes and qualities from the forests. In the case of new commercial forests, such as pine plantations grouped into a production zone, the planners anticipate that the forest resource will attract large capital investments in forest industries which will generate regional development based on the long-term productivity of the land, as well as produce goods which otherwise would be imported. The opportunity to carry out first thinnings at an early age allows forest managers to maintain the vigour of the main crop, thus increasing its resistance to the Sirex wood wasp and to diseases, and enhancing the value of the sawlogs yielded by later thinnings and the final felling at maturity.

During the decade there was substantial restructuring of the sawmilling industries through amalgamations. Acquisitions by one company of softwood sawmills drawing logs from pine plantations in the Beechworth, Bright, and Myrtleford forest districts and the consolidation of milling at one site prepared the way for a fully integrated sawmill, pulp mill, and preservation treatment complex. The *Forests (Bowater-Scott Agreement) Act 1971* provided legislative authority for the supply of softwood pulpwood for the manufacture of paper pulp at Myrtleford. Long-term contractual marketing of small roundwood from the State pine forests in the Portland-Rennick plantation zone for conversion to particleboard at Portland was secured by the *Forests (Softwood Holding Agreement) Act 1975*. The establishment of a mill at Albury which began manufacturing paper pulp for newsprint in

1981 was negotiated late in the 1970s. This mill draws its supplies from the pine plantations in the Ovens and Upper Murray zones and in New South Wales.

Companies have been afforded financial opportunities to invest in forestry. The companies associated with established wood-using industries, and the co-operative forestry companies which have also established wood-using industries, own approximately half the plantations in the State. Only small areas have been established by other forms of company. Industrial plantations totalled 68,000 of the 77,400 hectares of private plantations in December 1978, over three-quarters of which had been planted since 1964. They are largely of radiata pine and are concentrated in Gippsland, the south-west regions, and the Otway Ranges.

FORESTRY, GROSS VALUE  
OF PRODUCTION:  
VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1979-80  
(\$'000)

Year	Gross value of production
1934-35	1,802
1939-40	2,949
1944-45	5,769
1949-50	12,318
1954-55	21,442
1959-60	37,174
1964-65	29,271
1969-70	30,010
1974-75	48,781
1979-80	66,747

*Farm forestry*

Tree planting assistance to landowners was extended in 1964 through the introduction by legislation of a Farm Forestry Loan Scheme. This scheme provides management and technical advice as well as long-term loans for commercial timber growing. Its main aims were to offer land-owners additional and diversified income from land which would otherwise be unproductive or only part-productive, and to increase substantially the timber reserves of the State. By 1982, the total agreements completed under this scheme were 339; the net loan commitment was \$1.4m; and the net area planted was 6,924 hectares.

More than 95 per cent of the plantations established were radiata pine. The remaining area had been planted with eucalypts, mainly mountain ash and blue gum, after the legislation was amended in 1975 to allow loans for plantations of trees other than softwood species.

In 1980, the Victorian Government initiated by legislation a tree growing assistance scheme through which farmers and graziers, municipal authorities, service clubs, schools, sporting clubs, and other groups could receive grants and other assistance to establish and maintain trees. The scheme has been designed to provide benefits to the wider community, including improvement of soil, water, and landscape values, and the extension of honey flora, wildlife habitats, shade, shelter, and places for recreation. The scheme was based on the premise that a combination of grants and technical advice would result in the establishment and rehabilitation of many trees, especially in countryside where tree decline had become serious.

*Pests*

The practice of monitoring phasmatid populations by egg counts, which began in 1967, continued to provide the basis for the restrained control programme of aerial spraying of insecticide. In 1971, there were heavy infestations of stands of mountain ash and alpine ash at 29 localities and nearly 7,500 hectares were sprayed. During the ensuing nine years, a total of just over 9,000 hectares at 65 locations were sprayed. Since the mid-1970s, phasmatid populations have remained at low levels in Victorian forests.

Although by 1980 the Sirex wood wasp was established wherever radiata pine was growing in Victoria, it had not caused a great deal of economic damage to timber crops,



Timber mill workers carried three fire victims eighteen kilometres through bush to the nearest road after the 1939 "Black Friday" bushfires near Moe.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*



Burned cars and destroyed buildings in the main street of Macedon — the aftermath of the "Ash Wednesday" bushfires of 1983.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*

Firefighters wait in battle formation at Pantmon Hills. Eight people were burned to death, hundreds of homes destroyed, and many towns evacuated as bushfires swept through the Dandenong and nearby ranges in January 1962.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*





Staff of the State Fish Hatchery at Snobs Creek net trout for liberation into Victoria's lakes and streams.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*

A leisurely picnic in the forests of the Dandenong Ranges near Melbourne.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*





Firefighters using a water tanker and hand tools to secure a fire edge.

*Forests Commission, Victoria*

New firefighting techniques are constantly tested and evaluated. Here, a Hercules aircraft fitted with a MAFFS (Modular Airborne Fire Fighting System) attacks a forest fire with chemical retardant.

*Forests Commission, Victoria*



A Bell 212 helicopter carrying a 1,900 litre bucket drops water on a fire in a mountain forest.

*Forests Commission, Victoria*



Loading sawmill logs cut from 50 year old mountain ash trees in State forest near Powelltown.

*Forests Commission, Victoria*

Commercial Danish seine fishing for school whiting off Lakes Entrance.

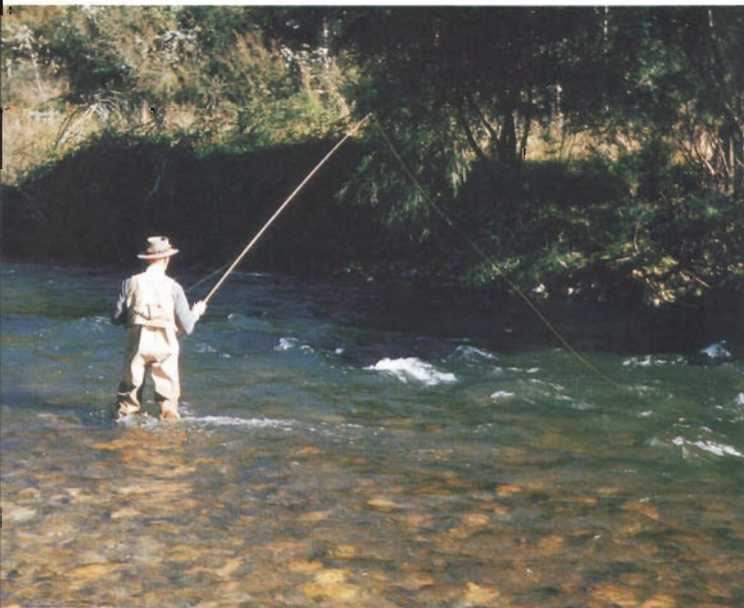
*Ministry for Conservation*





Twin circular saws about to make the first cuts through a messmate stringybark log at a small hardwood mill.

*Forests Commission, Victoria*



Re-stocking of rivers and lakes with trout and other fish has increased success and pleasure for many anglers.

*Ministry for Conservation*





Cape Schanck Coastal Park — view from Jubilee Point towards Sorrento.

*National Parks Service*

Organ Pipes National Park — school children studying the rock formations.

*National Parks Service*



except in some older unthinned plantations at Beechworth and Delatite. Infestations had been diminished by thinning susceptible plantations where practicable to increase the vigour and resistance of the trees, and by controlling *Sirex* populations with parasitoids, chiefly *Ibalia* wasps, and nematode parasites which sterilise female *sirex*. Nematodes had become a major agent of control since their first field releases in Victoria in 1973. Total funding of the national *Sirex* campaign by the Commonwealth and Victorian Governments and private plantation owners had exceeded \$4.5m and the extent of biological control of *Sirex* that had been achieved in Victoria was a notable achievement in forest protection.

#### *Mountain ash forests*

The 1939 fires greatly changed the pattern of use of Victoria's timber resources. Until that time most of the mountain ash timber was being cut in the forests of central and near-eastern Victoria, mainly between Toolangi and Erica. After the fire-killed timber had been salvaged most of the sawmillers moved to the Mansfield, Heyfield, and east Gippsland areas.

The re-growth mountain ash has reached a size and level of maturity which once again allows harvesting of logs from forests close to Melbourne to produce structural and appearance grades of fine hardwood timber. Barring another calamity it is predicted that the forests of 1939 re-growth will, if managed for log production, eventually sustain an output of seasoning quality timber at about the level supplied from mature mountain forests in the 1970s.

#### *Fire research*

Fire research by the Forests Commission covers fire behaviour, the use of fire in forest management, fire suppression, and the ecological effects of fire.

Improved knowledge of the conditions under which low intensity fire can be used to reduce hazardous accumulation of fuel in eucalypt forest, combined with refined techniques for igniting large areas, has established broad-area fuel reduction burning as a major element of forest protection. Procedures for fuel reduction burning, on a smaller scale, in softwood plantations have also been developed.

High intensity fires are often used in regenerating eucalypt forest following logging. The conditions under which such fires can be lit with safety while still achieving the desired intensity were derived from the results of systematic research. Remote ignition techniques, which have advantages on some forest sites in terms of both fire control and crew safety, have been similarly developed.

Probably the most important advances in fire suppression technology have been the introduction and continual refinement of methods of aerially applying long-term fire retardants. Fire bombing is a very effective suppression technique, particularly during the early stages of containing remote fires.

Extensive research into the effects of both prescribed and other fires on various elements of forest ecosystems is continuing. This work includes the effects of periodic or repeated low intensity burning on a wide range of vegetations and wildlife communities, the succession of vegetation and recolonising by wildlife after fires, and their effects on timber quality and its rate of growth.

#### *Fire detection*

The high and increasing costs of fire detection from towers and lookouts in the mountains led to a systematic assessment of the relative cost and effectiveness of using light aircraft patrols along regular flight lines, the number of patrols over an area depending on the fire danger index prevailing that day. The fixed system developed over 40 or so years is effective and reliable for detecting forest fires and fires in farmlands, but the area seen from even well-located towers is interrupted by many large blind spots and places where smoke must rise above intervening high ground before being observed. The value of regular aerial patrols, as a complement to detection from a reduced number of towers, was continually evaluated during the early 1980s.

*Fire suppression*

In 1982, further attention was given to reducing the time between detection of remote forest fires caused by lightning and the arrival of the first fire crew. In the 5 year period to 1981 nearly 30 per cent of fires in the forests of the eastern ranges were not fought within three hours of being reported, and 12 per cent of them not within twelve hours.

Helicopters had been used for forest firefighting in Victoria since 1967, and many helipads constructed for their use. Instead of travelling as far as practicable in four-wheel drive vehicles and then walking, often for many hours with tools and equipment, men could usually be set down fairly close to the fire, in a far shorter time. An added advantage of the helicopter was that inaccurate fire detection from a distant lookout could be overcome by direct observation from the air.

Hovering helicopters had been used in North America for several years to lower firefighters into forests from winches and by rappelling, a technique of lowering a man using a harness running down a rope at a rate he controls with a friction device. Although the commercial helicopters in Victoria in 1982 were not equipped for winching men they were suitable for rappelling. "Helitack" by rappelling offered a quick and versatile means of deploying firefighters for fast initial attack on fires, with an effective radius of operation of 160 kilometres in one hour from base.

All of the main lightning belt in the eastern ranges would be within 30 minutes flight from one base in the vicinity of, say, Mt Tamboritha. All the eastern ranges from Melbourne to Corryong and from Mansfield to Orbost would be within 160 kilometres of that fire attack base.

A crew of two to six men can often control a small lightning fire very quickly. Providing helicopters and maintaining trained rappellers throughout the fire danger season could greatly reduce the costs of suppressing large fires, quite apart from the damage fires cause and their potential threat to life and property. Accordingly, the Forests Commission undertook "helitack" trials using rappelling, with a view to adopting it as a standard practice in fire suppression.

*1982-83 fire season and "Ash Wednesday" fires*

Because of drought throughout most of Victoria, following the driest autumn and winter on record, the 1982-83 fire season was extremely hazardous during hot, windy weather. For the Country Fire Authority (CFA) it was the worst season since its establishment in 1944. Summer fire risk is very serious when the rainfall deficit compared to the average rainfall exceeds 30 per cent. Over most of Victoria the deficit exceeded 50 per cent, and in some cases it was 80 per cent.

In December and January, the largest fires were at Wyperfeld National Park (19,000 hectares destroyed), Greendale (2 Forests Commission employees died, 11 homes and 16,300 hectares destroyed), and Cann River (120,000 hectares destroyed).

On 1 February 1983, the first Macedon fire burnt over 6,000 hectares and destroyed 24 homes. February proved to be disastrous for Victoria with 11 major outbreaks which resulted in the deaths of 48 persons, 13 of whom were volunteer firefighters with the CFA.

"Ash Wednesday" (16 February 1983) was a day of extreme fire danger with temperatures exceeding 40°C in many parts of the State, relative humidities dropping to 10 per cent, and hot north winds reaching 70 kilometres per hour. Fire behaviour was too erratic for early control of the fires. Most of the fires spread rapidly southwards, then during the evening, a gale force south-westerly hit the main fire areas at velocities of up to 120 kilometres per hour, fanning the fires on wide fronts towards densely populated areas. The firefighting forces that were mobilised comprised 15,000 CFA volunteers, 1,200 Forests Commission personnel, 500 Defence Department personnel from all three Services, and forces provided by the National Parks Service, Fisheries and Wildlife Division, Department of Crown Lands and Survey, Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, Country Roads Board, State Electricity Commission, National Safety Council, Australian Paper Manufacturers and other forest products industries and contractors, local government, and all bodies forming part of the State Disaster organisation.

In addition to hundreds of tankers, trucks, and bulldozers, the equipment deployed included the Hercules aircraft firebomber; small agricultural aircraft as firebombers;

helicopters for observation, command, burning back operations, bucketing of water, and troop movements; and infra-red equipment in both a CSIRO Fokker Friendship aircraft and National Safety Council helicopter to plot firefronts through dense smoke.

All of the major fires were under control or nearly so by the evening of 21 February 1983 or the morning of 22 February 1983 when a severe lightning storm swept across the State causing a spate of lightning fires. It was necessary to immediately re-deploy the already tired firefighters.

Between 16 and 18 February, fires destroyed 1,761 houses and 82 commercial properties. They damaged 1,238 farms, burnt out 85,000 hectares of public land, and destroyed 5,900 kilometres of fencing. They killed some 7,000 cattle and 19,000 sheep. Losses exceeded \$200m, and operating costs incurred by State agencies in three days were \$5m. The following are statistics on the "Ash Wednesday" fires:

#### MAJOR "ASH WEDNESDAY" FIRES: VICTORIA, 16 TO 22 FEBRUARY 1983

Location	Area burnt (hectares)	Fatalities	Homes destroyed
Cudjee/Ballangeich	80,000	7	83
Otway Ranges Area	37,000	3	729
Moonlight Head	1,400	-	1
Macedon Ranges Area	20,000	8	399
Belgrave/Upper Beaconsfield	10,000	22	223
Cockatoo	2,000	7	300
Monivae (Buckley Swamp)	2,000	1	3
Warburton	40,000	-	23
<b>Total</b>	<b>192,400</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>1,761</b>

Source: Country Fire Authority.

A total of 93 fires was reported to CFA Headquarters on "Ash Wednesday", but only eight of these reached major proportions. The total area burnt was approximately 210,000 hectares.

## FISHERIES AND WILDLIFE

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### INTRODUCTION

The history of fish and wildlife conservation in Victoria may appear to be a catalogue of somewhat isolated and unrelated activities. Most of them are not initiated by governments but governments formalise them in response to community ideas and demands. The resource comprises hundreds of different kinds of animals, and their diversity presents a wide range of opportunities, ideals, and problems to different people.

Some people now regard animals as entities with inherent rights to be respected but there have been fluctuating demands to use fish, mammal skins, bird feathers, and game meat for commerce. Some want to use animals from the wild for sport hunting and angling. The animals are variously regarded as a tourist attraction, a cultural and aesthetic asset, a basic resource for advances in science, medicine, and technology, for education, or as essential components of natural systems. For farmers, some animals help to control insect pests, but others damage crops and pastures and should, themselves, be controlled.

Ideas regarding the proper conservation or wise use of the resource sometimes develop slowly with economic or social conditions; sometimes they are spontaneous reactions to events such as a major drought, a land development scheme or a sudden change in commercial markets.

The organisation now known as the Fisheries and Wildlife Division of the Ministry for Conservation has been in existence as a distinct entity for more than 75 years. Although the Division had slightly different names and was included in different Ministries, continuity of senior staff meant that recognisable policies and a distinct pattern of activities for the management of fish and wildlife has persisted in Victoria since the first decade of this century.

The Fisheries and Game Branch of the 1930s was the end-product of a conservation movement which began much earlier. The first fish and wildlife laws were passed by the Victorian Parliament in the middle of last century. In 1901, they were administered as a minor function of the Ports and Harbours Branch of the Public Works Department. In 1909, the public demand for the release of trout to improve fishing in Victorian lakes and streams, led to government financial support for the hatcheries operated by angling clubs and the building of the Branch's own hatchery at Studley Park in Melbourne. At the time, there was also considerable controversy over the timing and duration of the hunting seasons for ducks, quail, deer, and mutton birds.

This public interest led to the establishment of a Fisheries and Game Branch in the Department of Agriculture on 8 December 1909. The special functions of fish culture and game protection were designated for the new Branch. In 1913, control of the Branch passed to the Chief Secretary's Department, and in 1973, the Fisheries and Wildlife Department, as it was publicly known at that stage, became a Division in the newly formed Ministry for Conservation.

In 1934, the agency had a total staff of 10 and an annual budget of \$17,400. This hardly changed until after the Second World War, but in 1941 the first professional biologist A. Dunbavin Butcher, was appointed to the staff. He became the first Director in 1949. He developed the agency until 1973 when he became Deputy Permanent Head of the new Ministry for Conservation. By 1952, there was a staff of 40 and a budget of \$120,800. In 1982, the staff numbered 320 with a budget of \$10m.

## MANAGEMENT AND LEGISLATION

Since the first Fisheries and Game Acts last century, the objectives of the management of the two resources have differed. The management of fish has uniformly emphasised production, usually in terms of catch for commercial or sporting purposes. On the other hand, public interest in wildlife, although often utilitarian, has been much more diverse and controversial. The motivation and the objectives for the conservation of such diverse creatures as kangaroos, wild duck, possums, and lyrebirds differed so greatly that a consensus of public opinion about what should be done was usually lacking.

The legislation for conservation of fish and wildlife in Victoria has been mainly to control direct killing. Many other activities necessary to conserve the animals, such as preservation of the breeding and feeding habitat, have not been specified by law during most of the time. Consequently, law enforcement was the primary management tool used by the Branch in the period 1935 to 1960, as a direct response to public opinion about the serious decline in numbers of fish and wildlife. Close-seasons, bag-limits, restrictions on the methods or the areas which may be fished or hunted, and increases in the penalties for killing non-game species were all tried in a bewildering array of combinations. In the 1970s, there was a shift of emphasis away from law-enforcement, mainly toward habitat preservation, reflecting the increased public interest in environmental issues.

## PRESERVING THE HABITAT

From the outset of the foundation of the Fisheries and Game Branch, it was generally recognised that fish and wildlife habitat should be preserved. Loss of the natural bushland due to agriculture was patently obvious. Many prominent naturalists, who were also specimen collectors and bushmen, realised that fishing and shooting laws alone would not prevent the loss. It was a problem to find any other practical method for the conservation of fish and wildlife. Efforts to counter loss of wildlife led to the first extensive reservations specifically for the preservation of natural habitat, for example, at Wilsons Promontory and Wyperfeld.

During the next 50 years, the number of significant large areas which could be set aside from development was severely limited because of the competition with agriculture. Under the Game Act, it was relatively easy to declare "sanctuaries" in which hunting was prohibited during the open season. From 1920 to 1950, more than 350 such sanctuaries were proclaimed on freehold land or on public land managed by authorities with no official responsibility for wildlife. The owners were under no obligation to protect habitat and most did not.

In the 1930s, an overwhelming need for economic development of the land dominated community attitudes toward the preservation of fish and wildlife habitat. This continued through the next two decades. By the 1970s, a change in community attitudes made the acquisition of land specifically for wildlife purposes much easier. By 1980, more than 100 separate State Wildlife Reserves had been set aside. In these areas the primary purpose was conserving wildlife and its habitat and, in this, they differed from all other categories of land-use in Victoria. It was not until after the Second World War that the Fisheries and Game Branch built up the technical capacity to acquire and care for wildlife habitat. The mutton bird colony at Cape Woolamai was one of the first areas to be preserved and the same procedures were greatly developed in the 1960s for game management purposes. A comparable example of habitat management in marine fisheries was the use of artificial reefs. Early Victorian oyster farmers in fact used frames to provide additional habitat. In 1965, approximately 400 tonnes of concrete pipes were dumped in Port Phillip Bay near Carrum to encourage the growth of marine organisms, and during the 1970s old ship hulks and specially designed reefs were used for the same purpose. In 1979, the first Marine Reserve was established near the entrance to Port Phillip Bay for the protection and management of the marine environment.

## PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN CONSERVATION

Many of the practical activities of the agency have been a direct response to public requests. A strong incentive exists in the community for individuals to be personally involved in practical projects for the husbandry of fish and wildlife. Sometimes, the

Victorian Government has responded to these community initiatives by providing a service even before the scientific implications or justification had been defined or fully understood. The enthusiasm of those who became involved ensured that several of these initiatives would develop into long-term projects of considerable importance to wildlife conservation. Two examples of this community motivation can be outlined: the stocking of streams to improve angling, and the banding of ducks.

Since 1909, close to 46 million trout have been raised in hatcheries throughout Victoria and liberated into lakes and streams to satisfy public demand. Almost 10 million were liberated before 1940, mostly from hatcheries operated by angling clubs. For more than 50 years, Victorian anglers put thousands of man-hours per year into catching brood trout from the wild, stripping and fertilising the eggs, raising the young fish, and transporting fry and yearlings in twelve-gallon milk cans throughout the State. Long train journeys, or packing the cans on horseback were necessary to get the fish to the very remote streams in the early days. More than 633,000 brown and rainbow trout were distributed in 1935. After the Snobs Creek Hatchery reached full production in 1958, the potential output was well over 2 million per year.

**NUMBER OF FISH RELEASED FROM SNOBS CREEK  
FRESHWATER HATCHERY INTO VICTORIAN WATERS:  
1955 TO 1981**

Year	Type of fish		
	Brown trout	Rainbow trout	Salmon
1955	199,332	292,035	29,755
1960	406,604	383,205	—
1965	527,873	1,008,586	—
1970	416,611	728,760	3,558
1975	411,136	449,771	—
1980	408,513	172,546	110,311
1981	435,098	227,664	52,301

Source: Fisheries and Wildlife Division, Ministry for Conservation.

In the 1920s, angling clubs were given official encouragement for their efforts to enhance fishing in their own districts. The Traralgon Club moved Macquarie Perch across the Great Dividing Range to the La Trobe River and in the 1930s the Horsham Club released Murray Cod into Taylors Lake. Without modern equipment these were technically difficult and arduous undertakings.

In earlier days there was little formal experience on which to judge the suitability of streams for stocking or assess the survival of fish after release or the impact they might have on the natural fauna. How many of those millions of fish actually provided better angling will never be known but the more important result was the personal involvement of so many anglers in practical work which was intended to improve their resources. This was of immeasurable value because it provided an essential basis of community support on which the Branch was able to develop later projects.

During the game management programme from 1953 to 1963, almost 100,000 wild duck were trapped and banded to find the cause of the large fluctuations in this important game population from year to year. By mapping the band recoveries across the Australian continent, a picture was built up of their movements in and out of the State and the measures necessary to safeguard the population and to improve hunting.

But, from the point of view of a government agency serving the public, the most important result was the direct communication opened between the Branch and the hunters, a large section of the public with a very significant traditional use of wildlife. By returning bands found on wild ducks, many thousands of hunters participated with the Branch in a large-scale community programme to preserve a game species and its habitat. During each duck season for more than ten years, as many as 3,000 duck shooters per year wrote to the Branch giving their experiences. This provided a level of support for a wildlife management programme not previously seen. It precipitated the request for a Game

Licence, the proceeds of which were to be used by the Victorian Government in a State Game Development Programme aimed at breeding up the wild duck populations in a series of game reserves managed by the Fisheries and Wildlife Division.

NUMBERS OF GAME LICENCES AND GAME STAMPS  
ISSUED ANNUALLY: VICTORIA, 1958-59 TO 1980-81

Year ended 30 June—	Number of licences (a)	Game Stamps (b)		
		Duck	Quail	Deer
1959	34,863	..	..	..
1960	20,816	..	..	..
1961	32,445	..	..	..
1962	18,295	..	..	..
1963	18,152	..	..	..
1964	30,744	..	..	..
1965	41,147	..	..	..
1966	29,289	..	..	..
1967	31,979	..	..	..
1968	16,344	..	..	..
1969	34,809	..	..	..
1970	36,480	..	..	..
1971	33,947	..	..	..
1972	35,359	..	..	..
1973	..	29,639	6,241	529
1974	..	36,516	5,516	617
1975	..	50,003	10,813	796
1976	..	49,888	11,790	1,034
1977	..	52,188	11,472	1,234
1978	..	47,934	8,242	1,359
1979	..	56,532	9,972	1,093
1980	..	56,149	12,510	2,106
1981	..	53,428	10,031	2,238

(a) The Game Licence Fee was increased from \$2 to \$3 in 1970. Licences were replaced by Game Stamps in 1973.

(b) Game Stamps were introduced in 1973 — Duck \$3, Quail \$2, Deer \$10.  
Source: Fisheries and Wildlife Division, Ministry for Conservation

DEVELOPMENTS IN FISHERIES AND WILDLIFE

From 1934 to 1943

In the early 1930s, the Victorian Piscatorial Council and the Gun Clubs Association asked the Victorian Government to consider a system of licences which would provide finance for research and development. A Trout Licence was introduced in 1933. At that time at least ten trout hatcheries were being operated by angling clubs, notably Ballarat, Geelong, Narbethong, Traralgon, Bright, and Warburton. In 1937, a number of amateur fishermen formed the Victorian Freshwater Fisheries Research Committee to promote more effectively the idea that without better biological knowledge simply to liberate more fish into streams was not a sure way to improve angling.

Wildlife conservation in the 1930s centred on two main issues—the timing and length of the hunting seasons, and the need to educate the public about the unique features of the Australian birds and mammals.

At this time, the only legal native game species were ducks, quail, snipe, and bronze wing pigeons. It was apparent to most observers that the ducks had declined in numbers in the past 30 years. The remedy favoured by non-hunters was to prohibit shooting entirely. The sportsmen in the game protection societies advocated protecting game during the breeding season when it needed it most and limiting the harvest to the surplus. Restrictions included prohibition of the marketing of game, banning of punt-guns, restrictions on the size and type of gun, daily bag-limits, and shortening of the season from 18 weeks to 10 weeks.

Many persons attributed the decline in game birds to progress in agriculture, spread of settlement, and the great increase in the number of motor cars and improved roads which



made the remote shooting areas more accessible to hunters. It was observed that the great increase in the rabbit and the laying of poison for its destruction had caused the deaths of much fauna, both game and non-game, such as pigeons, broilgas, and bustards. Other factors considered important were the fox; the domestic cat, both tame and feral; the alienation of river frontages and the destruction of trees on the banks; some forms of destructive mining; the snagging of logs from the streams; agistment of stocks on Crown land reserves, and the consequent burning of forests and grasslands; and the use of modern firearms, decoys, traps, bird-lime, snares, and poisons. The main activities of the Branch were policing the close seasons for possums, ducks, and quail; seeing that protected species were not killed; creating more sanctuaries; and tightening of the law against trespass.

An integral part of this approach was the education of the young against the killing of birds and mammals, and particularly against hunting. Mass media techniques were used for the first time on behalf of wildlife: still and movie photography, radio broadcasts of voice recordings, and special articles in the newspapers and periodicals using the growing popularity of nature writers.

By the mid-1930s, the number of koalas in Victoria appeared to have declined seriously but some had been introduced to the islands of Western Port Bay early in the century and had flourished there to the extent that they were now overbrowsing the food trees. Great public concern was aroused by the press, and between 1935 and 1981 Fisheries and Wildlife Officers removed about 8,000 koalas from the islands and relocated them in about 65 localities within their former range where they were safely re-established. World wide interest was created by the operation which turned out to be one of the most successful of its kind yet undertaken.

#### KOALA TRANSLOCATIONS BY THE FISHERIES AND WILDLIFE DIVISION: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1981

Period	Number of koalas			
	Captured	Released	Held captive	Exported
1935-1939	68	57	11	—
1940-1944	2,483	2,477	4	2
1945-1949	798	778	16	4
1950-1954	1,069	1,060	9	—
1955-1959	1,049	1,020	29	—
1960-1964	261	261	—	—
1965-1969	214	191	—	23
1970-1974	484	462	14	8
1975-1979	1,025	989	—	36
1980-1981	380	369	—	11
Total	7,831	7,664	83	84

Source: Fisheries and Wildlife Division, Ministry for Conservation.

Under the Victorian Government's wartime powers commercial fisheries became a protected industry and ultimately benefited from the re-organisation needed to increase food production. Problems such as spoilage of fish during transport and production of oil from shark liver received special attention. Although the number of professional fishermen decreased, fish production reached its peak in 1944.

#### From 1944 to 1953

##### *Background*

The post-war years were characterised by technical development of facilities for the conservation of fish and wildlife. In 1945, a laboratory was established at 605 Flinders Street Extension, Melbourne, devoted to a technical assessment of the biological problems. One of the first problems to be investigated was the declining bream fishery of the Gippsland Lakes.

The efficient hatching and rearing of trout, which had formed such a large part of the voluntary effort contributed by angling clubs, was a major area of conservation to benefit from the application of scientific methods and government funds. In 1947, a site containing 51 hectares at Snobs Creek, was selected for a large government hatchery. The first ponds were installed by 1949. Over the next 20 years, the operation of this hatchery transformed trout culture. Technical solutions were found for problems which had restricted hatching and rearing success for more than 70 years. The first success was a greatly improved survival of eggs and young. The carrying capacity of the ponds and water raceways was greatly increased. Better food supplies were organised for improved nutrition and more economic supply in larger quantities. The older methods of transporting fish for release in remote parts of Victoria, based on the use of twelve-gallon milk cans holding 50 fish per can and 100 cans per train, were replaced by aerated containers holding thousands of fish in a fraction of the space previously needed.

The later stages of the technology of "fish culture", which had its beginnings at Studley Park in 1909, are to be seen in commercial fish-farming of the 1980s. Using a pure strain of rainbow trout and the methods developed at Snobs Creek, some 14 commercial trout farms produced about 475 tonnes for the market in 1980.

The change to a professional and technical department commenced in February 1949. This was followed by the appointment of additional graduate biologists to study particular problems in fish and wildlife conservation. The initial fields of study chosen between 1947 and 1953 were marine fisheries, native fish, trout, non-game fauna, hatchery science, and game management. The following sections describe topics which assumed importance in the period between 1944 and 1953.

#### *Marine fisheries*

A biological investigation of the cause of the depletion of the off-shore fisheries commenced in February 1947, with particular reference to flathead, snapper, and whiting.

#### *Native fish*

The freshwater fisheries were virtually the realm of the amateur angler, and native fish anglers outnumbered trout anglers four to one. Native fish species included Murray cod, Macquarie perch, callop or golden perch, blackfish, and bass. A survey of the fisheries resources of the Murray River and its tributaries was the next major project, commencing in 1948.

#### *Trout*

In February 1951, a biologist was appointed in charge of the Snobs Creek hatchery and Freshwater Research Station, and another in December 1952, to investigate trout food. The work expanded at Snobs Creek, so that by 1954, a full-time manager was necessary, and by 1958, a research officer to study fish diseases was appointed.

#### *Non-game fauna*

The need for increased protection of native fauna, based on a knowledge of their life histories and habitat requirements, prompted the appointment of a fauna biologist in March 1949. A second faunal problem recognised at that time was the need to rationalise the issue of permits to kill native fauna causing damage to agricultural properties, and, in April 1958, a research officer was appointed to study the particular problems of kangaroo damage.

#### *Game birds*

Because of public demand, there was a need to manage the open seasons on ducks, quail, and snipe and to improve hunting opportunities. A waterfowl research project commenced in 1953. The game biologist compiled detailed reports on duck shooting and duck swamps and formulated the game management programme of the Branch throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

### *Law enforcement*

The post-war years saw the expansion of the law enforcement activities of the Fisheries and Game Branch. Eight additional inspectors were appointed in 1947 and 1948, the first significant increase in strength since the early 1930s. In particular, the new inspectors were stationed in country districts, living in the communities with which they were to work. By 1949, there were 19 inspectors, 13 of whom were in country stations. The first Fisheries and Game Inspectors Conference was held in Melbourne in 1950.

### **From 1954 to 1963**

The keynote for the activities of the Fisheries and Game Branch during the 1950s was the development of public awareness concerning the conservation of fish and wildlife. The aim of this public awareness was to clarify the principle that the resource was the property of the State and that the Branch was responsible for its husbandry on behalf of the people. It was to be preserved, protected, and managed. It should only be taken or used under such conditions as would provide continued supplies.

To put this policy into action, work tools were required: law enforcement, hatcheries, a duck banding project, habitat surveys, and wildlife population censuses. Occasionally direct manipulation of animal numbers was required, as in trout liberations or translocation of koalas.

It became an integral part of the Branch's conservation programme to gain public understanding and support. This was done most successfully with respect to the anglers in the post-war years, with the hunters from 1955-56, and with the environmentally conscious public in the 1960s and 1970s. The principal media used were personal lectures by officers and exhibitions or open day demonstrations. This was not an attempt to gain public acquiescence in a technical decision but a conscious effort to involve the community in a co-operative process of conserving its own natural resources. The process could only succeed through an exchange of information and ideas, and public participation. An Information Officer was appointed in July 1957 to co-ordinate this approach. By December, *Fur, Feathers and Fins* first appeared as a staff newsletter but quickly won a much wider following, disseminating the Branch's ideas for the next fifteen years.

The Branch fostered in the 1950s and 1960s the upsurge in public interest in participatory movements which became so important in political and economic debate by the late 1960s. From 1957 to 1962, the Branch actively supported and assisted the formation of public-interest groups, ranging in scope from hunter/conservation societies, such as the Field and Game Association, to wildlife management co-operatives, such as Para Park and amateur research groups such as the Victorian Ornithological Research Group and the Mammal Survey Group. These societies fulfilled a most important role in the history of fish and wildlife conservation in Victoria.

In May 1960, the title of Fisheries and Game Branch, first conferred in 1909, was changed to Fisheries and Wildlife and the "platypus" emblem was adopted. Among the major activities of the Branch at this time, law enforcement was the one with the most direct contact with the public. The Fisheries and Game Inspector was re-named the Fisheries and Wildlife Officer, the person who established direct contact with the public.

The Fisheries and Wildlife Officer was instructed to obtain the respect of the public as well as of the courts. He was directed to protect the rights of the people to share in the harvest as well as prosecute the violators of the laws. To do this effectively, he spent as much time explaining conservation in meetings, as he did in detection work. The Branch did not measure him by the number of convictions but by the contribution made to the overall programme for the public understanding of the work of the Branch. One side-effect of this approach, characteristic of the 1950s and 1960s, was the marked change in attitudes between the Branch and the fishermen and hunters. Instead of regarding this sector of the public as the "cause" of the decline in the resource, to be restricted, caught and prosecuted, the Branch instructed its officers to meet with the fishing and hunting organisations, to work out conservation solutions together.

By the mid-1950s, the direction of the fish and wildlife research activities crystallised into identifiable programmes, largely concerned with satisfying the predominant public demands.

Marine fisheries research concentrated on certain local fishing industry problems, for example, alleged shortages of snapper, flathead, and whiting in Port Phillip Bay, with some attention to Corner Inlet and Western Port. The research was primarily concerned with population assessment and management of the catch but environmental pollution, in the form of oil spillage, was early on the list of factors implicated. The biologists responsible for the native fish investigated the status of Murray cod and callop. They studied feeding and breeding habits, with the ultimate object of recommending changes in the fishing regulations and developing hatchery techniques suited to these species.

At the Snobs Creek Hatchery and Freshwater Research Station, the new technology for fish culture was responsible for a great increase in the number of trout available for liberation. The total number of fry and yearlings produced at the Station rose from about 60,000 in 1952 to 600,000 in 1955 and 1.5 million in 1958. Three Californian raceway fish-rearing ponds were built in 1956, each 40 metres long. These were modelled on the cross-section of a fast moving stream and were far more efficient in carrying large numbers of fish per unit volume than were the type of ponds previously used.

News about game bird seasons, hunting success, and scarcity of game dominated the newspaper coverage about wildlife during the 1950s. A duck-banding programme had commenced in 1952 at "Serendip" near Lara, as part of the assessment of the game shortage. By the mid-1950s, 20,000 ducks had been banded and thousands of these were recovered throughout the continent. More than 3,000 hunters per season returned bands at the height of this activity.

For 50 years after the first major reserves at Wilsons Promontory and Wyperfeld were established, there had been no effective system for preserving wildlife habitat in Victoria. A total of 350 sanctuaries, covering about 600,000 hectares had been proclaimed under the Game Act. But the majority of these were used for agriculture which took no account of the needs of wildlife. The regulations gave no protection to wildlife habitat, and the law was used purely to restrict hunting during the open season.

A review of sanctuaries conducted in 1955, highlighted the need to find another method of preserving wildlife by protecting habitat. A survey of the Crown land swamps was carried out to complement the banding project. The main finding was that although a large number of the good duck swamps were publicly owned, virtually all were leased for agriculture, most were heavily grazed by cattle or sheep and the vast majority had severely deteriorated because of "river improvement" and drainage works funded by the Victorian Government for agricultural development. Meetings were held by the hunters throughout Victoria between 1956 and 1958. The Field and Game Association was formed in 1958, to obtain effective co-operation with the Fisheries and Game Branch in a programme for the management of wild ducks and their habitat. The proposal was that a chain of game reserves be established along the flight paths of the ducks. These would be managed by the Fisheries and Game Branch as shooting areas for the public during the normal open duck season and feeding or breeding areas during the closed season. Moreover, the hunters requested that a Game Licence costing \$2 be levied on all duck-shooters to pay for the work. When this began in February 1959, almost \$70,000 was available for game management, ten times the amount allocated in the previous year for this work.

Game Management Officers were employed and equipment purchased for the work of preparing the ground for game production, in particular, the planting of food and cover for waterfowl. The Branch purchased the grazing property, "Serendip", in December 1959 to develop the lake and the surrounding paddocks as a management area for ducks. The whole farm was to become a demonstration of how it was possible to grow wildlife on farmland.

In 1959, the Premier of Victoria established the State Wildlife Reserves Investigation Committee to advise the Victorian Government on what land was needed for wildlife conservation and how it might be reserved. By 1965, some 30 State Wildlife Reserves amounting to more than 40,400 hectares, were reserved under the Lands Act. Regulations were proclaimed giving the Fisheries and Wildlife Branch the power to control public-use and to protect and manage wildlife habitat as a land-use authority on a system of special purpose reserves throughout Victoria. The significance of this development went far beyond the importance of the particular Game Reserves, such as Tower Hill and Jack Smith Lake; the Game Refuges, such as Sale Common; or the State Faunal Reserves, such as Quail

Island for koalas and Wathe Faunal Reserve for mallee fowl. The practical experience gained by the State Wildlife Reserves Investigation Committee in more than 10 years of assessing public need and recommending on the reservation of land for wildlife purposes, significantly contributed toward the establishment of the Land Conservation Council in 1970.

With regard to non-game fauna, the dominant area of concern was complaints of damage by water rats, cormorants, kangaroos, wallabies, and black swans. Possum complaints were numerous in the suburbs. The standard method of containing the problem was to issue permits to kill the offending wildlife. Although the Branch consistently advocated a controlled open season to allow a regular harvest of water rat and possum skins for commercial purposes, this was against the tide of public sentiment for full protection of wildlife. The numbers actually being taken under the permit systems were high (permits for killing almost 20,000 water rats were issued in 1953), but the licensed open seasons caused so much controversy that they were not repeated.

Following the 1952 Parliamentary Public Works Inquiry into the salinity of the Gippsland Lakes a biologist was appointed in 1956 to follow up earlier investigations by the Branch to establish the causes of the decline of fisheries due to changed ecological conditions in the Lakes.

### From 1964 to 1973

The 1960s saw a large expansion in the staff and funds of the Branch concerned with the preservation and management of wildlife habitat. The first Game Management Officers to be posted to State Wildlife Reserves were in residence at the Serendip Wildlife Research Station and at the Tower Hill State Game Reserve by October 1964. One of their priority tasks was the building up of the numbers of the rare species which once had been relatively common in parts of Victoria. Special expeditions were undertaken to capture specimens for breeding nuclei in captive flocks to be bred in parts of their former range. One hundred and thirteen magpie geese, 25 bustards, 45 Cape Barren geese, and 15 broilgas were obtained, many of them from other States. Breeding colonies were established at the Serendip Wildlife Research Station in order to study the requirements of these birds under the developed conditions on Victorian farmland. Breeding was very successful and within a few years there were more geese flying free in this part of Victoria than had been recorded for the whole of the State for the previous 80 years.

A special game management project, called the Para Park Co-operative, was formed in 1966 between a group of hunters and the Victorian Government in order to protect an island on the Gippsland coast. Sunday Island was private land within the boundaries of the Nooramunga State Wildlife Reserve. The management of para or hog deer in the only known colony outside its native range in Asia, was the chief purpose for the project. The special feature of this unusual arrangement was the personal involvement of hunters and their families in a practical project for the conservation of all wildlife on the island.

A growing emphasis towards studies of the total environment stimulated the commencement of the Port Phillip Bay Study in 1968. This programme, undertaken by the new Marine Pollution Studies Group, in co-operation with the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works and the universities, aimed at establishing the environmental *status quo* of Port Phillip Bay, so that the effect of the proposed discharge of effluents into the Bay could be assessed. Similar studies on Western Port Bay, the Gippsland Lakes, and other regions were carried out from 1973. The most significant aspect of these multi-disciplinary environmental studies was the acceptance that the land mass in the respective catchments was an integral part of the study area.

One highlight of the early 1960s was the establishment and development of a major scallop fishery in Port Phillip Bay. For almost 12 months after the establishment of the fishery in September 1963, the catch continued at a high level, but soon dropped markedly and a continued decline was predicted when the ecology and economics of the fishery were investigated. A basis for forecasting natural fluctuations in the fishery was established.

The serious side effects of pesticides on fish and wildlife came to the attention of the Branch in 1954 when the poison 1080, used to control rabbits, was found to also destroy native wildlife. The continued concern of the Branch, expressed in numerous lectures and journal articles, was instrumental in the establishment of an investigating group in 1962

and the appointment by the Victorian Cabinet, in September 1964 of the Committee of Inquiry into the Effects of Pesticides. It was the task of the Committee to define which pesticide chemicals were dangerous, to report on their toxic effects, and to examine what controls were needed in their use. The report of the Committee was presented to the Victorian Government in 1966. The Environmental Studies Group, established in 1965, was expanded to monitor pollutant levels in fish and wildlife and their habitat.

In the mid-1960s, a number of significant surveys of the fish and wildlife resources commenced. In 1965, a benthic survey of Western Port Bay was undertaken to determine the effects of industrial development on the marine environment. In 1967, a study of the seal population at Phillip Island was commenced.

In 1967 and 1968, amendments were made to the Fisheries Act to include substantial increases in licence fees to provide for the better management of particular fisheries. For example, a Master Fisherman's Licence was introduced, covering such species as scallops, crayfish, and abalone. The money derived from these fees, initially about \$100,000, was paid into a Trust Fund to be used for fisheries research, education, and extension development. In the first instance, staff were appointed to work on abalone and crayfish. Other matters covered in the new legislation included the control of noxious fish, fish culture in public waters, and a limited entry policy for certain fisheries. The Minister could refuse the issue of a commercial fishing licence on the grounds of the welfare of the industry. The legislation was further amended in 1975 and provided for the direct participation of fishermen in the management of their own industry through representation on the Fisheries Management Committee, the Commercial Fisheries Licensing Panel, and the Licensing Appeals Tribunal.

Mercury contamination in certain species of fish caused severe restrictions to be imposed on the sale of school shark during 1972. Diversification of the fisheries was undertaken to find alternative work for the fishermen whose livelihood was severely cut. The shark research project and the exploratory fishing project led to the discovery of major stocks of Gem fish, Blue Grenadier, Trevally, Spotted Ling, and Dory on the continental shelf off Portland. The development of this fishery required a change from the traditional Danish seine techniques to the use of otter board trawling. The Fisheries and Wildlife Division subsequently also became involved in the assessment of the Bass Strait squid fishery from 1978 onwards.

An important development in conservation research came with the opening of the Arthur Rylah Institute for Environmental Research at Heidelberg in April 1970. The main objectives of the Institute were to provide basic information about the environment: what it consists of, what is found in it, and what changes it. Such information is essential to plan the proper use of Victoria's natural resources.

A shooters' licence, with Game Stamps for the hunting of ducks, quail, and deer, was introduced in 1973. Revenue from the new hunting licence system contributed to the Wildlife Management Fund established in 1972 for wildlife conservation projects.

## From 1974 to 1982

### *Background*

In the 1970s, with increased awareness of environmental problems in the general community there was a call for "environmental impact statements" before implementation of major projects. This led to a number of studies being let by the Fisheries and Wildlife Division on contract to scientists in Australian and overseas universities, or specialist consultants. On the other hand the Division was able to undertake surveys and investigations on behalf of other government agencies and semi-government authorities who were responding to community concern or new legislative requirements and including environmental issues among their other planning constraints.

By the mid-1970s, the Division comprised the senior executive staff with its central administrative support plus five technical sections which will be described in sequence: Wildlife Research, Field Operations, Marine Fisheries, Freshwater Fisheries, and Environmental Studies.

*Wildlife Research Section*

Traditionally each scientist in the Wildlife Research Section had studied a few species, usually of some economic significance, but in 1975 three wildlife research units were set up. One unit would map the distribution of all vertebrate species in Victoria and relate this to their broad habitat needs; one would study the ecology of the wetland and coastal fauna (especially birds); and one would study the ecology of fauna in harvested forests. This would enable the Division to make better recommendations for the management of wildlife in areas where rapid changes were expected to occur. However, with the general financial constraints of the late 1970s, the restructuring of the Division in 1981, and more insistence on applied research, there was a return to studies of endangered species and those of economic importance.

The Wildlife Management Section was responsible for planning such activities as game hunting seasons, the translocation of koalas, and the re-establishment or protection of habitat for several species which had declined seriously, such as the helmeted honeyeater, mallee-fowl, and brolga. It also carried out general conservative maintenance on the State Wildlife Reserves which by 1980 numbered more than 100 and comprised some 100,000 hectares.

The restructuring of the Division in 1981 saw Wildlife Management and Field Operations combined into a new Field Management Branch.

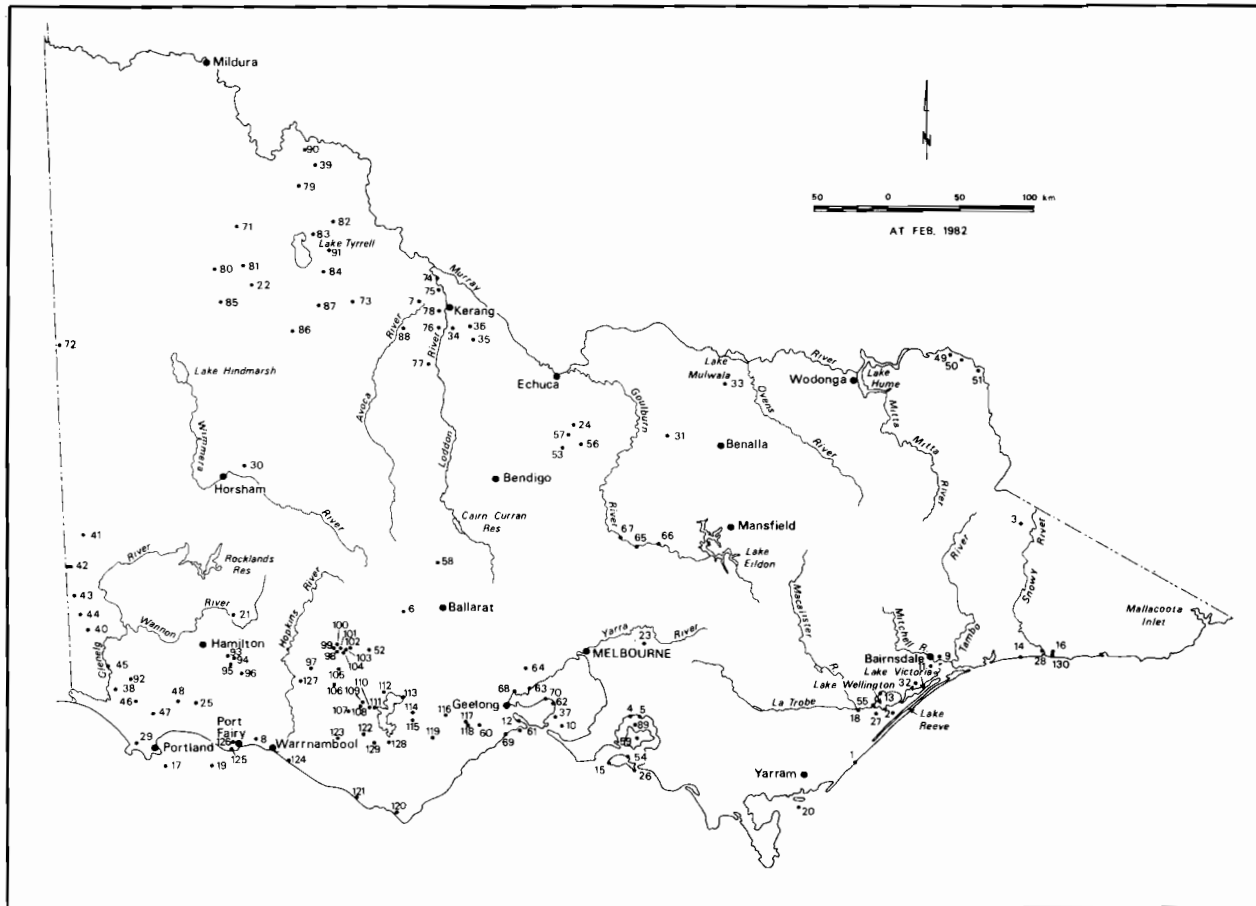


FIGURE 21. Victoria—State wildlife reserves, 1982. (Names of reserves are shown in the table on pages 336-7.)



## STATE WILDLIFE RESERVES: VICTORIA, AT 1982 (a)

Number (b)	Reserve	Location	Main species or feature	Area hectares
* 1	Jack Smith Lake	Woodside	Waterbirds	6,870
* 2	Lake Coleman	Sale	Waterbirds	1,996
3	Rocky Range	Bruthen	Rock wallabies	4,453
4	Quail Island	Warneet	General wildlife	810
5	Chinaman Island	Warneet	General wildlife	61
* 6	Lake Goldsmith	Beaufort	Waterbirds	879
* 7	Koorangie	Kerang	Waterbirds	2,840
* 8	Tower Hill	Koroit	Waterbirds	609
* 9	Jones Bay	Bairnsdale	Waterbirds	111
10	Mud Island	Sorrento	Seabirds and waders	56
* 11	Macleod Morass	Bairnsdale	Waterbirds	516
* 12	Lake Connewarre	Geelong	Waterbirds	3,256
* 13	Clydebank Morass	Sale	Waterbirds	637
* 14	Ewing Morass	Orbost	Waterbirds	7,300
15	Seal Rocks	Phillip Island	Seals and seabirds	3
* 16	Lake Curlip	Orbost	Waterbirds	950
17	Lawrence Rocks	Portland	Gannets and other seabirds	8
18	Sale Common	Sale	Waterbirds	308
19	Lady Julia Percy Island	Off Port Fairy	Seals and seabirds	134
20	Nooramunga	Corner Inlet	General wildlife and deer	9,996
* 21	Bryan Swamp	Dunkeld	Waterbirds	648
22	Wathe	Lascelles	Mallee fowl	5,763
23	Yellingbo	Yellingbo	Helmeted honeyeater	300
* 24	Mansfield Swamp	Stanhope	Waterbirds	110
25	The Stones	Macarthur	General wildlife	6,218
26	Cape Woolamai	Phillip Island	Muttonbirds	308
* 27	Dowd Morass	Sale	Waterbirds	1,501
* 28	Lake Corringale	Orbost	Waterbirds	800
29	Bat Ridges	Portland	Bats and general wildlife	324
* 30	Darlot Swamp	Horsham	Waterbirds	271
* 31	Morphett Swamp	Benalla	Waterbirds	22
* 32	Blond Bay	Bairnsdale	Waterbirds	735
* 33	Dowdle Swamp	Yarrawonga	Waterbirds	291
34	Tragowel Swamp	Kerang	Waterbirds	279
* 35	Hird Swamp	Kerang	Waterbirds	350
* 36	Johnson Swamp	Kerang	Waterbirds	467
37	Edward Point and Duck Island	St Leonards	Seabirds and waders	250
38	Burgess Swamp	Dartmoor	Waterbirds	52
39	Wandown	Annuello	Mallee fowl	1,591
* 40	Church Swamp	Casterton	Waterbirds	71
* 41	Benlugh Swamp	Casterton	Waterbirds	215
* 42	Tooley-Lake Mundi	Casterton	General wildlife and waterbirds	4,012
43	Kaladbro Swamp	Casterton	Waterbirds	126
* 44	Kerr Swamp	Casterton	Waterbirds	228
* 45	Red Hill Swamp	Dartmoor	Waterbirds	53
* 46	Lake Crawford	Dartmoor	Waterbirds	115
* 47	Lake Sinclair	Heywood	Waterbirds	22
* 48	Lake Condah	Macarthur	Waterbirds	230
49	Clarke Lagoon	Corryong	Waterbirds	7
50	Jeremal	Corryong	Waterbirds	65
51	Tintaldra	Corryong	Waterbirds	58
52	Mt Fyans	Dundonnell	General wildlife	45
* 53	Gaynor Swamp	Rushworth	Waterbirds	362
54	Rhyll Inlet	Phillip Island	Waterbirds and waders	32
* 55	Heart Morass	Sale	Waterbirds	298
* 56	Two Tree Swamp	Stanhope	Waterbirds	168
* 57	Wallenjoe Swamp	Stanhope	Waterbirds	266
* 58	Merin Merin Swamp	Clunes	Waterbirds	317
59	French Island (c)	Western Port Bay	General wildlife	8,149
* 60	Brown Swamp	Winchelsea	Waterbirds	37
61	Lonsdale Lakes	Pt Lonsdale	Waterbirds	150
62	Salt Lagoon	St Leonards	Waterbirds and waders	24
63	The Spit	Pt Wilson	Orange bellied parrot and waders	300
* 64	Freshwater Swamp	Little River	Waterbirds	8
65	Homewood Swamp	Yea	Waterbirds	30
66	Molesworth Swamp	Molesworth	Waterbirds	30
67	Horseshoe Lagoon	Yea	Waterbirds	43
68	Limeburners Lagoon	Corio	Waterbirds and waders	30

## STATE WILDLIFE RESERVES: VICTORIA, AT 1982 (a)—continued

Number (b)	Reserve	Location	Main species or feature	Area
69	Breamlea	Breamlea	Waterbirds	120
70	Point Richard	Portarlington	Short-nosed bandicoot	50
71	Bronzewing	Ouyen	Mallee fowl	11,200
72	Red Bluff	Kaniva	General wildlife	9,800
* 73	Lake Lalbert	Culgoa	Waterbirds	750
* 74	Dartagook	Lake Charm	Waterbirds	450
* 75	Stevenson Swamp	Lake Charm	Waterbirds	90
* 76	Lake Murphy	Kerang	Waterbirds	230
* 77	Lake Yando	Boort	Waterbirds	90
* 78	Wandella Forest	Kerang	Waterbirds	1,060
79	Bolton	Manangatang	General wildlife	200
80	Patchewollock	Patchewollock	General wildlife	230
81	Turriff	Speed	General wildlife	250
82	Towan Plain	Chinkapook	General wildlife	820
83	Chillingollah	Chillingollah	General wildlife	243
* 84	Waitchie	Ultima	Waterbirds	100
85	Cambacanya	Hopetoun	General wildlife	95
* 86	Lake Marlbed	Birchip	Waterbirds	230
87	Wangie	Lalbert	General wildlife	220
* 88	Lake Gilmour	Quambatook	Waterbirds	50
89	Western Port	Western Port Bay	General wildlife and marine fauna	1,650
* 90	Lake Powell and Carpul	Robinvale	Waterbirds	680
91	Lake Timboram	Waitchie	Waterbirds	2,060
* 92	Peiracle Swamp	Strathdownie	Waterbirds	130
** 93	Lake Kennedy	Hamilton	Waterbirds	230
* 94	Krause Swamp	Hamilton	Waterbirds	20
* 95	Tabor Swamp	Penshurst	Waterbirds	57
* 96	Yatmerone Swamp	Penshurst	Waterbirds	11
97	Lake Eyang	Woorndoo	Waterbirds	107
98	Lake Oundell	Streatham	Waterbirds	78
** 99	Nerrin Nerrin	Streatham	Waterbirds	288
** 100	Lake Jolicum	Streatham	Waterbirds	77
* 101	Lake Kornong	Streatham	Waterbirds	14
102	Blue Lake	Streatham	Waterbirds	38
103	Pink Lake	Streatham	Waterbirds	44
104	Salt Lake	Streatham	Waterbirds	88
* 105	Lake Terrinallum	Dundonnell	Waterbirds	174
* 106	Lake Bernie Buloke	Darlington	Waterbirds	40
* 107	Lake Bookar	Camperdown	Waterbirds	473
108	Round Lake	Camperdown	Waterbirds	74
109	Melingal Lake	Camperdown	Waterbirds	125
110	Kooraweera Lakes	Leslie Manor	Waterbirds	345
111	Lake Terangpom	Colac	Waterbirds	213
* 112	Lake Struan	Foxhow	Waterbirds	51
113	Lake Rosine	Cressy	Waterbirds	175
114	Lake Cundare	Colac	Waterbirds	395
115	Lake Beeac	Colac	Waterbirds	647
* 116	Lake Murdeduke	Winchelsea	Waterbirds	1,500
* 117	Lake Dubban	Winchelsea	Waterbirds	15
* 118	Lake Gherang Gherang	Winchelsea	Waterbirds	97
* 119	Lake Ayrey	Colac	Waterbirds	19
* 120	Aire River	Glenaire	Waterbirds	170
* 121	Princetown	Princetown	Waterbirds	73
122	Lake Purrumbete	Camperdown	Waterbirds and amateur fishery	570
** 123	Cabrico Swamp	Cobden	Waterbirds	13
124	Lake Gillear	Warrnambool	Waterbirds	20
125	Lake Aringa	Port Fairy	Waterbirds	22
126	Goose Lagoon	Port Fairy	Waterbirds	10
127	Cobra Killuc	Hexham	Native grasses and general wildlife	450
128	Stoney Rises	Stonyford	General wildlife and flora	13
129	Floating Islands	Stonyford	Natural phenomenon	85
130	Brodribb River	Marlo	Cabbage fan palm and fauna	44

(a) Managed by the Fisheries and Wildlife Division, Ministry for Conservation.

(b) The location of reserves is shown in Figure 21 on page 335.

(c) State Park.

\* Reserves open to duck hunting during the open season.

\*\* Reserves under review to open to duck hunting in season, but presently closed to such hunting.

Balance of reserves closed to hunting at all times.

Source: Fisheries and Wildlife Division, Ministry for Conservation.

### *Field Operations Section*

The Field Operations Section was involved in maintaining the daily contact with the outdoor public and enforcing the provisions of the Fisheries and Wildlife Act and the Federal fisheries laws and regulations. Since 1975, the staff has increased from 30 to 54 and in 1978 the Section was reorganised to include six regional offices.

### *Marine Fisheries Section*

The major marine fisheries research programmes undertaken since the 1940s have been on commercially important fish species, namely, bream, snapper, King George whiting, abalone, and scallops. From 1970 research was carried out in assessment of commercial fish stocks, fisheries development, recreational fishing, fish quality studies, and consumer attitude studies. Assessment of commercial fish stocks involved the expansion in June 1978 of the catch collection system started in 1911, and the commencement of a number of biological programmes such as the study of growth and reproductive rates, migration studies, and abalone, scallop, and rock lobster surveys after 1972. Until 1976, the Fisheries activities of the Division were divided into the Freshwater Fisheries and the Marine Fisheries. In March 1976, a Commercial Fisheries Section was formed and although it was concerned principally with management and licensing of fisheries it also included the Marine Fisheries Research Station at Queenscliff.

In 1979, legislation established a Victorian Fisheries Industry Council representing various aspects of the fishing industry. It aimed to promote, obtain, and secure markets for Victorian fish, advise industry and government, and meet the educational requirements of the industry.

### *Freshwater Fisheries Section*

The freshwater fisheries of Victoria are of two main types: the commercial fisheries producing food for the market, and sport or recreational fishing. The commercial fisheries include the eel fishery with an average annual catch of 200 tonnes, the carp fishery averaging 50 tonnes per year, and trout farms producing 150-200 tonnes per month. Providing fish for sport and recreation has in the past been largely based on the introduced species, brown and rainbow trout, European perch, and the chinook salmon.

The first carp were illegally released in Victoria about 1960. In May 1962, emergency legislation was passed declaring the species noxious, giving the Fisheries and Wildlife Branch power to destroy the fish in private dams. In a large-scale effort to destroy the carp before they had a chance to breed, at least 1,300 dams were treated with poison. Carp had already been released illegally in public waters connected to the stream systems in the La Trobe Valley and other rivers tributary to the Gippsland Lakes. In the mid-1960s, carp were found in the Murray River. By early 1974, they had spread up the Murray River to the Yarrowonga Weir, the Avoca River further than Charlton, the Loddon River as far as Cairn Curran Reservoir, the Campaspe River as far as Elmore, and the Goulburn River as far as the Goulburn Weir.

Early attempts to eradicate the introduced carp failed and another major project was commenced in the late 1970s to study the effects of this species on natural systems and to learn how to make the best of a bad situation.

For many years the introduced redfin or English perch had not been stocked in parts of Gippsland where this species did not already occur. The same applied to trout in East Gippsland. Murray cod, golden perch, catfish, and others, were not stocked south of the Great Dividing Range. The Wonnangatta and Barwon Rivers were declared blackfish streams, while others in Gippsland were reserved for the grayling.

In 1970, the minimum size and bag-limits on trout, which had been used for more than 50 years to restrict the catch, were abolished and a much more rational basis was devised for selecting streams to be restocked with hatchery bred trout. In the latter half of the 1970s the surveying and assessment of trout waters and fish survival was greatly accelerated by the appointment of a full-time specialist group to refine further the guidelines for a selective stocking policy.

In some waters the introduced fish fail to survive or fail to grow, or the fish already in the streams can supply the anglers' needs adequately by natural breeding. In some places

the trout had undoubtedly contributed to the decline of valuable native species. It was wasteful to continue to release trout into many Victorian streams. On the other hand, the level of stocking in some highly productive waters could be increased with great advantage. The total number of waters stocked fell from 250 to 100 and the number of fish released from 1.5 to 0.5 million but on the other hand the total weight of fish released more than doubled, the larger fish having much better prospects of survival.

For almost 50 years, chinook or quinnat salmon were regularly imported into Victoria from America and New Zealand and released into special waters such as Lake Bullen Merri. After import was banned in 1966, methods of rearing and breeding chinook were developed at the Snobs Creek Hatchery. This is the only institution which has succeeded in rearing this species under hatchery conditions. Since 1976, there have been regular releases of yearlings raised from the domestic brood stock in the Camperdown area. Improved fishing resulted with as many as 5,000 anglers being recorded at an opening on one 600 hectare lake. The catch rate was about 2 fish per angler on opening weekend, with up to 16,000 salmon being taken in the season. The growth rate of the salmon in Lake Bullen Merri approached that of the salmon in the Pacific Ocean, with three year old fish weighing as much as 10.5 kilograms only 20 months after release as 20 gram fish.

As demands for water increased and more reservoirs were built in the 1970s, streams could not be reduced beyond a certain level without losing many natural values, including their fish. The minimum stream flow study was designed to give the information needed by planners and engineers to provide for the protection of these values in their plans to use water from the rivers.

In 1979, the Freshwater Fisheries Section employed 57 persons, and was responsible for conservation and management of the 52 species of fish which occurred in 40,000 kilometres of river and 180,000 hectares of lakes in Victoria. Some 600,000 persons fished each year in the inland waters. Victorian Government expenditure on freshwater fishing was \$2.5m, of which \$500,000 was raised by the sale of licences. This expenditure supported the operation of the trout hatchery at Snobs Creek, in addition to research and management on species such as blackfish, carp, eels, estuary perch, Macquarie perch, trout cod, and Murray cod.

Native fish evolved in streams which frequently flooded in winter but became sluggish and warm in summer. Reservoirs change the patterns of flow. Removal of trees alter the structure and stability of stream banks and beds. The turbidity and oxygenation of the water changes and its chemistry is changed by agricultural chemicals and effluents from towns and industry.

In the face of such changes native fish populations have declined significantly during the last 50 years, with respect to both the range of most species and their abundance. Macquarie perch and trout cod were widespread throughout the tributaries of the Murray River early this century. Now these fish are rarely encountered by the angler. Murray cod, golden perch, and catfish have also declined although their status is less precarious. In the early 1980s, more studies were being conducted into the nature of these changes and ways of conserving native fish in some waters.

Lake Charlegrark, in western Victoria, supports a breeding population of Murray cod, which was first established in the early 1950s by the Fisheries and Game Branch. In 1976, a pilot project was started for the intensive rearing of juvenile cod in captivity using small fish produced by natural breeding in the lake. An additional aim was to develop a practical method of inducing Murray cod to spawn in captivity. In 1980, a similar project for trout cod and Macquarie perch commenced at Seven Creeks near Strathbogie.

#### *Environmental Studies Section*

The move away from the traditional biological research on individual animal species towards the overall assessment of the environment was featured in the work of the Environmental Studies Section in the 1970s. The major projects carried out by the Section this decade included assessing the effects of industrial waste discharges such as the Loy Yang outfall toxicity study and biocides study; and determining the effect of new chemicals on native mammals. Other activities of the Section were investigations into the use of molluscs as indicators of aquatic contamination, the cause of eutrophication of Lake

Burrumbeet near Ballarat, the cause of egg-shell thinning in certain bird species, and monitoring of pesticides in areas of intensive farming.

### COMMERCIAL FISHERIES

Commercial fishing in Victoria prior to the Second World War was a small industry employing traditional methods of fishing and centred around Victoria's bays and estuaries. Fishing in ocean waters was an inshore fishery exploiting a limited number of species such as rock lobster, barracouta, and shark. The involvement of the Fisheries and Game Branch with the commercial fishing industry was minimal and largely restricted to the licensing of fishermen, the collection of basic information on fish production, and the enforcement of fisheries regulations mainly at the port of landing.

The shark fishery which commenced during the late 1920s gradually developed during the 1930s and received encouragement when the liver oil from sharks was extracted to produce Vitamins A and D. As the outbreak of war threatened to cut Australia's supplies of cod liver oil, a firm in Melbourne began to extract shark liver oil in 1939. By the end of the war five firms were engaged in this trade.

The rock lobster fishing fleet which was largely based at Queenscliff during the early 1900s gradually moved west and east as more productive grounds were opened up off western Victoria and around the islands in Bass Strait.

A bream study in the Gippsland Lakes was a significant step in fisheries research in Victoria because for the first time it was clearly demonstrated that a decline in the abundance of a species was due to modification of the environment.

During the early 1940s, the fishery for Australian salmon developed as canneries were built and wartime needs for canned foodstuffs grew. Salmon were generally caught on their migratory movements along ocean beaches and the shoals of fish were spotted from vantage points on dunes and cliff tops. The later use of spotting planes added a great deal to the efficiency of the industry and salmon became one of the nation's important fisheries.

After the war many returned servicemen took advantage of post-war rehabilitation courses in fishing and later moved into the fishing industry. Prior to the war fishing had been a cottage industry handed on within families. The influx of new men into the industry after the war prepared the way for the rapid development of the industry that took place during the 1950s and 1960s.

In 1952, a number of Danish seine trawlers from Eden in New South Wales moved to Lakes Entrance and landed encouraging catches of trawl flathead and other commercial species. The extensive trawling grounds adjacent to Lakes Entrance attracted other fishermen to the port and within the space of a few years an important trawling industry was firmly established and Lakes Entrance became a major fishing port in the State.

The 1960s and 1970s saw significant developments in the fishing industry with exploitation of new fish resources, the introduction of new fishing methods, and a general improvement in the standard of fishing boats and equipment used. In response to developments in the industry additional fishing enforcement staff were deployed at coastal locations to service the needs of the industry and to protect the resource by policing fisheries regulations.

In 1963, a scallop fishery commenced in Port Phillip Bay as a result of information provided from a survey of the marine resources of the Bay conducted by the Fisheries and Game Branch. By 1964, over 200 boats were dredging for scallops in the Bay and Victoria had become the largest scallop producing State in the Commonwealth. In 1964, a number of divers commenced harvesting abalone for sale and rapid developments in the export of the product resulted in abalone becoming Victoria's second most important fishery.

Developments in fishing gear technology saw the introduction of monofilament nets into the shark fishery which greatly increased production in that area, and the development of a purse seine fishery at Lakes Entrance. Each year abundant shoals of anchovies and pilchards occur in the inshore coastal waters of East Gippsland and the introduction of purse seine fishing allowed this resource to be harvested commercially. The catch from the purse seine boats was processed in a fish meal plant constructed on Bullock Island at Lakes Entrance and produced high quality fish meal which is used as an additive to stock food.

In 1968, a new Fisheries Act was introduced which required that consideration be given to the welfare of the fishery and the persons engaged in the industry when issuing

commercial fishing licences. This allowed the concept of limited entry fisheries to be introduced in those fisheries where the resource was under threat from over-exploitation or where the welfare of the persons engaged in the industry was jeopardised by factors such as over-production. The Act also established a number of advisory committees which, for the first time, gave fishermen a say in the management of their industry.

In 1979, the Victorian Fishing Industry Council Act was passed which established a Fishing Industry Council to promote and develop Victorian fish and fisheries, educate persons involved in the fishing industry, and to advise the Victorian Government on matters affecting the industry. Four years later legislation was proclaimed which created a legal and administrative structure, the objective of which was to rationalise the role of the Commonwealth and the States in managing Australia's fisheries.

LICENCES ISSUED UNDER THE FISHERIES ACT:  
VICTORIA, 1968 TO 1981-82 (a)

Type of licence	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82
Abalone	164	99	107	105	103	100	100	100	100	100	99	89	89	91
Bait	9	13	12	20	32	37	38	36	35	38	33	44	48	55
Barracouta	1	1	—	1	8	11	21	24	39	44	43	6	—	—
Crayfish	154	163	178	178	183	181	189	195	204	202	202	202	202	202
Shark	—	—	—	9	5	7	6	2	2	(b)	—	—	—	—
Trawl	—	—	1	6	5	36	27	19	19	22	—	—	—	—
Processor	—	—	18	40	38	42	52	42	56	62	63	66	62	76
Scallop	169	112	123	111	130	118	114	117	124	117	117	116	116	116
Master fishermen	863	773	753	738	824	861	844	878	913	1,038	1,094	1,132	1,153	1,104

(a) Years 1968 to 1976 are calendar years, and thereafter years ended April.

(b) Not issued.

Note. A computer-based licensing system was introduced on 1 April 1977. From that time, all licences fell due on 1 April of each year. Trawl licences were issued in 1977-78 only to fishermen involved in the prawn fishery.

Source: Fisheries and Wildlife Division, Ministry for Conservation.

## AGRICULTURE

## INTRODUCTION

The history of agriculture in Victoria since 1934 is a record of the interaction between farmers and their families with the forces of nature on the one hand, and the pursuit of better land utilisation through technical inventions and refinements on the other.

Agriculture in Victoria has been and continues to be diverse and many faceted. It has ranged from small holdings on which dairying or horticulture such as fruit growing or vegetable production have been carried out, to large properties, mainly devoted to sheep and cattle but, at times, combined with cereals. The type of enterprise is related to geographical location as well as to the size of holdings. In general, the dairying, horticultural, fruit growing, and vegetable industries are located in the higher rainfall districts of the State in Gippsland and the Western District. The exceptions to this are the irrigated areas north of the Great Dividing Range. Cropping and extensive grazing on the other hand are located mainly in the Wimmera and Mallee and to a lesser extent in the non-irrigated areas in the north and north-east of the State and the drier parts of the Western District and East Gippsland.

## NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS WITH AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY AND LAND UTILISATION: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year ended 31 March—	Number of establishments with agricultural activity	Area (hectares) utilised for—				Total area occupied (inc. balance) (c)
		Crops (a)	Fallow	Sown pasture (b)	Native pasture	
1935	74,473	1,892,993	896,972	772,725	10,333,184	15,726,573
1940	72,557	2,024,386	962,103	1,400,291	10,199,641	16,451,791
1945	70,856	1,744,258	685,577	1,458,503	10,714,862	16,523,436
1950	70,486	1,813,075	983,342	3,164,716	6,884,458	15,516,599
1955	69,551	1,778,373	888,768	3,300,277	7,340,946	15,302,631
1960	69,778	1,814,109	882,323	3,939,242	6,639,784	15,271,445
1965	69,737	2,031,313	1,005,411	6,001,327	5,045,500	15,315,073
1970	69,498	2,175,096	706,230	8,159,815	3,785,727	15,806,004
1975	62,926	1,775,306	(d)	6,978,276	2,639,361	15,226,176
1980	49,616	2,246,656	(d)	6,224,275	2,880,678	14,735,140
1981	49,399	2,183,811	(d)	6,194,508	2,615,994	14,665,830
1982	48,608	2,184,048	(d)	6,007,165	2,651,256	14,447,376

(a) Commencing with season 1960-61 the area of pasture cut for hay or seed has been excluded from the area of crops.

(b) Includes oats, barley, and lucerne sown for grazing.

(c) Native pasture included in balance of holding.

(d) Information not collected.

NOTE. In recent years, in order to minimise respondent burden and reduce processing costs, the ABS has been gradually excluding from the statistics those establishments which make only a small contribution to overall agricultural production. Since 1976-77, establishments with agricultural activity have been included in the census where the enterprise operating one or more of the establishments had, or was expected to have, an Estimated Value of Agricultural Operations (EVAO) of \$1,500 or more. In 1981-82 the EVAO criterion was increased to \$2,500 in order to allow for inflation. While these changes have resulted in some changes in the counts of numbers of establishments appearing in the publications, the effect on the statistics of production of major commodities is small. Statistics of minor commodities normally associated with small-scale operations may be affected to a greater extent.

In 1981, in terms of value Victoria produced 24 per cent of Australia's agricultural production, 20 per cent of wool, 23 per cent of beef, 21 per cent of cereals, and 21 per cent of the nation's total agricultural exports. It thus forms a very significant segment in

national agricultural output, which contributed 7 per cent to Gross Domestic Product in 1981. The percentage of the labour force engaged in agriculture fell from 14 per cent in the mid-1930s to 5 per cent in 1981.

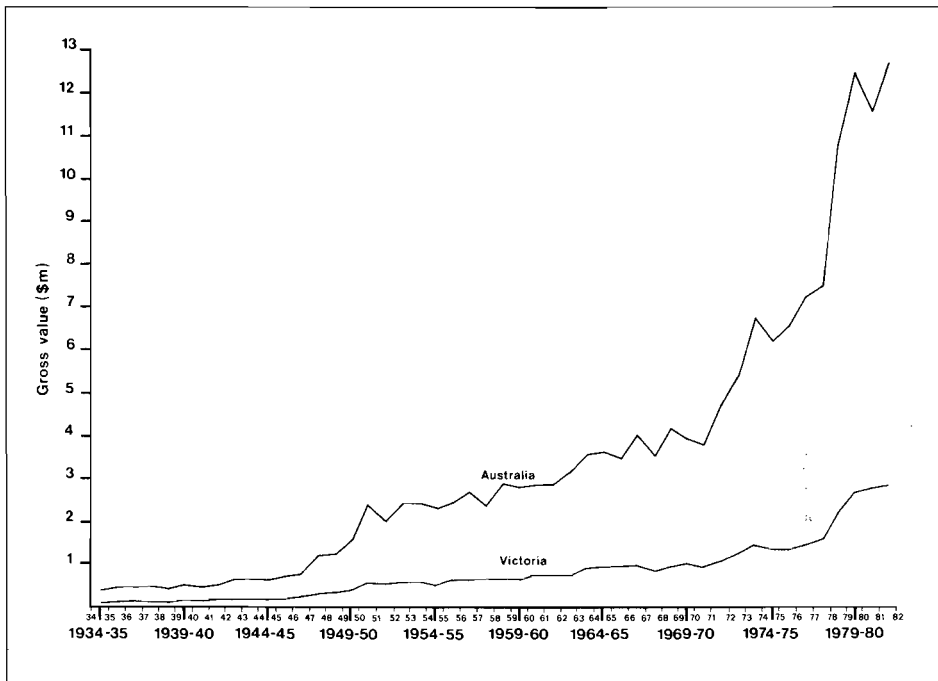


FIGURE 22. Australia and Victoria—Gross value of agricultural commodities produced (excluding mining), 1934-35 to 1981-82.

### 1934 TO 1939: RECOVERY FROM THE DEPRESSION

Victoria's farming community in 1934 had no electricity (though it was on the way), few wirelesses and telephones, and few sealed roads. Motorised transport was a luxury enjoyed by a few, holidays a rarity for many. Education was largely restricted to primary level. Few farm houses had refrigeration, and cooking was done on woodburning stoves. Home-made bread and salted meat were kept in crocks; in the hot months, a "Coolgardie safe" kept fresh food wholesome, and there was a continuing contest with house flies which were swatted or trapped on sticky brown paper coils hanging from ceilings or lamp shades.

On bath nights, in the country no less than in the city, water was heated in the wash-house "copper" or in a woodchip heater positioned over the tub. Flat irons and perhaps mangles were the main aids in the laundry.

Farm families were large: children helped with the farm work and, often barefoot, walked or rode a pony to school. Most farmers' sons who married found their wives within the neighbourhood; yet no wives were to be found for some, and many a farm family had its "bachelor brothers", who were often itinerant workers, heavy drinkers, and masters of five or six dogs apiece which they used to catch rabbits for pocket money or meat for the table.

Across the countryside, men carrying swags and seeking work symbolised the hard times brought by the economic depression, whose effects were still being felt. Prices paid for farm products were depressed because of world economic conditions. Only the moratorium on repayment of debts, imposed by the government in 1932 and the Farmers' Debts Adjustment Act in 1935, which extended credit allowed by local tradespeople, saved many farmers from walking off their farms (which some had to do on marginal land). The



moratorium had, however, a negative side. It transferred hardship to creditors and others, cut across the ideas of responsibility held by some rural people, and created bitterness in the agriculture community. There was a very serious loss of morale among the farming population, and many farmers turned to the government for help.

In the 1930s, the problem of erosion became evident because farming methods in many districts were ruining the land. City dwellers were occasionally reminded of the reality of wind erosion when a dust storm swept down from the north and "red rain" fell on Melbourne. Many wheatgrowing blocks in the Mallee were too small (below 350 hectares per farm) for economic survival and this necessitated the indiscriminate clearing of natural growth, the thoughtless cultivation of sandy areas, and intensive cropping under a fallow-wheat or fallow-wheat-oats rotation.

In other areas of Victoria where the ground was not protected by sufficient grass or forest litter, water erosion washed the finer topsoil off hillsides and cut deep gullies. This was a particular problem on hilly areas around Melbourne and in many parts of the Great Dividing Range.

Irrigation of pastures and crops increased enormously in the period and this eventually produced salting of some land, which was already taking place around Kerang as early as the 1920s. Excessive percolation losses from irrigation water led to a rise in watertables. Salt deposited in the subsoil during the retreat of the inland sea in ancient times went back into solution as the watertables rose. The salty water reached the root zone, evaporated at the bare surface and decimated large areas. Salting was a problem that persisted into the 1980s. Others, such as drought and fires, occurred intermittently. For farmers, the improvement in economic conditions towards the end of the 1930s was partly offset by erratic and dry seasons, some parts of the State experiencing drought during most of 1937 and 1938. Rabbits, another major problem for farmers across the State, bred rapidly in good seasons and ravaged pastures in poor seasons. Disastrous fires in 1939, 1944, 1969, 1977, and 1983 took a heavy toll of human life, livestock, homes, buildings, fences, and fodder.

LAND UNDER IRRIGATED CULTURE: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982  
(hectares)

Year ended 31 March—	Cereals	Lucerne grown for pasture and hay	Sorghum and other annual fodders	Pasture			Vineyards	Orchards	Market gardens	Other	Total
				Native	Annual	Perennial					
1935	25,586	38,729	10,362	..	89,226	..	..	27,098	..	2,724	193,725
1940	13,438	30,171	5,879	..	125,657	..	..	29,530	..	4,914	209,588
1945	25,472	26,016	13,891	..	166,333	..	..	33,913	..	3,577	269,201
1950	14,287	24,320	3,198	31,768	75,049	76,647	..	37,650	..	5,101	268,020
1955	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	..	n.a.	..	n.a.	n.a.
1960	10,694	16,875	5,618	29,680	154,636	158,699	17,716	16,030	8,348	7,749	426,046
1965	3,257	17,126	5,713	20,724	179,368	196,125	19,335	18,107	10,880	10,560	481,194
1970	9,167	21,160	7,008	19,479	213,277	228,889	19,242	16,089	10,895	16,908	562,114
1975	3,643	14,546	12,653	13,895	217,240	252,350	23,892	17,199	13,133	17,647	586,199
1980	19,329	8,515	2,823	14,006	211,431	230,477	22,620	15,433	17,843	26,171	568,648
1981	31,581	8,276	3,627	8,901	213,714	229,689	22,707	15,975	18,622	24,027	577,119
1982	20,485	7,818	8,217	8,239	217,776	232,731	22,996	16,005	19,332	22,572	576,171

Source: State Rivers and Water Supply Commission.

Despite the bad times, agriculture made many important advances. The gradual extension of electricity supply to country towns and adjacent areas, as economic conditions eased in the mid-1930s, began the start of improvement of production and handling methods in some industries and, of course, improvement of living conditions in farm homes. The electrification of Victoria's country areas during the last 50 years was one of the most important social and economic developments in agriculture. The widespread adoption of "wireless" radio receivers and the establishment of country radio stations put country people in closer touch with world events.

The horse-drawn single-furrow plough was a common sight on small farms while large teams of "Clydesdale" draught horses provided the power on larger properties. But the steel-wheeled tractor was ending the era of horse power. Mechanisation of farming was imminent.

### Livestock

The spread of the Wimmera-Mallee channel system greatly eased stock water problems, allowed expansion of stock numbers, and made home life easier for those in the areas serviced.

Many farmers made major efforts to raise the carrying capacity of their pastures by the use of superphosphate and subterranean clover. By the 1930s, there was a great deal of interest shown in pasture improvement, though mainly in the Gippsland dairying districts and irrigation areas. The use of superphosphate spread rapidly, helped by a government subsidy. Pasture improvement in sheep districts was, however, rare before 1946, except near Hamilton and Caramut, and in the north-east. Grazing properties varied greatly in size and extensive areas were still occupied by very large properties developed as "squatter's runs" in the nineteenth century. Most sheep pastures were still in the "native" state and were only able to support a quarter of the grazing stock numbers of today. Research by the Department of Agriculture and the Victorian Pasture Improvement League, which had been formed in 1932, determined the fertilisers and pasture species suited to particular soils and areas. Pastures in varying districts were found to respond to potash, but little was applied until the late 1940s.

The Australian Wool Board was established in 1936 and compulsory levies on wool rates paid by growers were introduced to finance research and promotion. The principal reasons behind its establishment were the Depression which sent wool prices plummeting and hence drastically reduced Australia's export earnings, suspicions by growers that traders were not always acting in the growers' interest, and potential competition for the wool industry from the development of wool substitutes.

The number of milking cows reached a record high level of 2.1 million in 1935-36. Most farmers ran a few "house" cows, relying heavily on the monthly cream cheque to make ends meet until seasonal returns from wool, lambs, or crops came in. More than half the dairy farms in Victoria milked from five to nineteen cows. On these small dairy farms the work was long, hard, and unremunerative. The women and children helped with the hand milking, separating, cleaning out the sheds and the dairy, and sometimes with the other jobs common to the dairy farm such as the care of the pigs, the harrowing of pastures, and gardening.

However, mechanisation was starting to appear on dairy farms. With the installation of the milking machine a dairy farmer could look after twice the number of cows that he could when they were milked by hand and with more ease, thereby increasing his profitability and standard of life.

A Milk Board was established in 1934 to register and supervise private milk contracts (for city milk) made between farmers and vendors, and a voluntary scheme of equalising export and domestic market returns from butter and cheese was introduced to help stabilise returns to dairy farmers. The Department of Agriculture also established a Division of Dairying in 1934 to serve the industry and a School of Dairy Technology in 1939 to train dairy factory operatives and undertake research into dairy manufacturing.

The livestock industries were stimulated in 1930 by the expansion of refrigerated facilities that enabled frozen meat and dairy produce to be more readily shipped overseas. Also, under the Ottawa Agreement of 1932, export markets for all primary products were assisted through Great Britain granting "Imperial Preference" to imports from Empire countries.

Poultry production was generally still in the backyard or sideline stage. Pigs were kept as disposers of waste products, though grain, when it was cheap, was fed to them.

However, with the development of power and technology the poultry industry was greatly stimulated by the development of electric forced draught incubators, which allowed mass production of chicks and enabled the industry to expand on larger farms. Other developments brought about significant changes in the industry. Artificial lighting was introduced for layers in 1937. The use of cod liver oils (vitamin A) removed the need for greenfeed, which had made production seasonal. Fully enclosed deep litter housing systems were developed, stockfeed companies produced ready mixed feeds, and chicksexing techniques were introduced from Japan. The Victorian Egg Marketing Board was established in 1937 to regulate the marketing arrangements. In the period unemployed and under-employed persons moved into the industry, settling into low cost, makeshift farms around Melbourne (for example, Springvale), and large country towns.

## Crops

Wheat was sold by open trading through merchants or grower co-operatives. World markets were over-supplied and the price of wheat in 1934 was about eleven dollars per tonne. A Royal Commission on the Wheat, Flour, and Bread Industries (1934 to 1939) recommended measures to overcome the economic crisis. However, little immediate headway was made with proposals for centralised marketing control and a home consumption price plan.

The Grain Elevators Board was established in 1936 to provide facilities for the receipt of wheat in bulk from farms and delivery into ships without the use of wheat bags. Construction of elevators (silos) at country sidings and a shipping terminal at Geelong was begun.

Important findings started to emerge from the Department of Agriculture's research programme. Wheat breeders, G.S. Gordon and A.R. Raw, working at the State Research Farm, Werribee, produced several high yielding varieties—Ghurka, Quadrat, Insignia, Olympic—that became the leading wheats sown in Victoria in their day. The importance of clover-ley farming for improving soil nitrogen and soil structure and for increasing the yield and quality of wheat was first demonstrated in experimental plots at the Rutherglen Research Station in 1937-38. This rotation system of subterranean clover and crops revolutionised agriculture in the wheat/sheep belt of southern Australia in the 1950s.

Wheat yields were improved by discovery and correction of a zinc deficiency in the black soil plains of the Wimmera in 1938.

The tobacco industry was depressed, prices were low (about 45 cents per kilogram), and the area declined from 3,620 to 1,925 hectares between 1934 and 1938. The Victorian Government appointed a Tobacco Committee in 1935 to examine hardship among growers.

## AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year ended 31 March—	Wheat for grain			Oats for grain			Barley for grain		
	Area	Production	Yield per hectare	Area	Production	Yield per hectare	Area	Production	Yield per hectare
	hectares	tonnes	tonnes	hectares	tonnes	tonnes	hectares	tonnes	tonnes
1935	994,954	703,536	0.7	205,029	95,232	0.5	35,450	36,503	1.0
1940	1,144,216	1,226,185	1.1	177,882	150,241	0.8	82,653	84,779	1.0
1945	866,728	95,191	0.1	292,252	24,230	0.1	52,226	8,154	0.2
1950	1,144,562	1,563,093	1.4	195,540	158,182	0.8	95,556	110,590	1.2
1955	967,270	1,319,533	1.4	260,797	181,813	0.7	113,553	112,167	1.0
1960	914,886	1,055,762	1.2	272,354	230,443	0.8	112,341	126,843	1.1
1965	1,309,580	2,127,322	1.6	391,040	407,253	1.0	75,651	98,304	1.3
1970	1,334,757	2,273,692	1.7	357,601	470,412	1.3	196,930	257,927	1.3
1975	1,140,653	2,091,303	1.8	197,807	186,023	0.9	242,952	319,358	1.3
1980	1,456,901	3,249,550	2.2	255,737	390,300	1.5	325,356	494,106	1.5
1981	1,431,042	2,538,004	1.8	218,682	321,664	1.5	302,777	418,049	1.4
1982	1,321,674	2,466,794	1.9	245,148	305,997	1.2	314,909	459,426	1.5

Year ended 31 March—	Maize for grain			Hay			Potatoes		
	Area	Production	Yield per hectare	Area	Production	Yield per hectare	Area	Production	Yield per hectare
	hectares	tonnes	tonnes	hectares	tonnes	tonnes	hectares	tonnes	tonnes
1935	7,579	18,273	2.4	510,532	1,487,765	2.9	21,940	111,084	5.1
1940	7,674	9,670	1.3	487,570	1,850,103	3.8	13,022	89,342	6.9
1945	1,839	4,200	2.3	365,020	715,549	2.0	33,685	310,115	9.2
1950	2,078	4,931	2.4	245,452	1,016,919	4.1	20,498	170,575	8.3
1955	1,772	5,811	3.3	299,103	1,227,062	4.1	17,837	209,893	11.8
1960	1,369	4,584	3.4	342,991	1,372,687	4.0	19,630	246,441	12.6
1965	952	2,900	3.1	528,668	2,546,172	4.8	13,327	186,613	14.0
1970	463	1,827	4.0	485,606	2,500,451	5.1	16,092	284,040	17.7
1975	543	1,912	3.5	505,609	2,016,529	4.0	13,010	282,547	21.7
1980	575	2,850	5.0	411,812	1,615,035	3.9	13,077	333,614	25.5
1981	568	3,002	5.3	497,327	1,894,298	3.8	13,702	348,950	25.5
1982	476	2,357	5.0	556,335	1,982,371	3.6	13,668	354,197	25.9

SILAGE: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982  
(tonnes)

Year ended 31 March—	Made	On hand
1935	22,500	n. a.
1940	79,448	n. a.
1945	20,314	n. a.
1950	26,099	n. a.
1955	87,759	n. a.
1960	286,085	204,819
1965	255,026	209,615
1970	294,058	255,923
1975	139,891	164,265
1980	126,253	130,895
1981	158,045	115,237
1982	174,994	76,812

### Horticulture

Fruit was produced mostly on small family orchards in the Goulburn Valley and Sunraysia regions and also around Melbourne, where suburban brick veneer homes now stand in Doncaster, Templestowe, Box Hill, Ringwood, and Croydon. Vegetables were produced mainly in Melbourne metropolitan market gardens, and the potato industry was already well established in southern and central Victoria.

In the fruit industry, most growers relied on horse-drawn implements for cultivation and only a few had a dam or bore for supplementary irrigation. Relatively few chemicals were available to orchardists to control pests and diseases. They relied on copper sprays (mainly Bordeaux mixture), lime sulphur, and sulphur dust to control disease, and arsenate of lead, nicotine sulphate, lime sulphur, and mineral spraying oils to control insects. The diluted spray was made up in large casks or wooden vats and applied with a handspraying gun from a horse-drawn cart.

Most of the fruit was packed in district co-operative packing sheds, many of which had cool stores, and from these, during winter months, some fruit was sent by rail to Melbourne for wholesale market or export. Fruitgrowers in the Goulburn Valley, many of whom were soldier settlers after the First World War, had reticulated water for flood irrigation made available to them in the late 1930s. The irrigated area around Mildura had increased to 14,000 hectares and was used mainly for production of grapes for drying. Most vine blocks had 1 to 2 hectares of citrus; a few growers concentrated on producing vegetables.

The Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO), then the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, established an experimental vineyard at Merbein and the Department of Agriculture established the first horticultural research station at Tatura with the first trees planted in 1937.

By the end of the 1930s, vegetable growers were adapting horse-drawn equipment for use with tractors, which were beginning to replace horses. As the use of horses declined, and the consequent supply of horse manure dwindled, growers began using greater amounts of fowl manure, blood and bone, and inorganic fertilisers. Like orchardists, they had few chemicals to fight pests and diseases. They used arsenate of lead to control chewing insects and nicotine sulphate to control sucking insects. Bordeaux mixture was the only fungicide used.

Victoria was the dominant potato and onion growing State in this period. Onion growers took up orderly marketing in 1934, pooling their crops, fixing prices, and distributing the produce as local and export markets required. An Onion Marketing Board was set up in 1936 and lasted until 1976. A Seed Potato Certification Scheme was established in 1938. This raised the standard of potato growing by stimulating production and distribution of seed that could be certified as having a low level of disease.

## THE 1940s: WARTIME SHORTAGES AND POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS

## 1939 to 1945

The outbreak of war in 1939 slowed the progress of agriculture. Young men and women throughout the country joined the Armed Forces. Food production became a major war effort. Persons remaining on farms responded to this challenge, and increased production in essential agricultural industries. Work in these essential industries was classified as "reserved occupations", and workers could not leave or enlist without the approval of the Director-General of Manpower. To offset the loss of farm workers, a Women's Land Army was formed. In total, 3,500 women, of whom 1,500 were in Victoria, became involved in food and flax production. These Land Army women were in addition to those who already lived and worked on farms. Internees and prisoners of war also assisted on many farms.

War Agricultural Committees, established in October 1942, were assisted by the Department of Agriculture in the direction, stimulation and control of agricultural production, so that production was maintained at as high a level as possible in industries for which the Government had set priorities. They allocated scarce resources such as agricultural machinery and piping, fencing material and fuel for tractors, while the Department conducted rationing schemes for superphosphate, bran, pollard, and chaff.

The War Agricultural Committees as well as the Acting Commonwealth Statistician, S.R. (later Sir Stanley) Carver, advised the Director-General of Manpower of seasonal labour needs and of the progressive need for release from active duty of servicemen who were experienced in agricultural work, so they could resume their part in agricultural production. The committees were also responsible, under the Director-General of Manpower, for deployment of members of the Women's Land Army and for organising volunteers to help with seasonal work.

Some of the worst fires to affect the State occurred in January and February 1944 in the Western District, Gippsland, and the North-east, when farm homes, buildings, fences, and large numbers of stock were destroyed, and the War Agricultural Committees were immediately co-opted to assist with relief operations by distributing available fencing material to affected farms.

The manpower shortage caused a relaxation of farm management in some industries; the rabbit problem, for example, tended to be ignored until after the war.

Australian farmers were relied on largely to feed Australian and United States Forces based in the South-west Pacific from early 1942 onwards. The vegetable, potato, poultry, and pig industries were all involved in special efforts to increase production, and among other innovations, suburban households were urged to dig up their back and front gardens and grow vegetables. The Commonwealth Government placed production of vegetables and vegetable seeds first on the nation's list of priorities, together with flax, which was needed to make tents, tarpaulins, parachute harnesses, and canvas bags for use by the Armed Forces. Dairy products were next on the list, followed by meat and cereal products. The vegetable seed industry was given highest priority because much of Australia's seed supplies (and those of the United States) came from Europe. Under the National Security (Vegetable Seeds) Regulations all seed growers had to register with the Department of Agriculture and seed could not be sold or exchanged without the permission of the Department.

The call to grow more vegetables was followed by the introduction of new production methods and new equipment from the United States. Row crop tractors, especially the "Farmall", which had hydraulic and pneumatic equipment, brought about changes in production, as did the new spray equipment, dusters, seeders, and transplanters.

Navy bean production was also developed and special pick-up fronts for headers were imported to harvest the crop. Processing of vegetables also increased greatly.

Meanwhile, pigmeat production also grew rapidly to help feed the Armed Forces. This was done by using surplus wheat which was available at subsidised prices, and by increasing the slaughter weight of pigs. Victorian pigmeat production reached a peak in 1942, when about 21,000 pig keepers raised 600,000 pigs, yielding about 42,000 tonnes of carcase meat; some of this was exported, mostly to Britain. However, because of restrictions, Victorians had little pork to eat. It disappeared from shops and tables, and a large number of children

never tasted pork until years later. Beef, too, was scarce for civilians because of the demand from the Armed Forces, especially the Americans, who generally did not eat sheep meat.

The wartime boost to egg and poultry meat production was achieved through backyard production of eggs, establishment of new farms, and expansion of existing farms to contain up to 5,000 hens—a farm at Werribee with 250,000 birds was claimed to be the biggest producer in the world at that time.

The dairy industry was relatively static during the war years. Contracts for the sale of butter and cheese to the United Kingdom were arranged in 1939 to last until 1955, and in 1942 the Commonwealth began to guarantee prices to reflect the cost of efficient production and to pay subsidies to contain price increases on the domestic market. In 1949, the Milk Pasteurisation Act was passed as a public health measure following an outbreak of typhoid fever at Moorabbin. In the same year, an Official Sire Survey service was begun to assess the genetic merit of bulls. This resulted in the selection of better bulls, which were to be especially useful a few years later when artificial breeding was first practised on dairy farms.

The seasons were mostly poor during the war years. The occasional dust storms and “red rain” of earlier years now became commonplace. There were hot summers and serious bush fires, which possibly reflected war related factors such as trains which burned wood, motor car gas producers, shortages of replacement mufflers and spark arrestors, and reduced manpower to contain fires.

Severe drought affected much of the State throughout most of 1944-45. Large-scale drought feeding of stock depleted reserves of hay, oats, and wheat; this occasion was probably the first time that wheat was used in this way. Even surplus fruit and vegetables such as potatoes, carrots, and undersized apples kept stock alive.

### **Rural reconstruction**

In 1944, the Rural Reconstruction Commission reported on land utilisation and farm settlement and the employment of returned servicemen on the land. This established the principles for the introduction of government sponsored settlement and training schemes for returned servicemen and gave opportunities for 5,926 men to take up full-time farming on their own properties in Victoria between 1946 and 1961.

The authorities developed criteria for farm or block size in relation to production potential. They had not forgotten the lesson provided by the Millewa settlement scheme after the First World War, when settlers were allotted blocks that were too small to maintain an adequate income from cropping and many had to “walk off”. In the late 1940s, land was purchased from existing landholders, sub-divided, and developed so that the new settler could expect some financial return within the first couple of years. For horticultural areas the period was about five years. In the meantime settlers received payment for developmental work. Over the period 1946 to 1961 more than 3,000 farms were settled in this scheme. Another method of settlement used in this period was the “single unit” scheme. In this case the Commonwealth Government financed purchase of “approved” individual farms by qualified settlers; 2,878 farms were settled in this way.

### **Post-war developments**

Meanwhile, innovations that would drastically change farming practices began to appear. The “Fergie” (Ferguson) tractor had arrived with its revolutionary three-point linkage and a range of matched equipment. The petrol model TE20 replaced the farm horse on many smaller properties. It was versatile, reliable, and relatively cheap to run. The general introduction of tractors was rapid. On cropping farms the way was made clear for them when the prolonged drought of 1944-45 caused many farmers in the wheat belt to send their horses away for agistment. Horse teams were broken up and never brought together again. Tractors enabled farmers to cultivate larger areas and sow their crops closer to the optimal time. The grain harvest increased substantially and many cereal growers overcame financial difficulties that had worried them for 20 years.

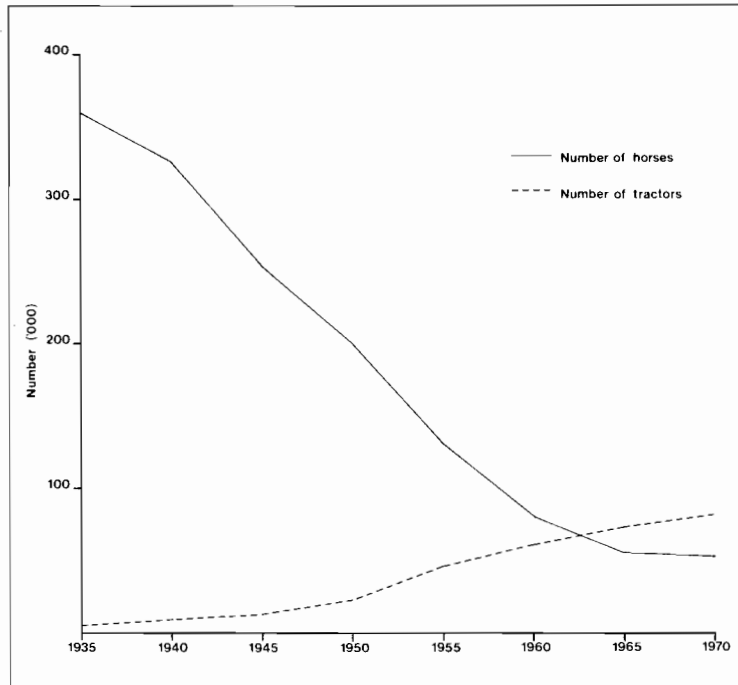


FIGURE 23. Victoria—Number of horses and tractors on establishments with agricultural activities, 1935 to 1970.

MACHINERY ON ESTABLISHMENTS WITH AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES:  
VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1975(a)

Year ended 31 March—	Tractors (wheeled and crawler)	Headers, strippers, and harvesters	Fertiliser distributors and broadcasters	Milking machines (units)	Shearing machines (stands)
1935	5,373	19,932	n.a.	4,353	4,057
1940	9,578	n.a.	n.a.	8,201	4,860
1945	12,431	14,724	12,756	36,234	14,862
1950	24,119	14,471	18,935	54,180	20,485
1955	47,254	14,524	24,647	74,513	30,801
1960	61,168	14,216	27,948	89,657	37,015
1965	74,524	14,177	29,212	101,994	41,112
1970	82,318	13,310	30,036	112,012	43,152
1975	81,337	11,808	26,681	n.a.	28,894

(a) Information not collected after 1975.

A major technical innovation at the end of the war was the introduction of DDT for agricultural purposes. This chemical revolutionised pest control in fruit and vegetable crops, particularly grubs in potatoes, tomatoes, and crucifers. Former wartime pilots flying modified Tiger Moths sprayed vegetable crops from low levels, signalling the beginning of aerial agriculture. DDT and the other "new generation" organic based chemicals, dieldrin and lindane, were used to control parasites on sheep properties and 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T, which were developed as by-products of military research during the war, were used to control thistles and blackberries. DDT was also used to control external parasites of poultry.

The major contribution to increased numbers of cattle during this period was the introduction of Strain 19 vaccination, controlling abortion as a result of infection of cattle with *Brucella abortus*.

In 1946, aircraft were first used successfully to check the flights of the Australian plague locust by aerial spraying with new types of insecticides. Their breeding grounds are situated in western New South Wales and south-western Queensland, and following good rains in

the inland, their numbers breed up to plague proportions; they fly south into Victoria and ravage green crops in the northern irrigation areas. Following research by the Australian Plague Locust Commission, CSIRO, and the State Departments of Agriculture, the situation was constantly monitored, and has resulted in much greater vigilance by all concerned with the problem.

Because of difficulties experienced by the Council of Agricultural Education in funding Dookie and Longerenong Agricultural Colleges, control was transferred from the Council to the Department of Agriculture. This took place in 1945. Much of the land leased by the Council to raise funds for maintaining the Colleges was then made available for Soldier Settlement. Both Dookie Agricultural College and Burnley Horticultural College played a significant role in the retraining of returned servicemen for occupations in the agricultural and horticultural industries.

In the years following the war, the outlook for agriculture progressively improved. The war had created a large demand for food and fibres. The new "soldier settlers" took up their farms enthusiastically and quickly adapted to new agricultural technology. Export markets expanded for the main agricultural products—meat, wheat, and wool. The price for agricultural commodities continued to rise and farming enterprises became profitable. The improved economic position brought prosperity to the agricultural community. By the end of the 1940s, shortages of farm materials were easing and farmers began investing in capital improvements for their properties—new fencing, better water supplies, pasture improvement, and renovations to farm houses and sheds. New machinery, tractors, and vehicles made it possible to increase production on farms and hence profits.

The electrification of rural areas progressed during the war years with connections to essential wartime industries and some dairy farms. But after the war, the extension of the State Electricity Commission's electricity grid to country towns and farms expanded and continued systematically for many years. It resulted in the use of electricity for domestic and farm purposes. This, in addition to better housing and other amenities arising from the overall improvement in the economy, brought about a considerable rise in the standard of living of the agriculture community.

#### AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT: VICTORIA, 1945 TO 1975 (a)

Year ended 31 March—	Working permanently								Working temporarily	
	Owners, lessees, and share farmers		Relatives over 14 years on receiving wage or salary		Employees working for wages or salary		Total working permanently		Males	Females
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females		
1945 (b)	61,662	4,752	10,616	5,347	(c)15,140	(c)1,965	87,418	12,064	8,235	746
1950	64,627	4,449	7,142	1,971	15,174	1,256	86,943	7,676	20,462	1,323
1955	69,249	3,591	6,146	1,364	17,396	1,413	92,791	6,368	20,571	1,806
1960	58,583	3,775	5,948	1,140	15,499	1,002	80,030	5,917	23,234	2,075
1965	59,941	4,802	5,447	1,428	14,837	1,072	80,225	7,302	25,976	3,181
1970	53,408	2,094	3,878	852	12,363	951	69,649	3,897	18,024	3,722
1975	51,337	13,318	3,256	1,604	10,239	1,362	64,832	16,284	20,629	4,526

(a) Information not collected after 1975.

(b) At 31 March, 1,497 prisoners of war worked on holdings.

(c) Includes managers, relatives, and members of the Women's Land Army.

#### Livestock

In 1945, sheep numbers and wool production fell to their lowest levels since the mid-1920s following severe drought and fires, but then began a good recovery that within a few years would take wool into a "golden" age. The increased use of superphosphate on pastures encouraged the spread of subterranean clover and this provided more feed for livestock.

The poultry industry obtained government-to-government contracts with the United Kingdom and production increased still further, but the number of pig producers in Victoria, no longer able to obtain cheap surplus wheat or other grain, and, also, having lost the American Armed Forces market, decreased to 14,500 from 21,000 in 1941; the production declined to 415,000 pigs yielding 29,000 tonnes of carcase meat; and exports fell to a very small amount of carcase meat per year.



### Crops

During the post-war years, the Australian Wheat Board, which had been established under national security regulations in 1939, became the sole marketing authority for wheat under complementary Commonwealth and State legislation. The first of a series of Wheat Stabilisation Plans was adopted to reduce fluctuations in the prices received by growers. The Australian Barley Board, also established in 1939, was reconstituted in 1948 as a State Board to handle barley produced in Victoria and South Australia. The wheat industry benefited at this time from release of new varieties—Insignia for the Mallee and Pinnacle for the Wimmera. These varieties increased yields significantly. Locally adapted varieties of linseed, for long the only significant oilseed crop in Victoria, were also produced. The tobacco industry expanded slightly in the late 1940s and the Tobacco Research Station at Myrtleford became operative in 1952.

Sugar beet growing, an industry that had struggled since its beginnings about 1870 in the Maffra district, continued through the 1930s because of the poor returns from dairy produce. It survived the difficulties that beset agriculture during the war, then was confronted by the improved returns from dairying, and the more efficient production of cane sugar in Queensland and northern New South Wales. It ended in 1949.

### Horticulture

The production of vegetables declined, as demand for vegetables and the area of land cropped decreased, particularly in the growing areas distant from Melbourne. Some of the wartime canneries continued to operate, but there was little demand for dehydrated vegetables. In the potato industry, the war years had brought stability through exercise of a plan that regulated supply and prevented gluts. After the war the industry continued to produce large volumes of potatoes which became increasingly difficult to sell. A Victorian Potato Marketing Board was established in 1948 but was forced to cease operations within six years as a result of the inability to control trading across State borders.

An addendum to section 92 of the Commonwealth Constitution had been proposed in 1946 to allow organised marketing of agricultural products but leave interstate trade in manufactured products unrestricted. A majority of the population supported the referendum on the proposal, but it failed to gain a majority on a States basis and was not passed. However, marketing of some fruits had been organised during the war, and limited shipping space for the fruit industry's exports led to the establishment of an Apple and Pear Board to prevent Australia-wide surpluses. The Board had the right of price setting and acquisition of the entire pome fruit crop. Growers, however, had a bare maintenance income. After the war, the number of apple and pear varieties grown commercially was greatly reduced as growers concentrated on the more popular varieties. Only about six varieties of each were planted compared with the 60 apple varieties and 16 pear varieties for which the Apple and Pear Board had set prices during the war.

Efficiency of orchard operation in the post-war years was increased by mechanisation of cultivation, spraying, and fruit collection. There was a greater awareness of the importance of fertilisers, and many growers established new plantings with generous applications of fertiliser. In 1948, vineyards were established in the recently completed Murray Valley irrigation areas near Cobram and at Robinvale, between Swan Hill and Mildura. Many of these blocks were settled by ex-servicemen.

### VINEYARDS AND ORCHARDS: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year ended 31 March—	Vineyards				Orchards				
	Total area	Wine made	Dried fruit produced		Total area	Fruit produced			
			Raisins and sultanas	Currants		Apples	Pears	Peaches	Oranges
	hectares	kilolitres	tonnes	tonnes	hectares	tonnes	tonnes	tonnes	tonnes
1935	16,665	5,802	30,176	8,961	30,859	39,723	20,856	23,944	13,920
1940	17,237	5,120	48,188	10,835	28,455	30,539	26,510	24,522	11,849
1945	17,367	3,568	33,677	6,983	27,618	21,695	35,737	28,676	13,126
1950	18,367	14,684	42,961	7,056	28,751	15,447	38,456	25,244	13,909



(Above left) Cape Barren Geese are found mainly around the coastal lakes of western Victoria, but a wild population is maintained at the Serendip Wildlife Research Station at Lara.

*Fisheries and Wildlife Division, Ministry for Conservation*

(Above right) The spectacular mating display of the male bustard.

*Fisheries and Wildlife Division, Ministry for Conservation*

The Serendip Wildlife Research Station allows visitors to view local species of waterfowl in a natural environment.

*Fisheries and Wildlife Division, Ministry for Conservation*





The Royal Botanic Gardens following the restoration of the Ornamental Lake in 1983.

*Royal Botanic Gardens, Melbourne*



One of the many splendid rhododendrons in the Royal Botanic Gardens — *Rhododendron* "Charles Dickens".

*Royal Botanic Gardens, Melbourne*



Brilliant coloured *Rosa rugosa* "Rubra" from the Royal Botanic Gardens' collection of old fashioned roses.

*Royal Botanic Gardens, Melbourne*



Vineyards situated in the Pyrenees Ranges  
in central Victoria.

*Mt Avoca Vineyards*



Picking apricots in an orchard near Shep-  
parton.

*S.P.C. Ltd*



As well as providing water for crops and pastures, irrigation channels also constitute a valuable source for watering stock.

*State Rivers and Water Supply Commission*

Intensive farming of pigs in a controlled environment.

*Department of Agriculture*





A country sheep sale held during the 1940s.

*Department of Agriculture*

This modern shearing shed incorporates specialised work areas and equipment for shearing, sorting, and packaging wool.

*Department of Agriculture*





Teams of draught horses were often used to pull early grain harvesting equipment.

*Department of Agriculture*



Two-man tractor/harvester teams engaged in harvesting cereals during the 1940s.

*Department of Agriculture*

Three giant harvesters work their way through a bumper Wimmera wheat crop in 1979.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*





The stacking of loose hay into large circular or rectangular piles, often with a sloping thatched top, was a common sight on many farms in the 1930s.

*Department of Agriculture*

The Econ Roller hay collector enables a greater amount of hay to be "bundled" as a single unit. A comparison between the Econ and conventional hay bales is shown (inset).

*Department of Agriculture*







Land Army girls harvesting tomatoes during the Second World War.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*

This egg grading equipment is capable of handling 24,000 eggs per hour.

*Fantasy Egg Farm (Vic.) Pty Ltd*



VINEYARDS AND ORCHARDS: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982—*continued*

Year ended 31 March—	Vineyards				Orchards				
	Total area	Wine made	Dried fruit produced		Total area	Fruit produced			
			Raisins and sultanas	Currants		Apples	Pears	Peaches	Oranges
hectares	kilolitres	tonnes	tonnes	hectares	tonnes	tonnes	tonnes	tonnes	
1955	18,517	7,328	50,266	4,760	26,746	49,154	67,999	31,618	14,169
1960	17,858	9,759	45,578	3,392	27,748	57,261	73,126	24,699	22,398
1965	19,423	16,622	67,356	4,558	30,557	83,713	82,166	48,225	27,091
1970	20,169	32,963	68,290	3,445	28,685	101,556	143,778	60,720	27,865
1975	22,347	54,278	48,040	2,347	21,508	81,357	125,496	38,440	40,721
1980	20,575	n.p.	63,530	2,467	18,513	75,128	96,844	35,398	46,516
1981	20,756	n.p.	43,457	1,847	19,352	77,047	121,734	41,765	53,603
1982	20,519	n.p.	65,331	2,587	19,254	68,535	85,078	33,853	42,736

## THE 1950s: MECHANISATION, PASTURE IMPROVEMENT, AND "GOLDEN" WOOL

Conditions for farm families improved steadily in the 1950s. Electricity had been connected to about half of the farms in the State by the end of the decade. Labour saving devices were added to the home and the farm. Education facilities for country children were greatly improved, and more and more children looked to vocations other than farming. Road conditions and road transport also improved dramatically.

The rabbit—a pest that ravaged pastures and crops since its introduction in the early days of settlement—was suddenly and spectacularly controlled. During the summer of 1950-51, most of the rabbits along the Murray River were killed by myxomatosis. This deadly viral disease was carried by mosquitoes from a CSIRO experiment near Corowa, New South Wales, where the myxoma virus was under test. The few survivors that had acquired resistance to the virus continued to breed, and their descendants have been kept in check by "1080" poison baits and the release of more virulent strains of the virus.

Soldier settlement began to change the face of many pastoral areas, especially the Western District. Closer settlement brought an influx of new ideas and philosophies, more intensive farming methods, a higher proportion of owner operators among farmers, and a lowering in the average age of property managers.

After the Second World War a total of 5,926 settlers participated in the Soldier Settlement programme. Of these 3,048 settlements related to land developed for farming by the Rural Finance Commission. The remaining 2,878 settlements related to loans made by the Commission to settlers who bought existing farms on the open market. Of the 3,048 settlements on land developed by the Commission, 989 were on irrigated land and 2,059 on land relying on natural rainfall. About two thirds of the irrigated settlements were devoted to dairying, with the remaining one third primarily to dried vine fruit and orchard enterprises. Of the non-irrigated settlements most were devoted to mixed grazing and cropping enterprises.

The *Land Settlement Act 1959* extended the functions of the then Soldier Settlement Commission to cater for those men wishing to become farm owners but who were ineligible for soldier settlement. Under this scheme the Commission developed land at Heytesbury near Cobden, Yanakie on Wilsons Promontory, the East Goulburn Irrigation Area near Shepparton, the Rochester Irrigation Area, and Palpara in south-west Victoria.

## Wool

A "golden age" for wool had begun. Rising wool prices accelerated the disposal of the last of the wartime stockpiles of wool held by the Australian Wool Realisation Commission. After the end of the war, the Commission had regulated disposals of wool so as to stabilise the auction market, maintaining in effect a reserve price scheme. The Commission's stockpiles were depleted just as the Korean War brought about a wave of panic buying. This led to a "wool boom" that peaked in early 1951. While wool prices rose steeply,

growers rejected a proposal that the remaining assets of the Commission should be used to finance a continuing reserve price scheme to underpin the auction system and thus the Commission was wound up. However, the Australian Wool Board (forerunner of the Australian Wool Corporation) was reinstated in the 1950s to promote the image of wool and help finance research; it also provided limited oversight of wool marketing.

The wool boom, though short-lived (so that most growers missed its real peak), had a lasting effect on the confidence and aspirations of woolgrowers. Their confidence was strengthened by the Commonwealth Government's deliberate encouragement of agricultural production to help pay a sharply increasing imports bill. The Commonwealth Government offered taxation incentives, financial assistance for the promotion of wool, and research into sheep production and wool textile manufacturing. Although high prices for meat and wool were one factor in raising inflation rates in this early part of the decade, they also shielded producers from inflationary pressures. Thus in the five years from 1954 there was a general expansion in the sheep industry. Pasture improvement continued, partly stimulated by soldier settlers, who generally had smaller, high priced blocks and were forced into more intensive forms of production. Three-point linkage tractors, cultivating equipment, pick-up balers and other hay making machines were becoming widely used on sheep properties.

The aerial spreading of subterranean clover and superphosphate transformed the grazing potential of much of the Central Highlands and the North-east hill country. Pasture improvement enabled sheep numbers to be lifted to 27 million in 1958 (compared with 15 million in 1946, the lowest figure in the 50 year period) and to an all time high of 34 million in 1971.

Research was also helping wool producers. CSIRO developed processes for shrink proofing and permanent pleating of wool garments, while the Department of Agriculture was looking into the inheritance of growth rate, fertility, fleece weight, and other wool production characteristics in the Merino, Polwarth, and Corriedale breeds. The Pastoral Research Station at Hamilton was established in 1956.

Pasture improvement was greatly helped by the discovery that large areas in many parts of the State, especially in the Central Highlands, were deficient in molybdenum, which is essential for the healthy growth of legumes. Application of tiny amounts of molybdenum (50 grams per hectare) with superphosphate gave a spectacular increase in pasture growth in these areas. Areas where copper was deficient were also located. In addition to the generous use of superphosphate in the Western District, phalaris was widely sown and "staggers" and "sudden death" of sheep emerged as a problem. The advantages of sowing phalaris were considered to outweigh the disadvantages. Another pasture problem was a widespread disease of subterranean clover known as clover stunt virus. This was discovered in 1954 and efforts were made to breed varieties resistant to it. By 1953, Barrel medic was widely sown in the Wimmera and the Mallee to raise the fertility of the soil for the growing of cereals, and, later, Harbinger strain medic was released by the Department of Agriculture for sowing in the sandy soils of the Mallee. The medics also raised the carrying capacity of these pastures. H.I. ryegrass, a cross between perennial ryegrass and Italian ryegrass, was sown for the first time on dairy farms.

#### LIVESTOCK AND PASTORAL PRODUCTION: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year	Livestock (a)				Greasy wool production (b) (c)	Milk production for all purposes (c)	Butter production (factory and farm) (c)	Cheese production (factory and farm) (c)
	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs				
					'000 tonnes	m. litres	tonnes	tonnes
1935	357,877	2,085,080	16,783,631	265,006	71	1,832	66,972	4,579
1940	326,217	1,787,597	18,251,870	297,655	81	2,077	74,764	11,111
1945	253,782	1,903,110	16,457,101	296,232	80	1,639	47,952	12,457
1950	200,143	2,230,948	19,161,043	212,901	102	2,133	65,709	21,542
1955	132,172	2,456,303	22,329,515	263,666	115	2,441	81,469	20,628
1960	81,225	2,624,019	26,596,613	284,505	147	2,720	91,351	19,573
1965	55,843	3,316,407	30,437,154	378,055	164	3,391	112,720	27,658
1970	53,082	4,462,391	33,156,830	495,128	196	4,057	142,316	33,505

LIVESTOCK AND PASTORAL PRODUCTION: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982—*continued*

Year	Livestock (a)				Greasy wool production (b) (c)	Milk production for all purposes (c)	Butter production (factory and farm) (c)	Cheese production (factory and farm) (c)
	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs				
					'000 tonnes	m. litres	tonnes	tonnes
1975	n.a.	6,192,417	26,409,930	383,144	166	3,745	119,291	44,833
1980	66,241	4,252,272	24,400,065	421,735	147	3,155	68,647	94,829
1981	66,748	4,312,123	25,486,993	400,179	146	3,065	67,765	80,490
1982	63,689	4,121,248	25,340,923	406,253	148	3,028	65,599	93,895

(a) At 31 March, except 1935 and 1940, at 1 March.

(b) Includes dead and fellmongered wool and wool exported on skins.

(c) Year ended 30 June.

### Livestock

Meanwhile, a beef cattle industry was stirring, scientific interest in beef cattle being shown in the early 1950s. In 1957, the Australian Meat Board funded the establishment and maintenance of cattle weighing centres in all of the southern States, and Departments of Agriculture were made responsible for the conduct of observations. Weighing centres were established in Victoria at Delatite, near Mansfield and at "Blackwood", Peshurst. The object was to determine the growth rates of beef cattle on existing pastures and under the owners' usual forms of management. The results showed that beef production was greatly dependent on the pattern of pasture production and established the importance of nutrition and good management in the production of young, high quality, beef animals. The beef cattle industry grew steadily throughout the 1950s helped by continued pasture improvement, higher prices for cattle following the United States of America's entry into the market for Australian beef in 1957, and a 15 year agreement (1952 to 1967) whereby Britain agreed to take Australia's surplus beef production.

The dairy industry, still the biggest producer of beef, was experiencing changes that were important to its main role of milk production. In 1952, the Methylene Blue Test was introduced to grade milk. This was the first step taken in the development of analytical testing programmes, which have resulted in substantial improvement in the quality of milk produced on farms. In the same year, the Milk Board ended the milk contract arrangements between farmers and vendors and itself entered directly into contracts with farmers. This gave dairy farmers greater opportunities to participate in liquid milk sales. Artificial breeding, developed by the Department of Agriculture, was taken over by the industry in 1958.

In the first few years of the 1950s the improvement of roads helped in the development of milk collection services by factories and accelerated a trend from supply of cream to supply of milk. Within a few more years, bulk collection from farmers of refrigerated milk would begin, reducing the physical labour of handling of milk on farms, improving milk quality, reducing milk collection costs, and increasing the distance over which milk could be transported. This accelerated the trend from cream supply to milk supply and encouraged the consolidation of dairy factories into fewer, larger units. The first herringbone milking sheds were installed in 1956. They improved the efficiency of milking and accelerated the increase in average herd size from 34 cows in 1956-57 to 96 in 1981-82. In 1953, the Department of Agriculture began discussion groups among dairy farmers (which still continue), and a year later published the *Dairy Farming Digest*, which was distributed to dairy farmers for the next 24 years.

An important development in the 1950s was the start of the Bovine Brucellosis Eradication Programme. This programme was to have an important impact on the quality of dairy products and the health of the community.

The poultry industry was also making important gains and important beginnings, although its high potential of mechanised efficiency was not realised until later. In the early years of the decade, the first English-type laying systems were introduced. Then followed the use of vitamins and drugs such as coccidiostats, which gave complete nutrition and allowed year round growing of chickens. In these early years of the 1950s, the first form of broiler production was seen. It was based on the raising of surplus crossbred

cockerels from the egg industry in wire floored brooders and weaners. Egg production expanded in response to profitable overseas markets; seeing the opportunities, farmers in grain growing districts lifted production and newly arrived migrants entered the industry.

In the mid-1950s, a survey by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics noted the low flock average production of 144 eggs per layer per year. Even so, there was surplus egg production when egg contracts with the United Kingdom were ended soon afterwards, and producers had to pay the State Egg Marketing Board compensatory levies because of lost income from exports. A public inquiry followed and the Government decided to exercise greater control over the Board.

At the beginning of the 1950s, Britain asked Australia to supply 400,000 tonnes of pig meat each year for five years, but in the determination of prices there was no recognition of the pig:grain ratio. To meet the demand the industry needed to expand, yet inadequate supplies of grain prevented that. Thus an opportunity to begin an export based industry was lost. In the 1950s, Landrace pigs were imported from Northern Ireland into Victoria as breeding stock; however, carcass competitions showed that the local Large White breed compared very favourably with the import.

### Crops

The value of clover ley farming to the cereal cropping industries became evident as the system spread throughout the wheat belt in the 1950s. Benefits were in three areas: increased yields and grain protein content of crops following the pasture years in the rotation due to increased nitrogen levels in the soil; improved soil structure and thus reduced erosion hazard; and increases in wool yield and meat production arising from higher stocking rates to take advantage of feed provided by the clovers and medic. Mechanisation allowed better timing of operations and the consistent yielding ability of the Insignia variety of wheat became the basis of a period of stability and consolidation, particularly in the Mallee. Selective herbicides which killed broadleaved weeds in cereal crops became widely used and resulted in very significant yield increases.

The mistakes of the Millewa settlement in north-west Victoria of the early 1920s, which resulted in many settlers walking off their blocks in the 1930s, were rectified by the consolidation of holdings into sufficient size to allow wider rotations and less intensive cultivation. The benefits of improved farming techniques were shown in the higher yields obtained in the dry conditions of 1957 compared with those in previous droughts. In 1956, Olympic wheat, a variety with very wide adaptability and high yield potential in the better rainfall areas was introduced. It still remains a recommended variety in some districts. In the second half of the 1950s, world wheat supplies increased relative to demand and resulted in the need to carry over larger than normal quantities of wheat. Very large horizontal storages were built at the Geelong terminal and vertical concrete silos were added to many country elevators to provide the increased storage capacity.

A barley research scheme began in the mid-1950s to develop better barley varieties and production methods. It was funded by contributions from government, growers, and the malting and brewing industries. This was to have a significant effect on the barley industry in the following decade.

The tobacco growers increased their area and yield in the 1950s aided by demand and improving prices. Oil firing now replaced wood for flue curing.

### Horticulture

With the exception of the dried vine fruit industry, market prospects for fresh and canned tree fruit improved in the early 1950s. As a result production increased. This was in part due to results of research which flowed from the Department of Agriculture's Research Stations established at Tatura in the late 1930s and at Scoresby, where research began in 1950. The Horticultural Research Station at Irymple started research in 1954 with an extensive citrus root stock trial. Supporting the research programme an intensified extension service developed in this decade. With financial support from the Commonwealth Extension Service Grant, the *Mallee Horticultural Digest* was first published in 1954. A few years later, the *Victorian Horticultural Digest* was printed. These Digests were

distributed free of charge to fruit growers on a regular basis throughout the next 20 years and had an important role in informing growers about new technology. As growers began to erect their own cool storage facilities, the research on this aspect of fruit production, which was done at Scoresby, became an important source of advice.

A very wet year in 1956 caused the death of about 65 per cent of the peach trees in the Goulburn Valley. Much of the area was replanted to apples and pears which can stand wetter conditions than peaches, although peaches were replanted extensively.

Chemicals became increasingly important for both fruit and vegetable producers. A range of pesticides for use in the control of insect pests, fungi, and weeds was developed in the period from the early 1950s. The threat to these industries from the Queensland fruit fly, which was endemic in Queensland and northern New South Wales, led to establishment of road blocks at the main entry points from New South Wales into Victoria in 1956. Staff were placed at these road blocks to inspect all fruit and vegetables coming into Victoria in private as well as commercial vehicles. Since then, improved methods of trapping the adult flies and more effective attractant bait sprays have been developed, and the efficacy of road blocks as a primary means of controlling fruit fly infestations has been re-examined.

Vegetable production continued to increase in the 1950s. Apart from the influence of chemicals in pest and disease control, the most significant development in vegetable production was the introduction of portable light-weight aluminium piping for irrigation. The potato industry quickly adopted this equipment and production increases were at least fourfold and often higher. The Healesville Potato Research Station opened in 1951, and was to have a significant influence on potato production in Victoria through the development of new varieties, disease control techniques, and information about efficient use of water for irrigation.

Production of a range of canned vegetables expanded rapidly to meet increasing demand. Peas, asparagus, and sweet corn were canned in greater quantities. Development in machinery for planting, harvesting, and disease control were important contributors to increasing production efficiency. However, tomato growing areas declined significantly in the early 1950s because of large stocks held by processors. Imports of tomato pulp and paste from 1953 to 1955 further depressed local production. A tariff system was introduced which provided for duty free imports only if processors could demonstrate they had made reasonable efforts to get local supplies. Because growers were unable to continue production at prices offered by tomato processors, the then Minister of Agriculture convened a meeting of growers and processors to negotiate prices for tomatoes for processing. The *Tomato Processing Industry Act 1976* provides for a Negotiating Committee to continue this activity. A new variety, KY1, selected by the Department of Agriculture in 1955 proved to be most adaptable and high yielding and was to sustain the industry for the next 15 years.

The seed bean industry was faced with a large carry-over of beans in 1950-51 following import of large quantities of seed beans from South Africa. In 1953, a Seed Bean Marketing Board was established and because of the risk of disease importation, strict quarantine regulations were introduced to control imports. The largest area planted was 847 hectares in 1956-57. The industry gradually declined and since 1967, when the Board ceased operations, growers have obtained their seed from Queensland or from the United States.

#### THE 1960s: PRODUCTIVITY RISE, PRODUCT HANDLING IMPROVEMENT, AND DROUGHT

During this decade there were considerable increases in productivity and production in most agricultural commodities. A feature of the period was the growth of bulk handling of farm produce on the farm and between the farm gate and the consumer. More farms were supplied with electricity; Victoria's road system continued to improve; and facilities for education of country children advanced to the extent that increasing numbers were able to qualify for tertiary education. At the same time, country homes were rapidly acquiring all the electrical labour saving devices of their city counterparts. Access to television programmes became a reality for many of the rural community by the mid-1960s.

A significant upgrading of capital resources took place at Dookie and Longerenong Agricultural Colleges with an increase in student numbers undertaking education at these colleges. Existing courses were upgraded and Glenormiston Agricultural College was established with students undertaking a new course in farm management.

Despite the affluence of country life, a steady drift of population towards the cities commenced and extended through the 1970s. The cost of farm labour began to increase and the cost of material needed for all farming operations was rising. As the price obtained on the export market for most agricultural products was either steady or declining, the cost price squeeze had started.

PERSONS ON ESTABLISHMENTS WITH  
AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY:  
VICTORIA, 1950 TO 1970 (a)

Year ended 31 March—	Males	Females	Total
1950	137,945	118,600	256,545
1955	139,549	122,106	261,655
1960	145,056	126,555	271,611
1965	141,850	125,139	266,989
1970	131,161	116,384	247,545

(a) Information not collected after 1970.

Farmers maintained their level of income by increasing production, by the use of labour saving devices, and by a reduction in the number of paid farm workers. Many of these farmhands and their families were forced to move to the cities to seek alternative employment.

TRENDS IN THE NUMBER, SIZE, AND EMPLOYMENT OF ESTABLISHMENTS  
WITH AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year ended 31 March—	Establishments	Average area per establishment	Male workers per establishment	Average area per male worker	Total male workers, permanent and temporary
	number	hectares		hectares	
1935	74,473	211.2	1.4	154.0	102,100
1940	72,557	226.7	1.4	164.0	100,184
1945	70,856	232.2	1.3	170.1	97,150
1950	70,486	220.1	1.5	144.5	107,405
1955	69,551	220.0	1.6	135.0	113,362
1960	69,778	218.9	1.5	147.9	103,264
1965	69,737	219.6	1.5	144.2	106,201
1970	69,498	227.4	1.3	180.3	87,673
1975	62,926	242.0	1.4	170.8	89,142
1980	49,616	297.0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1981	49,399	293.6	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1982	48,608	297.2	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

NOTE. In recent years, in order to minimise respondent burden and reduce processing costs, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) has been gradually excluding from the statistics those establishments which make only a small contribution to overall agricultural production. Since 1976-77, establishments with agricultural activity have been included in the Census where the enterprise operating one or more of the establishments had, or was expected to have, an Estimated Value of Agricultural Operations (EVAO) of \$1,500 or more. In 1981-82, the EVAO criterion was increased to \$2,500 in order to allow for inflation. While these changes have resulted in some changes in the counts of numbers of establishments appearing in ABS publications, the effect on the statistics of production of major commodities is small. Statistics of minor commodities normally associated with small-scale operations may be affected to a greater extent.

Source: F.F. Almond and N.F. Barr, *The Agricultural Work Force in Victoria, case studies in the Division of Labour on Farms*, Agricultural Research Unit, School of Agriculture and Forestry, University of Melbourne, March 1981.

### Livestock

By the late 1950s, a new assessment of beef production was being made and it was seen to be an increasingly important industry. There was also a recognition that the beef and sheep industries were complementary in biological, managerial, and economic terms.

Encouragement was given to research in 1960 when the industry provided funds through a compulsory levy on slaughterings and this was matched by contributions from the Commonwealth Government. Early research was dominated by projects searching for ways of using and overcoming the limitations of pastures and was helped by extension services specifically established by the Department of Agriculture for the beef industry during the 1960s. The drought in 1967-68 highlighted some of the problems of the beef industry where feed and water supplies were inadequate for cattle. The dramatic increase in beef cattle numbers developed between 1969 and 1975, and was largely the result of farmers making the switch from wool and cereals.

Experiments carried out by the Department of Agriculture in the early 1960s showed that improved pastures could carry more stock and provide increased returns. Farmers thus began to increase stocking rates, which also helped them to maintain a reasonable income in the face of rising costs. The Victorian sheep flock increased from 26.5 million in 1960 to 30 million by 1965. At the same time cattle numbers rose by almost 800,000, (three-quarters of which were beef cattle) from the 1960 level of 2,600,000. The drought in 1967-68 caused a decrease in numbers of 3.3 million sheep and 50,000 cattle but by 1969, the numbers were restored to pre-drought levels. This drought was the first many younger farmers had experienced as the previous one was in 1944-45. Wheat was used as a stock feed in substantial amounts and irrigation farmers faced severe water restrictions which resulted in improved irrigation techniques. Despite the restrictions, dairy farmers in irrigated areas maintained production at close to normal levels while "dry" dairyfarmers, by skilful management, were able to keep production at about 90 per cent of normal levels.

From the beginning of the 1960s, synthetic fibres began to challenge wool in the manufacture of clothing and textiles. A promotion programme was launched to highlight the unique qualities of wool in an endeavour to increase demand. It was to be some years before increasing costs of synthetic fibre as a result of rising oil prices resulted in greater demand and hence better prices for wool.

As wool prices remained low through the late 1960s, sheep farmers constantly sought to keep costs down. The numbers of sheep per labour unit rose quite markedly in many areas. New chemicals had become available for control of blowflies, lice and keds, and for worms. Because they were more effective than those which they replaced, labour required to maintain flock health was reduced. Farmers also began to study their range of management operations carefully to see whether traditional methods could be simplified and thus save labour. Many minor innovations have gradually become generally adopted. This new attitude to labour use was in fact part of a change in thinking for most farmers in Victoria. Through the 1960s, they became much more concerned with financial management of their enterprises.

As costs of production rose, there was a gradual decline in numbers of dairy farmers. Those leaving the industry tended to be farmers operating in areas which were marginally suited to dairying or farmers with small herds and little potential for increase. The dairy industry thus became much more aware of the importance of farm financial management in the early 1960s as there were indications that the British market would be lost when the European Economic Community (EEC) was established. In addition, the EEC and the United States of America were dumping surplus dairy production on world markets. With rising labour costs, there was a movement towards higher stocking rates, an increase in adoption of herringbone milking sheds for more efficient milking, and a higher use of artificial breeding. In 1968, the first rotary cow sheds were built. These were suitable for herds in excess of 150 cows and resulted in significant increases in labour efficiency. One hundred and ten of these sheds were in operation in 1981; all these innovations were designed to raise net returns to the farmers.

A consequence of higher stocking rates in this and the other grazing industries was the realisation by farmers that to provide enough feed for stock, it was essential that the right fertilisers be applied, and at the right time. Potash was used in increasing amounts in southern Victoria and nitrogenous fertilisers, which were subsidised from 1966, were being applied in limited amounts to produce quick feed for freshly calved dairy cows.



## FERTILISER USED (NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL): VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year ended 31 March—	Pastures			Crops			
	Area	Super-phosphate	Artificial fertiliser	Area	Super-phosphate	Artificial fertiliser	
1935	hectares (a)	tonnes n.a.	tonnes (a)	hectares (b)1,998,813	tonnes n.a.	tonnes (b)215,054	
1940	1,302,588	n.a.	174,294	1,667,187	n.a.	171,806	
1945	858,503	96,929	1,088	989,594	68,017	23,416	
1950	2,722,211	378,295	2,176	1,553,599	155,012	23,365	
1955	3,285,300	459,927	6,600	1,460,326	147,883	31,077	
1960	3,104,103	503,507	27,599	1,650,717	178,718	42,090	
1965	4,652,233	707,045	45,447	1,903,414	204,066	47,408	
			Nitrogenous			Nitrogenous	Other
			tonnes			tonnes	tonnes
1970	4,212,109	643,432	n.a.	81,408	2,000,944	245,547	n.a.
1975	(c)3,487,437	560,875	7,927	85,527	1,383,014	189,777	10,205
1980	(c)3,529,960	466,230	11,306	74,647	n.a.	215,019	16,114
1981	(c)3,494,157	464,013	12,050	79,718	n.a.	211,868	15,633
1982	(c)3,339,826	473,669	10,993	70,510	1,842,646	243,164	16,422

(a) Included in crops. In addition, natural fertiliser used for crops totalled 93,486 tonnes in 1935 and 88,971 tonnes in 1940.

(b) Includes pastures.

(c) Includes lucerne.

“Consumerism” became evident in the dairy industry in the 1960s. In 1962, legislation was introduced for the dye marking of antibiotics used for the treatment of mastitis to control the level of antibiotics in milk. Within two years, the incidence of antibiotics in milk had fallen from 90 per cent to less than 2 per cent. The commercial manufacture of cheddar cheese was mechanised in this period, resulting in improvements in labour productivity and in quality control. As a hedge against the expected loss of the United Kingdom market at some time in the future, the Australian Dairy Produce Board started establishing milk recombining plants in south-east Asia in 1963.

By the end of the decade, the prevalence of bovine tuberculosis had been reduced to a very low level. In 1965, the last outbreak of contagious bovine pleuropneumonia occurred in south Gippsland. Eradication of this disease from Australia was achieved in 1972.

The pig industry began to change in many ways in the mid-1960s, when the first intensive pig production unit was established in Australia at Bendigo, where two thousand sows and progeny were completely enclosed. Piggeries declined as an adjunct to the dairy industry and there was a quickening interest in the development of specialist intensive units. In 1981, about 70 per cent of pigs in Victoria were produced in such units. From 1964 to 1974, the industry experienced stable prices. As a result, slaughtering establishments expanded production in Victoria from 25,000 tonnes in 1963-64 to 56,000 tonnes in 1973-74.

The Hypar system of rearing pigs was introduced in Victoria specifically to control virus pneumonia. Virus pneumonia had caused considerable economic loss to the pig industry for many years prior to this. The first production of piglets by the Hypar system was in 1962 at the Animal Research Institute, Werribee. The Hypar system was responsible for the establishment of many herds free of specific diseases but has now been replaced by rigid management programmes to avoid disease introduction in piggeries.

Vast changes were evident in the poultry industry in the 1960s. Intensification and specialisation of production lifted productivity to new levels; small sideline egg farms went out of business; and laying cages were introduced with resultant improved labour efficiency in egg production. The first specialised broiler farms were established with breeder stock, with the result that integration of broiler production on a production line principle led to the virtual elimination of the auction system for poultry.

The next six years saw more changes. Movement from single to multiple bird laying cages caused a rapid rise in hen numbers. Productivity per bird rose as a result of modern breeding programmes based on family selection and including the artificial insemination technique developed by the CSIRO. A rapid increase in broiler production, particularly on the Mornington Peninsula, led to cheaper poultry meat and an increase in consumption,

and extended to large-scale turkey production in broiler houses. Towards the end of the 1960s, broiler production exceeded demand, which resulted in price cutting, company takeovers, and further centralisation of the industry, while egg production tended to move from country areas to specialised areas around Melbourne and Bendigo.

### Crops

The wheat crop in 1960 (1.83 million tonnes) was a record up to that time both in terms of total and average yield. The People's Republic of China began to import wheat and for the time being, fears of a world wheat glut were relieved. The rising trend in wheat production led to further increases in grain storage capacity by construction of new large capacity sub-terminals at ten locations across the cereal belt.

Barley production was stimulated by the release to growers of Resibee, the first new variety released since 1942. Bulk handling of barley was introduced through the Grain Elevators Board. New silos, fitted with aeration ducts to cool the barley so that its germinative capacity would be maintained, were erected at Rainbow and Jeparit and additional storage was added at the Geelong Terminal. A new terminal to service the malting industry was erected at Sunshine in Melbourne. The change from bag to bulk handling of barley was achieved in a very short time. Release of the barley variety Weeah in 1968 by the Department of Agriculture for growing in drier districts gave further encouragement to the industry. In the mid-1960s, the bulk handling system was quickly adopted for oats following erection by the Victorian Oat Pool, a grower-owned private company, of silos in producing localities.

The 1967-68 drought affected most parts of Victoria and cereal yields were reduced to about one-third of normal. In an attempt to offset dry conditions in the spring of 1966, rain making by seeding clouds with silver iodide from aircraft was attempted. Cloud conditions were rarely suitable and subsequent studies showed that no consistent rains could be obtained in the Victorian environment by this means. Following the drought, farmers sowed much greater areas to wheat in an effort to make up for the short fall in income in that season. The result for 1968-69 was a then record crop of 2.4 million tonnes (subsequently surpassed in 1978-79 with 3 million tonnes). The 1968-69 crop coincided with large crops elsewhere in the world and prices decreased markedly. One of the factors contributing to the large Victorian crop was the availability of two new chemicals, one of which killed the broad leaved weeds and the other the grassy weeds and, in particular, Wimmera Ryegrass. Because of a decline in demand for linseed for paint manufacture, and increasing interest in production of edible vegetable oils, pilot sowings of rape seed were made; it was thought this may be a profitable alternative to wheat in the years ahead.

The Victorian Wheat Research Institute at Horsham, opened in 1967, was financed by wheat growers, and staffed by the Department of Agriculture. Later, in 1982, the Institute was extended to include research on all field crops.

### Horticulture

Improved technology led to considerable changes in the fruit industries. Changes in orchard and vineyard management from 1960 were to be more significant than those which had been developed in the previous fifty years. New practices which were adopted were supplementary irrigation, better use of pesticides, more fertilisers, the use of growth regulators, the development of privately owned coolstores, and improved packaging. Growers chose to concentrate on a few of the most popular varieties and develop specialised skills to achieve production potential and maintain viability of their enterprises. They introduced lighter pruning of tree fruits, replaced frequent regular cultivation by permanent grass, increased the use of chemical sprays instead of hand thinning, and used bulk bins and forklifts for fruit handling.

The strawberry industry which had a long history of declining production recovered from its decline in the 1950s, as a result of the development of virus free strawberry runners under the 1958 Victorian Certification Scheme. Substantial yield improvement has been achieved and demand has ensured profitable markets for growers up to the present

time. This development led to the several other schemes for the production of virus tested plants.

Research by the Department of Agriculture at Scoresby led to the development of trickle irrigation of fruit trees and vines. This system enables a very much higher efficiency of use of water than other irrigation systems. A further important development has been the use of biological control of scale insects of citrus fruit. The result has been a great reduction in the use of insecticides. Research has been continued to seek biological control measures for other insect pests. Improved methods of storage aimed at extending the marketing of fruit over a full year. Controlled atmosphere storage was adopted from the United States in 1968 and by 1972, the Victorian storage capacity was over 14,000 tonnes of apples. Fruit from such storage commands good prices out of season. The viticulture industry received encouragement in the late 1960s when Australian table wine consumption increased rapidly, but it was to experience difficulties of over supply, particularly of red wines, in the 1970s.

Fruit growing in the Melbourne metropolitan area declined in the late 1950s and 1960s as urban development spread. Orchards in the eastern suburbs were sold at very high prices to land developers and this enabled many owners to establish larger orchards on cheaper land further from the city. This same trend also applied to the market gardens in the sand belt and around the Waverley area. Farmers moved to the Frankston and Cranbourne area which, however, proved to have special problems resulting from sand culture, such as leaching, water retention, and erosion. The Vegetable Research Station was established at Frankston in 1962 to seek answers to these problems. On farms, cool rooms and hydrocoolers were installed in the early 1960s to improve the quality of produce for local and interstate markets.

In the early 1960s, returns to growers were poor and it was alleged that the Victoria Market was manipulated by a cartel. A Royal Commission found that no cartel existed but legislation was introduced in 1965 to safeguard the interests of growers who sold their produce through merchants and agents. The Department of Agriculture established a Market News Service to report daily through the media on supplies, demand, and current prices.

The new process of quick freezing developed rapidly from the late 1950s. Mechanical harvesting equipment enabled large quantities of peas and beans to be quickly harvested and snap frozen. The quality and convenience of frozen vegetables assured their acceptability by consumers.

The potato industry adopted changes in handling the crop during the 1960s. A dehydration plant established at Ballarat contracted for large quantities of potatoes delivered in bulk. Farmers began to use potato diggers delivering tubers into half tonne bins or bulk trucks, and to wash and pre-pack potatoes into polythene bags for sale to consumers. Other changes of significance to the vegetable industry included the use of fibre board cartons; half tonne bulk bins for carrots, pumpkins, potatoes, and tomatoes (particularly for processing); and the release by the Department of Agriculture of a number of tomato varieties which had disease resistance, for both the fresh market and processing.

In the 1960s, the development of control of blue mould encouraged the doubling of the area under tobacco. However, poor sales in 1961 eventually prompted the initiation of the Tobacco Stabilisation Plan and the establishment of the Australian Tobacco Board.

#### THE 1970s AND EARLY 1980s

The main agricultural industries in the 1970s experienced considerable changes in fortune, in all of which climate, economic circumstances, and various government decisions played their part.

When the Victorian Government decided in 1970 to refrain for the time being from making further land available for dairying, 573 farms had been allotted under the Land Settlement Act (381 dairy farms under rainfall conditions, 113 irrigation dairy farms, and 79 soft fruit orchard holdings).

In 1973, the Victorian Government decided to release further farms, and at 30 June 1976 the remaining 29 farms at Rochester had been allocated as well as 25 more farms at

Heytesbury. In 1976, however, because of further difficulties in the dairying industry, it was once again decided that, for the time being, no further farms would be allocated.

Land developed by the former Rural Finance and Settlement Commission and not allocated under settlement schemes was being progressively sold pursuant to legislation passed in 1977 following completion of previous settlement programmes.

In wetter years production reached record levels in some industries, while the drier seasons brought problems of lower farm returns. The cost/price squeeze was tightening. Farmers were striving for greater efficiency in their operations but there was a limit to what they would achieve.

The price of many agricultural products—wool, lambs, mutton, dairy products, and horticultural produce—was depressed. Wheat production—with a guaranteed price—appeared attractive but expansion was limited by the imposition of quotas from 1969 to 1972. Farmers turned to alternative crops—barley, sunflowers, and other oilseed crops—and beef production. Sales of beef to the United States of America and Japan returned goods prices until the United States market collapsed later in the decade.

The financial pressures and stress on farmers continued to increase with the rising costs associated with fuel, machinery, all farm requisites, and labour, and the appearance of new diseases and pests. As a result many small landholders decided to sell out. There was a trend towards larger properties except in those areas where properties were broken up for "hobby" farms. High land prices assisted the small farmers to leave the industry but often added to the debts of the bigger producers.

Fortunes changed in the marketing of agricultural produce. The policy of the European Economic Community of subsidising local production and/or raising tariffs severely restricted Australian exports to the United Kingdom and Europe. However, new markets were opened up in the Middle East and Far East but international politics at times created a degree of uncertainty. A profitable live sheep export trade was developed with Moslem countries, but proved to be a contentious issue in Victoria.

In 1979, the Victorian Farmers and Graziers Association was formed by an amalgamation of several primary industry associations.

Stock and station agents have had a close association with the Victorian pastoral industry particularly in the marketing of livestock and wool and in providing goods and services to producers. The economic forces to which producers were responding during the 1970s also influenced the nature and extent of agent services and substantial rationalisation of services took place.

Marketing of livestock and wool became increasingly more objective and towards the end of the 1970s the concept of sale by description on the basis of measurements was gaining acceptance.

As well as conducting full-time courses, agricultural colleges established an extensive programme of short courses for the farming community. McMillan Rural Studies Centre was established in Gippsland and concentrated on conducting non-residential part-time courses for the rural communities in Gippsland and also by home studies to the rest of Victoria. There was a significant increase in demand placed on Burnley Horticultural College in Melbourne for courses in amenities horticulture and a number of new courses were established.

### **Livestock**

The beef industry expansion which started at the time of low wool prices and large grain surpluses became rapid in the early 1970s. World demand for beef was high and returns good. Warnings that greatly increased output may be difficult to sell if production increased simultaneously in major producing countries went largely unheeded. Prices rose sharply in 1973 as part of a world commodity boom and stimulated confidence further. In 1973, most economies in the developed world were disrupted by a rapid rise in oil prices set by the Middle East producers. This, as well as good seasons overseas which increased stock feed levels, immediately caused sharp reductions in Australian exports of many items, including beef. Prices declined dramatically and Victorian producers, who had increased cattle numbers by more than 2 million in five years, experienced a difficult time. This lasted until 1978. In 1976, about 80,000 cattle were shot and buried in mass graves because

they were worth so little on the market. Local beef consumption rose markedly because of low prices. Since 1978, despite improved markets for beef, producers have been slow to increase production again.

The dairy industry in Victoria has always been the major producer of milk in Australia. Record levels of production in Australia in 1969-70 led to Victorian and Tasmanian farmers being asked to reduce production in 1970 as a condition of financial assistance from the Commonwealth Government. In the event, Victorian production reached a record level but because of poor seasonal conditions in other States, total Australian production was within limits set by the Commonwealth Government. By 1970, all milking machines had been converted to stainless steel to improve the keeping quality of milk products containing butterfat. The numbers of dairy farmers continued to decline through the 1970s. Some changed over to beef because of the buoyant outlook for beef in the first three years of the decade.

There was increased activity from 1970 to 1973 in developing alternative export markets against the loss of access to the United Kingdom in 1973. Other States also brought continuing pressure for development of a two price scheme for dairy production which would insulate them from the effect of greater efficiency of Victorian farmers. This was not achieved by the early 1980s.

Throughout the 1970s, considerable rationalisation took place in the processing of agricultural products. Many small butter factories closed and operations became centred on a few major establishments which specialised to a degree in certain lines of manufacture. In 1974, the Commonwealth Government bounty to the dairy industry was withdrawn and a Board of Inquiry was established to examine all aspects of the industry. The Australian Dairy Corporation, which has a better balance of industry representation than its predecessor, the Australian Dairy Produce Board, was established in 1975. It has been active in development of export markets since that time.

Drought, declining butter sales, the collapse in export prices, and low values for all stock precipitated a crisis in the industry in 1976. Herd numbers had reached a record level because many farmers had kept cull cows longer than normal, as their carcass value was less than the net value of milk they could produce. Farmers came under financial stress and large numbers sought off-farm employment while their wives and families continued to run the farms. Many left the industry in the next few years. The difficulties, however, led to the formation of the United Dairyfarmers of Victoria in 1979, which organised a march of farmers through Melbourne to draw attention of the urban community to their plight.

In 1977, the Victorian Dairy Industry Authority replaced the Milk Board and began phasing out milk contracts. This gave those farmers without contracts an opportunity to participate in the liquid milk market. This move had the effect of discouraging those farmers who were able to maintain production in marginal areas only because of the high price paid for contract milk. For those farmers who continued in dairying the Commonwealth Government for its part introduced legislation which could be used to prevent interstate trade in liquid milk. It also introduced underwriting of dairy products to ensure minimum levels of returns to farmers.

For the last three years of the 1970s the numbers of dairy farms, milk cows, and total milk production declined. However, liquid milk consumption rose marginally following the introduction of a milk marketing campaign called "Big M" which promoted a new range of milk products. Consumption of manufactured dairy products on the Australian market also rose and the quantity of exports of dairy products declined substantially (but not the total return from exports).

Thirty-five per cent of farmers used production testing in their herds, and 50 per cent of dairy farmers used artificial breeding for 25 per cent of the total herd. The National Dairy Herd Improvement Scheme was established in 1980 to maximise net benefit to the industry through genetic improvement.

Because of improved returns from dairying, farmers sought an improved lifestyle. Some achieved concentrated calving patterns which allowed a shorter milking season and others employed relief milkers so they could have more leisure.

The farmers who participated in the Department of Agriculture grass budgeting programme were able to achieve an average increase of 10 per cent in milk production

with little or no increases in physical inputs. In the early 1980s due to increases in milk prices and productivity, and possibly also because of changes in relativities with other grazing industries, the decline in dairy production that occurred in the 1970s came to a halt.

The Bovine Brucellosis Control Programme began with the compulsory vaccination of heifers with Strain 19 vaccine. After five years, during which time the prevalence of the disease had been reduced, the Eradication Programme commenced and, by 1979, infection in herds and individual cattle throughout Victoria had been reduced by over 90 per cent.

The sheep industry rapidly recovered its stock numbers after the 1967-68 drought and despite falling prices for both sheep and wool, there were 33.8 million sheep in Victoria by March 1971. Relatively better beef prices at this time induced many growers to change from sheep to beef, either wholly or partly. By March 1973, flock numbers had fallen to about 24 million. In the wake of poor prices, the Commonwealth Government had introduced a deficiency payments (subsidy) scheme to guarantee minimum wool prices to producers. It was phased out when prices recovered temporarily in 1972-73. Following the oil crisis in 1973, wool prices again declined. In an effort to smooth out fluctuations in the market, although not to defy long-term market forces, the Commonwealth Government introduced a Flexible Reserve Price Scheme.

In January 1974, the Australian Wool Corporation (AWC) proposed to acquire and market all wool produced in Australia "for export". The plan has not been implemented, but is still AWC policy. In the face of continued poor prices, the Commonwealth Government introduced a Minimum Floor Price in 1974 which was to be highly significant. This minimum price for wool was based on a published annual schedule of types and prices to underpin the Flexible Reserve Price Scheme. It has been administered by the AWC and financed by a 5 per cent levy on the gross value of raw wool sold. This levy was additional to the existing 3 per cent already levied for research and promotion.

Initially a stockpile of 285 million kilograms of wool built up, but improving prices had reduced the amount to 148,000 by 1981. Prices continued to be satisfactory until the early 1980s.

Sale of wool by sample and test certificate where a small sample together with information about fibre diameter, yield, and contaminants was presented to buyers, largely replaced the old method of displaying fleeces in bales with the buyers making their own subjective assessment. The change over was initiated in 1975. An additional aid to producers was the development of objectively based reports on sales of fat sheep and cattle by the Livestock Market Reporting Service. This began in 1977.

Graziers realised throughout the 1950s and 1960s that animal diseases were causing serious losses in the livestock industries, and requested more veterinary research and diagnostic services. In 1969, the Department of Agriculture opened the Veterinary Research Laboratory at Attwood, and between 1971 and 1976 Regional Veterinary Diagnostic Laboratories were established at Hamilton, Bendigo, Bairnsdale, and Benalla.

The Department of Agriculture also assumed responsibility for the provision of services to the meat industry of Victoria with the bringing into operation of the Abattoir and Meat Inspection Act in 1974. The change in responsibility (from the Health Commission and local municipalities) has resulted in uniformity in the standards of construction and hygiene at meat processing facilities throughout Victoria and the extension of meat inspection services to all abattoirs slaughtering animals for human consumption.

Toward the end of the 1970s, the sheep industry, as well as other animal industries were challenged by animal welfare lobby groups in regard to animal husbandry practices which had long been taken for granted. These industries together with the Department of Agriculture developed suitable "Recommended Codes of Practice" for the husbandry and transport of farm animals. The principles were laid down by an Act of Parliament in 1980 and reflect the influence since the early 1970s of various conservation groups.

Pastures, which are the basis of Victoria's grazing industry and have an influence on cropping through the clover ley system, were affected in two major ways in the 1970s. In the middle of the decade, superphosphate prices rose considerably, while most products were selling at low prices. Farmers had to cut costs to survive and many reduced applications very substantially or completely. As prices for produce increased later in the decade, farmers again used more fertilisers and pasture growth quickly returned to normal.

Research into many aspects of pasture improvement continued. The spotted alfalfa aphid and the blue green aphid—pests in California—were discovered in Victoria in 1977, and they caused severe damage to stands of lucerne and other medics. Cultivars resistant to attack by these pests were introduced and developed eventually to overcome this problem.

Other pasture problems of the decade were clover scorch disease, which affects some cultivars of subterranean clover, and the need to replace current cultivars which have high oestrogenic levels and cause infertility in sheep. Research has identified cultivars which may overcome these problems—Siroso and Sirolan—improved cultivars of phalaris and Haifa white clover.

Pig raising “migrated” from major milk producing areas to the grain producing areas in northern and western Victoria as the main diet changed to a grain base. This movement was largely completed by the early 1970s. In 1974, many sideline producers left the industry as grain prices rose and pig prices declined. By 1982, the number of producers in Victoria had decreased from 6,000 in 1974 to 2,000. The increased number of specialist producers has ensured continuing pig meat production at an annual level of about 50,000 tonnes in Victoria (with pigs being brought for slaughter from New South Wales and South Australia). The industry also became highly capitalised between 1960 and 1980.

The main problem for the poultry industry in the decade was the fluctuating market situations, particularly for the broiler industry. In 1972, development of the fast food industry led to an increased consumption of poultry meats and the broiler industry expanded. Two years later, the Broiler Chicken Industry Act set up a Broiler Industry Negotiation Committee to prepare growing contracts, negotiate grower fees, and settle industry disputes. Low red meat prices in 1976 brought wholesale prices of broilers down but the industry began another period of rapid production under the stabilising effect of the 1975 legislation. Consumption of chicken meat rose as a result of low chicken prices, a quite basic change in the food consumption pattern of Victorians. For the next five years, consumption tended to reflect the comparative prices of poultry and the red meats.

In 1976, an outbreak of Fowl Plague occurred on three properties in Victoria and a national programme was implemented to eradicate the disease. Eradication was achieved six weeks after first identification of the disease. The Egg Inquiry Committee set up by the Victorian Government in 1980 recommended freezing of the transfer of hen quotas and provided for their discontinuance in 1984.

### Crops

Because of a world glut of grain, the wheat quota system was introduced, commencing with the 1969-70 harvest. Growers switched to barley and oats and some tried safflower and rape seed as sources of vegetable oils. Research by the Department of Agriculture into production of other crops sought to find a range of options for wheat growers. Quotas were lifted in 1972 as market conditions improved. Despite good winter rains in 1973, yields were greatly reduced by stem rust. As a result, a National Rust Control Programme was established in the expectation that future wheat varieties released in Australia would ultimately be rust resistant.

#### AREA AND PRODUCTION OF OIL SEEDS: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year ended 31 March—	Linseed		Rape seed		Safflower		Sunflower	
	Area	Production	Area	Production	Area	Production	Area	Production
	hectares	tonnes	hectares	tonnes	hectares	tonnes	hectares	tonnes
1935	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	226	186
1940	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	135	146
1945	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	161	178
1950	3,297	1,473	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	181	102
1955	740	364	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	31	21
1960	10,056	7,510	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	89	64
1965	4,028	2,713	n.a.	n.a.	770	367	11	12
1970	7,640	9,502	4,367	3,947	n.a.	n.a.	1,217	918
1975	4,924	3,812	3,707	2,288	2,813	1,269	7,973	4,766
1980	5,284	5,208	3,438	3,476	1,055	688	9,363	7,325
1981	4,567	4,057	2,539	2,078	3,366	1,630	8,195	8,552
1982	3,864	3,898	3,846	3,584	4,799	3,113	11,970	10,086

Over the next few years, growers persisted with areas of oil seed crops with varying degrees of success. Sunflowers became the major oil seed crop in the State but disease, pests, and insufficient soil water reserves prior to sowing on dry land were factors which could drastically reduce yields. The crop, however, provided an additional option over a wide area of medium rainfall districts which were traditionally used for grazing.

In the mid-1970s, grain legumes began to attract interest. The Department of Agriculture tested many varieties and identified potential markets. Other technical developments included minimum tillage and direct drilling which allow crops to be sown without prior preparation of a seed bed, the release of a wide range of herbicides to deal with specific weed problems, and the development of higher yielding varieties of crops such as rape seed, triticale, field peas, lupins, and chick peas.

Two successive record wheat crops in 1978-79 and 1979-80 were harvested, the first just under and the second just over 3 million tonnes. Disease in each year reduced yields in parts of the cereal growing area. Measures to reduce losses caused by "take-all" and stripe rust, which first appeared in Australia in 1979, cereal cyst nematode, stem rust, and speckled leaf blotch were initiated to stabilise Victorian cereal production.

The large harvests of 1979 and 1980 placed a severe strain on storage and transport facilities. The storage problem was largely overcome by constructing large plastic lined earth walled bunkers. The transport task was eased by the conversion of 600 general purpose rail wagons to self emptying hopper wagons to speed up unloading and reduce labour at the sea board terminal. The shipping terminal at Portland previously used mainly for oats was transferred from the Portland Harbor Trust to the Grain Elevators Board. Wheat from most of the Wimmera and part of the Mallee was shipped through Portland from the early 1980s.

### Horticulture

The overproduction of unsaleable fruit was the problem for many Victorian fruitgrowers in the early 1970s. In a period of strong competition, the distance of Victorian fruit from overseas markets was a great disadvantage. The problem was to be compounded when access to the market in the United Kingdom declined in 1973. The Commonwealth Government introduced the "Tree Pull Scheme" in 1972 as a means of reducing production. It provided financial help to growers who removed trees from their orchards. Up until 30 September 1977 when the Scheme was wound down, 190 hectares of fresh apples, 218 hectares of fresh pears, 950 hectares of canning peaches, 960 hectares of canning pears and 161 hectares of canning apricots qualified for tree removal assistance under this scheme. At the same time, alternative export markets were sought in the United States, the Middle East, and the Far East. They were not sufficiently successful to absorb available supplies of fruit.

The "Tatura trellis"—a new method of growing fruit trees on a "V" shaped trellis—was developed at the Irrigation Research Institute, Tatura. Fruit production per hectare from trees grown on "Tatura trellis" is much higher than from conventional trees and the method offers potential for improving the efficiency of fruit growing for future plantings. Advances have also been made in the mechanical harvesting of fruit.

The citrus industry, which had increased plantings of Valencia oranges and grape fruit, appeared to encounter oversupply, but the unexpected increase in orange juice consumption eased the situation. Tariff protection was sought and granted on a temporary basis to the industry against the import of cheap juice concentrates.

A novel development particularly in urban areas has been the "pick your own fruit" harvesting method. Consumers are invited to pick their own fruit as a form of recreation. They get the fruit at a relatively low cost, and the grower has reduced harvesting costs. One of the important developments in the export fruit industry was the improved packaging of fruit in cartons for transport in the large containers used by modern shipping. This has saved handling and freight costs between producer and consumer.

While the dried vine fruit industry had severe financial difficulties in the mid-1970s because of competition from other producing countries, good crops and prices towards the end of the period allowed most growers to reduce overdrafts substantially.

The post-war peak in tobacco planting was reached in 1970 with 4,309 hectares under



the crop. The area gradually declined by the end of the decade, but yields increased with improved technology and pest control.

A significant change for the vegetable industry in the 1970s was acceptance of plastic (PVC) pipe for irrigation and drainage. Growers installed fixed PVC systems in both the sand belt near Melbourne and in the Mallee. Plastic drain pipes replaced conventional tile drains. Mechanised installation was quick and relatively cheap. Tomato harvesters, first used in 1970, were steadily adopted and by 1980, about 60 per cent of the crop was harvested by machines. New varieties had to be bred to take advantage of this development. New growing techniques had to be developed and in particular, the use of direct seeding rather than transplanting.

Following the rapid growth of frozen vegetables production in the 1960, this sector of the industry underwent rationalisation during the following decade. Growers quickly accepted concentrated fertilisers when they were introduced. In 1974, the first pathogen tested seed potatoes became available. New varieties—Coliban and Tasman—were released. Mobile irrigators gained wide acceptance among potato growers and the quantity of potatoes processed had more than doubled. French fried potatoes were the main growth area. However, imports of frozen french fries in 1974-75 disrupted the industry, but as a result of an Industries Assistance Commission inquiry, the Commonwealth Government imposed a duty on processed product of 10 per cent, on a fresh equivalent basis.

Airfreighting of vegetables to south-east Asia began towards the end of the decade and a hybrid sweetcorn seed industry was established at Orbost. At about this time tomato harvesters capable of grading fruit on the basis of colour were introduced. A few commercial enterprises were showing an interest in the growing of vegetables by hydroponic culture.

In 1981, a vegetable growing apprenticeship scheme was established. Other farm apprenticeship schemes had been started in 1975, giving practical training in cropping, grazing, dairying, and fruit growing to 180 students. By 1981 there were 1,400 students.

The 1970s also saw big increases in the numbers of non-commercial farms. A non-commercial property is one which cannot generate sufficient income to meet all farm costs and provide a living, resulting in some off-farm income, generated by either full or part-time employment, being needed to maintain a rural way of life. Farms which fell into this category were commonly called "farmlets" or "hobby farms".

The non-commercial farm was not a new phenomenon. However, the magnitude of proliferation in terms of both area of land sub-divided and sold, and the effect on rural land valuations, became markedly greater than before. By 1981, district officers of the Department of Agriculture, Victoria, estimated that a total of about 13,000 non-commercial properties were located in all districts of the State, with a predominance surrounding Melbourne (4,600), Ballarat (1,500), Colac (1,400), Bendigo (900), and Leongatha (750).

Attitudes of the established "commercial" farming community toward these groups vary widely. On the one hand, high valuations of non-commercial farms, up to twice the accepted agricultural worth of the land, have led to greatly increased rate charges; absentee non-commercial farm owners are also blamed for a build up of noxious weeds and vermin and for disturbance of flocks and herds by roaming dogs. On the other hand, non-commercial owners new to farming may rely on established commercial owners to provide information, services, and machinery for development for which they are happy to pay.

#### **Recent agricultural developments**

The economic recession continued to worsen early in the 1980s and unemployment increased.

The year 1982-83 proved to be a particularly difficult year with severe and widespread drought conditions throughout most of Victoria and disastrous bush fires in a number of areas. Drought assistance schemes were implemented by the Victorian and Commonwealth Governments, together with disaster relief measures for those affected by the fires.

The export markets continued to be disrupted by international political decisions arising from troubles in Afghanistan and Iran. The export of live sheep was still a contentious issue with unions and farmers.

A Royal Commission into the Australian Meat Industry was set up in 1981 following the discovery of kangaroo and horse meat in packages of export beef in the United States

of America. The Commissioner, the Hon. Justice A.E. Woodward, found that at the Commonwealth level there were deficiencies in the arrangements and procedures for export meat supervision covering the preparation of meat for export but that there were no similar deficiencies in the supervision by Victoria of meats being prepared for domestic consumption. It was recommended that a unified meat inspection service be developed in Australia.

A major goal was achieved in 1980 when Victoria was declared provisionally free of bovine brucellosis. At this point the prevalence of the disease had been reduced to less than 0.2 per cent.

The need to maintain a vigilant animal quarantine service to protect the livestock industries from the introduction of exotic diseases received wide publicity as a result of a national publicity campaign. The Australian National Animal Health Laboratory was built for the CSIRO at Geelong to provide a maximum security laboratory to enable research and diagnostic work to be conducted on exotic animal diseases. When the project neared completion, the need to import foot and mouth disease virus so the laboratory work could proceed became a controversial issue, arising out of questioning by producer organisations and certain scientific personnel.

The Plant Breeding Rights Bill was introduced into the Commonwealth Parliament in 1981 and was subsequently referred to the Senate Standing Committee on National Resources for further consideration late in 1982. The legislation provides for proprietary rights on newly bred plant material in a similar manner to patent legislation. The objective of the legislation is to encourage the development of plant breeding in Australia in the private as well as the public sector. A further objective is to enable access by Australia to patented overseas varieties, many of which are currently unavailable.

The Victorian Advisory Committee on Agricultural Education, established in 1976, recommended that the agricultural and horticultural colleges be consolidated into a single multi-sector, multi-campus college to be called the Victorian College of Agriculture and Horticulture. Ministerial responsibility would be changed from the Minister of Agriculture to the Minister of Education and the College would be managed and controlled by a Council. The Victorian Government accepted this recommendation and the College was established in 1983.

## CONCLUSION

Over the 50 years since 1934 prosperity alternated with adversity, the latter generally causing a period of depopulation, an overall declining percentage contribution to Gross Domestic Product by agriculture, restructuring of properties, and the seeking of alternative employment by farmers, their wives, or older children. This was especially marked in the mid-1970s. Drought, too, was a constant and cyclical threat and combined with a period of financial adversity, accelerated the above trends.

The various agricultural problems of the era have been examined by academics, government departments, private industry, and grower organisations. One academic whose influence was far reaching and long standing, in both agricultural theory and practice, was the late Sir Samuel Wadham, Professor of Agriculture at the University of Melbourne from 1926 to 1956 and adviser to several Commonwealth and State Governments.

Government agencies developed services to the agricultural community. The Department of Agriculture developed research activities in most agricultural areas. Its district industry extension services cover Victoria and it operates regulatory services to protect the quality, marketability, and disease risks of many products. The Department of Crown Lands and Survey has continued to attempt to control vermin and noxious weeds. Its most significant success was the large decline of the rabbit population. The Soil Conservation Authority established in 1950 has brought transformation to many areas of the State and ensured that good conservation practice is incorporated into normal agricultural management. The State Rivers and Water Supply Commission has increased water availability, vastly improved the distribution system for irrigation, stock and domestic water, and placed Victoria in a good position for future irrigation production development. The transport system has seen changes in emphasis; the roads developed by the Country Roads Board permit easy delivery of many goods, with the railway the predominant bulk carrier.

Grower organisations waxed and waned with a general move to amalgamation culminating toward the end of the period with the formation of the Victorian Farmers and Graziers

Association. Growers prompted innovations which included myxomatosis for the control of rabbits, wool price schemes, and rural fire suppression services; innovations developed by growers included wool packaging, computerised wool sales, and mechanical and marketing innovations for crops.

The contribution of volunteer organisations has also been far reaching. The Country Fire Authority is financed and directed by the Victorian Government but relies on volunteer fire fighters throughout the State. The Country Women's Association and the Young Farmers have widened the horizons of families on the land.

The contribution of the Commonwealth and State Governments has been critical in the growth of technical agricultural education since 1934. University degree courses have doubled and agricultural colleges increased from two to six, including one private institution. Extension services have attempted to provide farmers with greater technical and managerial competence. In both agricultural extension and education there has been a growing emphasis on financial management since the 1960s.

Many of the above developments have been assisted by the supply of electricity to almost the whole State—one of the major achievements for agricultural life since 1934. Likewise, the use of petroleum products for farm machinery grew rapidly after the Second World War, but when the historic rise in oil prices began in 1973, these products came to assume an ever growing importance in the rural producer's cost structure.

Producers of some crops struggled to maintain their tariffs, for example, tobacco. At the end of the period, negotiations with New Zealand for closer economic relations were seen by some as a threat and others as an opportunity. Marketing boards and other devices established first in the 1930s continued to grow, some with national coverage, such as wheat and wool, and others local, such as eggs and onions. They have been politically controversial but in retrospect have had considerable success in reducing price fluctuations. The agricultural sector, because most of its earnings come from exports, has to accept rising input costs while world market prices generally dictate the returns on the bulk of its production. This highlights the continuing dilemma of Australian agriculture: the physical ability to produce more output matched by its inability to compete on many world markets.

By the 1980s, the complex interaction of historically unprecedented high interest rates, inflation, unemployment, export difficulties, drought, and bushfires gave some reminders of the unhappy days of the 1930s.

## MANUFACTURING

### INTRODUCTION

The course of industrial development in Victoria since 1934 falls into four fairly well defined periods: the recovery from the Depression of the early 1930s; the war years; post-war expansion and diversification; and the more turbulent 1970s and early 1980s.

A useful concept that puts the details into a wider context is that of "core" and "periphery". In the world industrial system, Victoria (like the rest of Australia) must be regarded as part of the periphery in that its economic development during this half century was significantly affected by such external events as wars, booms, and recessions, as well as rising energy prices over which it has had little influence or control. Within Australia, however, Victoria and New South Wales clearly form the industrial core of the nation, whether measured by the numbers of persons employed in factories and the contribution made to gross domestic product or by the location of head offices (the focus of control and decision-making) of industrial firms operating in Australia. Finally, within Victoria the Melbourne metropolitan area has long been the economic and commercial core of the State.

The worldwide downturn in economic activity in the late 1920s was quickly felt in Victoria where factory employment fell from a record 162,000 in 1927 to 126,000 (37 per cent of the Australian total) in 1931. Most types of industrial activity were affected so that the structure of the State's manufacturing remained more or less the same. This was still the case in 1934-35 when the number of persons employed in factories, 170,000, passed the 1927 peak. In 1935, as the Employment by Industry Groups table shows, four industrial groups (clothing; industrial metals, machines, and conveyances; food, drink, and tobacco; and textiles and textile goods) provided work for over 71 per cent of the factory employees in Victoria (as against 72 per cent in 1931). Significantly, however, the proportion of females in the factory labour force rose from 32.6 per cent in 1927 to 34.2 per cent in 1935. To some extent at least manufacturers appear to have turned to relatively cheaper female labour and mechanisation as ways of reducing direct production costs.

### DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY GROUPS: VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1945-46 (per cent)

Class of industry	1934-35	1938-39	1942-43	1945-46
Treatment of non-metalliferous mine and quarry products	1.2	1.6	0.8	1.0
Bricks, pottery, glass, etc.	2.0	2.3	1.0	1.4
Chemicals, dyes, explosives, paints, oils, grease	3.7	4.2	9.8	4.7
Industrial metals, machines, conveyances	22.1	25.7	37.8	34.5
Precious metals, jewellery, plate	1.0	1.2	0.5	0.6
Textiles and textile goods (not dress)	13.0	13.3	11.1	11.7
Skins and leather (not clothing or footwear)	2.6	2.3	1.7	1.9
Clothing (except knitted)	22.5	19.3	12.8	15.1
Food, drink, and tobacco	13.7	13.4	11.6	13.2
Sawmilling, joinery, boxes, etc., wood turning and carving	4.1	3.7	3.2	4.0

DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY GROUPS:  
VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1945-46—*continued*  
(per cent)

Class of industry	1934-35	1938-39	1942-43	1945-46
Furniture of wood, bedding, etc.	2.3	2.4	1.1	1.5
Paper, stationery, printing, bookbinding, etc.	7.3	6.9	4.6	5.4
Rubber	2.2	1.5	1.1	1.4
Musical instruments	0.1	—	—	—
Miscellaneous products	1.2	1.3	1.9	2.6
Heat, light, and power	1.2	1.1	0.9	1.2
Total employment (a)	100.0 (169,691)	100.0 (201,831)	100.0 (262,357)	100.0 (256,249)

(a) The figures in brackets indicate the number of persons employed.

Geographically, manufacturing activity remained very concentrated. In 1934-35, 83.7 per cent of the State's factory labour force—80.3 per cent of the male and 90 per cent of the female employees—had their jobs in the Melbourne metropolitan area (which comprised the 1,125 square kilometres within 20 kilometres of the GPO). Even more strikingly, 49.8 per cent of Victoria's factory employees (42.1 and 64.2 per cent, respectively, of the males and females) worked in four local government areas, defined as the "inner core". While the male factory workers there were engaged in a wide range of activities, most of the females were engaged in manufacturing clothing, textiles, and food products.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING:  
VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1945-46

Area	1934-35		1938-39		1942-43		1945-46	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
<b>Melbourne metropolitan area—</b>								
<b>Inner core LGAs (a)—</b>								
Factories	3,388	37.2	3,402	36.8	3,299	37.8	3,594	35.3
Workers	84,457	49.8	93,533	46.3	94,837	36.1	98,727	38.5
<b>Adjacent ring of LGAs (b)—</b>								
Factories	1,953	21.5	2,010	21.7	1,927	22.0	2,182	21.4
Workers	37,923	22.4	49,457	24.6	81,030	30.9	73,815	28.8
<b>Remainder of metropolitan LGAs—</b>								
Factories	1,008	11.1	1,055	11.4	1,076	12.3	1,340	13.1
Workers	19,597	11.5	27,942	13.8	47,722	18.2	38,589	15.1
<b>Total metropolitan area (c)—</b>								
Factories	6,349	69.8	6,467	69.9	6,302	72.1	7,116	69.8
Workers	141,977	83.7	170,932	84.7	223,589	85.2	211,131	82.4
<b>Remainder of Victoria—</b>								
<b>Seven urban areas (d)—</b>								
Factories	853	9.4	845	9.1	739	8.5	883	8.7
Workers	14,906	8.8	15,864	7.9	21,950	8.4	21,884	8.5
<b>Other areas—</b>								
Factories	1,898	20.8	1,938	21.0	1,697	19.4	2,196	21.5
Workers	12,808	7.5	15,035	7.4	16,818	6.4	23,234	9.1
<b>Total Victoria—</b>								
Factories	9,100	100.0	9,250	100.0	8,738	100.0	10,195	100.0
Workers	169,691	100.0	201,831	100.0	262,357	100.0	256,249	100.0

(a) Local government areas (LGAs) Melbourne, Fitzroy, Collingwood, Richmond.

(b) LGAs Brighton, Camberwell, Caulfield, Footscray, Hawthorn, Kew, Malvern, Port Melbourne, Prahran, St Kilda, South Melbourne, Williamstown.

(c) As defined by the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1934-35.

(d) Ballarat (including Ballarat City and Ballarat Shire); Bendigo (including Bendigo City and Eaglehawk Borough); Castlemaine City; Geelong (including Geelong City, Corio Shire, Geelong West City, and Newtown and Chilwell City); Mildura City and Shire; Shepparton City and Shire; Warrnambool City and Shire.

The ring of local government areas around the inner core had 22.4 per cent of Victoria's factory labour force, a proportion that had changed little during the previous decade. The part of South Melbourne immediately south of the Yarra River was one of the leading

industrial districts, many of the factories having been established on Crown land. An almost continuous industrial belt extended from the north-western part of the central business district, westerly and southerly between the Williamstown railway and the Yarra River. Here were located the Railway Workshops at Newport, ship repair yards, power stations, and plants making chemicals, fertilisers, rope, glassware, and metal products.

Factories elsewhere in the Melbourne metropolitan area provided jobs for a further 11.5 per cent of the manufacturing labour force. Some, like the establishments making bricks, tiles, and pottery in Brunswick and agricultural machinery at Sunshine, dated back to the nineteenth century. Others, like those at Oakleigh, marked the beginning of the move by new industrial enterprises into more distant suburbs where entrepreneurs could purchase land cheaply and recruit their labour force locally. Even so, areas like Broadmeadows to the north and Dandenong to the south-east, which were to become major industrial areas, had at this time only a handful of industrial premises, most of which were legacies of the past.

The other 16.3 per cent of Victoria's factory labour force had jobs outside the Melbourne metropolitan area. Two tendencies were evident. First, the proportion of factory employees outside the metropolitan area had been gradually declining for half a century or more. During the late 1890s the non-metropolitan area had about 25 per cent of Victoria's factory labour force and in the 1920s about 18 per cent. This was the result of a series of political, economic, and technological influences including, for example, the centralisation in Melbourne of activities ranging from the maintenance of railway engines and rolling stock to the manufacture of flour, butter, and beer. Second, seven urban areas (listed in the Geographical Distribution table on page 372) were able to retain existing industries or gained new ones; hence, together they provided 53.8 per cent of the non-metropolitan factory jobs in 1934-35 as against 49.8 per cent in 1926-27. The leaders were Geelong and Ballarat. Geelong, long established as a major textile producing centre (largely because of the abundance and softness of river water), had attracted other major firms including the Ford Motor Company of Canada Ltd which in March 1925 acquired a site on which it erected a plant capable of assembling 30,000 motor vehicles annually and employing over 500 employees.

Other centres were reaping benefits of tariff changes imposed during the 1920s. For instance, from September 1925 the British Preferential Tariff (BPT) on woollen yarns was increased from 10 per cent *ad valorem* to 20 per cent, and a specific duty of "one shilling per square yard" BPT was imposed on imported shoddy and cotton tweeds, and this, along with the optimism of local residents, led to new mills being set up at Wangaratta, Stawell, Sale, and Daylesford. Other tariff changes had encouraged Messrs I. and R. Morley to erect a factory in Ballarat in 1927 to make underwear, while a new company—Hanro (Australia) Knitting Mills—was formed in 1926 to take over the Bendigo Knitting Mills and extend its range of products to include underwear as well as outerwear. But while the major centres, taken together, improved their industrial status, employment in manufacturing elsewhere in the country areas declined.

#### 1935 TO 1939

During the four years immediately prior to the Second World War, manufacturing in Victoria made further, if not very spectacular, progress: even though employment rose by 32,000 to reach nearly 202,000 in 1939, the number of factories increased by only 150 to 9,250. Victoria lost ground relative to the rest of Australia, which enlarged its share of the nation's factory labour force from 62.3 per cent in 1935 to 64.3 per cent in 1939.

All the major industrial groups expanded their activities but the main advances were in general engineering, motor vehicle construction and assembly, the manufacture of agricultural implements, textiles, and foodstuffs. Several influences were important. First, under the tariff proposals agreed to at the Imperial Economic Conference in Ottawa, which came into force on 14 October 1932, the United Kingdom accorded increased preference to some Australian products. While this mainly benefited primary producers, it also aided processing industries like butter-making and fruit-preserving in which Victoria was pre-eminent.

Second, Australian tariff policy also encouraged local production of goods previously

imported. Thus, in the early 1920s a tariff structure was introduced which discriminated against the importation of motor car chassis from the United States. As indicated already, the Ford Motor Company established an assembly works at Geelong in 1925. A year later General Motors Corporation took over Holden's Motor Body Builders Ltd in Adelaide and then in the mid-1930s the renamed company, General Motors-Holden's Pty Ltd, obtained Crown land at Fishermens Bend for a factory which was opened on 5 November 1936 and became the headquarters of the company's operation in Australia. Similarly, tariff policies during the 1920s and 1930s also encouraged import replacement in the agricultural equipment industry: in 1939, for instance, the International Harvester Co. of Australia Pty Ltd opened a plant at Geelong that employed 250 persons manufacturing farm machinery.

Third, some industrial expansion was engendered by the increasingly tense international political situation, although it is impossible now to assess the real importance of this factor. Nonetheless, one specific example was the formation in 1936 of the Commonwealth Aircraft Corporation Pty Ltd by a group of leading Australian companies; this produced its first aircraft at Fishermens Bend during March 1939.

Fourth, the increasing complexity of manufactured products encouraged the growth of specialist firms supplying components (such as batteries and other electrical equipment) to assemblers and replacement parts to consumers, making service equipment, and undertaking repairs such as panel beating. As one example, each year during this period 375 additional employees were taken on by motor vehicle repairers alone.

In contrast, activities like the manufacture of textiles, clothing and foodstuffs, which had traditionally provided job opportunities for women and girls, grew more slowly than the male dominated heavy industries already described. As a case in point, in 1939 there were only 234 females in the 5,488 strong labour force constructing and assembling motor vehicles, and only 60 among the 3,210 engaged in repairing them. The re-orientation of Victoria's manufacturing industry led to a decline in the proportion of females in the factory labour force from 34.6 to 32.5 per cent. Even so, female labour was much more important in Victoria's factories than in those elsewhere in Australia: in New South Wales the proportion of females was 26.7 per cent and in South Australia only 17.7 per cent.

The relative share of Victoria's industrial activity—measured by the number of factories, employment, salaries and wages paid, and value of production—in the Melbourne metropolitan area continued to grow. By 1939 this part of the State contained 84.7 per cent of the factory labour force (81.8 per cent of the males and 90.7 per cent of the females).

However, the geographical distribution of industry within the Melbourne metropolitan area was beginning to change. While the four inner core local government areas (covering about 46 square kilometres) were still attracting industrial jobs, their combined share declined relative to other parts of the metropolitan area. This resulted from the slower growth of traditional inner core activities like the manufacture of clothing, the rising costs of land and buildings, the development and application of town planning controls, and the desire by entrepreneurs in the newer industries to erect single storey premises. Attention focused, in particular, on land to the west and south of inner Melbourne: the local government areas of Williamstown, Footscray, Port Melbourne, and South Melbourne (covering 51.5 square kilometres) together attracted 43 more factories (examples of which have already been given) and over 9,000 additional workers.

Outside the Melbourne metropolitan area, Geelong remained the leading industrial centre with 250 factories and 7,300 workers. The Geelong Harbor Board played an active role in attracting firms and making land available. But, overall, non-metropolitan Victoria failed to make much progress industrially.

#### 1939 TO 1946

The Second World War boosted manufacturing industry in Victoria and, just as importantly, widened its base from a reliance on a narrow range of highly protected activities. Whereas 46 per cent of the 202,000 factory workers in 1939 were occupied in making clothing, textiles, and foodstuffs, these more traditional industries provided jobs for only 40 per cent of the 256,000 employees in 1946.

The outbreak of war had two immediate impacts on manufacturing. First, employment in several industries (such as clothing and furniture making) declined, thus releasing about 13,000 persons for manufacturing activities more closely related to the war effort. In addition, a further 48,000 persons took up factory work during the four years to mid-1943 to bring the total employed in all manufacturing activities to 262,000. Most of this influx was channelled into establishments engaged in engineering or the manufacture of munitions, explosives, aircraft, ships, and motor vehicles. At the beginning of the war there were three munitions establishments in Victoria (two at Maribyrnong and the other at Footscray); other ordnance factories were quickly put into operation at Bendigo, Horsham, Hamilton, and Stawell; an additional explosives plant was built at Geelong; and a gun-cotton factory was established at Ballarat. Apart from these government establishments, thirty-eight private firms and institutions erected annexes to make products as diverse as mortar bombs, mines, marine diesel engines, and optical equipment.

The period from 1943 to 1946, during which factory employment in Victoria declined from 262,000 to 256,000, saw a reversal of some of the changes that had occurred earlier in the war. For example, there was a marked reduction, totalling about 24,000, in the labour force making explosives, weapons, and related material, whereas more resources were again deployed manufacturing clothing, foodstuffs, and paper products. By 1943, the Commonwealth and State Governments were actively planning for post-war reconstruction, although no resources were spared during the war itself for reconverting factories. The basic aim of retaining the more diversified industrial structure and broader range of skills that had been attained was reinforced by the need to create employment opportunities to absorb the large inflow of ex-servicemen and migrants anticipated after the war. A crucial document that expressed the thinking of the time and formed the basis of much official decision making for the next two decades was the White Paper entitled *Full employment in Australia*, presented to the Commonwealth Parliament on 30 May 1945. The Depression and the Second World War had both dramatised Australia's isolation and peripheral location at times of crisis and strengthened the arguments for greater self-sufficiency. As one example, the Commonwealth Government pursued its attempts to promote interest in the production of a complete car in Australia: when it issued an invitation along these lines on 5 October 1944, positive responses were received from four North American manufacturers: Ford Motor Company of Australasia Pty Ltd, General Motors-Holden's Pty Ltd, International Harvester Co. of Australia Pty Ltd, and Chrysler Australia Ltd. The further investment subsequently made by the first three of these firms in Victoria had a major impact on its industrial progress.

Another legacy of the war was a continuation of the co-operation and consultation between government and private enterprise. Central to the management of the transition from military to peacetime production was the Secondary Industries Commission (1943 to 1949) which established a series of two-way formal and informal channels of communication between industry and government. The Commission made recommendations to a sub-committee of the Commonwealth Cabinet, which itself kept in touch with the States.

An important effect of the war was to halt the decline of manufacturing activity in non-metropolitan areas, which by 1946 had 17.6 per cent of Victoria's factory labour force as against 15.3 per cent in 1939. Important, too, was the fact that many of the factories set up to supply goods as diverse as ball bearings and dehydrated food were located in the smaller country towns. Employment in most of the larger centres was boosted considerably because places like Geelong (where the factory labour force during the 1939 to 1946 period increased by 2,180 persons), Ballarat (1,630) and Bendigo (1,060) had the resources and basic infrastructure to accommodate more readily the sudden upsurge in industrial activity.

Within the Melbourne metropolitan area itself, more than 60 per cent of the 40,200 workers that joined factory payrolls during the 1939 to 1946 period had jobs in the ring of suburbs around the central core. In particular, Footscray, Williamstown, South Melbourne, and Port Melbourne gained over 20,000 additional factory workers, many of them employed making munitions and aircraft in large plants such as those of General Motors-Holden's Pty Ltd, the Commonwealth Aircraft Corporation Pty Ltd, and the Government Aircraft Factory.



1946 TO 1968

**Background**

This period was marked by substantial growth in population and production, and improvement in living standards. The number of persons engaged in manufacturing also increased almost continuously. Developments in manufacturing industry in Victoria were, of course, greatly influenced by events in the Australian economy as a whole, including booms and recessions and the various forms of intervention by government to contain the severity of these oscillations and achieve the goals of full employment, stable prices, and rapid population growth. The immigration programme, for instance, quickly alleviated post-war manpower shortages and boosted demand: whereas only 29,000 migrants arrived during 1947-48, an average of 132,000 entered Australia during each of the next three years. Directly, and through children born in Australia, immigrants since 1947 have been responsible for about 59 per cent of the nation's population growth.

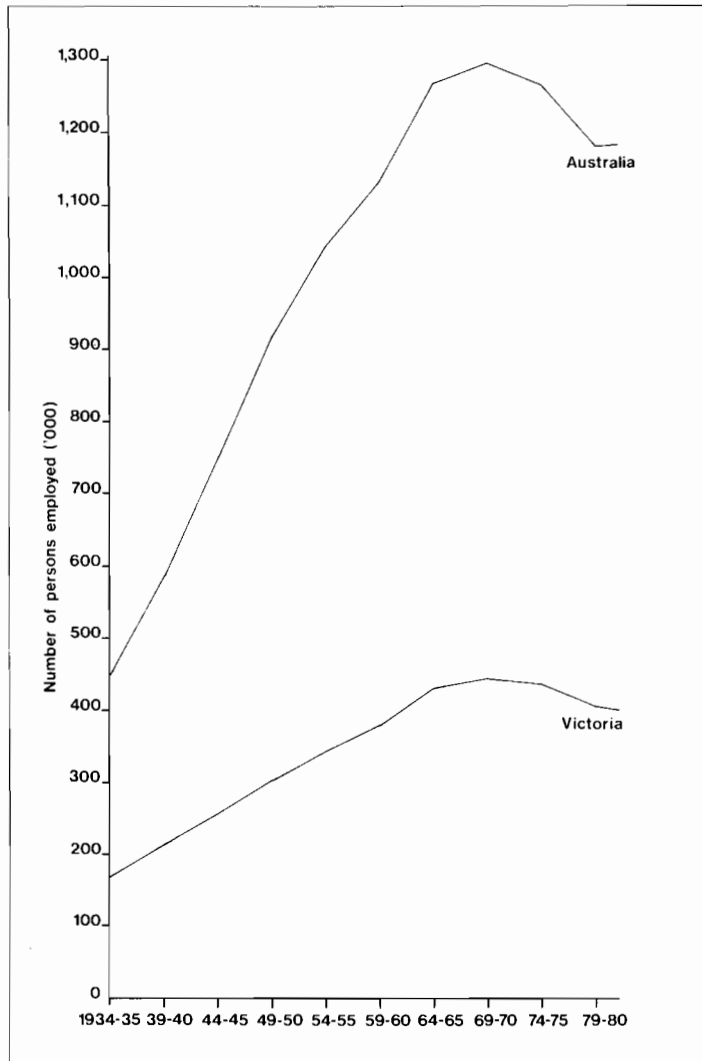


FIGURE 24. Australia and Victoria—Persons employed in all manufacturing establishments, 1934-35 to 1981-82. (Average number of persons employed over whole year including working proprietors.)

Foreign investment was encouraged by the Commonwealth and State Governments. Although it added only about 10 per cent to domestic investment, the contribution it made was much greater because it was concentrated in leading sectors and introduced new technologies and skills. About half the inflow of overseas direct investment funds from all sources went into manufacturing industry and especially into machinery, metal products, vehicles, oil refining, and petrochemicals. Many of the projects required large-scale plants and hence "lumpy" investments which were beyond the capital resources and technological skills then available locally.

The continuing shortage of foreign exchange necessitated considerable government involvement in the management of the economy. One central aim of post-war policy was import replacement, which was at first implemented by direct exchange and production controls. Then, in 1952, in the wake of the Korean War boom, import restrictions were introduced, especially on luxury items and those that could be produced in Australia. Early in 1960 import licensing was virtually abandoned and the tariff once again became the principal instrument of industry policy. It became the subject of debate in the early 1960s and in its 1966-67 Annual Report, the Tariff Board was critical of traditional tariff making procedures because, as the economy had become more complex, inter-industry tariff effects were of increasing importance. The growth of mineral exports during the second half of the 1960s reduced the balance of payments constraints on economic policy and exposed many of the deficiencies of the industrial structure that had been fostered since the Second World War.

#### **Motor vehicle industry**

Of particular significance to Victoria were the policies relating to the motor vehicle industry. Late in 1945, the Commonwealth Government accepted the proposal by General Motors-Holden's Pty Ltd to build an Australian-made car, and during the following year officially endorsed the manufacturing programmes submitted by Ford, Chrysler, and International Harvester. In November 1948, the first Holden was made at Fishermens Bend and mass production began early in 1949. Import licensing introduced in 1952 considerably reduced the inflow of assembled chassis and bodies and gave British manufacturers an incentive to expand local production as their share of the Australian market fell from 40 per cent in 1952 to 32 per cent in 1955. By mid-1959, Victoria had 22,275 of the 54,600 persons in Australia making and assembling motor vehicles, motor bodies, and motor accessories. The lifting of quantitative restrictions in 1960 led to a rise in the number of fully assembled cars and the value of automotive components entering Australia (the latter causing the Australian content of locally made vehicles to fall from 77 per cent in 1957-58 to 67 per cent in 1962-63). Then followed a series of plans that attempted to raise local content of the cars being built in Australia and, through tariff measures, discourage imports of completely built-up vehicles. During 1967-68 plants in Victoria turned out 117,990 finished cars (44 per cent of the Australian total) as well as a wide range of components and accessories.

The number of persons working in Victoria's factories grew by 193,700 from 1946 to a total of 450,000 in 1967-68. Whereas the traditional activities (food, beverages, and tobacco; textiles, clothing, and footwear; and tanning and leather goods) had together provided jobs for 42 per cent of the factory labour force in 1946, they absorbed only 31 per cent in 1968. In contrast, the group embracing industrial metals, machines, and conveyances increased its share from 34 to 43 per cent. Leading industries within this group were the manufacture of plant, equipment, electrical machinery and cables, and the production of motor vehicles and accessories.

The number of persons working in the latter industry, 36,350 (8 per cent of those in Victoria's factories in 1968), belied its significance to the State's economy because of the work generated for countless firms in other industries such as those supplying glass, paint, plastic goods, trim, and tyres. (It is noteworthy that the plastics industry was virtually a creation of the post-war era, growing in the 1950s and achieving a high level of diversity and output by the end of the following decade.) In detail the post-war development of the passenger car industry in Victoria is complicated because of the way firms gradually extended and rearranged their production facilities and, in some cases, changed the whole

focus of their activities. For example, assembly of Volkswagen vehicles began at Clayton in 1954. In 1968 Motor Producers Ltd, a wholly owned subsidiary of Volkswagenwerk AG, was set up to assemble Volkswagen, Datsun, and Volvo vehicles. Similarly, the Standard Motor Company (Australia) Pty Ltd was formed in 1949 to assemble Standard cars at a plant completed in 1951 at Fishermens Bend. Standard Motor Products, an associated company, came into being in 1952 with Australians holding a controlling interest; in 1958, renamed Australian Motor Industries Ltd, it continued operations at the original plant and then in 1963 began assembling Toyota vehicles.

As indicated already, General Motors-Holden's Pty Ltd began mass producing cars early in 1949; the principal manufacturing activities were undertaken at Fishermens Bend, although all body building was carried out at the company's plant in Adelaide. In August, 1954 the company announced the first of a series of expansion plans which included the development of a factory complex on a 62 hectare site at Dandenong to accommodate three plants: spare parts and accessories distribution centre, 23,680 square metres (transferred from Fishermens Bend); Frigidaire, 34,125 square metres (shifted from Sydney); and an assembly shop, 50,600 square metres, with a capacity for an annual production of 36,400 car bodies and 40,300 complete vehicles (transferred from Fishermens Bend, where the space thus made available was used for additional manufacturing capacity). All three plants came into operation in January 1957 with a total payroll of 3,000. At about the same time the Ford Motor Company of Australia Ltd bought a site of 162 hectares at Broadmeadows and invested \$18m in an assembly shop which opened in January 1960 with a daily capacity of 200 cars, trucks, and tractors, and a labour force of 2,750. In another major development International Harvester Co. of Australia Pty Ltd opened a large plant at Dandenong in 1952 to build commercial motor vehicles.

The number of motor vehicles on the register in Victoria increased from 249,000 in 1946 to 621,000 in 1956 and to 1,081,000 in 1966. This boosted the demand for repair shops and service stations, and the consumption of oil and petroleum.

### **Petroleum industry**

For many decades Australia imported most of its petroleum needs in refined form. In 1924, Commonwealth Oil Refineries (jointly owned by the Commonwealth Government and the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. Ltd) commissioned a small refinery at Laverton on the western outskirts of Melbourne. In 1952 the Commonwealth sold its interest in this firm to its partner, which in 1954 became British Petroleum Co. Ltd; in 1955, the latter company brought its large Kwinana refinery on stream in Western Australia and ceased operations at Laverton. Another small refinery, mainly producing lubricating oils, was built at Altona by the Standard-Vacuum Refining Co. Ltd in 1949; this was the antecedent of a new plant that began production in December 1954, bringing into operation Australia's first catalytic cracking unit in a crude oil refinery. Furthermore, the use of alkylation and catalytic reformers within the Altona plant enabled the local production of high octane aviation spirit in March 1956. (In 1962, Standard-Vacuum Refining Co. Ltd changed its name to Petroleum Refineries (Aust.) Pty Ltd, in which a 76 per cent interest was held by Mobil Oil Aust. Ltd and the balance by Esso Standard Oil (Australia) Ltd—renamed Esso Australia Ltd in 1971.) The output of the refinery also became the basis, in the 1950s and 1960s, of a substantial petrochemical complex. Meanwhile, in March 1954 the Shell Oil Company's refinery at Geelong, costing \$18m, came into operation. The initial annual capacity of one million tonnes was expanded to about 1.8 million tonnes in August 1955 when the catalytic cracker came on stream. Then in May 1963, BP Refinery (Westernport) Pty Ltd was registered to build a \$30m refinery at Crib Point on the west coast of Western Port Bay, opposite French Island. This complex, with an initial annual capacity of 1.5 million tonnes, was brought into operation in 1966 and was connected by a 39 kilometre pipeline to a bulk petroleum installation at Dandenong. Victoria thus had three of the ten refineries operating in Australia. Together, the complexes—Petroleum Refineries (Aust.) Pty Ltd at Altona, BP Refinery (Westernport) Pty Ltd at Crib Point, and Shell Refining (Australia) Pty Ltd at Geelong—have a refining capacity of 12.8 million tonnes per annum, or about 36 per cent of the Australian total.

### Energy

Demand for energy rose steeply after most restrictions on the use of electricity were removed in 1952. Sales to industry and commerce rose from 1,474 million kWh in 1953-54 to 5,669 million kWh (about 58 per cent of all sales) in 1968-69, but the State Electricity Commission had to compete against the aggressive marketing techniques adopted by the oil companies. The manufacture of briquettes from brown coal began at Yallourn in 1924 in the form of an integrated enterprise with electricity production. The fuel shortage during and after the Second World War led to plans for the expansion of the brown coal briquetting-electricity complex in the La Trobe Valley. A new briquette plant was constructed at Morwell, but by the time this came into operation in 1960 supplies of black coal from New South Wales had become more reliable and petroleum fuel more competitive. Another competitor, natural gas, became available in March 1969. The Yallourn works was closed in 1971 and all briquetting was carried out at the Morwell plant which had sufficient capacity to meet all likely future needs.

While most large industrial firms have their own standby generators to meet emergencies, few have sufficient capacity to provide their day to day needs. An exception, however, was Alcoa of Australia Ltd which opened a 150 MW generating station at Anglesea in 1969 to produce electricity for its aluminium smelting and semi-fabricating works at Point Henry, Geelong. When opened in 1963 this smelter had a capacity of 20,000 tonnes.

### Geographical distribution and decentralisation

The boundaries of the Melbourne metropolitan area were redefined for statistical purposes at the beginning of 1954 and again in mid-1966. The data in the following table have all been compiled on the basis of the boundary adopted in 1966; this explains why some of the figures for 1945-46 in this table differ from those shown in the table on page 372.

#### GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING: VICTORIA, 1945-46, 1954-55, AND 1967-68

Area	1945-46		1954-55		1967-68	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Melbourne metropolitan area—						
Inner core LGAs (a)—						
Factories	3,594	35.3	4,099	25.8	3,334	18.5
Workers	98,727	38.5	103,341	29.8	88,419	19.7
Adjacent ring of LGAs (b)—						
Factories	2,182	21.4	3,520	22.2	3,233	17.9
Workers	73,815	28.8	95,473	27.5	90,052	20.0
Rest of metropolitan LGAs—						
Factories	1,655	16.2	4,012	25.3	6,541	36.3
Workers	42,635	16.6	85,280	24.6	192,257	42.7
Total metropolitan area (c)—						
Factories	7,431	72.9	11,631	73.3	13,108	72.7
Workers	215,177	83.9	284,094	81.9	370,728	82.4
Remainder of Victoria—						
Seven urban areas (d)—						
Factories	883	8.7	1,194	7.5	1,464	8.1
Workers	21,884	8.5	31,107	9.0	36,546	8.1
Other areas—						
Factories	1,881	18.4	3,036	19.2	3,458	19.2
Workers	19,188	7.5	31,447	9.1	42,671	9.5
Total Victoria—						
Factories	10,195	100.0	15,861	100.0	18,030	100.0
Workers	256,249	100.0	346,648	100.0	449,945	100.0

(a) Local government areas (LGAs) Melbourne, Fitzroy, Collingwood, Richmond.

(b) LGAs Brighton, Camberwell, Caulfield, Footscray, Hawthorn, Kew, Malvern, Port Melbourne, Prahran, St Kilda, South Melbourne, Williamstown.

(c) As defined on 1 July 1966 for statistical purposes.

(d) Ballarat (including Ballarat City and Ballarat Shire); Bendigo (Bendigo City and including Eaglehawk Borough); Castlemaine City; Geelong (including Geelong City Corio Shire, Geelong West City, and Newtown and Chilwell City); Mildura City and Mildura Shire; Shepparton City and Shire; Warrnambool City and Shire.

In the years immediately after the war, the Melbourne metropolitan area lost ground industrially compared to the rest of the State. The shortages of manpower and building materials provided an incentive for industrialists to shift into ex-munitions factories in country towns. In this way the gun-cotton factory at Ballarat was taken over as a paper coating plant by Associated Pulp and Paper Mills Ltd; Bruck Mills (Australia) Ltd set up a large rayon-weaving mill in a wartime aluminium fabricating plant at Wangaratta; Prestige Ltd and Frost Engineering Co. Ltd took over, respectively, the former ordnance factories at Horsham and Hamilton; and the ball bearing plant built at Echuca in 1944, with assistance from the Lease-Lend Agreement with the United States, was maintained in production by the United Bearing Corporation Pty Ltd.

These were some of the first fruits of a more positive approach by the Victorian Government to encourage decentralisation of economic activities. There was concern about the concentration of population and jobs in one relatively small part of the State while employment opportunities elsewhere were dwindling for a variety of reasons, including the mechanisation of farming and farm related activities and the centralisation of social and commercial services. Thus successive State Governments offered various forms of financial and practical incentives, assistance, and advice.

Among firms that set up plants in country areas were Cleckheaton Ltd which shifted its spinning plant in 1949 from the United Kingdom to Shepparton, and Campbell's Soups (Aust.) Pty Ltd which opened a 15,000 square metre processing plant at Lemnos in November 1961.

Despite many examples of this kind that could be cited, the various post-war decentralisation programmes have been criticised on the grounds that they were not sufficiently selective as to the types of enterprise assisted, where they were located, or the nature of the assistance provided. Thus, continuing subsidies (such as payroll tax rebates and transport concessions) as distinct from subsidies to aid initial establishment costs, run the risk of encouraging activities that become perennial applicants for such subsidies. In general, labour intensive industries in Australia receive above-average protection, and in Victoria particularly, the enterprises most responsive to regional incentives in the 1950s and 1960s tended to be the labour intensive ones like clothing and textiles. In 1967-68, firms in these two groups alone provided 18 per cent of the jobs in non-metropolitan factories.

The 1960s, therefore, saw the emergence of a conflict between the aims of those wishing to reduce protection and of those wishing to promote decentralisation. Another criticism was the support being provided to numerous small establishments in many small country towns rather than the more specific support of a few centres that had already, as a result of natural advantages, achieved some degree of development which, it was argued, with only a moderate amount of support and encouragement could reach a "take-off" point from which further growth would be self-sustaining. Apart from the 18,900 factory workers at Geelong (which because of its proximity to Melbourne had special advantages), the main industrial areas outside the metropolitan area in 1967-68 were Ballarat (6,850 factory employees), Morwell (4,100), Bendigo (3,150), Yallourn Works Area (2,850), Warrnambool (2,450), Shepparton (2,305), and Wangaratta (2,150). While many of these places had advanced industrially, none appears to have reached the point where natural and self-sustaining growth could be anticipated.

During the early post-war years the trend towards industrial concentration in the Melbourne metropolitan area was temporarily reversed. Thus, the proportion of the factory labour force outside the metropolitan area increased from 16 per cent in 1946 to 18.1 per cent in 1955 (a period during which the job opportunities in manufacturing there increased by an average of 4.4 per cent annually), but then again declined to 17.6 per cent by 1968 (employment in factories in country areas having increased at an average rate of only 1.8 per cent annually).

In the mid-1950s, the number of factories and factory workers in the four inner core local government areas in Melbourne reached a peak and then began to decline at a rate, in the case of factory employment, of about 1.2 per cent annually. One reason for this trend was the decline of various activities like the manufacture of clothing, footwear, and furniture, which had long been prominent in these inner areas. Another was that the competing demands for space led to rising land prices; changes in the ownership and use

of buildings; redevelopment schemes; a decline in the role of this area as a market and supply focus; and a change in the nature and characteristics of the labour force residing in or near the centre of the city. Such factors squeezed some small firms out of business altogether and encouraged larger ones to move to less expensive but more spacious accommodation in the outer suburbs. A similar decline, although at a slower rate, occurred in the adjacent ring of local government areas. One example, already cited, was the shift to Dandenong by General Motors-Holden's Pty Ltd of some labour intensive operations from its Fishermens Bend site and the gradual introduction there of more capital intensive production, such as the V8 engine plant, which commenced operations in 1969.

Suburban areas became increasingly attractive to industrial firms because of the availability of spacious sites, labour (including married women), and infrastructure. Thus International Harvester Co. of Australia Pty Ltd bought land at Dandenong in 1948 and opened a plant making commercial vehicles in 1952. Meanwhile, H.J. Heinz Company Australia Ltd had shifted to a 40 hectare site there from Richmond, where it had begun making canned and bottled food products in 1935. Among its requirements, apart from labour, were access to a railway especially for the delivery of brown coal, good roads for the transport of perishable products, availability of water (of which 4.5 million litres a day were required at times of peak production), and waste disposal facilities. The third large firm to commence operations at Dandenong was General Motors-Holden's Pty Ltd in 1957 and this was followed by others such as the sheet glass plant of ACI in 1962.

A similar kind of development occurred at Broadmeadows; the 1960s saw the opening there of plants by the Ford Motor Company of Australia Ltd, Rowntree and Co. (Australia) Pty Ltd, and Courage Breweries Ltd.

The 1960s also witnessed the construction of port facilities at Western Port on the eastern side of the Mornington Peninsula which came into use in July 1966 when the first cargo of crude was delivered to the oil refinery newly built by BP Refinery (Westernport) Pty Ltd. Plans were also in train for two other major projects. One was the construction by Esso-BHP of a plant to process the "wet" fractions and crude oil components, delivered by pipeline from the Bass Strait natural gas processing centre at Dutson in Gippsland, into ethane, propane, and butane. This came into operation in 1970. The other was for a fully integrated iron and steel works to be built in three stages. John Lysaght (Australia) Ltd in association with Broken Hill Pty Ltd brought the first stage of this endeavour—a cold strip mill—into production in 1973.

The period from 1946 to 1968 was characterised by profound changes in manufacturing industry in Victoria. First, there was a significant growth of large-scale, capital intensive, and technologically advanced activities supplanting Victoria's long standing emphasis on small-scale and labour intensive industries which had benefited from various forms of protection that had limited their exposure to external changes in the world's industrial, trading, financial, and corporate systems. Second, considerable emphasis was placed on the immediate creation of job opportunities in activities and at locations which depended for their survival on the maintenance of protection against imports and various forms of direct and indirect assistance. Third, there was a considerable shift of manufacturing activity within the Melbourne metropolitan area towards the outer suburbs. These absorbed 96 per cent of the 155,550 additional factory jobs created in the metropolitan area between 1945-46 and 1967-68. Some of these employment opportunities resulted from the expansion of existing enterprises but most were in establishments that had shifted from the inner suburbs (such as the textile mill of Yarra Falls Ltd, which was moved from Collingwood to Dandenong in 1946), or which were entirely new investments in Victoria (such as the plant of British Nylon Spinners (Australia) Pty Ltd, which commenced operations at Bayswater early in 1958).

#### 1969 TO 1982: BEGINNINGS OF CHANGE

Until the late 1960s there were few signs that the role of manufacturing in the Australian economy was likely to change. At the population censuses of 1954, 1961, and 1966 the proportion of the labour force engaged in manufacturing remained at about 27 per cent. In the Melbourne metropolitan area industry occupied 36.5 per cent of the total labour force in 1947 and 36.9 per cent in 1966, while in the rest of the State the equivalent figures

were 13.6 and 18.9 per cent, respectively. High tariffs, negligible inflation, rapid population growth, sustained net inflows of migrants and investment capital, mineral discoveries, and increasing affluence all helped to divert attention from indications that major long-term structural changes were on their way. One indication was the recognition early in the 1960s that international trading arrangements were changing and that exports of Australian made goods, especially in new markets outside Europe, should be greatly expanded. Another was the shift in several Asian countries towards the growth of export orientated industries mainly based on their comparative advantage in labour intensive goods. The post-war import controls and tariffs had led to a structure of manufacturing that was in many respects artificial.

Thus, tariffs designed to support particular activities stunted the growth of user industries at the next stage of production because their input costs were raised to the point where they could neither compete against imports nor develop export markets. Moreover, the increase of mineral exports (at an annual average rate of 23 per cent from 1964 to 1974 on a constant price basis) had two effects. First, it undermined the argument that Australia needed a high tariff for balance of payments reasons. Second, the accumulation of large reserves of foreign currency led to an appreciation of the exchange rate which, in turn, weakened the competitive position of import-competing industries. Other domestic circumstances affecting manufacturing included lower expectations about the rate of growth and size of the Australian population by the year 2000 and rising labour costs which led to a reassessment of expansion and marketing plans and the mix of inputs.

Three aspects of labour costs were especially important. First, female wage rates increased faster than those for males (in Victoria during the 1970s weekly wage rates rose by an average of 15.3 per cent for adult females as against 12.5 per cent for adult males). Second, rates for unskilled work increased more rapidly than those for skilled jobs, and this was one of the factors that contributed to a shortage of skilled tradesmen. Third, labour related costs increased as a result of longer holidays, long service leave, and other entitlements.

During the 1970s Victoria, like the rest of Australia, began increasingly to feel the impact of international events such as the disintegration of the Bretton Woods international monetary arrangement, and the stand by the OPEC countries which led to a 355 per cent increase in oil prices in the two years to January 1974. This was one of the factors triggering off a world recession with inflation and unemployment reaching levels, particularly in the developed countries, that had not been encountered for several decades. Australia, too, was facing increased pressure from developing countries, especially in South-east Asia, to reduce restraints on trade and to help effect international agreements aimed at increasing the share of world industrial production located in developing countries.

As the 1970s progressed, the impact of international economic changes on Australia, and therefore Victoria, became increasingly apparent. One of the first pointers towards a new financial configuration was the arrival of multinational companies (this had already begun in the 1950s as far as manufacturing was concerned), and later of international banks with their merchant banking affiliates—a new phenomenon in the 1970s. The fact that these overseas based financial enterprises had access to large sums of money enabled credit to be readily available for manufacturing, property development, construction, and other necessities. However, as overseas interest rates began to climb at the end of the decade, the effect carried into the local financial area and it became clear that Victoria was no longer sheltered from overseas financial trends. Another of the effects of these merchant banks was their involvement in mergers of companies and this facilitated large-scale rationalisation in many industries historically important to Victoria, e.g., food, textiles, rubber, and paper.

Employment in manufacturing in Victoria increased at an annual average rate of only 1.8 per cent from 431,651 in 1968-69 to 469,838 in 1973-74; it then declined by an average of 2.9 per cent each year to reach 401,197 in 1978-79. Over the next three years employment declined by an average rate of 0.4 per cent each year to reach 400,294 in 1981-82. (These figures and all others cited in this section of the Chapter were compiled on the basis of the Australian Standard Industrial Classification [ASIC]. ASIC was introduced for the 1968-69 economic censuses and constituted a complete break in the statistical series relating to manufacturing in Australia. The classification defines for statistical purposes all

industries in the economy by a set of standard rules for identifying statistical units and then for coding them to the industries of the classification. A revised version of ASIC was introduced after 1976-77 but for present purposes the changes involved are insignificant.)

The increase of 38,200 factory jobs during the first five years of this period was largely concentrated in a few industries, especially motor vehicles and parts (12,200), appliances and electrical equipment (6,600), plastics and related products (4,200), meat products (3,600), other fabricated metal products (2,400), and basic iron and steel (2,100). Most other industrial activities made some gains but clothing and footwear both continued their long-term decline with a loss in each case of about 2,500 jobs. On the whole, this was a period of consolidation and extension of activities in existing plants rather than the appearance of new large ventures. There were, of course, some exceptions, such as the completion of a cold strip mill at Western Port in 1973 and of a floatglass plant at Dandenong in 1974.

This period saw a decline in the proportion of Victoria's factory labour force in the Melbourne metropolitan area from 85.5 per cent in 1968-69, to 83.3 per cent in 1978-79, and to 83.2 per cent in 1981-82. The reason appears to be that employment in many of the industrial activities that are concentrated in the Melbourne area grew only slowly and, in some instances, metropolitan based factories appear to have been more adversely affected by the downturn in economic activity and other factors than those in the country. Thus, whereas Melbourne's employment in clothing and footwear making declined from 58,800 to 37,000 (35 per cent) during the period, elsewhere in the State it increased from 5,200 to 7,000 (35 per cent). The shares of manufacturing employment in the metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas are detailed in the table on pages 385-6. When it is recalled that in the 1970s Melbourne had about 71 per cent of the population of Victoria, the table illustrates the "disproportionately" high concentration there of employment in a wide range of industries, and especially those that have the greatest potential for dynamic growth in the future.

Aspects of the debate about decentralisation and the significance of factory activities to the economy of some country towns are illustrated by the data in the table on pages 387-8. This is especially so in the case of textiles, clothing and footwear, the manufacture of which in mid-1981 occupied 18 per cent of the non-metropolitan factory labour force in Victoria (a significantly higher proportion than in any other State). In Wangaratta, for instance, 57 per cent of the factory labour force was occupied in making "textiles, yarns and fabrics" in mid-1981; or, again, in Warrnambool 33 per cent were making clothing. Two aspects of this are important. First, the majority of activities employing more than 10 per cent of the factory workers in these towns are not based on local resources (other than labour). Second, most of the industries listed in the table on pages 387-8 as employing a considerable proportion of the local labour force are subject to high levels of tariff or quota protection.

Within the Melbourne metropolitan area, the trends evident in the 1950s and 1960s continued. The factory labour force in the four inner core local government areas (LGAs) declined by about 2,500 each year between 1968-69 and 1973-74, by 3,900 annually between 1973-74 and 1978-79, and by 1,200 during each of the next three years. Although nearly half the total decline during the decade was concentrated in the textile, clothing, and footwear industries, most types of manufacturing activity were involved, as is shown in the table on page 389. This suggests that, while specific industry factors were involved, the inner area of Melbourne was becoming a less congenial district for manufacturing activities. In a period of more intensive competition, the problems of an inner area location became more critical. In particular, small factories in old buildings suffered because of rising land values, rates and taxes, and hence, increasing rentals; lack of vehicle access and parking facilities; unsatisfactory working conditions; and lack of flexibility to rearrange accommodation to suit new technologies. Furthermore, developments in the field of data processing and transmission systems during the 1970s reduced the need for production facilities to be located near administrative offices. Much the same story applied to industry in the adjacent ring of suburbs: factory employment there declined by an annual average of 1,500 and 2,500 persons, respectively, during the 1969 to 1974 and 1974 to 1982 periods. Industrially, the remainder of the Melbourne metropolitan area had mixed fortunes. Employment there increased by 49,000 during the first five years and then declined by

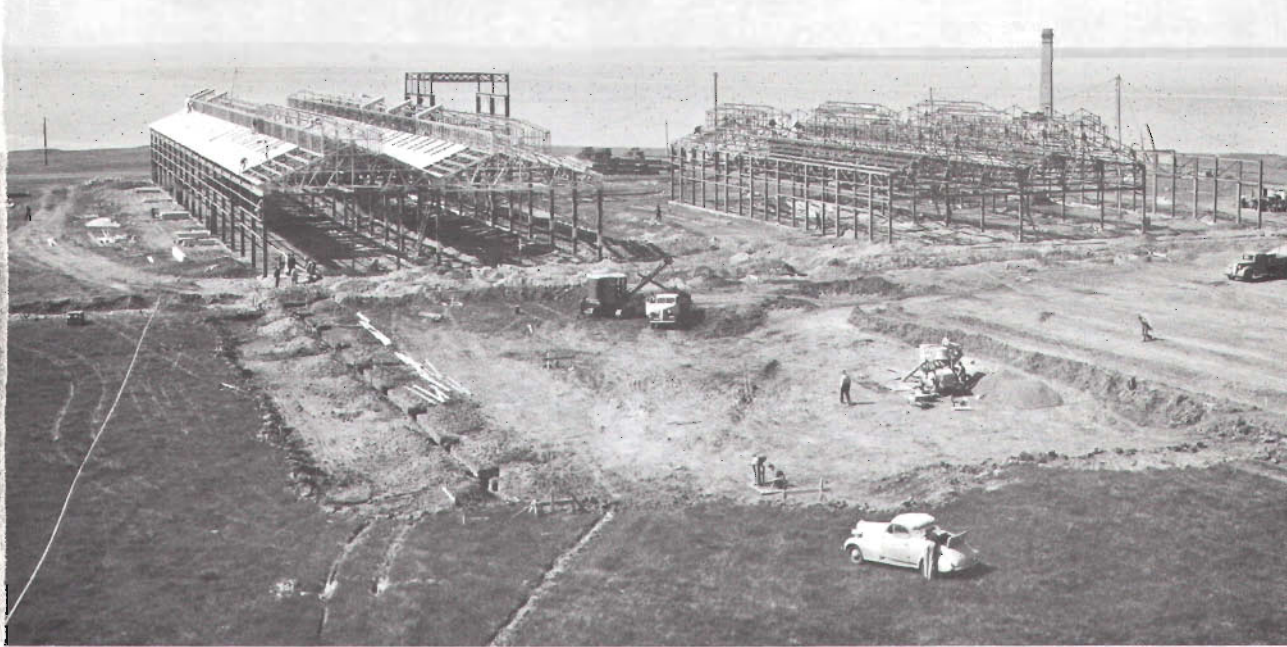


## STRUCTURE OF MANUFACTURING (a): VICTORIA, 1968-69, 1973-74, 1978-79 and 1981-82

ASIC code	Industry sub-division	1968-69				1973-74				1978-79				1981-82			
		Establishments		Employment(b)		Establishments		Employment(b)		Establishments		Employment(b)		Establishments		Employment(b)	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
21	Food, beverages and tobacco	1,351	11.7	57,134	13.3	1,205	10.0	63,668	13.6	1,135	9.8	55,704	13.9	1,223	9.7	53,649	13.4
23	Textiles	376	3.3	28,559	6.6	420	3.5	29,337	6.3	364	3.1	19,194	4.8	395	3.1	19,293	4.8
24	Clothing and footwear	1,691	14.6	63,998	14.8	1,613	13.4	60,096	12.8	1,205	10.4	45,335	11.3	1,233	9.8	44,006	11.0
25	Wood, wood products, and furniture	1,531	13.2	19,801	4.6	1,569	13.0	20,921	4.5	1,738	15.0	19,705	4.9	1,912	15.1	21,599	5.4
26	Paper, paper products, printing, and publishing	1,145	9.9	33,582	7.8	1,238	10.2	35,470	7.5	1,202	10.3	32,381	8.1	1,315	10.4	33,659	8.4
27	Chemical, petroleum, and coal products	363	3.1	21,944	5.1	373	3.1	23,175	4.9	353	3.0	21,751	5.4	373	3.0	20,418	5.1
28	Non-metallic mineral products	434	3.8	13,868	3.2	472	3.9	15,659	3.3	495	4.3	12,972	3.2	544	4.3	12,777	3.2
29	Basic metal products	218	1.9	10,807	2.5	219	1.8	13,181	2.8	205	1.8	12,891	3.2	223	1.8	14,918	3.7
31	Fabricated metal products	1,499	13.0	36,745	8.5	1,553	12.9	39,061	8.3	1,544	13.3	35,943	9.0	1,714	13.6	37,681	9.4
32	Transport equipment	444	3.8	53,274	12.3	507	4.2	64,982	13.8	554	4.8	61,550	15.3	595	4.7	59,940	15.0
33	Other machinery and equipment	1,524	13.2	63,528	14.7	1,740	14.4	71,297	15.2	1,685	14.5	55,737	13.9	1,869	14.8	54,228	13.6
34	Miscellaneous manufacturing	987	8.5	28,411	6.6	1,161	9.6	32,991	7.0	1,136	9.8	28,034	7.0	1,229	9.7	28,126	7.0
	Total all manufacturing	11,563	100.0	431,651	100.0	12,070	100.0	469,838	100.0	11,616	100.0	401,197	100.0	12,625	100.0	400,294	100.0

(a) Includes all manufacturing establishments irrespective of size.

(b) Average over whole year (except for single establishment enterprises with less than 4 employees, which are collected only at June). Includes working proprietors.

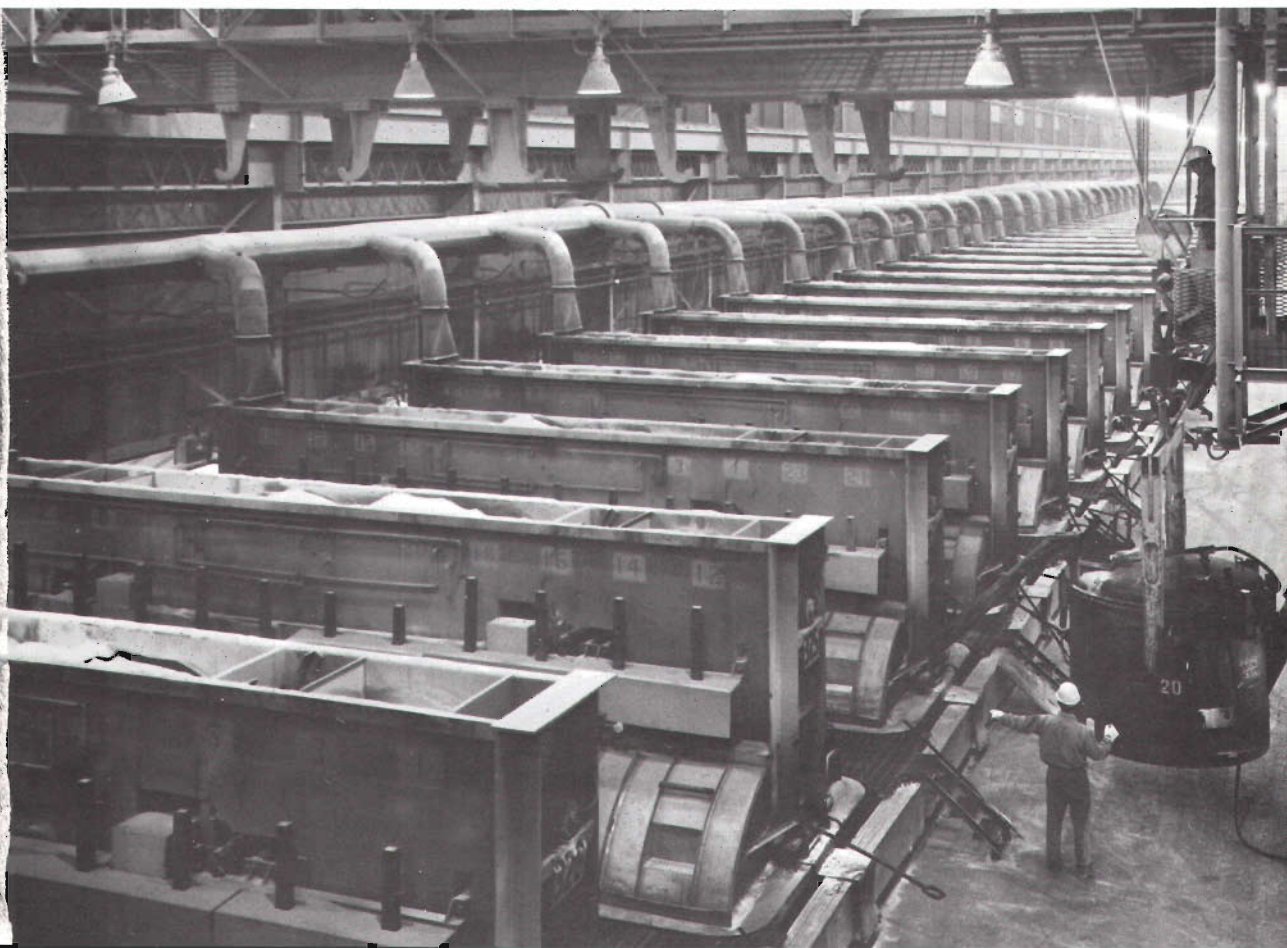


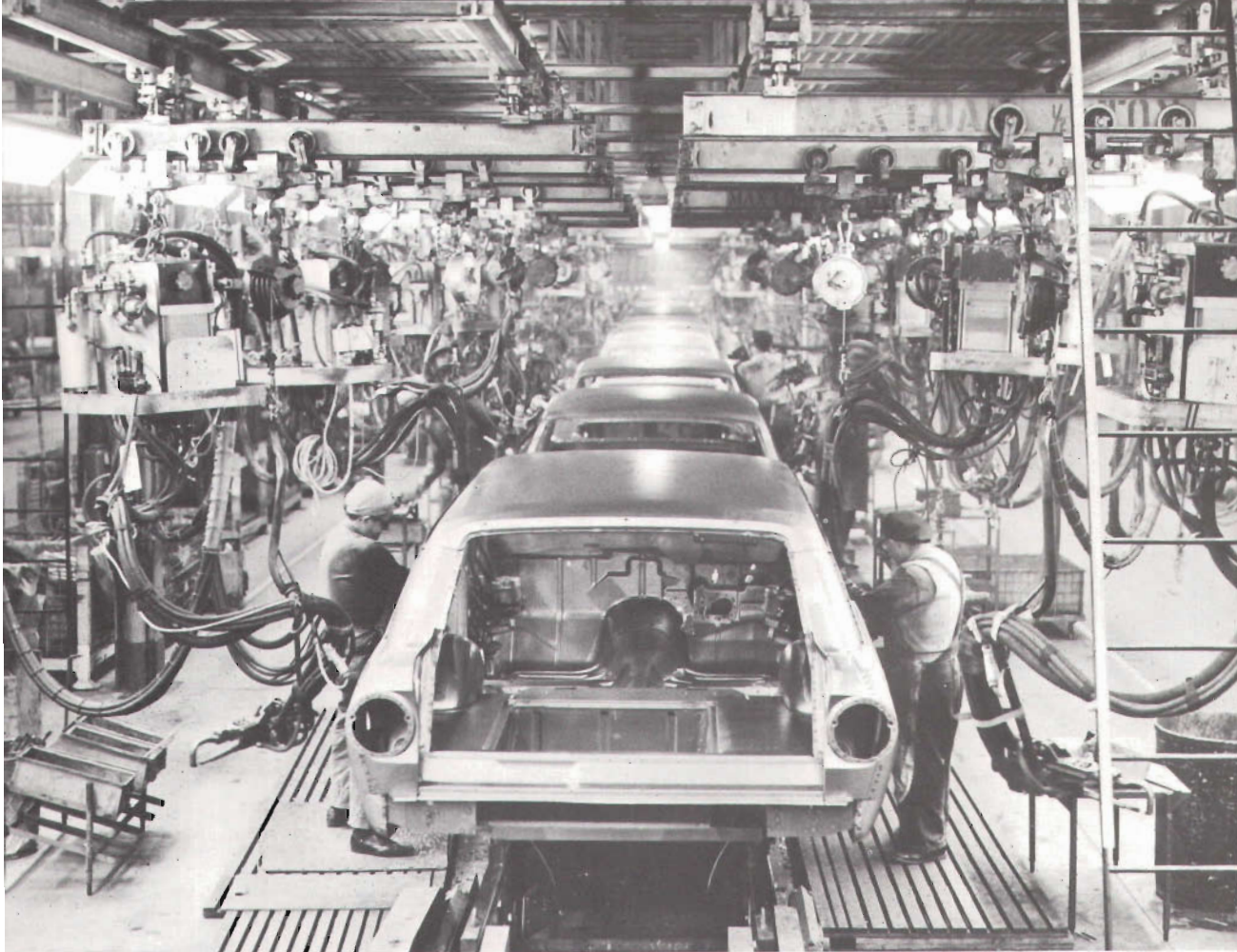
Construction of the International Harvester Australia Ltd manufacturing plant at North Geelong in 1938.

*Geelong Historical Records Centre*

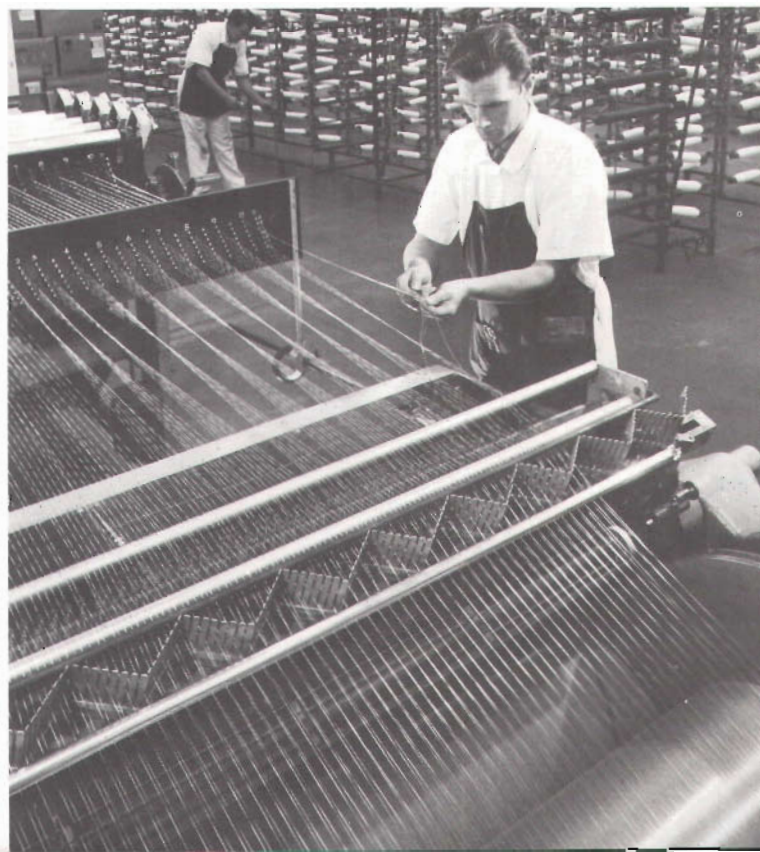
The smelting furnaces or "pots" at the Point Henry works of Alcoa of Australia Limited, installed in 1969.

*Alcoa of Australia Limited*

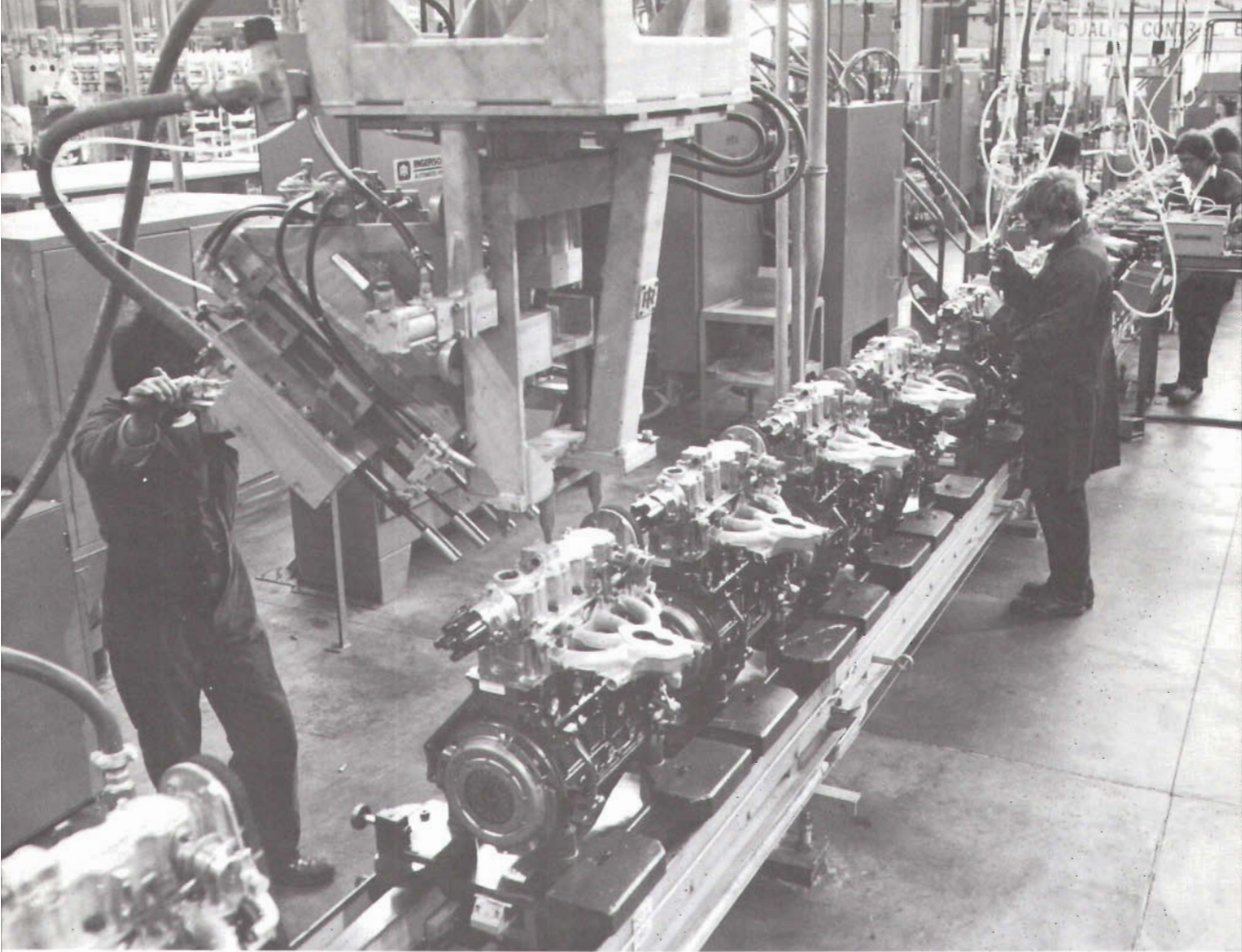




Car bodies being spot welded at the Broadmeadows car assembly plant of Ford, 1967.  
*Ford Motor Company of Australia Limited*

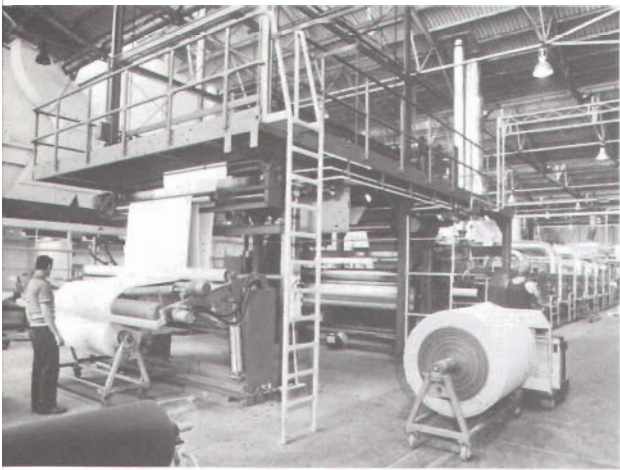


An operator joins two threadlines of yarn used in the manufacture of tyres.  
*Fibrenakers Ltd*



Semi-automatic assembly of motor car engines at the General Motors-Holden's engine plant at Fishermens Bend.

*General Motors-Holden's Ltd*



(Above) Fabric finishing at the Wangaratta mill of Bruck (Australia) Limited.

*Jan Roberts*

(Below) The landscaped grounds of the Fletcher Jones and Staff Pty Ltd clothing factory in Warrnambool. The factory opened in 1952.

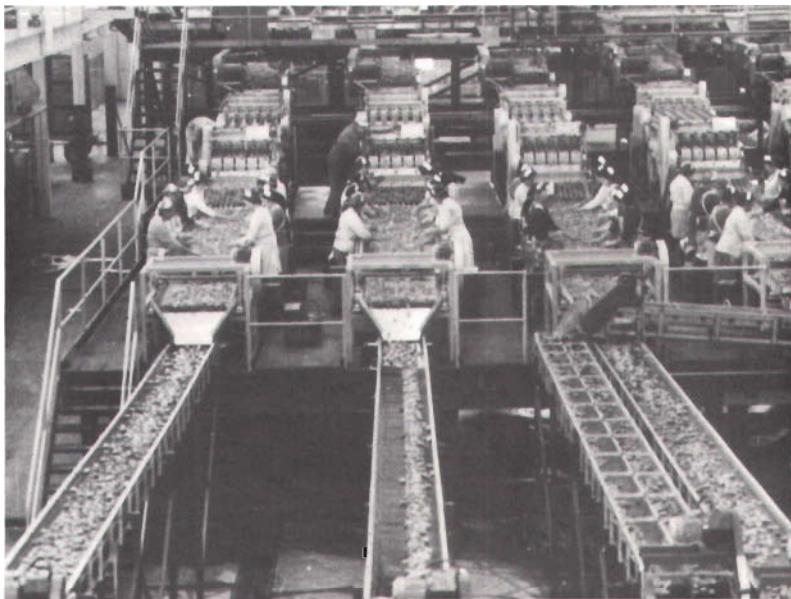
*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*





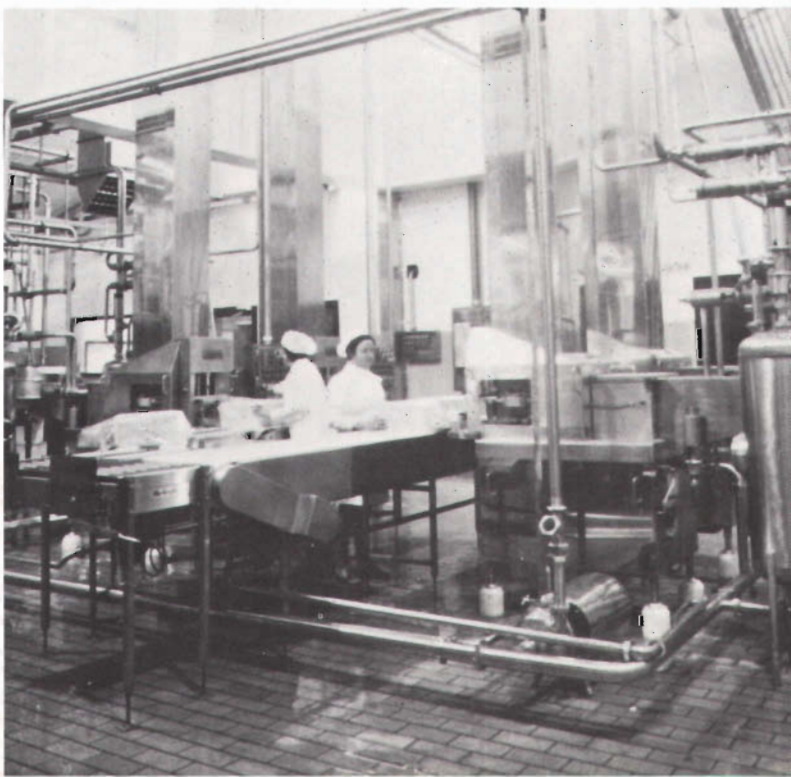
The staff and buildings of the Shepparton Butter Factory in 1933.

*Ibis Milk Products Limited*



Processing and canning peaches at Shepparton.

*S.P.C. Limited*



A Wincanton Tower cheese block former in operation at a cheese factory at Stanhope.

*Ibis Milk Products Limited*



Rolling steel strip at the Hot Strip Mill of John Lysaght (Australia) Limited at Western Port.

*John Lysaght (Australia) Limited*

The Alcoa aluminium smelter site at Point Henry, Geelong, commenced operations in 1962.

*Alcoa of Australia Limited*





The plant of Altona Petrochemical Company which is engaged in chemical, synthetic rubber, and plastic production.

*Exxon Chemical Australia Ltd*

Flower show on David Jones' ground floor, Melbourne, celebrating the opening of the remodelled store.

*David Jones (Australia) Pty Limited*



EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS IN VICTORIA AND PROPORTIONS IN MELBOURNE  
STATISTICAL DIVISION AND REST OF STATE: 1968-69, 1973-74, 1978-79, AND 1981-82

Industry group	Employment (a)				Per cent in Melbourne Statistical Division				Per cent in rest of State			
	1968-69	1973-74	1978-79	1981-82	1968-69	1973-74	1978-79	1981-82	1968-69	1973-74	1978-79	1981-82
Food, beverages, and tobacco —												
Meat products	13,504	17,059	13,701	11,949	74.6	70.7	65.0	67.9	25.4	29.3	35.0	32.1
Milk products	9,000	9,114	8,995	7,945	42.3	47.8	47.8	46.1	57.7	52.2	52.2	53.9
Fruit and vegetable products	6,499	6,704	5,355	4,771	59.8	60.6	59.2	53.9	40.2	39.4	40.8	46.1
Margarine, oils, fats; flour mill and cereal food products	2,695	2,431	2,246	2,314	81.8	n.p.	n.p.	80.8	18.2	n.p.	n.p.	19.2
Bread, cakes, and biscuits	9,631	9,846	8,650	8,993	73.5	73.7	79.8	79.5	26.5	26.3	20.2	20.5
Sugar and other food products	7,746	9,007	8,650	9,509	87.1	85.1	78.2	78.7	12.9	14.9	21.8	21.3
Beverages, malt; tobacco products	8,059	9,507	8,107	8,168	86.1	n.p.	n.p.	81.5	13.9	n.p.	n.p.	18.5
Total	57,134	63,668	55,704	53,649	71.3	71.6	69.4	69.9	28.7	28.4	30.6	30.1
Textiles —												
Textiles, yarns, woven fabrics	22,156	21,885	12,815	12,724	70.8	71.3	69.7	69.6	29.2	28.7	30.3	30.4
Other textile products	6,403	7,452	6,379	6,569	84.3	79.7	79.9	80.3	15.7	20.3	20.1	19.7
Total	28,559	29,337	19,194	19,293	73.9	73.5	73.1	73.3	26.1	26.5	26.9	26.7
Clothing and footwear —												
Knitting mills	13,653	14,816	11,245	10,236	91.0	87.1	81.5	80.5	9.0	12.9	18.5	19.5
Clothing	37,476	34,955	25,965	25,730	92.1	87.7	86.0	84.6	7.9	12.3	14.0	15.4
Footwear	12,869	10,325	8,125	8,040	92.0	88.9	85.0	86.8	8.0	11.1	15.0	13.2
Total	63,998	60,096	45,335	44,006	91.9	87.7	84.7	84.1	8.1	12.3	15.3	15.9
Wood, wood products, furniture —												
Wood and wood products	13,117	13,287	12,145	12,673	61.2	58.4	55.6	54.1	38.8	41.6	44.4	45.9
Furniture and mattresses	6,684	7,634	7,560	8,926	97.9	97.4	95.9	95.1	2.1	2.6	4.1	4.9
Total	19,801	20,921	19,705	21,599	73.6	72.6	71.1	71.1	26.4	27.4	28.9	28.9
Paper, paper products, printing and publishing —												
Paper, paper products	10,287	11,441	9,863	8,811	82.9	84.1	n.p.	n.p.	17.1	15.9	n.p.	n.p.
Printing, publishing	23,295	24,029	22,518	24,848	91.4	91.5	n.p.	n.p.	8.6	8.5	n.p.	n.p.
Total	33,582	35,470	32,381	33,659	89.0	89.1	87.5	87.1	11.0	10.9	12.5	12.9
Chemical, petroleum, coal products —												
Basic chemicals	6,830	7,174	7,922	7,126	85.6	89.3	88.6	85.5	14.4	10.7	11.4	14.5
Other chemicals and related products	13,833	14,667	12,350	11,716	n.p.	n.p.	n.p.	n.p.	n.p.	n.p.	n.p.	n.p.
Petroleum refining; petroleum, and coal products	1,281	1,334	1,479	1,576	n.p.	n.p.	n.p.	n.p.	n.p.	n.p.	n.p.	n.p.
Total	21,944	23,175	21,751	20,418	91.8	92.7	91.0	89.2	8.2	7.3	9.0	10.8



EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS IN VICTORIA AND PROPORTIONS IN MELBOURNE STATISTICAL DIVISION AND REST OF STATE: 1968-69, 1973-74, 1978-79, AND 1981-82— *continued*

Industry group	Employment (a)				Per cent in Melbourne Statistical Division				Per cent in rest of State			
	1968-69	1973-74	1978-79	1981-82	1968-69	1973-74	1978-79	1981-82	1968-69	1973-74	1978-79	1981-82
<b>Non-metallic mineral products —</b>												
Glass, glass products; other non-metallic mineral products	4,505	4,732	5,263	5,091	85.9	84.6	n.p.	86.3	14.1	15.4	n.p.	13.7
Clay products and refractories	4,796	5,479	4,099	4,119	82.1	87.3	83.3	79.7	17.9	12.7	16.7	20.3
Cement and concrete products	4,567	5,448	3,610	3,567	72.1	73.2	n.p.	52.0	27.9	26.8	n.p.	48.0
Total	13,868	15,659	12,972	12,777	80.0	81.6	76.4	74.6	20.0	18.4	23.6	25.4
<b>Basic metal products —</b>												
Basic iron and steel products	6,607	8,690	8,780	9,720	75.1	74.7	n.p.	n.p.	24.9	25.3	n.p.	n.p.
Non-ferrous metal basic products	4,200	4,491	4,111	5,198	68.0	65.2	n.p.	n.p.	32.0	34.8	n.p.	n.p.
Total	10,807	13,181	12,891	14,918	72.3	71.5	71.2	70.0	27.7	28.5	28.8	30.0
<b>Fabricated metal products —</b>												
Fabricated structural metal products	7,833	7,661	6,304	7,879	80.2	88.7	86.3	81.4	19.8	11.3	13.7	18.6
Sheet metal products	11,122	11,245	10,310	11,072	95.1	95.6	92.5	91.8	4.9	4.4	7.5	8.2
Other fabricated metal products	17,790	20,155	19,329	18,730	89.8	88.9	89.1	91.1	10.2	11.1	10.9	8.9
Total	36,745	39,061	35,943	37,681	89.4	90.8	89.6	89.3	10.6	9.2	10.4	10.7
<b>Transport equipment —</b>												
Motor vehicles and parts	35,521	47,768	45,649	44,556	87.0	84.8	84.3	n.p.	13.0	15.2	15.7	n.p.
Other transport equipment	17,753	17,214	15,901	15,384	90.1	90.1	92.9	n.p.	9.9	9.9	7.1	n.p.
Total	53,274	64,982	61,550	59,940	88.0	86.2	86.5	87.5	12.0	13.8	13.5	12.5
<b>Other machinery and equipment —</b>												
Photographic, professional and scientific equipment	4,571	5,205	4,670	3,782	99.0	97.7	97.0	96.4	1.0	2.3	3.0	3.6
Appliances, electrical equipment	26,524	33,121	24,563	24,358	97.4	97.1	95.8	95.9	12.6	2.9	4.2	4.1
Industrial machinery, equipment	32,433	32,971	26,504	26,088	83.3	81.4	80.3	82.8	16.7	18.6	19.7	17.2
Total	63,528	71,297	55,737	54,228	90.3	89.9	88.6	89.6	9.7	10.1	11.4	10.4
<b>Miscellaneous manufacturing —</b>												
Leather and leather products	2,800	2,268	1,303	1,612	99.0	96.3	94.3	79.9	1.0	3.7	5.7	20.1
Rubber products	7,806	8,334	8,048	7,272	98.0	99.8	95.9	96.2	2.0	0.2	4.1	3.8
Plastics and related products	12,071	16,261	13,814	14,433	97.4	96.7	96.2	96.2	2.6	3.3	3.8	3.8
Other manufacturing	5,734	6,128	4,869	4,809	98.7	97.4	96.0	94.9	1.3	2.6	4.0	5.1
Total	28,411	32,991	28,034	28,126	98.0	97.6	96.6	95.1	2.0	2.4	3.4	4.9
<b>Total all manufacturing</b>	<b>431,651</b>	<b>469,838</b>	<b>401,197</b>	<b>400,294</b>	<b>85.5</b>	<b>84.7</b>	<b>83.3</b>	<b>83.2</b>	<b>14.5</b>	<b>15.3</b>	<b>16.7</b>	<b>16.8</b>

(a) Employment in all manufacturing establishments irrespective of size. Average over whole year (except for single establishment enterprises with less than 4 employees, which are collected only at June). Includes working proprietors.

PERSONS EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURING IN URBAN AREAS WITH MORE THAN 1,000 FACTORY WORKERS:  
VICTORIA, AT THE 1981 POPULATION CENSUS

Urban area	Factory labour force						ASIC industry group with more than 10 per cent. of factory labour force in each urban area							
	Number			Percentage of total labour force			Males				Females			
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	ASIC code	Description	Number of workers	Percentage of male factory labour force	ASIC code	Description	Number of workers	Percentage of female factory labour force
Ballarat (Ballarat, Ballarat, and Sebastopol LGAs)	3,862	856	4,718	27.9	10.4	21.4	294	Basic iron and steel	568	14.7	245	Clothing	158	18.5
							323	Motor vehicles and parts	493	12.8	246	Footwear	94	11.0
											323	Motor vehicles and parts	109	12.7
Bendigo (Bendigo, Eaglehawk, Marong, and Strathfieldsaye LGAs)	3,240	1,162	4,402	18.4	22.1	12.5	211	Meat products	384	11.9	244	Knitting mills	268	23.1
							316	Other fabricated metal products	580	17.9	245	Clothing	208	17.9
Moe (Moe, Morwell, and Narracan LGAs)	1,332	959	2,291	8.2	13.3	9.8	263	Paper and paper products	316	23.7	234	Textile fibres, yarns, and woven fabrics	141	14.7
							314	Structural metal products	151	11.3	244	Knitting mills	148	15.4
Wodonga (Rural City)	1,215	480	1,695	22.2	16.7	20.3					245	Appliances, electrical equipment	203	21.2
							211	Meat products	195	16.0	217	Other food products	51	10.6
							217	Other food products	211	17.4	245	Clothing	109	22.7
							264	Printing and allied industries	140	11.5	335	Appliances, electrical equipment	78	16.3
Warrnambool (City and Shire)	1,202	481	1,683	23.4	14.8	20.1	212	Milk products	345	28.7	234	Textile fibres, yarns, and woven fabrics	82	17
							234	Textile fibres, yarns, and woven fabrics	166	13.8				
							245	Clothing	275	22.9	245	Clothing	281	58.4

PERSONS EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURING IN URBAN AREAS WITH MORE THAN 1,000 FACTORY WORKERS:  
VICTORIA, AT THE 1981 POPULATION CENSUS— *continued*

Urban area	Factory labour force						ASIC industry group with more than 10 per cent of factory labour force in each urban area							
	Number			Percentage of total labour force			Males				Females			
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	ASIC code	Description	Number of workers	Percentage of male factory labour force	ASIC code	Description	Number of workers	Percentage of female factory labour force
Wangaratta (City and Shire)	1,090	551	1,641	27.7	21.7	25.3	234	Textile fibres, yarns, and woven fabrics	658	60.4	234	Textile fibres, yarns, and woven fabrics	283	51.4
											245	Clothing	167	30.3
Shepparton (City and Shire)	1,266	403	1,669	21.8	11.5	17.9	211	Meat products	142	11.2	211	Meat products	45	11.2
							212	Milk Products	146	11.5	213	Fruit and vegetable products	73	18.1
							213	Fruit and vegetable products	360	28.4	234	Textile fibres, yarns, and woven fabrics	52	12.9
							245	Clothing			245	Clothing	43	10.7
Geelong (Minor) (Geelong, Geelong West, and Newtown LGAs)	3,240	888	4,128	32.7	15.2	26.2	323	Motor vehicles and parts	802	24.8	235	Other textile products	108	12.2
											245	Clothing	121	13.6
											246	Footwear	131	14.8
Geelong (Major) (Geelong, Geelong West, Newtown, Corio, Bannockburn, Barrabool, Bellarine, and South Barwon LGAs)	15,110	3,711	18,821	36.0	16.2	29.0	295	Basic non-ferrous metals	1,759	11.6	245	Clothing	540	14.6
							323	Motor vehicles and parts	3,915	25.9	246	Footwear	546	14.7

**GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT<sup>(a)</sup> IN MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS:  
VICTORIA, 1968-69, 1973-74, 1978-79, and 1981-82**

ASIC code	Industry sub-division	Inner core <sup>(b)</sup>				Adjacent ring of LGAs <sup>(c)</sup>				Rest of Melbourne metropolitan area				Total Melbourne				Rest of Victoria			
		1968-69	1973-74	1978-79	1981-82	1968-69	1973-74	1978-79	1981-82	1968-69	1973-74	1978-79	1981-82	1968-69	1973-74	1978-79	1981-82	1968-69	1973-74	1978-79	1981-82
21-22	Food, beverages, and tobacco	8,605	8,003	6,427	6,553	10,016	n.p.	6,843	7,311	22,118	n.p.	25,400	23,653	40,739	45,571	38,670	37,517	16,395	18,097	17,034	16,132
23	Textiles	5,028	3,873	1,988	2,782	5,581	5,027	4,028	2,969	10,484	12,651	8,019	8,383	21,093	21,551	14,035	14,134	7,466	7,786	5,159	5,159
24	Clothing and footwear	27,161	19,979	12,668	11,151	9,732	n.p.	5,714	4,802	21,895	n.p.	20,095	21,045	58,788	52,715	38,477	36,998	5,210	7,381	6,858	7,008
25	Wood, wood products, and furniture	2,168	1,834	1,209	1,245	n.p.	1,690	1,387	1,494	n.p.	11,670	11,484	12,612	14,568	15,194	14,080	15,351	5,233	5,727	5,625	6,248
26	Paper, paper products, printing, and publishing	12,821	12,282	10,615	9,367	n.p.	4,610	3,417	3,750	n.p.	14,724	14,349	16,213	29,873	31,616	28,381	29,330	3,709	3,854	4,000	4,329
27	Chemicals, petroleum, and coal products	4,005	n.p.	3,651	2,342	5,387	4,496	4,035	3,372	10,752	n.p.	12,105	12,504	20,144	21,474	19,791	18,218	1,800	1,701	1,960	2,200
28	Non-metallic mineral products	n.p.	550	689	488	3,003	3,439	2,468	2,326	n.p.	8,789	6,773	6,720	11,100	12,778	9,930	9,534	2,768	2,881	3,042	3,243
29	Basic metal products	n.p.	1,667	1,822	2,597	1,387	524	451	384	n.p.	7,229	6,882	7,464	7,817	9,420	9,155	10,445	2,990	3,761	3,736	4,473
31	Fabricated metals products	4,997	4,615	3,812	3,764	6,044	5,329	3,959	3,385	21,794	25,511	24,567	26,500	32,835	35,455	32,338	33,649	3,910	3,606	3,605	4,032
32	Transport equipment	3,727	n.p.	2,501	1,891	20,374	20,034	18,160	18,230	22,787	n.p.	32,651	32,343	46,888	56,004	53,312	52,464	6,386	8,978	8,238	7,476
33	Other machinery and equipment	8,093	7,275	4,296	4,187	n.p.	8,274	5,970	5,249	n.p.	48,535	39,164	39,168	57,354	64,084	49,430	48,604	6,174	7,213	6,307	5,624
34	Miscellaneous manufacturing	5,492	4,392	2,815	2,439	7,448	7,001	6,874	5,435	14,891	20,809	17,221	18,860	27,831	32,202	26,910	26,734	580	789	1,124	1,392
	<b>Total all manufacturing</b>	<b>84,428</b>	<b>71,946</b>	<b>52,493</b>	<b>48,806</b>	<b>85,881</b>	<b>78,392</b>	<b>63,306</b>	<b>58,707</b>	<b>198,721</b>	<b>247,726</b>	<b>218,710</b>	<b>225,465</b>	<b>369,030</b>	<b>398,064</b>	<b>334,509</b>	<b>332,978</b>	<b>62,621</b>	<b>71,774</b>	<b>66,688</b>	<b>67,316</b>

(a) Average over whole year (except for single establishment enterprises with less than 4 employees which are collected only at June). Includes working proprietors.

(b) LGAs Melbourne, Fitzroy, Collingwood, Richmond.

(c) LGAs Brighton, Camberwell, Caulfield, Footscray, Hawthorn, Kew, Malvern, Port Melbourne, Prahran, St Kilda, South Melbourne, Williamstown.

22,000 during the next eight years. The data in the table on page 389 indicate the industry groups in which the main changes occurred. The net effect was to boost the share of factory employment in the rest of the Melbourne metropolitan area from 54 per cent in 1969 to 67 per cent in 1982.

#### CONCLUSION

The fifty year period from 1934 witnessed a change in the industrial structure of Victoria from a dependence on the more traditional types of manufacturing to those based on new technologies. In some respects the prosperity of Victorian manufacturing has become more dependent on that of Australia as a whole, as exemplified by the many firms directly and indirectly engaged in the production of motor vehicles, the sales of which have—in many of the more industrialised countries—become a “barometer” of national economic prosperity. Yet, in other ways, Victoria has become less dependent on supplies of basic materials from other parts of Australia as it now has facilities making steel and aluminium components, petrochemicals, and related products. Although these new developments are providing the basis for a greater diversification of industrial activity, events during the last decade have emphasised that manufacturing in Victoria is increasingly becoming a part of the global industrial system.

INTERNAL TRADE

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## INTRODUCTION

This Chapter examines aspects of the wholesaling and retailing of goods during the period since 1934. As a large collection and distribution port, Melbourne has always had an important place in the wholesaling of goods. Flinders Lane, for instance, developed early as the location of large softgoods warehouses because of its proximity to the Pool of Melbourne. This was the harbour for clipper ships in the Yarra adjacent to the old Customs House, when the river was still navigable up to the main city area.

In the 1930s the narrow cobbled access entrances of "the Lane" were still being negotiated by skilled drivers of horse-drawn vans backing into loading bays where cases and bales were manhandled or shifted by hydraulic lifts into store for dispatch in smaller consignments to retailers throughout the State. Many entrances still displayed the bluestone plinths that protected the corners of buildings from damage by wheels during inaccurate manoeuvring of such unwieldy vehicles. Motor transport gradually replaced the horse-drawn vans and their manipulation, with only a few centimetres to spare in many cases, required equal skill.

It was perhaps the advent of rapid transport that had the greatest impact on the handling, sales, and delivery of goods throughout the State. Once, commercial travellers carried samples of their wares by train or ship, and hotels in most country centres catered for them by the provision of sample rooms in which they could display their goods to visiting local retailers.

Before the Second World War motor transport was becoming universal for delivery to and from warehouses, and for commercial travelling. The war added the problems of petrol rationing and gas-producers, and often travellers visited customers not so much to seek orders and beat the competition as to indicate the store-keeper's entitlement under the quota system relating to scarce commodities. Frequently orders were affected by shipping losses or delays due to stringent wartime controls.

By the 1950s competition among travellers was again intense as the advent of prosperity ushered in a period of high demand for goods of all sorts. Travellers would spend a week or a fortnight covering their territories, reporting back for marketing conferences, and to refresh sample cases before journeying forth again. Orders were expedited by warehouse staff preparing, packing, and dispatching consignments by the most appropriate form of transport.

Gradually the marketing methods became more sophisticated; circulation of catalogues and trips to the city by buyers from country or suburban outlets affected the need for frequent visits by travellers, although in smaller to medium-sized businesses, and in very busy areas, such as new soldier settlement towns or bases for large-scale development projects, the traveller was still welcomed. Many old established firms also became subject to takeover by more progressive or internationally based businesses, or found it convenient to shift operations to areas of the city which were more easily accessed or offered cheaper rental and other costs.

In other ways in recent decades new technology affected the bulk marketing of goods. The import of jute fell as wheat farmers were able to utilise pipe delivery into bulk silos and grain transports instead of sacks. The traditional milk can was replaced after the war with stainless steel vats located on farm dairies to collect milk, before delivery by tankers

to butter factories or the city fresh milk market. Bulk distribution of fruit and vegetables was handled at outlets such as the Victoria Market.

The roads became busy with massive transports, often refrigerated, conveying all kinds of goods to replenish supermarkets, specialist stores, and general shops, as well as providing materials for manufacturers. Much purchasing and selling was arranged by large corporations within their own diversified groups, without recourse to external middlemen.

## RETAILING

### **Historical background**

During the period 1934 to 1984 there have been various economic forces that have influenced retailing in a general way for varying periods. At the beginning of this period the Depression made conditions very difficult for all sectors of the economy and retailing was no exception. Unemployment was very high (although declining) until the Second World War, and economic activity was at a relatively low level, even though for those still in work, real wages represented substantial purchasing power.

All this was changed by the advent of the Second World War, the economic effects of which were felt in many ways. Unemployment was reduced so rapidly that labour shortages soon became apparent. The war effort led to a diversion of resources away from producing consumer goods leading to shortages in these as well. Stocks were extremely short during the war, and many department stores closed down certain counters where stocks and sales were inadequate. To counteract the inherent inflationary pressures of these shortages the Commonwealth Government introduced price control and rationing measures. These had some effect in reducing the retailers' profits, and so they attempted to maintain their overall margins by virtually ceasing to offer "bargains". The results of these unusual market conditions were the creation of "black markets" for some goods and the growth in trading in second-hand goods, especially cars, furniture, which was frequently reconditioned, and other machinery. Retailers also tried to find new sources of supply and substitutes for goods formerly purchased from enemy countries.

The pressures built up by the wartime controls had important effects on the immediate post-war years. When domestic furniture, electrical appliances, and other consumer durables reappeared in the shops, the demand for them was very strong and was reinforced by the high rate of new household formation in the early post-war years. Many families had considerable cash reserves, ex-servicemen had their deferred pay and gratuities, and their wives had often made considerable savings from wartime earnings. These inflationary pressures were added to by the large increase in migration from 1949 onwards and the dramatic rise in wool prices caused by the Korean War. Inflation was very high for that era, peaking at nearly 20 per cent (as measured by the Consumer Price Index) in 1951 and the very favourable balance of trade up to 1951 together with the lack of suitable local goods led to a large increase in imports. The reversal of the balance of trade in 1952 led to the reintroduction of import controls in March 1952. Commonwealth Government monetary and fiscal measures and a sharp decline in wool prices led to a short recession in 1952-53, which was followed by a period of stable prices and economic growth during 1953-54. However, internal boom conditions again occurred in 1954-55, restrictive economic measures were again introduced by the Commonwealth Government early in 1956, and the boom was brought to an end.

This cyclical pattern continued to characterise the Australian economy until the mid-1960s with a more severe recession than usual occurring in 1961-62. Import licensing was mostly removed by 1960 and wholly by 1962. The latter half of the 1960s saw a steady growth in economic activity accompanied by stable conditions. The early 1970s saw a rise in inflation which increased rapidly in 1973-74 following the quadrupling of world oil prices in December 1973 and a rapid increase in local wages, especially during 1974. There were also increased costs created by "equal pay for women". The early years of inflation were accompanied by boom conditions, but from late 1974 onwards economic activity slackened and became increasingly depressed. Import restrictions were increased on a number of commodities from late 1975, especially on goods competing with domestic industries such as textiles, clothing, footwear, and motor cars. Australia entered the 1980s

with an improved balance of trade but continuing domestic economic problems and with retail activity remaining fairly stagnant in real terms.

### General conditions in retailing

Retailing provides a distribution service to the public and its competitive nature ensures that it adapts itself readily to changing economic, social, and technological conditions. The history of retailing in the last fifty years illustrates this very well, and indicates that it took its cue almost exclusively from its counterparts in the USA, thus reversing its previous trend to copy practices in Britain.

In 1934 the Depression was only just beginning to lift and despite a fall in prices, activity was still less than that of a decade earlier, although some retailers, notably the more recent chain stores with their emphasis on "loss leaders" (items sold at a loss to attract customers) and lower mark-ups were reasonably successful during these years. The department stores had reached a dominating position in the distribution of many goods. They provided a full range of services, such as a wide stock selection, free delivery, individual sales and attention and expertise, and credit facilities both long and short-term. Retail distribution tended to fall into three compartments: the city, dominated by the large department stores and providing the glamour of city shopping, often dramatised by the attractive display of goods on the counter and in the windows; the suburbs, catering for the daily needs of the customer, in those days predominantly women; and the country, supplying all the requirements of the local rural population. There was not much overlapping between them, although the emergence of chain stores was starting to alter this.

Public transport was such that the city centre was easily accessible to all of Melbourne's residents, while transport by private motor car was still relatively unimportant. The central city, with its shopping focus now along Bourke Street (no longer Flinders Street as previously), was the hub of the retail trade, rather than such suburban centres as Smith Street, Collingwood, and Chapel Street, Prahran. It had reached the apex of its formative development as the main shopping area in Melbourne, a development which had been facilitated by the improved public transport and the greater variety of goods and stores that one big centre could offer. In the country the relative isolation of country towns resulted in the existence of the country storekeeper who catered for all the normal requirements of the surrounding rural population. The country store was a department store in miniature with the addition of large grain and fodder sections. Attempts at selling by mail order catalogue were made by various big city stores, but with only very limited success (unlike in the USA where it was done successfully). The larger rural centres like Ballarat and Horsham supplied most of the goods which the country store could not.

After 1945, the progressive advent in country towns, especially the larger ones, of chain and variety store branches, and to a much more limited extent of department stores, brought to country retailers not only stimulating competition, but also the example in action of up-to-date methods, advertising, display, and merchandising. Also, during and after the Second World War, the enforced co-operation with other retailers brought about by rationing, price control, and other government measures meant that the country retailer became less conservative, a trend later reinforced by the growth of overseas travel which was an educative factor for both country retailers and their customers.

Several major developments have altered this pattern of retailing especially since the Second World War. There has been a continuing shift of retailing activities from the central city area to suburban locations. This can be seen from the following table detailing the percentage of retail sales occurring in specified areas of the State as recorded at each Retail Census that has been conducted:



**RETAIL SALES OCCURRING IN SPECIFIED AREAS: VICTORIA,  
RETAIL CENSUS YEARS 1947-48 TO 1979-80  
(per cent)**

Area	1947-48	1948-49	1952-53	1956-57	1961-62	1968-69	1973-74	1979-80
<b>City of Melbourne, percentage of Melbourne Statistical Division —</b>								
Inner (a)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	27.1	21.1	14.5	11.3	7.0
Outer (b)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	7.2	6.0	5.5	4.9	3.6
Total	46.8	46.5	40.3	34.3	27.1	20.0	16.2	10.6
<b>Percentage of total State—</b>								
Melbourne Statistical Division	65.9	65.6	65.5	67.5	68.7	73.7	75.1	77.3
Rest of State —	34.1	34.4	34.5	32.5	31.3	26.3	24.9	22.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(a) Area bounded by the centre of Spring, La Trobe, Spenceer, and Flinders Streets.

(b) The remainder of the City of Melbourne.

NOTE. The scope and coverage of establishments from which retail sales figures were collected have varied between Censuses as has the area of the Melbourne Statistical Division and figures are therefore not strictly comparable. However it is considered that these differences do not significantly affect the trend.

### Transport

A number of factors have influenced this changing pattern of retail activity. The population of Melbourne has nearly trebled from 1,000,000 at 30 June 1934 to 2,836,800 at 30 June 1982 and has become increasingly dispersed. The area of the Melbourne Statistical Division has grown from 511 square kilometres in 1934 to 6,109 square kilometres in 1982 and consequently suburban development has taken place at increasing distances from the city. During this period public transport was not being developed to maintain the ease of access to the city centre of the pre-Second World War years, and these decades coincided with the increasing importance of the family motor car, which was to change shopping habits and dictate the planning of new stores, where ease of parking became paramount.

### NUMBER OF REGISTERED CARS AND STATION WAGONS PER THOUSAND PERSONS: VICTORIA, AT 30 JUNE 1934 TO 1981

Item	1934	1944	1954	1964	1974	1981
Number of registered cars and station wagons per thousand persons	103	128	231	318	355	413

This growing use of the motor car has led to traffic congestion, and parking difficulties, especially in the central city area, where lack of convenient parking facilities and high rents caused the stores great problems. However, the use of motor cars made for easier access to suburban shopping centres, particularly those in the newer suburbs developed from the 1950s on, or in suburbs that had provided off-street parking. Accordingly, the retail trade has been continually moving to the suburbs. The new suburbs that have developed around the periphery of Melbourne to cater for the growing population have required shopping centres for daily needs, especially groceries and foodstuffs.

### Development of shopping centres

The main period of development of the new shopping centres was from 1960, when the first was opened at Chadstone, to the early 1970s by which time they virtually ringed the city centre. The centres were built around a major department store, and included smaller, specialised retailers, as well as supermarkets, with the aim of giving the maximum variety of goods. They were all designed to include extensive parking space for cars, and while not generally well served by the main public transport system, they were the centre of

many local, private bus routes. The growth of regional shopping centres in the 1960s serving the northern, southern, and eastern suburbs of Melbourne is illustrated in the following table:

REGIONAL SHOPPING CENTRES: MELBOURNE, 1960 TO 1968

Centre and year opened	Original investment	Area	Number of shops	Estimated population in trading area	Parking facilities - number of car spaces
	\$m	hectares			
Chadstone (1960)	14	12	83	237,000	3,250
Northland (1966)	18	17.6	(a) 60	393,000	4,000
Eastland (1967)	14	6	40	145,000	1,300
Southland (1968)	20	10.8	70	250,000	2,400

(a) Northland also has a general market area.

By the end of the 1970s free standing shopping centres were being built around discount stores which then replaced both variety and department stores. Many older established suburban shopping centres have also been re-developed along similar lines, giving a greater range of merchandise than before and also providing greatly increased car parking space. The older shopping centres, though served by the public transport system, frequently suffered as a result of the newer free standing shopping centres, and yet by the 1970s small shops still maintained a strong presence both in the city and in suburban shopping centres.

In the country, roads were being improved rapidly after the Second World War and this made personal shopping in the provincial cities easier. Stores showed an improvement in the range of goods and facilities available, while smaller centres usually catered for the more immediate needs of the local population. Improved roads also facilitated the operations of travelling salesmen.

#### Self-selection and self-service

Self-selection and self-service have been associated in another major development that has changed the pattern of retailing of the 1930s. Self-selection of goods had its origins in the USA in the display method of selling by the variety chain stores whose numbers were increasing rapidly in the 1930s. It was given impetus during the Second World War when labour shortages became apparent. The rigours of wartime and lack of deliveries led customers to acquire a taste for personal shopping. The self-service grocery store provided the customer with easy access to the selection of goods which were well displayed. After the Second World War labour shortages did not ease and the cost of labour started to rise rapidly. This helped strengthen the self-service innovation as retailers sought to contain costs in a competitive field. Some of the larger retail organisations, that could only see a restricted future for the small variety store, moved into the retail grocery industry, often by costly takeovers of long established grocery chains, which were acquired not only for their foodmarkets but for their personnel and buying power.

Self-service was pioneered by the grocery industry and by the late 1950s was the accepted method of distribution of most groceries. In the grocery field self-service reached its peak with the development of supermarkets on the American pattern in the 1950s and these are continuing to increase their domination of grocery retailing. Self-service supermarkets became larger to accommodate a range of non-food items with profit margins higher than those of groceries, whose mark up was very competitive and hence low. This gave a new dimension to replacing the sales of general merchandise lost from the variety stores which were closing down from the 1960s onwards. The following table shows the percentage of grocery sales made by self-service stores with at least one checkout point, as recorded at each Retail Census in which such information was collected. These figures indicate that this trend was slower to start in the non-metropolitan areas of the State, but that it is now basically the same for the whole State.

**RETAIL SALES OF GROCERIES SOLD BY SELF-SERVICE STORES  
AND OTHER ESTABLISHMENTS: MELBOURNE STATISTICAL DIVISION  
AND THE REMAINDER OF THE STATE, 1956-57, 1961-62, 1968-69  
(per cent)**

Year	Self service establishment			Other establishments			Total establishments
	Melbourne Statistical Division	Remainder of State	Total State	Melbourne Statistical Division	Remainder of State	Total State	Total State
1956-57	47.3	26.2	39.2	52.7	73.8	60.8	100.0
1961-62	70.8	56.4	65.7	29.2	43.6	34.3	100.0
1968-69	73.7	66.0	71.3	26.3	34.0	28.7	100.0

Real wage rates continued to rise throughout the 1950s and 1960s at a steady rate, reflecting improving productivity and a stable inflation rate. Changing social and political conditions in the early 1970s saw a large increase in the cost of labour. This was greatly accentuated for the retailing industry, with its high rate of female employment, by the phasing in of equal pay for women which was substantially achieved by 1974. The high rate of female employment in the retail trade can be seen in Figure 25 on page 397 which shows the percentages of males and females employed in retail establishments compared to the Victorian labour force in general.

The need to keep the cost of selling and handling goods, including delivery, to a minimum, as well as the advantages of greater visual selling suggestion and speed of shopping, meant that the advantages of self-selection and self-service would be adopted by retailers of goods other than groceries. Improved packaging now became vital. Department stores adopted methods of open display generally and since 1969 self-service has also spread to a broader range of goods through the development of "mass merchandise" stores. These sell not only the traditional supermarket goods but also a wide range of other goods, such as clothing, domestic hardware, kitchenware, footwear, etc. These goods are sold through a checkout and can be carried away. In addition, many supermarkets since the 1970s have carried an increasing range of non-grocery goods. From the late 1970s onwards, the major chains of variety stores have also been developing self-service facilities, by the replacement of counter service islands with checkout points, e.g., at the variety stores. In their food departments many have also added alcoholic beverages to their range of goods.

Closely associated with the trend to self-selection and self-service was the development in pre-packaging of goods, especially groceries, that accompanied it. In fact both developments were very interdependent and neither would have occurred as rapidly as it did without the support of the other. The use of good packaging design and new materials, especially plastics, has enabled goods such as meat to be presented in hygienic, convenient, and attractive ways. The development of pre-packaged goods was accompanied by widespread national advertising in the daily press and on radio, and later also on television after its introduction in 1956. Most of this advertising was undertaken by the manufacturers of the goods involved and enabled customers to recognise merchandise which made self-selection and self-service easier. The range and type of advertising in general has been stable over the period, but there has been a change in emphasis. Press advertising by individual retailers has always been important, while radio and television have been used more by manufacturers promoting their own brands of products. A more recent development has been the periodical use of the "Sales Bill", a coloured, illustrated magazine type catalogue distributed door to door, sometimes by post, but more often by hand distribution contractors. Generally speaking advertising costs in retailing have continued to grow as a percentage of sales.

By lowering the costs to the retailer through reducing the amount of labour involved in retail distribution, the adoption of self-selection and self-service reduced the services previously provided to the customer. Free delivery, individual attention to customers, after sales service, and substantial trade-ins became much less common after the 1960s and 1970s, while stock ranges are now frequently limited to high volume lines. These

developments have effectively shifted some of the costs of distribution from the retailer to the customer and encouraged charged-for service by the manufacturer or independent servicing firms, rather than by the retailer.

**Discount stores**

An associated development in providing goods at lower prices by providing minimal services, was the spread of "discount" stores from the mid-1950s onwards. These stores were usually operated from simple premises with little shop furniture and situated away from the premium retail areas to minimise rent. This enabled them to keep retail margins low by reducing their overhead costs to a minimum. This type of store usually concentrated on selling consumer durables, and made further reductions in costs by reducing trade-in allowances. The concept of discounting as such was not new to Victoria, as many stores already had a long history of allowing a discount for cash payment. However, what these

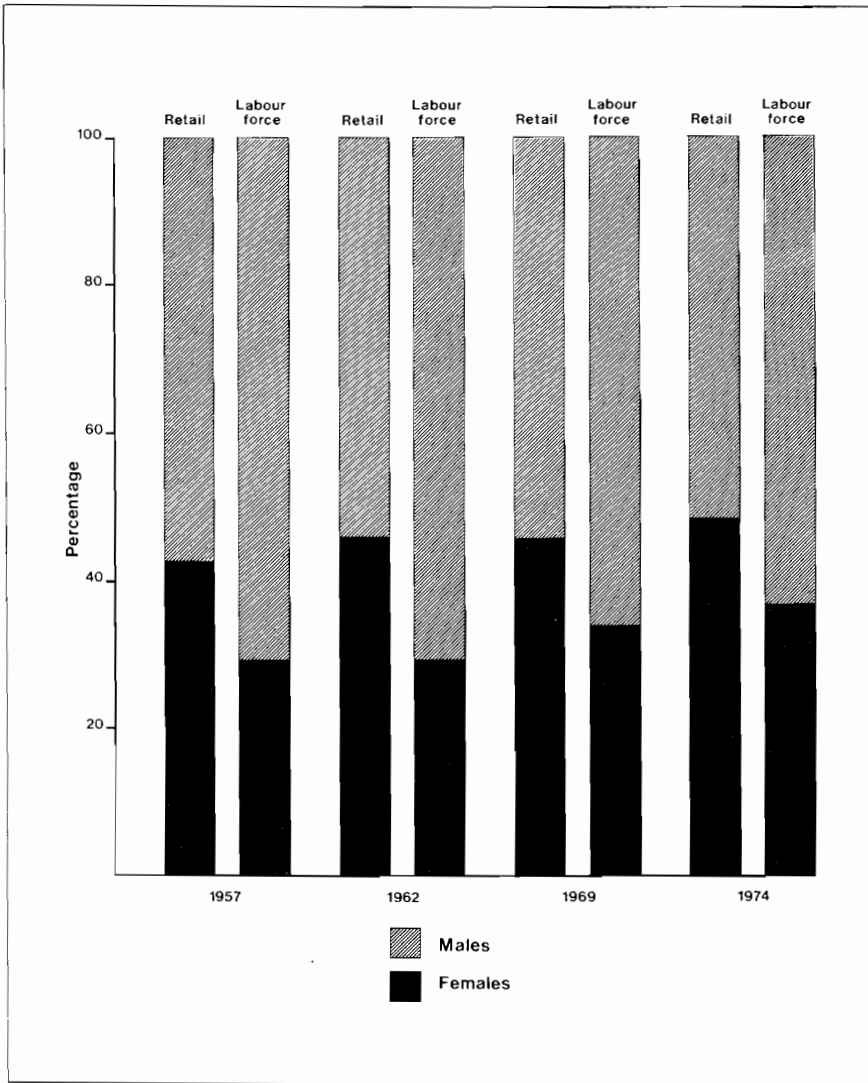


FIGURE 25. Victoria—Percentage of males and females employed in the retail trade and the labour force 1957 to 1974.

new stores did was to set the prices of many goods, especially electrical appliances of all kinds, and soft furnishings, at levels well below those of the more traditional retailers. The outlawing of resale price maintenance in 1971 has tended (and indeed was intended) to increase general price competition, and this removed some of the price advantage of the "discount" stores, which in turn led to a further decline in the use of trade-in allowances. The system of trade-in allowances was, however, a powerful incentive to buy, and by the early 1980s there were signs of its re-introduction by retailers. At that time discount stores, especially the larger ones, were trading profitably.

#### Distribution and range of goods

Since 1934 there has been considerable change in the pattern of wholesale distribution to retail stores. At the beginning of the period wholesalers had a very strong hold on the distribution of merchandise to retailers. Sidney Myer was the first retailer to break this relationship and deal directly with manufacturers. This historical pattern of distribution afforded protection to the established retailers and Myer was a newcomer. Also, he had the purchasing power that enabled the negotiation of better prices by going to the manufacturer. The chain stores also always sought to deal direct with manufacturers. This direct dealing had an important effect on the development of local manufacturing industry. The disappearance after the 1950s of some large stock carrying and warehousing wholesalers did not extend to the smaller indenting agents and other types of middlemen who continued their importing activities.

Since the end of the Second World War, a notable change in retailing has been seen in the range and emphasis of goods offered for sale and the pattern of purchases made by customers. Many import restrictions were reimposed in 1952 and only lifted in 1960. Thereafter a large range of new products became available in all areas of retailing. The level of disposable income increased steadily from \$776 in 1950-51 to \$7,542 in 1980-81 and made it possible for most families to purchase a much broader range of goods from the increasing amount of money they had at their disposal after purchasing life's necessities. Most supermarkets displayed many household gadgets and utensils, cleaners, and canned and frozen foods that were unknown in the 1930s. The post-war arrival of migrants, many from non-British countries, also encouraged the diversity of foods that became freely available, while convenience (or take away) foods have grown very rapidly since their introduction, in franchised form, in the late 1960s. Take away food outlets grew significantly in the 1970s and came to have an adverse effect on supermarket sales. Chinese food, of course, had been available for many years.

Of basic importance in setting the post-war lifestyle have been the consumer durables such as washing machines, driers, vacuum cleaners, and electrical appliances of all kinds designed to take the physical labour out of housework. From the late 1950s onwards increased spending occurred on television sets (from their introduction in black and white in 1956, and in colour in 1975), radios, stereophonic equipment, cassette players, video cassette recorders, home computers, etc., which catered for increasing leisure time and money to spend on recreation. However, the main change in emphasis in retail spending was the increasing proportion of retail sales being taken up by motor vehicles and accessories, petrol, oil, tyres, and batteries, many of which became available on a self-service basis. The proportion of total retail sales of each of the main goods categories as recorded at each Retail Census is shown in the following table:

RETAIL SALES BY COMMODITY: VICTORIA, 1948-49 TO 1979-80  
(per cent)

Commodity	1948-49	1952-53	1956-57	1961-62	1968-69	1973-74	1979-80
Foodstuffs —							
Groceries	11.7	11.8	11.8	11.9	12.5	12.0	15.9
Other foods	17.9	18.1	17.9	17.9	14.9	13.3	11.6
Total foodstuffs	29.6	29.9	29.7	29.9	27.4	25.3	27.5
Liquor and tobacco products	11.9	12.0	12.2	11.5	11.9	11.2	10.2

RETAIL SALES BY COMMODITY: VICTORIA, 1948-49 TO 1979-80—*continued*  
(per cent)

Commodity	1948-49	1952-53	1956-57	1961-62	1968-69	1973-74	1979-80
Clothing and textiles including footwear	22.8	18.3	16.7	15.7	13.9	14.1	11.9
Electrical goods, musical instruments, etc.	3.1	3.8	4.6	4.9	4.4	5.4	6.8
Motor vehicles, parts, accessories, petrol, etc.	14.3	18.7	21.0	22.1	26.1	26.5	28.5
Furniture and floor coverings	4.8	4.2	3.7	3.4	3.6	4.4	3.4
Other goods	13.6	13.1	12.0	12.5	12.7	13.2	11.7
Total retail sales	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The alteration in the pattern of spending evident from these figures is a reflection of the changing social conditions and standards of living since the war. These have been achieved by increased productivity resulting from improved technology and continuing capital investment, allied with relatively low cost energy until the 1970s when the increase in petroleum product prices during that decade increased the relative cost of the latter. Increasing productivity has also led to a lower real cost of many consumer durables, and this trend combined with lower retail margins and high labour costs for repairs and maintenance led to a general pattern of replacing such goods (at least until the late 1970s) rather than repairing or renovating them.

The intense competition among retailers in the 1970s meant a constant search for more efficient selling methods, including checkout stores, area wrap stores, the computerised ordering of stock, scientific control of merchandise, and electronic cash registers at point of sale.

One commodity which showed striking changes in distribution patterns was liquor. Victoria had had "6 o'clock closing" since it was introduced as a self-denying ordinance in 1916. The possibility of reverting to 10 p.m. closing was politically clouded for various reasons, among them the preference of some local government areas which had a referendum on the matter, not to allow hotels within their municipal boundaries at all.

In 1966 the Phillips Royal Commission into liquor brought out a report which strongly advocated 10 p.m. closing and the substantial upgrading of hotel standards. This was a critical document and from that time onward the breweries financed the building of new hotels (with ample parking facilities), and the upgrading of existing ones. There was an attempt—largely successful—to produce surroundings which would enable families to enjoy a meal together.

The method of selling of liquor also changed. Drive-in outlets and hotels upgraded their sales environments; new packaging methods made for attractive presentation; special liquor stores grew; and supermarkets began to sell liquor under retail bottle licences. Their sales grew because of lower price structures and the preference by many customers to shop for liquor in supermarkets. Concurrently there was a change in taste. Wine by the 1970s had won a substantial market, and in that decade there developed a marked preference for white over red wines, a trend which had strong repercussions on the wine growing industry. The introduction of low alcohol beer was also seen as an attempt to alleviate the drink-driving problem in the community.

### Advertising

Advertising has been widely used to boost new products. In the years before television—i.e., before 1956—the press had most of the retailers' advertising spending, and radio an important share. Since the advent of television, first in black and white and after 1975 in colour, radio and press dominance in advertising has been gradually weakened. A balance has now been reached where the media complement each other. Advertisers have become aware that the press, either by daily papers or home delivered bills, has the capacity to cover large numbers of items at the same time, and provide a record for discussion, comparison, and purchase. Television advertising has been shown to be especially appropriate for individual item promotion of certain types of merchandise. It is also most suitable for selling a theme or an idea.

### Shopping hours

Retail shopping hours remained virtually unchanged after the Second World War until late night trading recommenced in December 1971. New working agreements with the unions to accommodate this change were reflected in the 1972 Shops Determination. Some areas have been designated tourist areas and all shops in those areas are allowed to trade for much longer hours. By the 1980s supermarkets traded on Thursday and Friday nights to 9 p.m. These longer trading hours encouraged family shopping, made shopping for persons in the labour force easier, and helped retailers adapt to the changing patterns of consumer expenditure amid the inflation of the 1970s and 1980s.

### Finance facilities

In the early 1930s the notion of hire purchase was generally considered unsavoury by the respectable members of the community. This was largely because of repossession of goods in the Depression and dubious tactics used by some hire purchase traders. Also, interest rates were confusing, a matter subsequently dealt with under explicit legislation in 1936 and especially in the *Hire Purchase Act* 1959. Some retailers sought to remove the disreputable aura from hire purchase and make it more accessible. Thus some stores and customers came to accept the idea of hire purchase in the late 1930s and 1940s, and this method of credit was to become increasingly important after the Second World War. "Lay by" was also a popular method of purchase in these earlier years, though it was restricted to the short-term. It applied more to softgoods than big ticket merchandise, and was relatively expensive to the retailer because of the storage, handling, and clerical work it involved.

In the 1950s and thereafter the development in sales of consumer durables was very closely allied with the increasing range and availability of credit facilities. Instalment credit, whereby purchases are financed by schemes in which repayments are made in regular predetermined amounts became increasingly significant. One particular form of instalment credit, of course, was hire purchase, which became especially important for the purchase of motor cars. Soon many car distributors and retail stores began hire purchase schemes

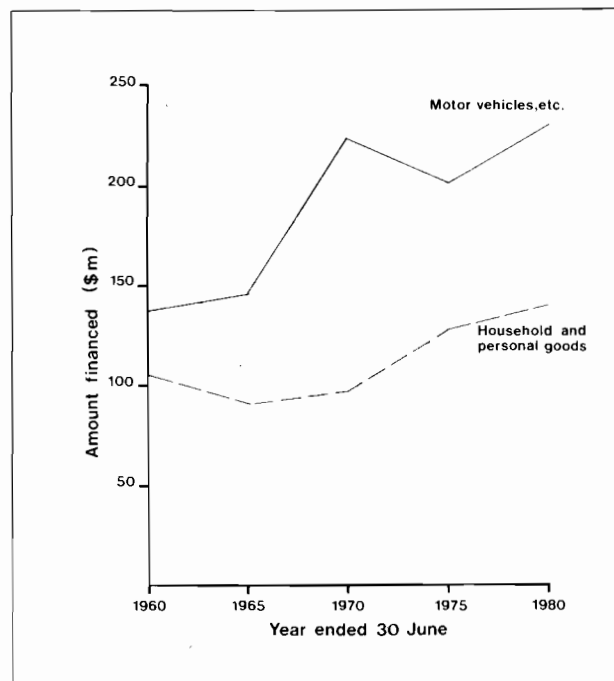


FIGURE 26. Victoria—Instalment credit for retail sales, 1960 to 1980.

financed by companies set up for the purpose. These finance companies were often wholly or partly owned by the major trading banks whose own credit operations were still strictly controlled by the Commonwealth Government in order to control inflationary pressures caused by the strong demand experienced in the economy after the war.

The *Hire Purchase Act* 1959 placed restrictions on the nature of hire purchase agreements and gave more protection to the consumer. The popularity of hire purchase agreements was also affected by the *Stamps Act* 1958 which placed a 2 per cent tax on the amount financed under some instalment credit schemes including the most frequent, hire purchase, and higher rates of comprehensive insurance for motor cars under hire purchase schemes. These factors led to a decline in the relative importance of hire purchase, especially for cars, as a form of instalment credit in relation to other forms such as time payment, budget accounts and personal loans for retail purchases.

The next development of major importance in consumer credit was the advent of credit cards, especially Bankcard which was introduced in the early 1970s. These made short-term credit more widely and readily available and for the first time enabled small stores to compete, in providing credit, with the larger stores. However they were not generally used in supermarkets.

As far as prices and profits were concerned, the most potent influences during the period were price controls during and just after the Second World War, and the provisions of the Trade Practices Act after 1973. There was also intensified competition between retailers. Price control left a legacy among retailers after its abolition, as it showed that it was possible to operate successfully on an all-round lower margin. Since the early 1970s increased wages and other costs forced the need to pursue higher sales volumes and restrain overheads by partially reducing services and above all by promoting self-selection.

#### **Consumer protection**

With the growth of a multitude of new products and services, and some dubious methods of selling them, there was a growing awareness of the need to protect consumers from the worst selling practices. This resulted in the formation of a number of consumer organisations and consumer protection groups and pressure on the Victorian Government to legislate for additional protection of the consumer. This was followed by the passage of a number of Acts in the 1970s. The *Consumer Affairs Act* 1972 covered many topics such as proceedings on behalf or in defence of consumers, regulation or banning of practices likely to mislead or cheat customers, such as false advertising, pyramid selling, mock auctions, door to door selling, etc., as well as making it a requirement that invoices be supplied on request and an offer be made to return parts replaced in repairing items. The *Motor Car Traders Act* 1973 controlled the licensing of second-hand car dealers and imposed restrictions on their operations such as statutory warranties on cars sold for more than \$500. The *Small Claims Tribunal Act* 1973 provided an alternative, at nominal cost, to court action for consumers requiring redress.

As well as State legislation there were consumer protection provisions under the *Trade Practices Act* 1974 of the Commonwealth Government. As amended in 1977 the Act provided for consumer protection in several ways. Resale price maintenance was wholly banned. As well, a number of "unfair" practices were prohibited (many of these were also banned under State legislation), while certain procedures to assist the consumer who wished to rescind a contract have been implemented.

The administrative bodies set up under the respective State and Commonwealth Acts were seen as co-operating in the implementation of their provisions and being generally complementary.

#### **Management and administration**

There have been growing requirements for sophisticated stock management to keep pace with the decentralisation of retailing. Until the 1960s single stores relied on counting and financial sales dissection as the main means of stock control. The proliferation into multiple stores or chains complicated this function and it was some time before department stores could improve on this method. Chain stores (variety and food) established distribution centres which became progressively automated and computerised, a factor aided by the relatively limited range and assortment carried.



The department stores, however, had only a limited success in registering and recording sales. At first they used the Kimball Tag, from which information could be computerised after the sale. However, with large numbers of separate items (over 300,000 perhaps) many of which have a short life and limited sales, it was not possible to record every item. Thus, some mass merchants deliberately restricted their range, seeking only to stock items with large sales. The result of computerisation was therefore only partially successful, and while it assisted distribution, it was not always able to manage all items or the ordering of goods and the variation of orders under changing market circumstances. Only at the end of the period in the early 1980s was there a prospect of simpler and less expensive recording with the use of the computer.

Concurrent with changes in the style of retailing there have been changes in the organisation of the sector, seen both in the industry as a whole and in the management of stores. The rapid spread of retailing to the suburbs required a large amount of investment capital. This was often arranged by the big chains which developed over the period as well as by various institutions in the capital market.

During the early 1960s when retailing expanded strongly, the initiative was usually first taken by the larger retailers and property developers often working together. When matters of site possession, zoning approval, design acceptance, tenancies, capital requirements, and profit estimates were completed, the financial institutions brought in their expertise, but they rarely initiated major projects or saw them through from beginning to end. The variety chain stores were the first to spread rapidly in the suburbs and this trend was followed by food and groceries, furniture, drapery, footwear, and other retailers by the late 1940s. The growth continued and was achieved by both the opening of new stores, especially in the new retail areas created by new suburbs, and mergers between, as well as takeovers of, existing stores and chains. This process resulted in a few very large retailing companies in terms of total sales, although there was still a very large and growing number of small independent retailers, particularly in specialty fields such as fashion goods.

The early 1970s saw more expenditure on new stores than in the redevelopment of older ones. However, once the suburbs had become fully "shopped", expenditure reverted to the centre of Melbourne. The prosperity of the central shopping area had been considered to depend on the planning of general city amenities. By the early 1980s controls on the development of new shopping centres had slowed their growth, while in the city a growing number of small shops, especially in arcades, became evident.

Within the chains and individual stores, self-service had reduced the numbers of staff so that there was a higher and increasing proportion of executives than before the Second World War. This top management was normally recruited from graduates who were later trained specifically for such positions, rather than only by advancing the able and ambitious from the bottom of the structure to the top. Similarly, as companies grew larger and supply conditions changed, a trend toward specialisation of functions developed in the fields of buying, selling, staffing, and administration, each under separate managers. A further step, which was accepted in varying degrees in different classes of retailing was central buying and warehousing. The acceptance of this method was dependent on the size of the operation concerned, but even in the largest concerns, there was usually some area of buying (e.g., small perishables) which it has been found better to leave in the hands of the local management. This centralisation of buying was not restricted to large firms only; there was a number of organisations which centralised buying and distribution functions for groups of individually owned and managed stores, especially in grocery retailing, so tending to place smaller stores on a more competitive buying basis with their larger counterparts.

## EXTERNAL TRADE

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### INTRODUCTION

The external trade of Victoria since the commencement of the twentieth century and the Federation of six separate colonies has, of necessity, become a part of the total Australian involvement in complex international transactions. From the relatively simple compilations of nineteenth century movements of commodities into and out of local colonial ports, the statistics on external trade are now an integral contribution to the models with which national economic management is attempted.

Although not separate in political regulation or outside economic influences from Australian external trade there are nevertheless certain features of Victoria's participation that are unique. These arise by virtue of the traditional role of Melbourne as a trans-shipment port, its central location as a distribution point for maritime trade, and Victoria's concentration on certain commodities. A factor affecting Victoria's relative importance in the overseas trade of Australia has been its almost total lack of natural resources in the field of bulk exportable minerals. Despite its dominance as an oil and gas producer, Victoria has not shared the position of Queensland and Western Australia in a period when the overseas export earnings of Australia have come increasingly from mineral products.

### INTERSTATE TRADE

It has been usual for Victoria and New South Wales to have adverse balances in respect of overseas trade. This is attributed to the fact that goods and materials are imported into these States for further processing or finishing, and/or ultimate distribution to other States. The adverse balances are, however, offset by favourable balances on interstate trade. Since Federation created a single market in Australia, no uniform measurement of interstate trade was undertaken after 1910 due in part to the problems of measuring road freight moving across State borders in the absence of interstate customs houses. Sea, rail, and air freight are measurable through manifests, waybills, and other documentation. However, from information available from those States utilising shipping records, approaching businesses in all States for data on interstate distribution of goods, or collecting interstate exports only, from all States, and deducing interstate imports as being the reverse transactions, the importance of Victoria in this trade is apparent.

Among commodities entering this trade are imports of chemical elements and compounds, and petroleum products from Western Australia, and exports of machinery other than electrical, clothing and accessories, and electrical apparatus to Western Australia. Imports from Tasmania include newsprint, printing and writing papers, vegetables, tungsten ores, and refined zinc. Exports to Tasmania include petroleum products, transport equipment, clothing and accessories, and machinery other than electrical.

### State bases of export statistics

Before Federation external trade statistics of the colonies indicated source and destination of imports and exports, respectively, and among these were listed other colonies. It was possible to derive goods of Victorian origin included in exports, but this dissection was

lost when the Commonwealth Constitution decreed that trade between the States should be free, and the customs machinery for monitoring internal movements of goods was dismantled. This meant that, in general, State overseas exports have been compiled on the basis of the State in which the appropriate export documentation was lodged with the Bureau of Customs (or its predecessor the Department of Customs). This may at one time have been synonymous with the State of origin of the goods, but the advent of containerisation, and the increased centralisation of company accounts made "State of lodgement" a meaningless concept upon which to base State export statistics.

This led to a change in the basis of recording State details in Australian export statistics, from "State of lodgement" of export documents, to "State of origin" and "Port of loading/State of final shipment" of goods. These new bases operated only from July 1978, and since then Victorian totals of Australian produce in the "State of origin" tables represent the quantity and value of goods which were the produce of Victoria. State totals of re-exports (i.e., goods which have been imported and re-exported, often after some minor processing has taken place) represent State of final shipment, as it is not possible to assign a "State of origin" to such goods. Because of the different bases used over the years for Australian exports and re-exports, care must be exercised in the interpretation of statistics of exports from Victoria.

This development permits analysis of the extent of Victorian produce included in Victoria's total exports. Excluding the re-export component, the difference between figures on a "State of shipment" and a "State of origin" basis corresponds with goods, the produce of other States, shipped overseas through Victorian ports, although the origin of the other States is not known. (It is not possible to measure the opposite transactions — i.e., goods of Victorian origin exported through interstate ports, or similarly, the extent of overseas or interstate imports landed in Victoria which are then transported to other States, although with Melbourne's traditional reputation as a redistribution port, this trade is regarded as considerable.) A comparison of some specific items of goods on the different export bases operating in the transition years 1977-78 and 1978-79 gives an idea of the extent of these particular goods produced outside Victoria that are shipped from Victoria, and also highlights the dominance of Victoria in certain selected items of Australian exports.

SELECTED EXPORTS (EXCLUDING RE-EXPORTS): VICTORIA,  
1977-78 AND 1978-79

Item	1978-79		Goods of Victorian origin expressed as a percentage of total shipped from Victoria	1977-78	1978-79
	Total goods shipped from Victoria	Total goods of Victorian origin		Proportion of exports from Australia (State of lodgement)	Proportion of exports from Australia (State of origin)
	\$m	\$m	per cent	per cent	per cent
Dried fruits	45.3	44.0	97	92	90
Milk and cream	71.8	71.6	100	85	80
Crude petroleum	9.7	9.7	100	94	100
Beef and veal	343.0	242.0	71	26	18
Mutton	69.4	53.1	77	50	39
Motor vehicle parts	29.5	26.3	89	64	56

This table shows that practically all dried fruits, milk and cream products, and all crude petroleum exported overseas from Victoria in the year 1978-79 were of Victorian origin. About one-quarter of beef, veal, and mutton, and about one-tenth of motor vehicle parts, were of interstate origin. For the first three items Victoria was also the dominant contributor to Australia's exports, whether the basis of measurement was "State of lodgement" as in 1977-78, or "State of origin" as in 1978-79. The other three items were less significant in the Australian total, and in each case less so on a "State of origin" basis than on a "State of lodgement" basis. Assuming that there was no large actual variation between the two years due to factors other than the changed bases, these examples tend to confirm that the region serviced by Victorian ports extends beyond the State boundary to embrace, probably, exports of New South Wales (particularly the Riverina) and South Australian origin.

## OVERSEAS TRADE

The study of Victoria's overseas trade during the half century from the 1930s to the 1980s as a contribution to total Australian trade, Victoria's relationship with its major trading partners, and the main commodities recorded in Victorian imports and exports during the period, can be divided into five periods of approximately ten years each, dating from about the mid-points of each decade. This affords better comparisons of available statistics than can be derived by a simple scan of the complete fifty years, because of changes in commodity classification and valuation.

Until the 1950 edition of the United Nation's *Standard International Trade Classification* (SITC), individual countries' classifications of commodities had prevented precise international comparisons, but by 1960 the governments of countries accounting for about 80 per cent of world commodity trade were using SITC. The Australian Customs Tariff, based on the Brussels Tariff Nomenclature (BTN), which later became the Customs Co-operation Council Nomenclature (CCCN), was introduced in July 1965. For statistical purposes SITC makes a distinction between raw materials, semi-manufactured goods, and finished articles, while CCCN groups articles by the material of which they are made, as is traditional for customs usage. The Australian Import Commodity Classification (AICC), introduced from July 1965, and the Australian Export Commodity Classification (AECC), introduced from July 1966, were based on SITC and with a revision from July 1978, became the basis for commodity statistics.

Because aggregate statistics relating to overseas trade are quoted in value terms, long series are prone to lack of comparability for several reasons. The basis of valuation was "free on board (FOB) port of shipment" and until July 1976 the recorded value of imports was the "value for duty", after which date the "Brussels Definition of Value" applied. Recorded import figures from 1976-77 were estimated to be about 2 per cent lower than on the old basis. Also, imports were expressed in British currency values prior to 1947-48 and Australian values thereafter. A reasonably accurate method of converting the values of imports (except gold) from British to Australian currency was stated in contemporary Year Books as being to add 14 per cent to British currency values. Statistical tables shown herein which were originally published in pounds (British currency, not necessarily synonymous with English sterling) have therefore been converted to the approximate dollar equivalent (Australian currency) by multiplying values by a factor of 2.28. For other imports and for exports all figures prior to the introduction of decimal currency in February 1966 have been converted to dollars by multiplying Australian pounds by a factor of 2.

Being subject to the rapid inflationary forces of the post-war period a value series also suffers the loss of long-term comparability that could be derived from quantity figures for specific items if collected on a consistent basis over time. However, because of the changes in commodity classifications, long consistent quantity series do not exist, except for a relatively few homogeneous commodities, such as wheat or wool. Metric units of quantity were introduced in July 1972 for Australian overseas trade statistics.

Dissection into short periods allows isolation for closer scrutiny of the factors illustrating significant changes in the economic circumstances affecting overseas trade, such as the effects of depression and war from the mid-1930s to the mid-1940s, the post-war boom, recession, and recovery to about the mid-1950s, and technological improvement in the physical ability to handle and transport goods by the mid-1960s and 1970s. Each decade has features worthy of highlighting against the overall background of apparently steady long-term growth.

#### The mid-1930s to the mid-1940s

The 1930s was a period of economic depression throughout the world and this seriously affected exporters of agricultural products, which Victoria predominantly was at this time. The combination of low prices and oversupply on world markets meant that agricultural industries in Australia recovered from the Depression only slowly, with some government help, such as a tax on flour to help wheat growers, but limited prosperity had returned by 1939.

The major trading partner in the 1930s was the United Kingdom, due to the policy of Imperial Preference agreed upon at the Ottawa Conference of 1932. This gave tariff

protection to Empire products and the United Kingdom absorbed the bulk of butter and meat exports, although large quantities of wool and wheat were sent to foreign countries. Japan was disadvantaged by this policy and reacted against high tariff barriers against Japanese manufactures by seeking raw materials elsewhere. From 1935-36, the pattern of Victorian exports to Japan tapered markedly until the outbreak of hostilities in 1941, while imports remained relatively static.

The United States of America offset the diminution in Victorian exports to some extent prior to 1940-41, when it approached the United Kingdom in value terms, and thereafter maintained second place among recipients of Victoria's exports. By 1942-43, it had vastly outstripped the United Kingdom as a source of imports with the massive build up of supplies that accompanied the establishment of the major allied Pacific base in Australia, although considerable trade with the United Kingdom continued, and India and Ceylon became important wartime sources of imports.

Until 1941-42, Australia had an excess of exports but thereafter the exigencies of war made this impossible. Victoria, because of Melbourne's capacity to cope with import and trans-shipment trade, had in the main an excess of imports.

#### VICTORIAN AND AUSTRALIAN TRADE: 1935-36 TO 1944-45

Year	Victoria			Australia			Victoria compared with Australia	
	Imports	Exports	Excess of exports(+) or imports(-)	Imports	Exports	Excess of exports(+) or imports(-)	Imports	Exports
	\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m	per cent	per cent
1935-36	69.8	69.0	-0.8	194.3	272.8	+78.5	35.9	25.3
1936-37	74.3	87.2	+12.9	211.2	323.1	+111.9	35.2	27.0
1937-38	89.4	82.4	-7.0	259.9	315.2	+55.3	34.4	26.1
1938-39	80.8	61.6	-19.2	232.9	281.0	+48.1	34.7	21.9
1939-40	97.1	79.6	-17.5	273.1	340.9	+67.8	35.6	23.3
1940-41	105.4	90.6	-14.8	255.2	314.3	+59.1	41.3	28.8
1941-42	136.3	85.3	-51.0	346.6	338.0	-8.6	39.3	25.2
1942-43	251.8	69.0	-182.8	488.9	251.1	-237.8	51.5	27.5
1943-44	205.8	73.0	-132.8	488.4	293.4	-195.0	42.1	24.9
1944-45	147.7	80.1	-67.6	429.7	310.5	-119.2	34.4	25.8

#### OVERSEAS TRADE WITH MAJOR COUNTRIES: VICTORIA, 1935-36 TO 1944-45 (\$m)

Country	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45
United Kingdom —										
Imports	29.4	32.6	36.9	33.1	38.8	51.5	62.0	83.4	57.2	48.6
Exports	33.8	41.6	42.8	30.6	45.6	33.6	31.8	26.6	25.8	32.6
United States of America —										
Imports	10.5	9.1	12.8	10.9	16.0	18.0	32.4	124.0	105.6	60.4
Exports	3.8	10.8	5.4	6.8	10.2	29.0	22.4	14.2	17.8	18.4
Canada —										
Imports	4.6	4.8	5.9	6.2	6.6	7.3	10.3	10.3	8.0	8.9
Exports	1.4	1.6	1.0	1.0	1.8	2.0	2.4	2.0	2.6	3.0
India and Ceylon —										
Imports	2.5	2.5	2.5	4.6	4.3	5.7	9.3	16.4	23.7	16.2
Exports	1.0	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.8	2.8	6.8	9.8	12.6	14.8
New Zealand —										
Imports	2.1	1.8	2.5	2.3	3.6	2.3	2.3	3.0	1.8	2.1
Exports	2.6	3.4	5.4	3.8	3.4	4.0	4.0	4.8	4.4	3.6
Japan —										
Imports	4.6	3.9	5.0	3.9	5.9	4.1	0.5	..	..	..
Exports	12.6	6.4	6.0	3.4	2.6	1.4	0.2	..	..	..

OVERSEAS TRADE: MAJOR COMMODITY GROUPS, VICTORIA,  
1935-36 TO 1944-45  
(\$m)

Year	Imports			Exports		
	Metals, metal manufactures, and electrical goods and machines	Oils, fats (including crude petroleum)	Textiles, yarns, and apparel	Animal foodstuffs	Vegetable foodstuffs	Animal substances
1935-36	20.7	4.8	16.6	16.4	15.0	30.8
1936-37	21.0	5.5	17.6	18.6	21.4	37.0
1937-38	28.7	6.6	19.8	18.8	24.8	28.0
1938-39	25.1	5.5	16.4	16.0	12.0	22.2
1939-40	28.3	8.4	22.8	25.0	11.4	27.4
1940-41	41.5	5.7	23.9	23.8	14.2	22.4
1941-42	61.1	8.2	28.7	23.2	12.6	35.8
1942-43	116.3	7.5	26.0	20.2	12.2	24.8
1943-44	99.4	8.7	34.2	18.8	13.0	29.8
1944-45	59.3	6.8	39.2	23.6	10.6	35.4

The mid-1940s to the mid-1950s

The immediate post-war period was introduced with a gradual return to the normal pattern which the war had interrupted, with the United Kingdom resuming the role of major trading partner. For the whole decade Australia continued to relate closely to the United Kingdom, devaluing the currency by the same percentage in 1949.

The United States of America, India, and Ceylon remained relatively important in both imports and exports, while France became an important recipient of wool. Germany and Japan figured large among providers of imports, showing signs of rapid recovery from the war and re-entry into international trading.

Victoria was still contributing goods of agricultural origin to the export trade, and importing mainly metals, metal manufactures, machinery, oils, fats, waxes, crude petroleum, textiles, yarns, and apparel. The period from 1950 to 1953 was the time of the Korean War during which Australia experienced a "wool boom". This is reflected in exports of animal substances in those years, and the high figure for the United States of America in the same year, although export prices generally rose at this time.

The "wool boom" resulted in a balance of payments surplus which permitted a large increase in imports in 1951-52 arising from the increasing domestic demand for consumer durables and capital equipment. With the fall in export prices the Commonwealth Government reacted to the resulting balance of payments deficit by imposing import restrictions. However, this did not affect Victoria's relative position in Australian overseas trade, which historically was about one-third of imports and just over one-quarter of exports.

VICTORIAN AND AUSTRALIAN TRADE: 1945-46 TO 1954-55

Year	Victoria			Australia			Victoria compared with Australia	
	Imports	Exports	Excess of exports(+) or imports(-)	Imports	Exports	Excess of exports(+) or imports(-)	Imports	Exports
	\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m	per cent	per cent
1945-46	123.2	151.8	+28.6	357.5	446.6	+89.1	34.5	34.0
1946-47	152.9	177.2	+24.3	418.7	618.1	+199.4	36.5	28.7
1947-48	241.2	231.9	-9.3	679.5	819.9	+140.4	35.5	28.3
1948-49	291.1	272.9	-18.2	830.4	1,085.3	+254.9	35.1	25.1
1949-50	368.5	332.3	-36.2	1,076.1	1,227.4	+151.3	34.2	27.1
1950-51	526.1	530.0	+3.9	1,487.7	1,963.6	+475.9	35.4	27.0
1951-52	726.6	371.6	-355.0	2,106.8	1,350.0	-756.8	34.5	27.5
1952-53	347.5	456.2	+108.7	1,028.2	1,742.5	+714.3	33.8	26.2
1953-54	475.3	407.1	-68.2	1,363.2	1,656.7	+293.5	34.9	24.6
1954-55	584.9	433.1	-151.8	1,687.5	1,548.3	-139.2	34.7	28.0

OVERSEAS TRADE WITH MAJOR COUNTRIES: VICTORIA, 1945-46 TO 1954-55  
(\$m)

Country	1945-46	1946-47	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55
United Kingdom —										
Imports	49.9	57.2	97.4	156.8	195.8	152.2	323.8	142.8	226.4	267.9
Exports	78.6	56.4	87.8	108.0	120.8	155.6	111.2	172.0	136.8	168.9
United States of America —										
Imports	36.5	32.4	54.0	32.8	37.4	45.0	74.0	66.0	55.2	71.4
Exports	18.8	25.6	21.4	15.4	29.2	80.2	40.2	28.0	25.8	24.4
Germany, Federal Republic of —										
Imports	..	1.1	2.4	3.0	5.0	11.2	24.8	10.2	19.2	26.6
Japan —										
Imports	..	1.1	1.4	1.4	5.4	11.8	31.2	4.6	4.6	13.1
Exports	..	0.4	0.8	2.0	12.6	33.4	18.4	35.6	22.8	24.8
France —										
Exports	5.2	8.8	14.6	19.8	19.6	52.4	32.2	47.0	42.6	42.3
India and Ceylon —										
Imports	12.8	16.6	22.8	18.8	23.2	30.0	31.8	14.2	18.6	26.6
Exports	19.4	14.6	27.4	18.4	22.0	17.2	22.0	26.4	15.2	17.0

OVERSEAS TRADE: MAJOR COMMODITY GROUPS, VICTORIA,  
1945-46 TO 1954-55  
(\$m)

Year	Imports			Exports		
	Metals, and metal manufactures, (including electrical and machinery)	Oils, fats, and waxes (including crude petroleum)	Textiles, yarns, and apparel	Animal foodstuffs	Vegetable foodstuffs	Animal substances
1945-46	37.6	9.3	26.4	23.8	18.2	38.0
1946-47	42.6	11.9	36.5	41.8	30.0	70.8
1947-48	63.2	20.2	71.4	46.6	69.0	88.6
1948-49	91.2	24.6	83.2	53.4	67.6	130.0
1949-50	149.4	30.0	78.0	66.6	69.6	170.2
1950-51	202.4	41.0	109.4	52.2	88.6	357.8
1951-52	263.4	53.0	151.8	52.8	87.8	194.4
1952-53	155.4	44.0	37.4	47.0	93.2	233.8
1953-54	176.6	52.0	90.0	68.4	74.6	221.6
1954-55	228.0	70.9	97.6	87.0	89.3	211.2

**The mid-1950s to the mid-1960s**

The decade from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s showed a clear change in the pattern of Victoria's trade. Although the United Kingdom continued to be a dominant source of imports, the combined total of the United States of America, Germany (Federal Republic), and Japan, which had in the mid-1950s been only about one-third of the United Kingdom total, by the mid-1960s had become about one-third greater. The United States of America, alone, was challenging the United Kingdom for pre-eminence.

The United Kingdom was still the major recipient of exports although its relative decline was mainly due to the development of new markets. The United States of America's percentage of exports was increasing, France and New Zealand maintained fairly constant proportions, but the most spectacular growth was in trade with Japan. During this period Japan consistently bought more than she sold, according to the figures for Victoria.

The same major commodity groups as previously continued to predominate in both imports and exports. The classification of imports according to SITC was introduced on 1 July 1965 and of exports on 1 July 1966. The export figures for 1965-66 have therefore been included with this period for convenience. Metal and machinery imports showed a steady increase among imports, while oils, fats, waxes, and textiles were relatively constant.

Exports of animal substances showed some increase in value during the period but a more dramatic increase in the value of food exports was apparent. The doubling in value

terms was partly due to the inflationary factor but also to large actual increases in the quantities of beef, veal, and wheat exported, and a smaller increase in the quantity of butter exported. Lamb however, suffered a diminution in quantity exported.

## VICTORIAN AND AUSTRALIAN TRADE: 1955-56 TO 1964-65

Year	Victoria			Australia			Victoria compared with Australia	
	Imports	Exports	Excess of exports(+) or imports(-)	Imports	Exports	Excess of exports(+) or imports(-)	Imports	Exports
	\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m	per cent	per cent
1955-56	598.6	418.7	-179.9	1,642.2	1,563.7	-78.5	36.5	26.8
1956-57	509.8	511.5	+1.7	1,438.0	1,985.8	+547.8	35.5	25.8
1957-58	565.4	436.7	-128.7	1,583.9	1,635.9	+52.0	35.7	26.7
1958-59	582.5	439.1	-143.4	1,593.2	1,622.9	+29.7	36.6	27.1
1959-60	678.6	488.1	-190.5	1,854.2	1,875.4	+21.2	36.6	26.0
1960-61	799.9	493.9	-306.0	2,175.2	1,937.7	-237.5	36.8	25.5
1961-62	610.6	573.6	-37.0	1,769.5	2,154.6	+385.1	34.5	26.6
1962-63	780.1	596.9	-183.2	2,162.7	2,151.8	-10.9	36.1	27.7
1963-64	833.8	746.6	-87.2	2,372.7	2,782.5	+409.8	35.1	26.8
1964-65	1,026.8	723.0	-303.8	2,904.7	2,651.4	-253.3	35.3	27.3

## OVERSEAS TRADE WITH MAJOR COUNTRIES: VICTORIA, 1955-56 TO 1964-65 (\$m)

Country	1955-56	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65
United Kingdom —										
Imports	258.3	206.4	232.8	231.8	252.0	258.8	194.8	243.6	247.6	282.3
Exports	149.0	149.1	127.0	148.8	132.0	109.4	122.6	117.2	139.8	148.5
United States of America —										
Imports	73.2	66.5	68.6	76.6	98.8	165.4	112.2	160.6	175.5	241.3
Exports	22.7	26.4	15.2	28.0	33.6	44.0	44.2	59.6	59.6	57.4
Japan —										
Imports	16.2	8.7	17.2	21.4	29.6	43.4	34.4	45.4	53.3	81.6
Exports	39.3	62.5	42.4	44.6	58.2	72.8	78.6	83.6	106.8	96.9
Germany, Federal Republic of —										
Imports	29.6	26.8	37.4	40.8	51.6	66.0	43.8	56.0	61.6	75.2
France —										
Exports	43.2	53.6	43.8	32.2	42.0	32.8	37.2	39.8	52.4	42.8
New Zealand —										
Exports	21.2	25.0	28.6	26.4	30.0	32.6	36.4	39.6	46.9	44.0

## OVERSEAS TRADE: MAJOR COMMODITY GROUPS, VICTORIA, 1955-56 TO 1965-66 (a) (\$m)

Year	Imports				Exports		
	Metals and metal manufactures (excluding electrical)	Machines and machinery (excluding dynamic electrical)	Oils, fats, and waxes	Textiles	Animal foodstuffs	Vegetable foodstuffs	Animal substances
1955-56	141.4	78.8	70.2	60.0	95.4	76.4	201.8
1956-57	104.6	64.0	68.8	44.8	84.4	76.0	278.0
1957-58	106.2	75.2	70.4	57.8	78.0	67.8	225.0
1958-59	138.6	72.0	72.2	52.2	104.0	80.0	189.2
1959-60	157.2	94.8	76.2	61.0	109.6	79.8	236.2
1960-61	193.6	116.4	74.0	65.8	95.6	94.4	211.8
1961-62	102.6	91.0	74.4	57.2	107.8	141.0	239.4
1962-63	160.2	117.8	86.6	63.4	131.8	110.4	253.8
1963-64	166.3	137.2	79.1	63.4	141.3	169.3	318.3
1964-65	226.9	181.2	82.1	72.8	173.0	149.5	268.1
1965-66 (a)	..	..	..	..	164.4	159.5	288.1

(a) As the classification of exports according to SITC occurred on 1 July 1966, export figures for 1965-66 are included for convenience.



### The mid-1960s to the mid-1970s

By the mid-1970s, inflation was reflecting a significant influence in the value figures of both imports and exports, which showed almost a threefold increase in both Australian and Victorian figures in this period. In the latter years the excess of Australian exports reversed the pattern of the earlier years of the decade, but Victoria's balance showed an excess of imports for almost the whole period. Imports were increased from 1973-74 by a 25 per cent "across-the-board" cut in tariffs.

Also, by the end of the period, both the United States of America and Japan had passed the United Kingdom as major import sources. The United Kingdom's proportion had diminished from just under one-half of the total in the mid-1950s to under one-twentieth in the mid-1970s. Similarly the United States of America, Japan, and New Zealand figured more prominently than the United Kingdom among recipients of Victoria's exports. The United Kingdom proportion fell from about one-third to less than one-tenth over the same twenty years.

The major items imported were in the machinery, transport equipment, and textile categories, while exports still showed emphasis on cereals and textile fibres and other foodstuffs. An increasing proportion of goods was in the transport equipment classification, indicating the diversification of Australian exports into non-traditional categories.

This was influenced to a large extent by Britain's likelihood of entry into the European Economic Community from the 1960s. By the time it was finally admitted as a member in 1971, the exports of Victoria, in common with those of the whole of Australia, not only displayed a wider range of commodities, but had won alternative markets. Some sections of agricultural industry, however, were adversely affected by the loss of United Kingdom markets. Also, in the early 1970s, an increase in the oil price and the "across-the-board" tariff reduction of 25 per cent had a significant effect on the economy.

### VICTORIAN AND AUSTRALIAN TRADE: 1965-66 TO 1974-75

Year	Victoria			Australia			Victoria compared with Australia	
	Imports	Exports	Excess of exports(+) or imports(-)	Imports	Exports	Excess of exports(+) or imports(-)	Imports	Exports
	\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m	per cent	per cent
1965-66	1,017.4	768.1	-249.3	2,939.5	2,721.0	-218.5	34.6	28.2
1966-67	1,072.5	801.2	-271.3	3,045.3	3,023.9	-21.4	35.2	26.5
1967-68	1,130.7	686.8	-443.9	3,264.5	3,044.7	-219.8	34.6	22.6
1968-69	1,182.7	707.6	-475.1	3,468.5	3,374.3	-94.2	34.1	21.0
1969-70	1,347.0	912.6	-434.4	3,881.2	4,131.5	+250.3	34.7	22.1
1970-71	1,458.6	1,034.9	-423.7	4,150.0	4,375.7	+225.7	35.1	23.7
1971-72	1,431.0	1,139.7	-291.3	4,008.4	4,893.4	+885.0	35.7	23.3
1972-73	1,472.6	1,495.3	+22.7	4,120.7	6,213.7	+2,093.0	35.7	24.1
1973-74	2,155.7	1,593.6	-562.1	6,085.0	6,913.7	+828.7	35.4	23.0
1974-75	2,793.4	1,696.8	-1,096.5	8,083.1	8,672.8	+589.7	34.6	19.6

### OVERSEAS TRADE WITH MAJOR COUNTRIES: VICTORIA, 1965-66 TO 1974-75 (\$m)

Country	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75
<b>United Kingdom —</b>										
Imports	284.2	267.0	262.0	275.5	304.7	328.8	305.5	283.4	318.1	453.9
Exports	130.7	117.3	106.9	100.6	120.9	114.4	92.6	146.4	102.7	97.6
<b>United States of America —</b>										
Imports	209.0	240.4	270.1	267.1	316.0	363.0	312.0	301.3	439.8	600.0
Exports	85.5	83.4	81.3	83.9	112.9	116.4	140.2	164.3	173.4	121.4
<b>Japan —</b>										
Imports	94.0	113.2	127.0	147.9	177.4	204.1	228.0	267.5	383.6	478.6
Exports	105.7	137.8	106.8	107.5	141.1	176.8	202.3	326.5	355.0	313.7
<b>Germany, Federal Republic of —</b>										
Imports	73.8	68.7	82.7	89.4	113.5	133.9	132.8	124.0	212.5	261.1
<b>New Zealand —</b>										
Exports	51.1	47.8	45.1	45.5	58.8	79.7	98.0	121.8	170.3	217.9

OVERSEAS TRADE: MAJOR COMMODITY GROUPS, VICTORIA,  
1965-66 TO 1974-75  
(\$m)

Year	Imports				Exports				
	Machinery (excluding electrical)	Electrical machinery	Transport equipment	Textiles, yarns and fabrics	Meat etc.	Dairy products	Cereals	Textile fibres and waste	Transport equipment
1965-66	190.7	155.2	142.3	95.7	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
1966-67	192.6	60.0	156.9	100.2	89.7	80.1	89.5	260.8	25.6
1967-68	208.4	62.7	166.7	103.1	85.6	59.2	59.8	204.6	33.7
1968-69	206.7	66.6	159.5	112.5	73.5	56.6	47.2	223.7	35.2
1969-70	232.6	81.1	212.4	123.7	127.5	68.9	77.4	244.3	51.1
1970-71	269.1	96.3	231.2	132.1	134.4	70.0	141.9	188.4	77.7
1971-72	243.0	96.4	220.1	145.7	177.7	74.6	139.0	193.2	85.9
1972-73	245.5	94.7	211.4	155.7	260.6	103.4	93.1	382.3	111.5
1973-74	303.0	139.7	282.0	271.1	239.9	112.7	133.8	360.0	97.6
1974-75	467.0	236.7	418.8	194.8	121.6	125.7	221.2	244.0	101.0

(a) As the classification of exports according to SITC occurred on 1 July 1966, export figures for 1965-66 were compiled on a different basis and have been excluded from this table.

### Since the mid-1970s

The pattern of the previous decade continued although many trading policies were affected by government attitudes to tariffs and the value of the currency. Much of this policy formulation concerned mineral exportation which is less relevant to a study of Victoria's trade than to some other States, or to Australia as a whole.

The United States of America continued to provide most of Victoria's imports and Japan took most of its exports. The United Kingdom still provided considerable imports although these had now become proportionately less important. New Zealand had become a significant recipient of Victoria's exports since surpassing the United Kingdom in 1973-74, taking about three times the latter in value terms. Imports from Japan continued generally to exceed exports to Japan.

The traded commodities remained similar to the previous period in both imports and exports, although petroleum and petroleum products have assumed greater importance among exports than hitherto due to the establishment of refining facilities to cater to the offshore oil deposits of the Bass Strait fields. Almost the total Australian overseas export of these products has been of Victorian origin.

The Victorian ports have developed sophisticated handling methods to cope with their continually expanding role, and the State is strategically well placed to maintain its redistribution function. The Victorian Government established a World Trade Centre in Melbourne to service aspects of this important feature of the Victorian economy.

### VICTORIAN AND AUSTRALIAN TRADE: 1975-76 TO 1981-82

Year	Victoria			Australia			Victoria compared with Australia	
	Imports	Exports	Excess of exports(+) or imports(-)	Imports	Exports	Excess of exports(+) or imports(-)	Imports	Exports
	\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m	per cent	per cent
1975-76	2,875.3	1,818.2	-1,057.1	8,240.2	9,600.7	+1,360.6	34.9	18.9
1976-77	3,665.9	2,216.0	-1,449.8	10,410.6	11,646.4	+1,235.8	35.2	19.0
1977-78	3,855.6	2,505.8	-1,349.9	11,166.5	12,269.5	+1,103.0	34.5	20.4
1978-79	4,693.6	3,254.6	-1,439.0	13,751.8	14,242.7	+490.9	34.1	22.9
1979-80	5,506.4	3,782.9	-1,723.4	16,217.5	18,870.0	+2,652.5	34.0	20.0
1980-81	5,929.2	3,989.4	-1,939.8	18,964.2	19,169.2	+204.9	31.3	20.8
1981-82	7,169.6	4,179.9	-2,989.7	23,003.2	19,585.8	-3,417.4	31.2	21.3

OVERSEAS TRADE WITH MAJOR COUNTRIES: VICTORIA, 1975-76 TO 1981-82  
(\$m)

Country	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82
United Kingdom —							
Imports	411.9	447.9	524.9	606.1	673.4	605.8	632.7
Exports	84.9	101.9	88.0	90.3	129.5	121.2	116.5
United States of America —							
Imports	603.1	813.5	834.8	1,086.7	1,351.8	1,464.3	1,907.7
Exports	164.5	170.3	232.3	283.1	294.2	310.2	264.5
Japan —							
Imports	564.5	711.0	703.4	524.2	796.5	1,029.1	1,287.1
Exports	399.6	504.4	524.2	535.8	750.2	685.2	738.6
Germany, Federal Republic of —							
Imports	251.1	352.5	336.5	452.7	444.0	501.0	576.4
New Zealand —							
Exports	185.4	224.1	223.7	290.4	316.7	310.8	293.7

OVERSEAS TRADE: MAJOR COMMODITY GROUPS, VICTORIA,  
1975-76 TO 1981-82  
(\$m)

Year	Imports					Exports				
	Machinery (excluding electrical)	Electrical machinery	Textiles	Transport equipment	Petroleum and petroleum products	Meat and meat products	Cereals and cereal preparations	Textile fibres and waste	Dairy products and eggs	Petroleum and petroleum products
1975-76	428.0	289.7	256.7	451.9	109.3	178.5	244.3	286.5	152.7	111.9
1976-77	604.4	337.9	294.2	585.6	107.2	253.8	214.4	449.6	153.0	118.9
1977-78	646.5	344.5	309.0	516.3	106.3	340.9	316.6	391.4	146.6	122.3
1978-79	833.2	(a) 242.7	381.7	729.6	106.5	357.9	233.9	462.3	167.4	173.9
1979-80	1,116.8	277.9	436.6	674.7	158.3	322.8	768.2	469.0	215.4	244.5
1980-81	1,329.2	293.5	431.5	745.4	238.2	380.3	689.4	596.6	219.7	247.9
1981-82	1,580.4	368.7	527.4	1,089.2	292.4	320.8	610.7	605.1	252.6	313.6

(a) Due to changes in classification from 1 July 1978, it has not been possible to derive figures exactly comparable to previous years.

### VICTORIA'S OVERSEAS REPRESENTATION

Victoria has had overseas representation since its days as a Colony. The *Immigration Act 1863* provided for the establishment of the office of the Agent-General for Victoria in London, whose main object was to encourage the immigration of more people from Great Britain and Ireland to Victoria. The first Agent-General of Victoria assumed office in 1868. At the time of Federation in 1901 each State government retained the right to be represented in London by its own Agent-General. Soon after Federation, the government of the day changed the basic role of the office of the Agent-General to help stimulate Victorian trade and commerce. Although subsequent Acts continued to refer to the duties of the Agent-General only as dealing with immigration to Victoria, the office of the Agent-General dealt increasingly with commercial and financial matters.

Since the Second World War, the Agent-General's office has emphasised attracting British capital and industry to Victoria. The office has been assisted by visits from successive Victorian Premiers and other Ministers.

In 1956, the Victorian Government established the Victoria Promotion Committee to assist the development of Victoria by making known industrial and commercial opportunities and to encourage new investment from overseas and other ventures of benefit to the State. In 1981, the Victorian Government merged the Victoria Promotion Committee and the Victorian Development Corporation under a new statutory corporation—the Victorian Economic Development Corporation, which assumed responsibilities of both former organisations, including the lending of money to industrial and tourist projects within Victoria.

Victoria also maintained overseas representation in Frankfurt, Los Angeles, and Tokyo. In 1977, with a background of growing Japanese investment in Victoria and increasing contact and trade between Australia and Japan and other Asian countries, the Victorian Government established the office of Commissioner for the Government of Victoria in Japan, whose main task is to promote Victoria, primarily in Japan, but also in China, the Republic of Korea, the Philippines, and Hong Kong.

## PUBLIC FINANCE

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### INTRODUCTION

This Chapter examines State and Commonwealth Government finances during the fifty year period since 1934. Commencing with the recovery from the Depression, it considers restraints imposed during the Second World War and the period of reconstruction up to 1952. It then looks at aspects of government funding, taxation, and expenditure during the subsequent decades, and concludes with a study of Commonwealth-State relations.

During the period the public sector finances reflected the changing government priorities. In the early years governments concentrated on public works including transport. After the war governments began to increase their spending on areas that previously had been considered mainly the domain of private organisations, e.g., hospitals. The late 1960s and early 1970s saw an acceleration of this trend and by the early 1980s the major expenditure in Victoria was on education. On the receipts side in the 1930s nearly 90 per cent of receipts came from State sources whereas by the 1980s this had decreased to 60 per cent. Together with this increase in Commonwealth contributions to State finances the nature of payments changed from payments solely under the Financial Agreement to the current method of Financial Agreement payments plus a share of Commonwealth tax collections.

#### 1934 TO 1939

These were years of gradual and somewhat irregular recovery from the Depression of 1929 to 1933, during which world prices of major Australian exports had fallen by 50 per cent, unemployment had risen to nearly one-third of the labour force as measured by trade union statistics, and overseas borrowing to finance either private investment or public works had become impossible.

The fall in the local prices of exports had been arrested by the devaluation of the Australian currency in 1931. In subsequent years prices for agricultural commodities recovered somewhat but even in peak years such as 1934 and 1937 they remained below their 1928 level. Recovery was more marked in manufacturing industry, the competitive position of which, against imports, had been improved in 1931 by an Arbitration Court decision reducing the real basic wage by 10 per cent, as well as by the currency devaluation. Subsequently employment in Victorian manufacturing rose by 29 per cent, from 156,000 in 1933-34 to 201,000 in 1938-39, and the unemployment rate amongst registered trade union members was approximately halved during the same period.

The Depression had imposed great strains on State and Commonwealth budgets. Assistance to primary producers and unemployment relief had increased public expenditure at the same time as public revenue from income tax, customs duties, and railway charges had fallen because of the decline in income, trade, and activity. In June 1931 all the governments agreed to adopt the "Premiers' Plan" with the object of eliminating budget deficits by drastic cuts in public expenditure and by whatever increases in taxation were feasible. In accordance with the Plan, special State taxes on incomes were imposed for unemployment relief purposes; public service salaries and pensions were reduced by 20 per cent in money terms, or 10 per cent in terms of constant prices; and State debt charges were reduced by the conversion of outstanding government bonds to lower interest rates,

compulsorily in the case of internal loans and on redemption or maturity in the case of external loans.

The result was that the Victorian budget, which had shown a deficit of nearly \$5m in 1930-31, would have shown a surplus by 1934-35 had it not been for the continuing operating deficit of the State railways and to a lesser extent of the State Coal Mine at Wonthaggi which provided the railways with a supply of fuel independent of shipments from New South Wales. Railway traffic was, of course, adversely affected by the slow recovery of agriculture from the Depression, but it was also subject to increasingly severe road competition from motor transport. This situation contrasted sharply with that which had prevailed for many years when horse-drawn traffic had provided virtually the only competition to the railways, and the State budget had regularly benefited from railway surpluses. The pattern of increasing railway deficits being carried on general revenue was to become a permanent feature of State finances, except during the years of the Second World War.

**BUDGET ANALYSIS : COMPONENTS OF BUDGET RESULT, VICTORIA,  
1934-35 TO 1939-40  
(\$'000)**

Year	Revenue	Expenditure	Surplus/deficit	General account	Railways	State Coal Mine
1934-35	50,622	50,924	- 302	984	- 1,116	- 170
1935-36	52,076	52,310	- 234	944	- 1,004	- 174
1936-37	54,442	54,384	58	- 1,140	- 804	- 276
1937-38	55,230	55,168	62	844	- 478	- 304
1938-39	53,972	55,546	- 1,574	606	- 1,926	- 262
1939-40	56,206	56,192	14	1,096	- 966	- 116

Source: Victorian Treasurers' Statements, Finance.

As indicated by the budget analysis in the table above, the railways continued in deficit for the remainder of the 1930s. This was despite the takeover by the State in 1937-38 of \$60m of the existing railway debt of \$160m, and the consequent transfer of debt charges amounting to \$2.6m from the railways to the general account. The table also shows that from 1934-35 onwards State expenditure inclusive of railways rose by an average of 2 per cent per annum. Except for a temporary fall back in 1938-39, State revenues generally kept pace with this increase, the lag in railway revenue being offset by an increase in tax revenue. By 1939-40 total State tax revenue was \$21.5m, of which \$9.5m was derived from the State income tax and a further \$4m from the special income tax for unemployment relief purposes. The only direct Commonwealth payments to the State of any significance during this period were road grants and the fixed annual amounts of \$4.3m in aid of interest charges as required by the Financial Agreement of 1927, but under that agreement the Commonwealth also made annual contributions on behalf of the State to the National Debt Sinking Fund. In 1939-40 the State's debt charges, including its own sinking fund contributions as well as interest payments, actually exceeded railway expenditure as the largest expenditure item in the State budget.

Following the 1931 debt conversion, borrowing to finance State public works had been resumed on the local market but not overseas. Victoria's outstanding overseas debt was reduced as it matured and in 1934-35 the Commonwealth took over part of the State indebtedness that had been incurred for soldier settlement purposes. New borrowing on the local market could, under the terms of the Financial Agreement, only be undertaken by the issue of Commonwealth securities and with the approval of the Loan Council as to amounts, terms, and conditions. The provisions of the Financial Agreement applied only to State Government borrowing and not to that by local authorities or statutory corporations. The transfer of functions previously exercised by government departments to specially created statutory corporations, which could then borrow independently of the Loan Council, provided a means of avoiding the restrictions of the Financial Agreement. In order to close this possible loophole, the Loan Council decided in June 1933 that the borrowing programmes of semi-governmental authorities should be considered in conjunction with those of the State Governments. At its 34th meeting in May 1936 the Loan

Council passed a resolution which consolidated all existing rulings and resolutions of a general nature regarding borrowings by semi-governmental and local government authorities. This resolution formed the basis of what came to be known as the "Gentlemen's Agreement". The rules were revised from time to time but their basic purpose continued to be the achievement of an overall control of the amount and terms of all borrowing operations in the public sector.

#### 1939 TO 1945

At the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939, the Victorian economy had still not fully recovered from the Depression. Trade union unemployment had almost fallen back to its pre-Depression level, but even so still stood at over 10 per cent of the labour force. The agricultural sector was still facing world prices that were only about 60 per cent of their pre-Depression level. Moreover there had been no resumption of public borrowing overseas, with the result that public works were restricted to the level that could be financed within Australia.

With the outbreak of war there was a progressive expansion in the Armed Forces which numbered 721,000 by 1944. By the same date unemployment had fallen to 1.2 per cent and the economy was transformed from a state of "under-employment" to one of "over-full employment". In some sectors the resultant labour shortages were relieved by the entry into the labour force of many persons who would not normally have been employed before the war. In particular, the number of women workers increased by 25 per cent between 1939 and 1945, and although this percentage subsequently declined somewhat, women have remained an important and integral part of the labour force throughout the post-war period.

The agricultural sector was probably more adversely affected than the other sectors of the economy by wartime labour shortages. In addition, its overseas markets were curtailed by shipping difficulties, and its supplies of fertiliser from Nauru were cut off after the Japanese occupation of that island. In Victoria the area under cultivation and the level of rural employment both declined substantially during the war years. Production was so adversely affected by a succession of severe drought years that difficulty was experienced in maintaining supplies to civilians and to allied troops in the South Pacific area. The resultant rise in some agricultural prices had, by the end of the war, increased the value of agricultural production despite the fall in its volume. In these circumstances the pre-war tendency for the manufacturing sector to expand relative to the agricultural sector was accelerated. The disruption of shipping services which deprived the agricultural sector of export markets, protected the manufacturing sector from import competition. Manufacturing industry, therefore, expanded to fill the gap left by goods that had previously been imported, and — as a major manufacturing centre — Victoria particularly benefited from this expansion. Manufacturing employment in Victoria increased by 27 per cent during the war years, and a firm foundation was thus laid for further expansion after the war.

For the duration of the war, however, manufacturing output was subject to strict Commonwealth controls, designed to restrict the output of consumer goods and to give priority to activities essential to the war effort, such as metal working, arms and munitions, general engineering, and machine tools. Of the increased wartime employment in Victorian manufacturing industry, two-thirds occurred in the metals and machines sub-sector. As a result the State acquired a large measure of industrial maturity and a nucleus of skilled labour familiar with modern industrial techniques and processes. In addition to controls over manpower and production, Commonwealth regulation also extended to consumption, with a general system of price control and the rationing of certain foodstuffs and other goods, notably petrol. Price control was of particular importance in the fight against inflation and also had a direct bearing on State finances since it extended to charges for public services such as railway fares.

The war relieved Victoria of some of the pressures on government finances that had persisted since the Depression. Between 1939-40 and 1944-45 unemployment relief expenditure fell from \$4m to under \$1m on current account and from over \$3m to practically nothing on loan account. Few other reductions were possible on current account, partly



This paper manufacturing machine, Maryvale No. 4, has a capacity of 175,000 tonnes per year.

*Australian Paper Manufacturers Limited*

The Premier of Victoria, Hon. J. Cain (left), and the Prime Minister of Australia, Rt. Hon. R. J. L. Hawke, jointly unveil a plaque to commemorate the official opening of the World Trade Centre, 30 September 1983.

*Port of Melbourne Authority*







The CBA Banking Chamber in Collins Street, designed by Lloyd Tayler and Alfred Dunn and completed in 1893, is one of Melbourne's finest bank interiors.  
*National Trust of Australia (Victoria)*

The spacious Collins Street, Melbourne, branch of the Statewide Building Society.  
*Statewide Building Society*





The Trading Floor at the Stock Exchange of Melbourne, in the early 1970s.

*The Stock Exchange of Melbourne Limited*

Interior of the Totalizator Agency Board branch in Flinders Lane, Melbourne, shortly after it opened for business on 6 October 1961.

*Totalizator Agency Board*





Bourke Street, Melbourne looking east in the 1950s.  
*G.J. Coles and Coy. Limited*



Bourke Street looking west in the 1940s showing Melbourne's major retail stores.  
*National Library of Australia*

Thousands of people queued at the doors of Coles 200 Bourke Street store on opening day, 22 September 1955.  
*G.J. Coles and Coy. Limited*



because of past contracts. Two categories of such non-adjustable expenditure were debt charges and Public Service pensions which, as shown in the following table, remained at about \$17m and \$2m, respectively, throughout the war years. The most that could be done in respect of such expenditure was to avoid new commitments. It was also not politically practical to reduce expenditure on services such as education and health (included under "other" in the table) but these services were stabilised at their 1939-40 level until the last few years of the war, when this restraint could no longer be maintained. Another factor operating against reductions in current expenditure was the introduction by the Commonwealth of a 2.5 per cent payroll tax in July 1941. From that date the total wages cost of State employees was increased by about \$0.6m per annum.

STATE BUDGET EXPENDITURE: VICTORIA, 1939-40 TO 1944-45

Year	Railways	Debt charges (a)	Pensions	Other	Total
			\$'000		
1939-40	15,286	16,916	2,084	24,664	58,950
1940-41	17,142	17,222	2,050	24,218	60,632
1941-42	21,864	17,594	2,024	25,158	66,640
1942-43	26,734	16,750	1,994	27,502	72,980
1943-44	25,190	16,800	2,026	27,600	71,616
1944-45	24,504	16,862	2,012	28,396	71,774
			PER CENT		
1939-40	25.9	28.7	3.5	41.8	100.0
1940-41	28.3	28.4	3.4	39.9	100.0
1941-42	32.8	26.4	3.0	37.8	100.0
1942-43	36.6	23.0	2.7	37.7	100.0
1943-44	35.2	23.5	2.8	38.5	100.0
1944-45	34.1	23.5	2.8	39.6	100.0

(a) Includes railway debt charges.

Source: Department of Management and Budget.

Expenditure on loan account could be reduced more readily since a lower priority necessarily attached to the possible future benefits of public works than to immediate defence needs. Thus Victorian Government loan expenditure fell from nearly \$8m in 1939-40 to little more than \$2m in 1942-43. For the year 1944-45 loan expenditure rose again to over \$7m, some of this increase reflecting the greater priority being attached to post-war reconstruction, such as the provision of \$1.5m for public housing after a break of three years. But some of the increase was of a more temporary nature like the provision of \$1.25m for drought relief following the devastating 1944 drought, and in 1945-46 total loan expenditure fell back to under \$4.5m.

A major factor in the wartime restraint on the level of State public works was the method by which loan expenditure was financed. At the outbreak of war the State borrowing programmes for 1939-40 had already been approved by the Loan Council and despite expectations to the contrary, the programmes were left intact. In 1940 the Council resolved to appoint a Co-ordinator General of Works to assess the priorities to be attached to State public works in the light of wartime needs, and the loan programmes for 1940-41 were cut by nearly one-half. In August 1942 the Council agreed that for the duration of the war the States should endeavour to finance their strictly limited programmes not from the proceeds of public loans but from their own cash resources, as was permissible under the Financial Agreement. The purpose of this arrangement was to ensure that there would be no public loan raising on behalf of the States. The table on Loan Expenditure Funding shows that from 1941-42 onwards Victoria's loan expenditure was entirely financed from loan repayments to the State, accumulated balances in State trust funds, and Treasurer's advances. The purposes to which trust fund balances could normally be applied were specified in the instrument setting up each trust, but under the Public Accounts Act the balance of the Public Account could be invested in State securities and temporarily used for general expenditure purposes, provided that the trust funds were subsequently reimbursed. As shown in the table \$8.5m was also raised in 1944-45 from the banking system by the issue of Treasury Bills, and used as a temporary borrowing for liquidity purposes. With the cessation of public borrowing during the war, there was a temporary halt to the growth of the Victorian public debt, which stood at \$359m in 1939, and a corresponding halt to the growth of annual debt charges, as referred to previously.

The largest wartime contribution to the improvement in Victorian Government finances, however, was made by the State railways. In the 1930s railway deficits had been a persistent burden on the State budgets, but from 1940 onwards railway surpluses again became available and the State budgets benefited accordingly. The turnaround in railway results was occasioned by a substantial increase in traffic. Wartime mobilisation required the movement of men and equipment on a massive scale, and the carriage of supplies to the Allied Forces offset reductions in the movement of agricultural products for export. Moreover, the introduction of petrol rationing by the Commonwealth diverted to the railways much traffic previously carried by road. The increased demands thus made on the Victorian railways taxed their existing equipment, lines, and rolling stock to the limit. Capital expenditure could not be cut to the same extent as that on other public works, and operating expenditure increased by some 70 per cent from \$15.3m in 1939-40 to a peak of \$26.7m in 1942-43 as indicated in the table on State Budget Expenditure. This increase in current expenditure was, however, more than matched by the increase in railway revenues from under \$20m in 1939-40 to \$33.6m in 1942-43 and \$31.8m in 1943-44. It will be seen from the table on State Revenues that railway income was the most buoyant form of State revenue during the war years. Over the period as a whole the railways were able to show a surplus not only on operating account but also after meeting their debt charges and other fixed costs.

## STATE REVENUES: VICTORIA, 1939-40 TO 1944-45

Year	Taxation	Railways	Other	Total
		\$'000		
1939-40	25,422	19,628	13,912	58,962
1940-41	25,096	22,090	13,730	60,916
1941-42	25,848	28,058	14,318	68,224
1942-43	(a)24,600	33,658	16,232	74,490
1943-44	(a)24,812	31,828	16,216	72,856
1944-45	(a)25,558	30,832	16,082	72,472
		PER CENT		
1939-40	43.1	33.3	23.6	100
1940-41	41.2	36.3	22.5	100
1941-42	37.9	41.1	21.0	100
1942-43	(a)33.0	45.2	21.8	100
1943-44	(a)34.1	43.7	22.2	100
1944-45	(a)35.3	42.5	22.2	100

(a) Including Commonwealth tax reimbursements.  
Source: Department of Management and Budget.

The most significant long-term impact of the war on the finances of Victoria concerned its taxation revenue. Unlike railway receipts, taxation revenue remained virtually stable at about \$25m throughout the war, but this stability concealed a fundamental change in its form. The introduction of uniform income taxation by the Commonwealth in 1942 entailed the loss of the State's ability to levy income tax and its replacement by income tax reimbursement payments from the Commonwealth.

LOAN EXPENDITURE FUNDING: VICTORIA, 1939-40 TO 1944-45  
(\$'000)

Year	State Loans Repayment Fund	Loan Council	Excess funds in State trust accounts	Treasurer's advances	Total
1939-40	1,624	6,238	..	64	7,926
1940-41	1,766	3,456	..	248	5,468
1941-42	1,848	..	1,894	—	3,742
1942-43	1,288	..	776	8	2,072
1943-44	1,880	..	270	20	2,170
1944-45	3,152	..	4,116	38	(a)7,306

(a) Excluding \$8.51m raised by the sale of Treasury Bills to the banking system.  
Source: Department of Management and Budget.

Prior to the war the Commonwealth and State Governments levied separate income taxes but had joint collection arrangements and common tax returns, Victoria, for example, collecting both its own and Commonwealth income taxes from its citizens. The States were, however, much more dependent on income taxes than the Commonwealth, which had a substantial alternative source of taxation revenue in its exclusive power to levy customs and excise duties. In 1939-40 income taxes accounted for less than one-fifth of the Commonwealth's total tax revenue but over half that of Victoria's. In other States the proportion was even higher, but there were wide differences in State tax rates and degrees of progression; for example, South Australian tax rates were relatively heavy on low incomes and Queensland rates were relatively heavy on high incomes.

As war expenditure increased, the Commonwealth was faced with the need to increase its tax revenue by imposing higher and more steeply progressive tax rates, but under the Constitution its tax rates had to be uniform in all States. Because of the differences in State tax rates, however; the scope for increasing Commonwealth tax rates was limited to that which was available in the State with the highest rate at any given level of income. A corollary of this was that in other States with lower tax rates the Commonwealth could not gain access to their full taxable capacity.

During 1941 the States rejected several Commonwealth proposals designed to minimise the effect of their differing tax rates, or alternatively, to induce them temporarily to vacate the income tax field. Following a change of government later in the year the new Commonwealth Treasurer (Hon. J. B. Chifley) appointed a small committee which reported in April 1942 in favour of a uniform income tax scheme. It recommended that the States should retire from the income tax field from 1 July 1942 and that the Commonwealth should then become the sole income taxing authority for the duration of the war and one year thereafter, the States being compensated for their loss of revenue by annual Commonwealth grants. These proposals were again rejected by the States but within a few weeks the Treasurer introduced a series of bills providing for:

- (1) A significant increase in Commonwealth income tax rates which, particularly at higher income levels, would have left little scope for imposition of a State tax even if other barriers had not been imposed;
- (2) an Income Tax Reimbursement Act providing for grants to the States to compensate them for the loss of income tax revenue, a condition of the payment of a grant being that the State did not impose an income tax;
- (3) an amendment of the Income Tax Assessment Act to provide that no taxpayer should pay his State income tax until he had met his liability for Commonwealth income tax (this became known as the "priority clause"); and
- (4) the transfer to the Commonwealth of the staff, records, equipment, and accommodation of the State income tax offices.

After these bills had passed both Houses of the Commonwealth Parliament, action was taken by Victoria and three other States (Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia) to challenge the constitutional validity of the legislation in the High Court. Basically, the States contended that the four Acts must be considered together as a scheme or plan, the substance of which was a legislative prohibition against the exercise by the States of their power to levy income tax, and which neither the taxation nor the defence power of the Commonwealth would authorise. The High Court unanimously rejected this contention. Treating the Acts separately, the Court with some minority dissents held all four valid: the Rates Act under the taxation power; the Reimbursement Act under the power in section 96 to grant financial assistance to any "State under such conditions as the Parliament thinks fit"; the "priority clause" as a matter incidental to the taxation power; and the Wartime Arrangements Act under the defence power.

Under the Income Tax Reimbursement Act grants to the States were based on the average collections of State income tax during the two financial years 1939-40 and 1940-41. Apart from a supplementary grant given to South Australia in 1945-46, these grants were almost unchanged throughout the war years.

The States were thus effectively protected against any fall in their major source of taxation revenue, but on the other hand, they were no longer free to increase their receipts from this source by increasing their tax rates and so financing increased expenditure, or making increased calls on real resources.

Similar results with respect to a relatively minor source of State tax revenue followed from the extension of the uniform tax system to entertainment taxes later in 1942. Entertainment taxes had originally been imposed during the First World War by both Commonwealth and State Governments. Such taxes fell mainly on cinema admissions and in the days before television this form of sumptuary expenditure seemed an eminently suitable subject for increased taxation in wartime. As in the case of income tax, however, the scope for increased Commonwealth entertainment taxation was limited to that available in the State with the highest tax, since differential rates could not be imposed in States with lower taxes or in Queensland which had no entertainment tax at all. Under the uniform tax system, Victoria and the other four States which had previously levied entertainment taxes withdrew from the field and received from the Commonwealth, which then imposed a uniform entertainment tax at a higher rate, compensatory reimbursement grants based on their previous collections. State entertainment tax revenue was thus pegged for the duration of the war, like State income tax revenue, at its pre-war level.

#### 1945 TO 1952

With the cessation of hostilities in August 1945, the process of reconstruction and re-conversion of the war economy to peacetime needs became the over-riding objective of economic policy. The difficulty of the task was enhanced by the severe seasonal conditions which drastically reduced agricultural production and farm incomes in 1944-45 and 1945-46. There were also serious shortages of many consumer goods resulting from reduced supplies of imports and cutbacks in the output of manufacturing industry. Shipping shortages contributed not only to the reduction of imports but also to the disruption of export markets for agricultural produce. Serious arrears had accumulated in the maintenance of equipment, and in both private and public investment, including that in railways and other State enterprises. Particularly important was the backlog in housing and building generally, although some government munition factories and annexes were available for conversion to peacetime industrial uses.

The primary necessity was to find civilian employment for personnel released from the Commonwealth Defence Forces which numbered about 650,000, or one-fifth of the working population in June 1945. The fear that demobilisation would be accompanied by widespread unemployment prompted the Commonwealth Government, like other Western governments, to publish a White Paper on Full Employment. At the time it was not anticipated that post-war unemployment could fall below about 3 per cent, but despite the release of nearly 500,000 service personnel in 1945-46 alone, the number of vacancies exceeded the number of unemployed, and labour shortages appeared in many essential industries. Under the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme some 20,000 ex-service personnel received further full-time professional training, mainly at tertiary educational institutions in the States. Similarly, with the objective of assisting ex-servicemen to enter agricultural industry the Commonwealth concluded Land Settlement Agreements with the States providing for the sharing of certain costs including capital costs in the less populous States. The relief of labour shortages in other essential industries was also a major objective of Commonwealth efforts to stimulate post-war migration. In the immediate post-war years shipping difficulties precluded any substantial inflow of migrants, but from 1949 onwards migration made a substantial contribution to the labour market although it also imposed an additional burden on State housing, education, and community services.

Instead of high unemployment, the post-war years were characterised by a degree of inflation higher than had been experienced at any time since the First World War. The retail price index number rose by 16 per cent in the three years following the war, and by 77 per cent in the next five years. From 1945 onwards, increasing export prices raised farm incomes, and after the middle of 1946 increasing import prices raised domestic living costs and stimulated wage increases. Industrial disputes led, in their turn, to higher costs and lower output in a number of essential industries, the most serious instance being the national coal strike from June to August 1949. In September 1949, the devaluation of the Australian pound (along with that of the pound sterling) against the American dollar contributed to a further round of inflation, and in June 1950 the outbreak of hostilities in the Korean War created boom conditions for wool and other primary products.

During the Second World War the central banking powers of the Commonwealth Bank had been greatly strengthened by wartime regulations, and these powers were continued under the Banking Act of 1945. At the same time the Bank was reconstituted and the independence of the Bank Board substantially curtailed, but further legislation in 1947 to nationalise all the private trading banks was held by the Courts to contravene section 92 of the Constitution.

However, the main emphasis of Commonwealth anti-inflation policy was less on monetary restrictions than on direct controls. Thus the wartime system of price ceilings was continued although in a somewhat less rigid form. After the expiration of the National Security Act in December 1946, price controls were extended for a further two years but a referendum to give the Commonwealth permanent control over rents and prices was rejected by the electors in May 1948. Later in that year both rent and price controls were transferred to the States which issued uniform lists of goods and services subject to control, but the number of items covered was only about 20,000 instead of 50,000 as previously. Over the next few years the range of controls was further reduced but a degree of uniformity was maintained by regular conferences of the State Prices Commissioners. In order to maintain its price ceilings the Commonwealth had paid price stabilisation subsidies amounting to \$35m in 1947-48, but after the transfer of price control to the States these were phased out with a few exceptions, the most important being those for tea and coal which continued until the mid-1950s.

In Victoria price control, originally introduced in wartime, finally terminated in December 1954. In order to restrain the demand for scarce commodities the Commonwealth also continued consumer rationing after the war for some imports (e.g., tea and petrol), and for a number of locally produced consumer goods. Sugar rationing ceased in 1947, and meat and clothes rationing in 1948. Petrol rationing was declared invalid in 1949 and the Chifley Government's attempt to restore it became an issue at the 1949 election. Shortly after the election it was finally abolished by the new Menzies-Fadden Government.

Despite these efforts to keep inflation under control, its continuation until after the collapse of the Korean War wool boom in 1951 inevitably had serious effects on Victorian finances. Some expenditure items which had loomed large before the war, such as debt charges and pensions, remained fairly stable in the early post-war years, but other items such as education and health expanded rapidly. In particular social services expenditure (defined broadly to include net expenditure from consolidated revenue and special funds on education, hospitals and health services, law and order, etc.) rose from \$11.1m in 1938-39 to \$14.7m in 1944-45 and to \$53.6m in 1951-52. About three-quarters of this increase could be ascribed to higher wage and salary rates. The majority of the remainder could be accounted for by a 25 per cent increase in population, but a beginning had also been made on the task of improving the quality of the services provided. Before the war, expenditure on these services in Victoria had been lower on a per capita basis than in any other State, and nearly 22 per cent below the average for all States. By 1951-52 Victoria was no longer the State with the lowest per capita expenditure on social services, and the gap which separated it from the average for all States had been reduced to 8 per cent.

The inflationary increase in State expenditure tended to outrun the revenue available under the uniform tax system. The taxes still available to the States were not only limited in number but relatively inelastic in the sense that yields did not rise automatically with increased incomes, but generally could be obtained only by legislating for higher tax rates, which invited political controversy and delay. The income tax reimbursements payable by the Commonwealth to the States were originally allocated in proportion to the revenue which the States had collected from their own income taxes before the war, when Victoria was a low income tax State. In the face of rising post-war expenditure Victoria was thus confronted with difficult revenue problems. After substantial budget surpluses during the war years, only nominal surpluses were recorded in 1945-46 and 1946-47.

At a Premiers' Conference in January 1946 the Commonwealth, relying on the High Court's 1942 rulings, announced its intention to continue uniform income tax (but not entertainment tax) on a permanent basis. It was decided that for 1946-47 and 1947-48 the total income tax reimbursement grant would be \$80m, of which Victoria's share would be \$17.7m. Following further discussions the grant for 1947-48 was increased to \$90m, of which Victoria's share was \$19.7m. but the State's budget result for that year was



nevertheless a deficit of \$1.1m. Even larger deficits were incurred in subsequent years despite the introduction of new bases for the determination of the aggregate grant and also for its allocation among the States. The base grant of \$90m was henceforth adjusted each year by a formula that took account of annual increases in population and average wages in the country as a whole. The allocation among the States of the aggregate grant was to be changed over a ten year period from the original basis of "compensation" for loss of previous tax revenue to a new basis of "needs", as indicated by a second formula which took account of relative population adjusted for numbers of school-age children and sparsity of settlement. In most States, however, budgetary difficulties continued to be encountered, and the formula grants had to be supplemented by *ad hoc* grants. In Victoria budget deficits were recorded each year except in 1953-54 and 1954-55.

On the revenue side difficulty was also experienced in raising charges for State services sufficiently to meet increasing costs. This was particularly so in respect of railway freight rates and fares. During the war, charges for State services had been pegged by agreement between the Commonwealth and the States. After this arrangement came to an end, Victorian Railways charges were increased from 1 October 1947. The operating costs of the railways were adversely affected not only by rising wage rates but also by the cost and uncertainty of black coal supplies from New South Wales, particularly during the national coal strike of 1949. The situation was so serious that in 1948-49 and again in 1949-50 the Victorian Government spent several million dollars importing black coal from overseas, although some of this expenditure was charged against loan fund and some was incurred for non-railway purposes. In the latter part of 1950 there was an extended railway strike in the State and as a result railway revenue failed to cover working expenses in 1950-51. Even larger operating losses were incurred in the two following years despite repeated increases in railway freight rates and fares. During these years the railways were increasingly exposed to road competition. The first Holden motor car came off the production line at Fishermens Bend in December 1948, registrations of new motor vehicles increased rapidly thereafter, petrol rationing was finally abolished in February 1950, and State attempts to restrict interstate road freight were declared by the Courts to contravene section 92 of the Constitution. In these circumstances railway revenue remained insufficient to cover working expenses until 1953-54, when the introduction of diesel locomotives was bringing the age of steam to an end, thereby relieving the railways of their dependence on black coal and permitting substantial operating economies. By this time also the railways were beginning to reap the benefits of post-war capital expenditure on new rolling stock and track rehabilitation. This expenditure was largely financed out of reserves that had accumulated during the war, when all but the most essential maintenance work had been deferred.

In addition to railway rehabilitation the State undertook substantial capital investment in the post-war years on a wide range of development projects ranging from road works, public housing, and land purchases (under the 1945 Agreement with the Commonwealth on War Service Land Settlement) to such spectacular projects as the Morwell brown coal open cut, the Kiewa hydro electric scheme, and the Eildon Dam.

Expenditure upon road works was financed partly from the proceeds of State motor taxation and partly from Commonwealth Aid Road grants, which had been provided from 1925 onwards. After 1931 the aggregate grants were determined by the proceeds of specified rates of customs and excise duties on petrol, and were allocated among the States in accordance with a "three-fifths population and two-fifths area" formula.

Post-war public works other than roads were financed principally from loans raised on behalf of the States, or by semi-governmental and local authorities, under the overall control of the Loan Council. The 1927 Financial Agreement, which had established the Loan Council, was amended in 1944 to provide for the funding of wartime Treasury bills issued to finance some State public works, and of earlier Treasury bills outstanding from the Depression years. Memories of the Depression (which focused on the need for a balanced budget without overseas borrowing) were still sufficiently strong to preclude any general resumption of overseas borrowing, but the first of a series of loans from the International Bank was raised shortly after the 1949 change of the Commonwealth Government. Otherwise the local market was able to meet the loan requirements of the States and their authorities for the first five or six years after the war. Thus in 1950-51 the loan funds available to Victoria for State works amounted to \$72m, and a slightly

larger amount was available for semi and local governmental borrowing. In addition \$17m was raised for public housing construction and advanced to the State at 1 per cent below the market rate of interest, under the Commonwealth-State Housing Agreement of 1945. The total number of new dwellings completed rose steadily after the war, and in Victoria the number reached 21,358 in 1950-51, of which 2,700 had been built under the Commonwealth-State Housing Agreement.

In most subsequent years the total loan programmes for State works and housing outstripped the capacity of the local bond market on what were regarded as acceptable terms. In 1951-52 the total works and housing programme for all the States was reduced by the Loan Council from \$750m to \$450m (of which Victoria's share was \$132m) but the market only yielded \$250m.

The shortfall was made good by the Commonwealth which subscribed \$200m as a "special loan" from its own resources, including proceeds of United States dollar loans. For 1952-53 the total State requests again amounted initially to over \$700m and the Commonwealth proposed that this total be reduced to \$360m. At the May 1952 Loan Council meeting this proposal was outvoted by the States in favour of a programme of nearly \$500m but there was no means of implementing such a large programme, since the market could yield only \$110m and the Commonwealth was not prepared to increase its support beyond a "special loan" of \$250m. For the following six years the total State loan programme for works and housing remained at \$400m or less per annum, and the post-war inflation was for the time being effectively controlled.

#### 1952 TO 1962

Seen in retrospect, these years were a period of relative stability and solid progress. The new Consumer Price Index (introduced in 1960) showed a rise over the period of only 2.5 per cent per annum and the minimum weekly male wage rate rose by only about 3 per cent per annum. Automatic cost of living adjustments to the basic wage were abandoned in September 1953, and subsequent increases in the basic wage or in margins were the outcome of awards by Commonwealth or State wage fixing authorities. The increased significance of domestic as against external sources of potential inflation was highlighted by the abandonment of import controls and the emergence of the interest rate as a policy instrument.

Import controls were progressively removed on non-American goods after the war but were reimposed in March 1952 after the Korean War wool boom. A few months later the bond rate, which had never exceeded 4 per cent in the twenty years since the 1932 conversion, rose to 4.5 per cent. In 1956 import controls were further tightened and the bond rate was increased to 5 per cent. In February 1960, however, import controls were effectively abandoned, and in November of that year the bond rate was increased to 5.4 per cent. Following the subsequent rise in imports and tighter monetary conditions, the number of persons on unemployment benefits rose to 57,000 in June 1961. This was twice as high as had been experienced at any date in the previous ten years, and so seemed alarmingly high at the time.

Steady progress occurred in the development of the economy in a period with low inflation and low unemployment. The population of Australia rose by nearly 3 million from 7.5 million at the 1947 Census to 10.5 million at the 1961 Census. Over one-third of the increase was the result of immigration. In the same period, 1947 to 1961, about one million persons were added to the labour force, principally in the manufacturing, construction, and service industries (including government services). Among the new developments of the period were the Snowy Mountains hydro-electric scheme, the expansion of the motor vehicle industry, the introduction of television (coinciding with the 1956 Olympic Games in Melbourne), the building of several large oil refineries and aluminium plants, and in the service sector the establishment of hire purchase facilities, private savings banks, and building societies. The building industry expanded as a direct result of population growth. The number of occupied private dwellings rose from nearly 1.9 million at the 1947 Census to nearly 2.8 million at the 1961 Census. In 1950, the number of new houses and flats completed was nearly 80,000 per annum, including about 10,000 per annum built under Commonwealth-State Housing Agreements. Under a new agreement in

1956 the Commonwealth provided advances to the States for the construction of houses for sale as well as for rental.

It was not until the last two years of the decade that the \$400m ceiling imposed in 1952 on Loan Council programmes for State works and housing was slightly lifted, but Commonwealth support by way of "special loans" still continued to be necessary to meet the shortfall in public borrowings. Such support was not available for semi and local governmental loan programmes approved by the Loan Council under the 1936 Gentlemen's Agreement. However, from 1949-50 onwards borrowing by these authorities was higher in Victoria than in any other State, including New South Wales. This was a reversal of the situation in the 1930s when semi-governmental borrowing in Victoria had lagged behind that in New South Wales.

In addition to higher loan expenditure on public works, rapid economic development also required an increase in State budget expenditure, even higher than that necessitated by increases in prices, wage rates, and interest rates. As a result of population growth there was an increase in the demand for State services in the education, health, and welfare fields. For example, school enrolments more than doubled from 750,000 at the 1947 Census to 1,600,000 at the 1961 Census, and education costs therefore increased not only because of higher teachers' salaries but because more teachers had to be employed. In these circumstances budget deficits were inevitable unless revenue could also be increased faster than prices, wages, and interest rates. Under the uniform tax system, however, the States were dependent for a substantial proportion of their revenue on the tax reimbursement grants, the total amount of which was adjusted upwards, according to the 1947 formula, in proportion to total population and the increase in wages over the previous twelve months. The inadequacy of the formula is indicated by the fact that the tax reimbursement grants had to be supplemented each year by *ad hoc* grants, the allocation of which was not necessarily in the same proportion as the formula grants.

In July 1952 the Prime Minister announced that the Commonwealth was prepared to restore income taxing rights to the States. The administrative and technical problems involved were referred to a committee of Commonwealth and State Treasury officials and a report was presented to a Premiers' Conference in February 1953. The Commonwealth and the State Governments failed to agree on the extent to which the income tax field should be vacated by the Commonwealth. In consequence, nothing came of these negotiations.

Budget difficulties continued in Victoria. Surpluses were recorded in 1953-54 and 1954-55, but in each of the next four years revenue lagged behind expenditure and substantial deficits were recorded. Victorian social services expenditure increased not only because of a relatively high rate of population growth but also because of the effort to raise Victorian standards of service to a level comparable with other States. As noted above, Victorian per capita expenditure on social services was still below the average for all States in 1951-52, but the gap was virtually closed by 1956-57. The burden of debt charges on the Victorian budget was also relatively high because railway revenue did not suffice to meet any railway debt charges. In New South Wales on the other hand, railway revenue was sustained by heavy coal and mineral traffic and was generally sufficient to meet both operating expenses and debt charges. The net effect of the uniform tax system appeared to be a transfer to other States of about \$14m collected from Victorian taxpayers.

In December 1955 and May 1956, legal challenges to the constitutional validity of uniform taxation in peacetime were made by Victoria and New South Wales and the cases were heard together before the High Court in April 1957. This time, only the State grants and the "priority clause" were attacked. The ground of challenge was that the Acts were inconsistent with the constitutional independence of the States, and that the 1942 decision should either be over-ruled as incorrect, or set aside as resting essentially, on the scope of the defence power in time of war, and therefore now irrelevant.

The High Court unanimously rejected the challenge to the Grants Act. It held that the Commonwealth could impose any condition it liked on a grant paid in accordance with section 96 of the Constitution. Thus the Commonwealth in making a grant can impose a condition that the State shall not exercise one of its constitutional powers, in this case, the power to levy an income tax. By a majority, however, the Court declined to follow

the 1942 decision on the "priority clause". It held that, in the Australian federal system, the claim to priority could not be supported as incidental to the taxation power.

In 1958 the Treasurer of Queensland announced in his budget speech that his State proposed to follow the three less populous States and apply for a special grant such as they received on the recommendation of the Commonwealth Grants Commission. Victoria thereupon submitted a similar application. The widely expressed dissatisfaction with the uniform tax system was thus brought to a head. Faced with the prospect of five claimant States the Commonwealth refrained from referring the two new applications to the Commonwealth Grants Commission and summoned several Premiers Conferences in 1959 at which it proposed:

- (1) To amalgamate within some new revenue grant arrangements the large and increasing grants which were then being paid to supplement the tax reimbursement formula grants, and to devise a more liberal formula which would avoid the necessity for supplementary grants in the future;
- (2) to reduce to two the number of States which would in future continue regularly to apply to the Commonwealth Grants Commission for recommendations for special grants, and to reduce the dependence of these States on special grants; and
- (3) to arrive at a more generally acceptable basis of distribution of Commonwealth general revenue grants between the States.

The Commonwealth therefore suggested that the financial assistance grants should be determined for each State in the succeeding five years by adjusting the grant paid in 1959-60 in accordance with a formula based on movements in its population, and on annual increases in the level of average wages for Australia as a whole. The formula also incorporated a "betterment" factor, the effect of which was to increase by 10 per cent the average wages component of the formula. Thus, in any financial year subsequent to 1959-60, the grant payable to each State would be determined by varying the grant paid in the preceding year according to the change in the population of that State and 1.1 times the percentage increase in average Australian wages in the preceding year.

The effect of the new formula on the budgetary position of Victoria may be seen by comparing the annual percentage increase in the tax reimbursement and special assistance grants in 1958-59 with that in the financial assistance payments in 1959-60. In 1958-59 the increase was less than 6 per cent but in 1959-60 and again in 1960-61 it was almost 10 per cent. The State budget had shown a deficit of over \$5m in 1958-59, but in the two succeeding years it showed small surpluses of \$0.6m and \$0.24m after various transfers to reserves. This improvement was, however, to be short lived. In 1961-62 the increase over the previous year in the financial assistance payment to Victoria dropped to less than 8 per cent, and although the budget was nominally balanced this was only after bringing into account \$3.6m, received as Victoria's share of a special Commonwealth grant to the States of \$20m in aid of activities to alleviate unemployment.

The years 1952 to 1961 also saw two other significant developments. The first was the growth of Commonwealth grants that could be used only for specific purposes, as distinct from general purpose grants like the financial assistance payments that could be used for any purpose at the discretion of the States. Almost the only specific purpose grants dating from before the war were those in aid of State interest charges under the 1927 Financial Agreement, and Commonwealth Aid Road grants which, as noted above, originated even earlier. The former are fixed until 1985 at \$15.17m per annum (of which Victoria's share is \$4.25m), but the latter have been reviewed and expanded at fairly frequent intervals.

The road grants came under mounting criticism in the 1950s on the two grounds that all, and not just part, of the proceeds of customs and excise duties on petrol should be used for road works, and that the allocation formula was held to be unduly favourable to States with large areas at the expense of Victoria and New South Wales. At the 1959 Premiers' Conference the Commonwealth therefore proposed to sever the link between road grants and customs or excise duties on petrol, but to provide a base grant rising from \$80m in 1959-60 to \$96m in the fifth year; to reduce the area element in the allocation formula from two-fifths to one-third (the other elements now being one-third population and one-third car registrations); and to provide a supplementary grant rising from \$4m in the first year to \$20m in the fifth, on a 1:1 matching basis with additional State expenditure.

Victoria's share of the grant on the old basis was about \$14m in 1958-59, but on the new basis it rose to over \$17m in 1959-60 and higher amounts in subsequent years.

Specific purpose grants were also introduced in new fields such as health and education. From 1948 until the mid-1970s the Commonwealth provided grants in aid of current and capital expenditure on State facilities for the treatment of tuberculosis. From 1955 until about the same date grants were also provided in aid of capital expenditure on State mental health institutions. These health grants were, however, soon overshadowed by those in aid of universities, which were introduced in 1951-52 for recurrent expenditure, and extended to capital expenditure in 1958. The university recurrent grants had to be matched on a 1:1.85 basis with State contributions and fee income, and the capital grants had to be matched on a 1:1 basis by the States. In 1959 a Universities Commission was established to advise and recommend Commonwealth grants on a triennial basis.

In a very different field the Commonwealth also provided nearly \$32m between 1957-58 and 1962-63 for the construction of a standard gauge railway track between Melbourne and Albury. Of the total expenditure, 30 per cent was in the form of advances repayable by New South Wales and Victoria over fifty years. By eliminating any break of gauge between Melbourne and Sydney this project greatly facilitated interstate railway freight traffic.

The other development of significance for the future was an effort by the States to increase their revenue from the tax fields still available to them or from new taxes. Whereas higher specific purpose grants could be regarded as restricting State freedom to determine their own priorities, higher revenue from their own taxation resources increased that freedom.

The largest source of State tax revenue in the 1950s was motor taxation, the proceeds of which were increased because of higher tax rates as well as increased numbers of cars and drivers. However, most of the proceeds of motor taxation were used for road works instead of general revenue purposes. In Victoria, for example, most motor taxation proceeds were paid, along with Commonwealth Aid Road grants, to the Country Roads Board.

Two sources of general revenue which did expand relatively rapidly over the period were land tax and stamp duties. In Victoria the former was changed from a flat rate to a progressive basis in 1953, and stamp duties were extended in 1958-59 to new areas such as hire purchase agreements and certain types of insurance policies.

The abolition of Commonwealth entertainment tax in October 1953 left the way open for the States to reimpose their own entertainment taxes, but only Victoria, Western Australia, and Tasmania took advantage of the opportunity. As it happened, however, the advent of television soon deprived the tax of most of its revenue potential by reducing cinema attendances, and in December 1962 the tax was generally abolished, except that in Victoria it continued to be imposed on attendances at horse racing and trotting meetings until 1973.

More success attended State attempts to increase tax revenue from gambling. Prior to 1954 State lotteries were conducted in New South Wales, Queensland, and Western Australia. In Tasmania the Trustees of the Estate of the late George Adams were licensed under State legislation to conduct Tattersall's Lotteries but a large proportion of subscriptions came from outside Tasmania, and particularly from Victoria. From 14 July 1954, the Trustees transferred their operations to Victoria where they were granted a licence under new Victorian legislation which required the payment of 31 per cent of subscriptions to consolidated revenue for subsequent disbursement to the Hospitals and Charities Fund and the Mental Health Fund. Between 1954-55 and 1961-62 these payments amounted to about \$6m per annum. Under an agreement between the Victorian and Tasmanian Governments in October 1960, Tattersall's Lotteries, although still based in Victoria, were authorised to establish agencies for the sale of tickets in Tasmania, 15.5 per cent of the value of such sales being paid to the Tasmanian Treasury.

State taxation of betting on horse races was of long standing but difficulty was experienced in taxing illegal off-the-course transactions. In August 1956 New South Wales legalised poker machines and licensed their use in sporting clubs and similar institutions. Despite the lucrative results no other State followed the New South Wales example. In

March 1961, however, Victoria legalised off-course totalizator betting and established a Totalizator Agency Board (TAB) with local branches to accept "investments".

#### 1962 TO 1972

The years 1962 to 1972 saw the decline of Australia's traditional dependence on the export of wool and other agricultural products (principally to the British market) in return for manufactured imports (also principally from Britain). By the end of the 1960s mineral and coal exports rivalled agricultural exports in importance, and their main market was not Britain but Japan. In 1971-72 Britain ranked after both Japan and the USA as a market for Australian exports, and after the USA as a source of Australian imports. This realignment of Australia's trading relations was in part a response to Britain's decision to seek entry into the European Economic Community, negotiations for which were initiated in 1962 but not finalised until 1971. The necessary readjustments for Australia were, however, greatly facilitated by mineral discoveries, particularly of iron ore in Western Australia, coal in Queensland, and crude oil and natural gas deposits, particularly the off-shore fields in Bass Strait. The latter reduced Australia's dependence on imported oil from the Middle East at an opportune time—just prior to substantial price increases.

In addition to its long-term beneficial effects on the Australian balance of trade, resource development had a more immediate result in stimulating an inflow of private capital. This inflow was further increased by the international capital upheavals following the devaluation of sterling in 1968, and the revaluation of the US dollar in 1971. Australia was thus able to increase and diversify its foreign exchange holdings and in December 1972 the Australian dollar was appreciated against the US dollar.

As well as providing for the development of mineral resources, the Australian economy in the 1960s also had to provide for continued population growth. In the ten years between the 1961 and 1971 Censuses, the population increased by a further 2.25 million persons, about 40 per cent of the increase resulting from net migration. The addition to the labour force during this period was about 1 million persons, showing the effect of increased numbers of school leavers which itself reflected the rise in the birth rate in the immediate post-war years.

The combination in the 1960s of resource development, capital inflow, and continued population growth had all the ingredients of a boom, and this became evident on the stock exchanges in the second half of 1967. With some temporary pauses share prices rose to record heights over the next three years before the boom finally collapsed in February 1971. In the meantime, the Commonwealth Government had resorted to fiscal and monetary restraints such as higher interest rates. The long-term bond rate which had settled at 5.375 per cent in the mid-1960s, after having been reduced to stimulate recovery in 1962 and 1963, rose dramatically and reached 7 per cent in May 1970. It remained at this level through most of the following year, falling to 6 per cent in 1972.

The atmosphere of the boom years also fostered pressure for wage increases. Average weekly earnings (per employed male unit) rose by 5 or 6 per cent per annum in the mid-1960s, these increases including overtime and above-award payments as well as adjustments to the basic wage and margins for skill as determined by wage-fixing tribunals. In June 1967 the Commonwealth Arbitration Commission abolished the distinction between the basic wage and margins, so that future determinations at its annual national wage hearings related to the "total wage". From 1967-68 onwards the annual percentage increase in average earnings rose progressively, reaching 11.5 per cent in 1970-71.

Higher wages were not always offset by either higher labour productivity or lower profitability and in some cases were reflected by higher commodity prices.

In the early 1960s the Consumer Price Index was almost stable and in the mid-1960s it rose at the comparatively modest rate of about 3 per cent per annum. In 1970-71 and 1971-72, however, the Consumer Price Index rose by about 6 per cent per annum. Moreover in 1972 the monetary and fiscal measures adopted to check the inflation had their impact on employment, as they had done in 1961. In June of both years the number of persons registered for employment exceeded 100,000 or twice the level of the intervening years.

In these circumstances the States found themselves in increasing budgetary difficulties, despite the new system of financial assistance grants. Resource development required increased capital expenditure on public works and infrastructure generally. Continued

population growth required both additional capital expenditure (e.g., on public housing) and also additional current expenditure on social services. Higher bond rates increased State debt charges. Higher wage and salary rates increased the budgetary impact of services such as education and health, and also of State business undertakings such as railways, the fares and charges for which could not be increased without difficulty. Higher unemployment prompted the Victorian government to provide new employment-creating activities as well as increased expenditure on welfare services.

#### Financial assistance

When the financial assistance grants were introduced in 1959 it was hoped that under the new formula annual supplementations would no longer be required, as they had been under the former tax reimbursement grant system, and it was therefore provided that the formula should run until 1965 before amendment. The States soon found, however, that the rate of growth of the financial assistance grants was too slow in relation to their increasing expenditure commitments, particularly in view of their limited tax powers. After the financial assistance grants had been in operation for only two years the employment situation prompted the provision in 1961-62 of additional assistance to enable the States to undertake "employment giving" activities, and similar assistance was necessary in the two following years. In Victoria a substantial proportion of these grants was used to assist the budget, but even so the 1963-64 budget showed a deficit for the first time since 1958-59. In the following year when the Commonwealth provided no additional assistance the Victorian budget was nominally balanced but only after substantial transfers from State reserve funds.

When the financial assistance formula came up for review in 1965 it was agreed after discussion with the Premiers to reduce the time lag required for population changes to affect the grants by using more up-to-date statistics, to raise the betterment factor applicable to wage increases from 1.1 to 1.2 per cent, and to make additional payments to some States, including a permanent increase of \$1.2m to Victoria. A proposal to use more up-to-date statistics for wage changes was also eventually adopted in 1967, but otherwise the formula was to run without amendment until 1970. In the intervening years State deficits mounted steadily and supplementary grants were again provided for drought relief in 1966-67 and 1967-68 and for "budgetary difficulties" in 1968-69 and 1969-70. In 1967-68 Victoria incurred a budget deficit of \$2.8m despite the receipt of \$4.8m for drought relief. In the following year the deficit was \$2.5m after the receipt of \$3m for budgetary difficulties. In 1969-70 Victoria received \$3.6m for budgetary difficulties but nevertheless incurred a record deficit of \$15.4m, and on 30 June 1970 received a repayable advance of \$10m to help finance the deficit.

In 1970 the financial assistance grants formula again came up for review. In February 1970 the State Premiers submitted a Joint White Paper entitled *The Financial Relationships of the Commonwealth and the States*, which presented not only a detailed analysis of the financial assistance formula but also a general review of the allocation of revenue resources and loan funds in relation to expenditure needs. After subsequent discussions the financial assistance formula was further liberalised. The basic payments were increased by \$40m per annum, the betterment factor was raised to 1.8 per cent, and additional grants of \$2 per head made to Victoria and New South Wales for the next five years.

However, before the end of the 1970-71 financial year, the States were confronted with exceptionally heavy wages costs resulting from a national wages decision in December 1970 and other awards affecting State employees. After requesting the States to effect economies and to increase taxes and charges wherever possible, the Commonwealth agreed to provide additional revenue assistance of \$43m in 1970-71. The full year cost of these wage and salary awards had to be met in 1971-72 and for that year the additional revenue assistance was increased to \$72.5m (including a repayable advance of \$17.5m for New South Wales). Victoria's share of these additional assistance grants was \$10.6m in 1970-71 and \$13.6m in 1971-72 but the increase in the State's wages bill was estimated at \$31m in the former year and \$62m in the latter. From 1 July 1970 the Victorian consolidated revenue and loan funds were amalgamated into one account, known as the "Consolidated Fund", but on the old basis there was a revenue deficit of \$13.6m in 1970-71 after budgeted expenditure had been reduced by \$10.5m, and a deficit again of \$6.7m in 1971-72.

### State taxation

Confronted with continuing budget difficulties despite increased financial assistance and supplementary payments, the States turned their attention to developing or acquiring their own "growth tax", the revenue from which would escalate automatically with inflation like the Commonwealth's revenue from its progressive personal income tax. In its September 1964 Budget the Victorian Government announced its intention of introducing a "marginal" income tax payable by Victorian residents in addition to the Commonwealth income tax, and collected on behalf of the State by the Commonwealth Tax Commissioner. However the Commonwealth considered that such a tax would undermine the uniform tax system and was unwilling to participate in its collection unless it had the support of other States, which was not forthcoming. Victoria did not therefore proceed with its proposal.

In the Premiers' Joint White Paper of February 1970 it was again proposed that State income taxes should be reintroduced, not in addition to, but in partial substitution for the Commonwealth income tax. It was suggested that this be done by adapting to Australian conditions the Canadian system under which there would be "the one return, the one assessing and collecting authority, the one set of definitions, exemptions, etc. and the one basic tax schedule, but with the one variant—relative rates". The Commonwealth would partially withdraw from the income tax field and its withdrawal would be approximately offset by new State income taxes. The financial assistance grants could then be replaced by tax proceeds collected on behalf of the States, except insofar as the "less populous" States would need equalisation payments to compensate for their lower taxable capacity. This proposal was rejected by the Prime Minister mainly on the grounds that it would make the task of managing the economy more difficult, and might result in different tax rates in different States, as has indeed happened in Canada.

As a means of lessening their dependence on Commonwealth grants the States in the 1950s had increased and extended their stamp duties which came to rival motor taxation as a source of State revenue, with the important difference that the proceeds were all available for general revenue purposes. Uniform rates of stamp duty on share transfers had been imposed prior to the stock exchange boom of 1968 to 1971, and stamp duties on receipts had been extended to most business transactions. In 1966-67 Western Australia imposed receipt duties on wages and salaries, and in February 1968 similar legislation came into effect in Victoria, a receipts duty of 0.01 per cent being payable on wages, salaries, pensions, etc., in excess of \$20 per week. At a Premiers' Conference in June 1968 the Commonwealth stated that it regarded such duties as income taxes and that account would need to be taken of them when the allocation of financial assistance payments among the States came up for review in 1970.

In the meantime State receipts duties on certain business transactions had become subject to legal challenge and in February 1970 the High Court handed down judgement in two test cases. In both the Court ruled that the duties constituted an excise, and that State receipts duties were constitutionally invalid to the extent that they applied to money received from the sale of new Australian manufactured goods.

Following these judgements the Commonwealth Government submitted to Parliament a Bill to protect the future revenues of the States by imposing on their behalf a Commonwealth duty on business receipts, but the Bill was defeated in the Senate. Thereafter receipts duties of all kinds ceased on 30 September 1970. In order to offset the loss to State revenues from the cessation of receipts duties, the Commonwealth made additional grants to the States of \$59.7m in 1970-71. For subsequent years \$88.4m was added to the formula base of the financial assistance grants in 1971-72. Victoria's share of these payments was \$17.3m at the outset and \$26m subsequently.

The increase in the wage and salary awards of State Government employees in 1970-71 affected the State budgets both directly and also indirectly by increasing their liability for Commonwealth payroll tax. In its September 1970 budget the Victorian Government included no appropriation for payroll tax and subsequently took out a writ in the High Court challenging the constitutional validity of Commonwealth payroll tax as applied to State Government employees. South Australia intervened in support of the challenge, but in a unanimous decision in May 1971 the Court upheld the validity of the tax and Victoria agreed to meet the arrears of payroll tax due to the Commonwealth in respect of 1970-71.



In June 1971 the Commonwealth and the States agreed that payroll tax should be transferred to the States and that their extra revenue from this source should be offset by corresponding reductions in the financial assistance grants. This transfer was intended as a means of meeting at least in part the need of the States for a growth tax since it was broadly based, grew almost directly in line with the economy, and was relatively simple to administer. For 1971-72 the financial assistance grants were reduced by \$224m which was the estimated payroll tax collection at the pre-existing rate of 2.5 per cent over nine months, less certain adjustments. For 1972-73 and subsequent years the formula base of the financial assistance grants was reduced by \$305m which was the estimated collection at 2.5 per cent over a full year, again less certain adjustments. From the date of the takeover the States jointly agreed to increase the payroll tax rate from 2.5 per cent to 3.5 per cent and it became the largest single category of State taxation, surpassing both motor taxation and stamp duties in importance.

#### **Loan funds and debt charges**

In the 1960s there was an increase in State expenditure on public works as well as on current services but, apart from roads, public works continued to be financed mainly from loan funds. The annual Loan Council borrowing programme for State works and housing in 1962-63 was \$510m, as compared with the ceiling of \$400m ten years earlier. However, by 1969-70 the programme had risen to \$625.8m for State works and \$132.2m for housing advances, a total increase of over 50 per cent. Over the same period borrowing by State semi-governmental and local authorities increased from \$275.6m to \$471.1m, or by 71 per cent. In Victoria the percentage increase in borrowing for State works and housing was about the same as in the other States, rising from \$131.1m in 1962-63 to \$193.4m in 1969-70. On the other hand, semi-governmental and local authority borrowing which had been relatively high in Victoria since the war rose by only 56 per cent, from \$94.6m in 1962-63 to \$147.3m in 1969-70.

For two years, 1962-63 and 1963-64, State works and housing programmes were financed entirely by public borrowing, mostly in Australia, and for the first time since 1950-51 no "special loans" were provided by the Commonwealth. However, for the rest of the decade public borrowings fell short of State loan programmes by annual amounts varying from 14 to 47 per cent, and the short-fall was made good by Commonwealth "special loans", the funds for which were ultimately derived from Commonwealth tax revenue. The States were thus required to pay interest on funds which the Commonwealth derived from taxpayers.

In their Joint White Paper of February 1970 the State Premiers called attention to the rise in State indebtedness since 1950, including both the public securities issued in respect of State works and Commonwealth advances for purposes such as housing, railway standardisation, and war service land settlement. Allowing for sinking fund balances, their net debt had risen four-fold from \$2,484m in June 1950 to \$10,676m in June 1969. The corresponding figures for Victoria were approximately \$600m in June 1950 and \$2,660m in June 1969.

By way of contrast the Commonwealth's position was shown to have changed from that of a net debtor to a net creditor over the same period. When direct advances to the States and holdings of Treasury bills and public securities by Commonwealth agencies were offset against securities recorded as issued on Commonwealth account, the net debt of the Commonwealth was \$3,586m in June 1950 but by June 1969 this had been eliminated in favour of a small net credit of \$204m.

The conclusion of the Premiers was that the States had needed to borrow, latterly at high interest rates, the whole of their requirement for capital purposes. At the same time the Commonwealth had been able to finance virtually all its capital works from revenue. State debt charges in 1967-68 were estimated at \$531m of which only \$245.4m or 46 per cent could be recovered, the remainder having been incurred in respect of schools, hospitals, developmental water supplies, etc., which could not be expected to produce net revenue to cover debt charges. Under the terms of the 1927 Financial Agreement, the Commonwealth was also required to make contributions in respect of State debt charges but in 1967-68 these only amounted to \$15.2m for interest and \$21.6m for sinking funds. The net burden of debt charges falling on the State budgets was thus nearly \$250m.

The Premiers claimed that at least half of their overall capital and developmental requirements should be available, free of interest, from revenue sources, and two decisions of the June 1970 Premiers' Conference went some way towards meeting their claim. These were as follows:

- (1) The States were to receive part of their annual Loan Council programmes in the form of interest free capital grants amounting to \$200m in 1970-71 and increasing in future years proportionately with the total Loan Council programmes. The grants were not tied to any specific purpose and were intended as a contribution towards non-revenue producing capital works expenditure; and
- (2) The States were to receive debt charges assistance grants in respect of \$200m of outstanding State debts in 1970-71, and in respect of an additional \$200m each year from 1971-72 to 1974-75, so that by the beginning of the latter year the Commonwealth would have assumed full responsibility for interest (averaging 5.5 per cent) and sinking fund charges on \$1,000m out of the total State debt, estimated at \$10,676m in June 1969. In the first year these grants amounted to \$11.5m, of which Victoria's share was \$2.8m, and they increased by a similar amount in each of the following four years.

Over the five years commencing 1970-71, the new debt charges assistance grants were an addition to the range of specific purpose grants, which had also been greatly expanded for education purposes during the 1960s. The recurrent and capital grants for universities had grown substantially, and had been supplemented by similar grants for colleges of advanced education, recurrent grants for non-government schools, and capital grants for teachers colleges, technical training, school (including non-government school) laboratories, and libraries. In 1970-71 Victoria received \$61m in education grants, more than for any other specific purpose. Road grants which had previously been the largest such grant amounted to \$49m. Under a new five year agreement introduced in 1969, the Commonwealth Aid Road grants were progressively increased and Victoria's share was marginally enlarged, but the road works to which the grants could be applied were more precisely categorised and the States were required to increase their own expenditure on roads at the same rate as their motor registrations rose. Specific purpose payments, despite these increases to their size and range, still accounted for only about one-quarter of all Commonwealth payments to the States in 1970-71, the remaining three-quarters being general purpose payments which the States could spend in accordance with their own priorities.

#### 1972 TO 1982

The predicted mining boom of 1970 was not as strong as anticipated and the subsequent collapse was not as serious. The number of unemployed peaked at 121,000 in August 1972 and then dropped to 81,500 by August 1973. The annual rate of increase in consumer prices which had been over 6 per cent in 1971-72, rose more slowly for a time. A decision in the 1972 National Wage Case was deferred until early in the following year, and the annual rise in wages and salaries appeared to be slackening. The balance of payments was also highly favourable with a buoyant demand for exports and a strong capital inflow, resulting in high liquidity and a relaxation of upward pressure on interest rates.

Unfortunately subsequent experience was not in line with these expectations. Prices and wages rose more rapidly after 1972 than had previously been experienced. The Consumer Price Index rose by 13 per cent in 1973-74 and yearly increases remained high until 1976-77 and then fell to 10.47 per cent in 1981-82. Average weekly earnings increased by 25 per cent in 1974-75. Towards the end of that financial year the Arbitration Commission introduced the practice of basing its decisions in national wage cases on a system of quarterly indexation for increases in the Consumer Price Index. This system became known as wage indexation and continued until 1981 but quarterly indexation was replaced by half yearly indexation in August 1978, and full indexation also tended to be replaced by partial indexation. On the other hand, indexation increases were often supplemented by "work value" awards, and "real wages" were thus substantially maintained particularly for the lower paid categories of workers, such as juveniles and the unskilled.

At a time when the annual rate of increase of the Consumer Price Index was high, the number of persons unemployed also increased more than threefold between 1974 and 1978.

Over the same years there was also a downturn in the rate of growth of population and the labour force, occasioned largely by a substantial fall in immigration, and the net effect was that the rate of unemployment rose from 2.1 per cent to 6.2 per cent of the labour force.

The coincidence of relatively high rates of inflation and of unemployment was a new phenomenon, and it posed the policy dilemma that measures to reduce unemployment by increased government spending and budgetary deficits was seen by some to create more inflation, as in 1974; while measures to counter inflation by restricting the money supply and public spending could create more unemployment, as in 1977. This dilemma was by no means unique to Australia and to a greater or lesser extent confronted almost all western countries. In consequence international currency upheavals became frequent as countries sought to protect themselves from inflation by appreciating their currencies, as Australia did in December 1972 and September 1973; or from increased unemployment by depreciating their currencies, as Australia again did in September 1974 and November 1976.

Following the appreciation of December 1972 the current balance of payments became adverse after being highly favourable, and private capital inflow declined, necessitating increased overseas borrowing by the Commonwealth. The situation was made worse by relatively unfavourable seasons and depressed overseas markets. As an alternative to further appreciation, a 25 per cent across-the-board tariff cut was made in July 1973 in order to restrain inflation by stimulating imports, without at the same time further depressing export values.

International currency instability also made it impracticable to continue the practice of fixing the Australian exchange rate in terms of any single currency, as had been the practice with respect to the pound sterling before 1971, or the US dollar between 1971 and 1974. Commencing in the latter year the average exchange value of the Australian dollar was fixed in terms of the currencies of Australia's major trading partners, and in 1976 an administrative committee was empowered to vary this trade weighted value at gradual and frequent intervals, thereby ensuring that exchange rate adjustments were primarily the result of policy requirements rather than of speculative pressures.

In 1980-81 the value of the Australian dollar appreciated in this way by about 7 per cent. There was a considerable expansion in private investment and non-residential construction, financed mainly by capital inflow. The appreciation of the dollar assisted in protecting the Australian economy from the effects of continued recession overseas. The annual rate of increase of the Consumer Price Index fell marginally to less than 10 per cent and unemployment also fell to less than 6 per cent of the labour force. These improvements were shortlived and in 1981-82 the dollar was depreciated, domestic liquidity tightened, and interest rates rose. The increase in the Consumer Price Index was over 10 per cent and unemployment came back over 6 per cent.

#### **State expenditure**

The national and international developments outlined above had important budgetary consequences for the States, adding to their expenditures without correspondingly increasing their revenues. The current account expenditure of the Victorian Government rose nearly fivefold from \$1,134m in 1972-73 to \$5,053m in 1981-82, the highest annual rates of increase being 20 per cent or more in the three years 1973-74 to 1975-76 and again in 1981-82. These were also the years in which wages and salaries increased most rapidly, the increases being relatively high for certain classes of State employees such as teachers, hospital workers, and railway employees. Since wages and salaries accounted for 60 per cent of current expenditure this factor obviously had a major impact on the State budget. Other inflationary increases occurred. The government increased Public Service pensions in line with the Consumer Price Index; while in interest rates, the outlay in 1981-82 was 2.5 times as high as in 1972-73, although the State debt increased by only about 50 per cent between the same dates.

Mounting concern about inflation led the Victorian Government to propose a special Premiers' Conference in 1973 to consider co-ordinated Commonwealth-State action on inflation, but nothing came of the subsequent discussions. Early in 1978 Victoria again

proposed a short-term wages and prices freeze, but this also proved impracticable despite the support of other State Governments.

In order to restrain the rise in Victorian Government expenditure, strict administrative economies were introduced including staff ceilings on the Public Service establishment, and after 1977 the number of departmental staff actually declined, although some categories of specialised personnel such as teachers and police continued to increase. The Victorian Government expanded its activities in an attempt to reduce unemployment in the areas of agriculture (affected by poor seasons and export difficulties), in manufacturing (affected by import competition), and in the declining construction industry. Programmes were introduced for the encouragement of small businesses, for the training of apprentices, for agricultural reconstruction and adjustment, for forestry activities, and for the development of decentralised industries and other activities such as tourism in country towns.

State services were increased to keep pace with the normal growth of demand. The number of pupils requiring places at State schools, for example, rose from 611,000 in 1973 to 637,000 in 1977, despite the slow-down in population growth and migration. In addition the State Government was committed to improving the quality of services, and for this reason the number of teachers was increased more than proportionately to the number of pupils, so that the pupil-teacher ratio (as recorded in the Budget speeches) fell from 15:1 in 1973 to 13.5:1 in 1978. Even after that date when the number of pupils began to fall, the number of teachers was maintained in order to reduce further the pupil-teacher ratio in primary schools. Similarly, the ratio of population to police was reduced from 732:1 in 1969 to 492:1 in 1981. During these years also there was an extension of government services into fields such as special education for the handicapped, protection of the environment, consumer affairs, the arts, and recreational activities. In 1974 the Premier announced that six new ministries had been created and five reconstructed to operate in such fields. Some of these additional activities were, at least initially, financed partly by Commonwealth specific purpose payments, but mostly they resulted from State initiatives and were dependent on State revenue sources.

#### State taxation

The revenue potential of State taxes and charges was necessarily limited and even when increased tax rates were feasible they could have undesirable side-effects, including the stimulation of further inflation and the creation of more unemployment. For these reasons there were no tax increases in Victoria in three years 1972-73, 1976-77, and 1978-79. Moreover, as a result of past political and legal commitments, not all State taxes were available to support general expenditure. Thus most motor taxation, other than the surcharge on Third Party Insurance and a proportion of Drivers' Licence fees, did not pass through the Consolidated Fund but was paid directly into various funds for expenditure on roads. Again, much of the revenue from gambling taxation was assigned to health or sporting activities. In 1980-81 the Hospitals and Charities Fund received, albeit through the Consolidated Fund, nearly \$100m derived from Tattersall's Lotteries and \$50m from Totalizator Agency Board deductions. Similarly racing clubs benefited from both the taxation of bookmakers and from TAB deductions, the latter also supporting activities sponsored by the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Recreation after its establishment in 1972.

Akin to these taxes for specific purposes were those charges for public services the revenue from which was insufficient to provide any surplus for general expenditure purposes. The most important example was railway fares and freight rates. To have increased such charges in line with wage rises would have further discouraged patronage. For these reasons there were no general increases in fares and freight rates between 1971 and 1975 but there were some concessions, and although railway operating revenue rose from \$112m in 1971-72 to \$129m in 1974-75, it fell as a proportion of operating costs from 81 per cent to 53 per cent between the same dates. In subsequent years there were several general increases in fares and freight rates, and operating revenue reached \$264m in 1981-82 but it still only covered 53 per cent of operating costs, leaving a deficit of over \$231m exclusive of any railway debt charges.

Of the State taxes available to support general expenditure, some (notably probate, gift duties, and land tax) being assessed on capital values rather than annual values, bore

particularly heavily on agricultural industry, family businesses, and home ownership. There was therefore strong pressure in favour of reducing rather than increasing such taxes, and as the result of a series of concessions over the years the revenue from probate and gift duties actually fell from 1977-78 onwards. In line with other States the Victorian Government committed itself to their eventual abolition. From 1969-70 land used for agricultural production had been exempted from land tax and the exemption level for residential blocks was raised in 1973-74 and in the years after 1977-78 when the Victorian Government announced its intention of eventually abolishing land tax on the principal place of residence. The tax was thus limited primarily to industrial and commercial property, and although its yield rose considerably, complicated administrative arrangements were necessary to smooth out the large and irregular increases in liability consequent upon the system of four-yearly revaluations.

Prior to 1971 the major State taxes for general expenditure purposes were stamp duties. In that year stamp duties were abolished on receipts but they continued to be levied on other legal documents, usually at a percentage rate on the transactions involved. There were general increases in the rates of duty in 1971-72 and again in 1973-74 and thereafter revenue grew automatically with the value of the transactions without any increase in rates, except for that on cheques where the duty took the form of a fixed fee. In the 1981-82 budget the duty of 12 cents per cheque was reduced to 10 cents but a new duty was introduced on credit card transactions. Although stamp duty revenue reached \$454m by 1981-82 the incidence of the tax was necessarily confined to those business, property, or insurance transactions which required legal documentation. To extend the range of the duties to other transactions was obviously impracticable, and to raise further the percentage rates of duty discriminated against a particular class of transaction. There were thus definite limits to the extent to which stamp duty revenue could be further expanded.

After 1971 the largest source of State tax revenue was payroll tax, the rate of which had been increased from 2.5 per cent to 3.5 per cent when the tax was taken over by the States. By joint agreement among the States the rate was increased again in 1973-74 and 1974-75 when it reached 5 per cent, or twice its level four years earlier. In subsequent years there were no further increases in the tax rate because of the probable adverse effects on employment, and in order to reduce the impact of the tax on small businesses the exemption level was raised annually. Nevertheless, revenue from the tax continued to increase as wages and salaries increased, and reached over \$624m in 1980-81 or nearly twice its yield in 1974-75. In the following year a temporary surcharge of 1 per cent was imposed on large payrolls and the yield rose to nearly \$800m.

The only new State taxes to be introduced during these years were business franchise taxes for the sale of tobacco and petroleum products. However the use of these taxes was limited because of their complexity and direct effect on prices. Since the early years of federation, Victoria had levied licence fees for the sale of liquor and a challenge to their validity on the ground that they constituted an excise duty was dismissed by the High Court in the *Dennis Hotels* case (1959). Liquor licence fees were raised from 6 per cent to 8 per cent of turnover in 1974-75, and to 9 per cent in 1980-81. Following the lead of some other States, Victoria introduced a business franchise tax on the sale of tobacco in January 1975. Wholesalers paid a fixed licence fee of \$10 per month and retailers \$10 per annum. There was also a variable levy, paid usually by the wholesaler, amounting originally to 5 per cent of sales but increased to 10 per cent in January 1976 and to 12 per cent in December 1979. In July 1979 a similar business franchise tax was introduced on the sale of petrol and diesel fuel for road transport. Wholesalers paid a fixed licence fee of \$50 per month and retailers \$50 per annum. There was also a variable levy, paid usually by the wholesaler, amounting to 4.5 per cent of the value of motor spirit and 7.1 per cent of the value of diesel fuel. The revenue from the new tax in 1979-80 was \$48m, as compared with \$41m from liquor licence fees and \$35m from tobacco licence fees. In the 1981-82 budget the petroleum licence fees were increased and in that year revenue from the tax rose to \$88m. However, part of the revenue from the tax was needed to replace the road maintenance tax, levied originally in 1956 but abolished in agreement with the other States after the "truckies' strike" of April 1979. Part of the tax revenue was also used to meet the cost of pensioner and other concessions in motor registration fees. Subsidy payments to private bus operators which had previously been charged to the Consolidated Fund were

also met by the new tax, but this was the only direct relief to general expenditure resulting from the tax.

Two other sources of State revenue with some of the characteristics of taxation assumed importance during the 1970s. One was statutory corporation payments and the other was mining royalties. From 1966-67 statutory corporation payments had been levied on the State Electricity Commission and the Gas and Fuel Corporation at the rate of 3 per cent of the agreed gross revenue of the preceding year. In 1971-72 the rate was raised to 4 per cent, and in 1979-80 to 5.5 per cent, when the receipts amounted to \$34.5m from the State Electricity Commission and \$10.7m from the Gas and Fuel Corporation. The rate for the latter body was increased to 8 per cent in 1980-81 and to 15 per cent in 1981-82. Closely analogous to these payments was the requirement that, commencing in 1974-75, half the net profit of the State Savings Bank should be paid into the Consolidated Fund. This payment amounted to \$23m in 1981-82.

Mining royalties became significant after 1968-69, with the commencement of oil production from the Bass Strait fields. Under the offshore mining arrangements Victoria collected the royalties and passed on about one-third to the Commonwealth. In 1981-82 collections from this source amounted to \$160m, of which the Commonwealth's share was \$58m. In an effort to increase the royalty revenue, the State proposed an increase in the rate and/or base of the royalty, but when this proposal was not accepted by the Commonwealth, a new licence fee on Victorian oil pipelines was imposed in the 1981 budget. The revenue from the licence fee was \$30m in the first year, but its constitutional validity was challenged successfully by the Commonwealth.

#### Commonwealth grants

Following the transfer of payroll tax in 1971 there was a significant change in the relative importance, as sources of State revenue, of State taxation on the one hand and of financial assistance from the Commonwealth on the other. Previously the financial assistance grants had been the more important, accounting for some 40 per cent of the State's current revenue. After the transfer, the situation was reversed and State taxation became the more important. In the aggregate, however, current revenue continued to fall short of current expenditure. The Victorian budget showed deficits on current account of \$15.8m in 1972-73 (despite a permanent addition of \$27.7m to the State's financial assistance grant base and an increase from \$2 to \$3.5 per capita in the additional grant for Victoria and New South Wales); of \$2.6m in 1973-74 (after the addition of \$6m as special revenue assistance); and of \$15.1m in 1974-75, (after the receipt of \$13.9m as Victoria's share of special assistance to assist employment). Current account deficits again occurred in 1978-79 and 1980-81.

When the financial assistance grant formula came up for review in 1975, the State Premiers again submitted a unanimous joint statement. After observing that the 1970 formula had proved so inadequate as to require amendment or supplementation every year since its inception, they proposed that there should be a permanent addition of \$350m to the total base grants for the States, and that the wages factor in the escalation formula should be replaced by a "progressive factor" equal to 1.5 times the increase in average wages, thereby enabling the States to share in the benefits which the Commonwealth derived from the progressive income tax, as higher wages lifted taxpayers into higher tax brackets. The Commonwealth did not accede to these proposals, but it agreed to raise the base grants by \$220m (of which Victoria's share was \$50.6m) and to increase the "betterment factor" in the escalation formula from 1.8 to 3 per cent. The effect was apparent in 1975-76 when Victoria repaid the \$10m advance made by the Commonwealth in 1969-70, and still showed a budget surplus of \$14.6m on current account.

By 1975-76 the financial assistance grants were about 80 per cent higher than in 1972-73, but this increase was relatively small as compared with that in the Commonwealth's recurrent grants for specific purposes, which rose six-fold between the same dates. The full extent of this increase was not apparent from the receipts and payments of the Victorian Consolidated Fund, which accounted for only about one-eighth of the recurrent payments for specific purposes received by the State. The remainder were paid into trust funds, against which expenditure was charged directly, or through State departments and

agencies such as the Hospitals and Charities Fund, the Country Roads Board, and the Housing Commission.

At the June 1973 Premiers' Conference the Prime Minister said that "from now on we will expect to be involved in the planning of the function in which we are financially involved". In line with this centralising policy a series of committees or commissions, analogous to the Universities Commission, were appointed to recommend expenditure targets in fields such as schools, technical training, pre-school education, and hospitals and health services. From 1 January 1974 the Commonwealth assumed full financial responsibility for tertiary education, abolishing student fees and relieving the States of the need to match Commonwealth payments. In this, and some other fields, the increased specific purpose payments were "offset" by corresponding reductions in the financial assistance grants. In their 1975 joint submission, the State Premiers objected that such "offsets" should not be equal to the full savings to the States, because their matching expenditure had not been "financed in full", nor financed to the same extent in all States, by the financial assistance grants, but this argument was not accepted by the Commonwealth.

In August 1975 Victoria entered the "Medibank" scheme for the provision of free standard ward and out-patient services at public hospitals, the Commonwealth contributing 50 per cent of the net recurrent costs of "recognised" hospitals. In October 1976 ministerial approval of budgets was required and other changes were introduced, but the arrangements continued to be matters of controversy. The former grants for tuberculosis control were absorbed into the Medibank scheme, Consolidated Fund expenditure for this purpose being met by recoups from the Medibank trust fund.

Specific purpose grants also proliferated in the social welfare field and in 1974 a programme was introduced for the "on-passing" to local authorities of grants to reduce financial inequalities among them, as recommended by a specially constituted division of the Commonwealth Grants Commission.

In addition to this expansion in recurrent grants there were also somewhat smaller but still substantial increases in capital grants and advances for specific purposes. In 1973-74 the former capital grants for mental hospitals were terminated and a new community health programme commenced. In 1974 a revised system of road grants was introduced, with increased emphasis on inter-city highways. Specific purpose advances for welfare housing were introduced in 1973, appropriate "offsets" being made to State Loan Council allocations, from which housing had previously been financed. A large urban and regional programme of capital works was also embarked upon, advances being made for growth centres such as Albury-Wodonga, arrears in urban sewerage works, and land acquisition by newly established land commissions in the States.

#### **Commonwealth-State relations**

In 1975 the Commonwealth proposed to substitute a system of income tax sharing in place of the financial assistance grants, thereby providing the States with more adequate general purpose funds and dispensing with some of the specific purpose payments.

At a series of conferences in 1976, the Commonwealth and the States agreed on thirty-five "points of understanding". The tax sharing arrangement was to apply only to personal income tax, not company tax, and was to be introduced in two stages.

In Stage 1, commencing in 1976-77, the annual total entitlement of the States would amount to the same proportion of annual personal tax collections as the financial assistance grants in 1975-76, estimated at 33.6 per cent. The total entitlement would then be allocated among the States on the same per capita basis as the financial assistance grants had been allocated in 1975-76, subject to a "review of relativities" by an independent body before the end of 1980-81. A long-term guarantee provided that the State entitlements in any year would not be less than in the previous year, and a four year guarantee provided that until 1979-80 the State entitlements in any year would not be less under the new arrangement than they would have been under the 1975 formula for financial assistance grants.

In Stage 2 of the tax sharing scheme a State was enabled to legislate to impose an income tax surcharge on its residents or to grant them a rebate, its entitlement being increased or reduced accordingly. The Commonwealth would remain the sole collecting and administrative agency and would determine the basic income tax structure, State surcharges or rebates being expressed in percentage terms. It was also agreed that

equalisation arrangements would be made so that the less populous States received the same relative advantage from any surcharge as Victoria or New South Wales. A Commonwealth suggestion that the States should collaborate with it in preparing complementary and interlocking legislation was not generally acceptable, but discussions were held between the Commonwealth, Victoria, and Western Australia regarding Commonwealth enabling legislation, which was finally passed in June 1978.

The implementation of the tax sharing arrangements encountered a number of problems. In the first place there was the administrative difficulty that annual entitlements had to be determined before final figures of current tax collections were available. Thus in 1976-77 Victoria received \$841.7m on the basis of estimated collections whereas it would have been entitled to only \$833.7m on the basis of actual collections. A substantial refund might thus have been necessary, but here a further difficulty emerged. The expectation that tax sharing would give the States access to "a growth tax" was substantially disappointed, largely because of the adoption of tax indexation in 1976. Victoria's entitlement on the basis of actual collections was in fact substantially below what the State would have received under the 1975 financial assistance formula. This brought the guarantee into operation. The State's final entitlement was therefore \$840.7m, which it would have received under the 1975 formula, and the necessary refund was slightly less than \$1m.

Similar situations prevailed in most other States and it was therefore decided to alter the tax sharing formula from 30.6 per cent of current tax collections to 39.87 per cent of the previous year's collections commencing in 1978-79. However, in both 1978-79 and 1979-80 Victoria's entitlement as thus determined was below the guaranteed amounts under the 1975 formula. This guarantee no longer applied in 1980-81, but pending a review of the whole system it was agreed that for one year only the States should be guaranteed the same "real" entitlements as in 1979-80, allowance being made for movements in the Consumer Price Index in each capital city. On this basis Victoria's 1980-81 entitlement was raised from \$1,349.6m to \$1,354.9m.

The personal income tax sharing system introduced in 1976 came up for its first five year review in 1981, and the Commonwealth decided to extend tax sharing to its *total* tax collection (excluding fees, fines, and other minor items) from 1980 onwards. Interim arrangements were made for the year 1981-82 and the total entitlement of all States for that year was increased by 9 per cent. Victoria obtained an additional \$16.5m in 1981-82.

A further problem concerned the relativities according to which the total tax entitlement of the States was allocated among them. The relativities were based initially on the 1975 allocation of financial assistance grants, under which Victoria received a lower per capita payment than any other State. At one extreme the per capita payment to Victoria was only half that to Tasmania, and at the other it was nearly 3 per cent less than the payment to New South Wales. These relativities were to be reviewed by June 1981 but agreement on appropriate guidelines and the constitution of the review body was not reached until October 1977. It was then decided that the review should be undertaken by a special division of the Commonwealth Grants Commission, and the necessary legislation was enacted in June 1978.

The Commission was required to review the 1975-76 relativities in the light of the principle of "equalisation". The Commission inspected services and facilities and held hearings in all States. The Victorian Government claimed in its submissions that the existing relativities made inadequate allowances for the State's disadvantages arising from urbanisation, industrial concentration, large ethnic communities, and the cost of bushfire controls, whereas excessive allowance had been made for the alleged disabilities of the less populous States.

In June 1981 the Commission reported in favour of new relativities which, if implemented in 1981-82, would have improved the relative position of Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland by a total of about \$300m. The resultant financial difficulties of the smaller States would have been such that it was decided to ask the Commission to review its assessments in the light of further submissions from the States and to extend them to take into account 1980-81 data and new health funding arrangements. In the meantime the Commonwealth provided in 1981-82 additional grants of \$60m to the larger States, Victoria's share being \$15m. The Commission's second report in May 1982 substantially confirmed its earlier findings, but again the necessary readjustments were too great to be



implemented immediately. Instead the Commonwealth adopted a set of modified relativities to be phased in with the new *total* tax sharing system over the three years 1982-83 to 1984-85.

As a counterpart to the hoped for (but largely unrealised) increase in general purpose payments that would result from the tax sharing arrangements, a more selective use of specific purpose payments was planned. At the 1976 Premiers' Conference the Commonwealth suggested that some of the specific purpose grants might be cut back if not actually dispensed with, and others "absorbed" in larger general purpose payments. The States agreed that given time for adjustment "absorption" would be acceptable in principle.

A revised system of capital grants for roads was introduced in 1977-78, and subsequent increases in the grants were limited to the amount necessary to maintain the 1977-78 level of "real" expenditure and the quotas to be met by the States were increased. Friction with the States developed over a number of joint programmes (e.g., school dental services) to which the Commonwealth reduced its commitment. Apart from limited term programmes that were not renewed (e.g., capital grants for hospitals that terminated in 1977-78), the biggest reductions were in capital grants and advances for urban and regional projects. After 1976-77 grants and advances for sewerage works were discontinued and those for growth centres and land acquisitions were cut by half, subsequent payments largely taking the form of capitalised interest.

In 1981-82 a number of former specific purpose grants were absorbed into the general purpose tax sharing grant, the largest item being about \$50m in respect of urban public transport. In the same year as an interim step towards absorption, a number of health grants were grouped together into what was described as a general purpose payment identifiable as a contribution towards State health programmes. The grants that were replaced in this way were those formerly paid as a half-share in the running costs of public hospitals (except in South Australia and Tasmania, but including the Northern Territory), community health and school dental services. The hospital cost-sharing component was much the largest, but it was reduced below its former level by the States' estimated capacity to raise additional revenue by increasing their hospital charges.

In its 1982 report the Commonwealth Grants Commission assessed the per capita relativities that should be used in the allocation of the health grants.

In 1981-82 the new health payment to Victoria was \$326m which was paid through the Consolidated Fund instead of directly into trust funds like the previous grants.

Unlike the hospital grants, specific purpose grants for on-passing to local authorities were continued, albeit in a different form. Local authority grants were related to personal income tax collections, like recurrent grants to the States, being fixed at 1.52 per cent of the previous year's collections in 1976-77 and the two subsequent years, 1.75 per cent in 1979-80, and 2 per cent in 1980-81. The total amount so derived was then divided amongst the States in proportions subject to recommendation by the Commonwealth Grants Commission, but the allocation within each State was made by newly established State Grants Commissions. Instead of the allocations being made solely on a fiscal equalisation basis, at least 30 per cent of the funds had to be allocated on the basis of population and area, so that every municipality received a minimum as-of-right entitlement. Victoria's share of the total funds was 25.45 per cent, amounting to \$56.44m in 1979-80, which was allocated among the State's 211 local authorities on the recommendation of the Victorian Grants Commission established in 1977.

One of the specific purpose grants that ceased in 1975 was the debt charges assistance on \$200m of State debt that began in 1970 and was extended to an additional \$200m of debt in each subsequent year, reaching in 1975 the target of \$1,000m, of which Victoria's share was 24.19 per cent. This amount of State debt was then taken over by the Commonwealth after amendment of the 1927 Financial Agreement by retrospective legislation in the Commonwealth and each State Parliament. The proportion of the States' Loan Council works programme met by interest free capital grants from the Commonwealth also rose from one-quarter in 1970 to one-third in 1975 and subsequent years. In 1981-82 Victoria's Loan Council programme amounted to \$328.4m of which \$109.5m was met by capital grants leaving \$218.9m to be met by loan raisings. Since both the capital grants and the loan raisings were for general purposes, the State paid them into the works and

services sector of its Consolidated Fund, instead of into trust accounts like specific purpose capital grants (e.g., roads) or specific purpose advances (e.g., welfare housing).

With the growth of general purpose capital grants and specific purpose capital grants and advances, State loan raisings for general purposes became relatively stable but semi-governmental and local borrowings increased rapidly. The borrowing programmes of the larger authorities, which required Loan Council approval, doubled between 1974-75 and 1978-79. Thereafter they remained relatively stable, but the Loan Council also approved a new additional category of infrastructure borrowing by semi-government authorities to assist national development. By the 1980s borrowing for 29 such projects had been approved, including in Victoria the Loy Yang power station, the World Trade Centre, the Wurdee-Boluc pipeline to increase the Geelong water supply, and the Portland transmission line to service the Alcoa aluminium plant.

In June 1982, domestic borrowing by major electricity authorities, which accounted for about half the total (including infrastructure) borrowing by larger semi-governmental authorities, was freed from Loan Council controls. Overseas borrowing by electricity authorities and all borrowing by large non-electricity authorities still remained subject to the Loan Council, as did that by the Commonwealth to finance State works. The sales of Commonwealth bonds had been unduly depressed, however, because of relatively low interest rates and other Loan Council conditions. From June 1982 therefore they were offered on a tender basis, like Treasury notes, thereby facilitating the market adjustment of long-term bond rates in the same way as short-term bill rates.

COMMONWEALTH PAYMENTS (a) TO OR FOR VICTORIA: 1934-35 TO 1979-80  
(\$'000)

Particulars	1934-35	1939-40	1944-45	1949-50	1954-55	1959-60	1964-65	1969-70	1974-75	1979-80
General Revenue —										
Tax sharing grants	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,233,934
Other	1,100	55	13,646	28,813	74,713	121,250	171,750	293,643	562,266	..
Payments made under										
Financial Agreement	4,802	4,855	4,887	5,051	6,015	6,987	8,192	9,854	11,779	13,903
Specific purpose										
payments —										
Roads	887	1,559	770	3,225	7,543	17,320	25,576	38,160	75,951	113,683
Hospitals	..	..	..	2,994	5,095	3,281	3,720	4,450	7,442	268,476
Education	..	..	..	..	735	2,844	16,012	43,513	394,519	620,089
Other (b)	2,478	400	12,453	12,799	15,458	7,566	588	4,560	386,156	305,044
Total	9,267	6,869	31,757	52,882	109,558	159,249	225,838	394,180	1,438,113	2,555,129

(a) Excludes payments for assistance to deserted wives and Loan Council borrowings. Some payments are taken direct to the Consolidated Fund, either to the Current Account sector (e.g., Personal Income Tax Sharing) or to the Works and Services sector (e.g., Works Grant). Other payments may be also taken to the appropriate sectors of the Consolidated Fund (e.g., Schools Grants) and then an equivalent amount is appropriated to the relevant spending programmes through an Appropriation Act or the Works and Services Acts. The remaining payments are taken direct to Trust Accounts set up for each individual purpose. Furthermore, "payments made under Financial Agreement" include Sinking Fund contributions.

(b) Includes payments for welfare, transport, local government tax sharing assistance, etc.

Source: Victorian budget papers.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (a), RECEIPTS: VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1979-80  
(\$'000)

Particulars	1934-35	1939-40	1944-45	1949-50	1954-55	1959-60	1964-65	1969-70	1974-75	1979-80
CURRENT ACCOUNT SECTOR										
Taxation —										
Income tax	5,207	9,475	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Unemployment relief tax	3,389	4,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Payroll tax	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	327,200	562,518
Probate duty	2,250	2,914	3,708	5,222	12,610	18,826	31,614	44,423	58,045	51,389
Land tax	989	980	715	585	5,250	11,708	19,725	22,436	52,968	90,226
Entertainment tax	534	666	..	..	2,353	2,824	516	569	..	..
Motor car third party insurance surcharge	..	..	..	..	..	980	2,177	2,735	5,166	12,531
Totalizator	249	359	788	1,582	1,583	1,769	6,678	14,064	31,841	48,727
Lottery duty	..	..	..	..	5,197	5,932	6,717	6,504	28,808	106,986
Stamp duties	1,922	2,249	2,219	5,952	10,330	27,637	39,978	90,361	172,866	355,968
Licensing fund payment	209	341	585	1,162	3,959	5,600	7,139	10,658	21,028	41,278
Licences	131	186	177	..	..	..	548	1,424	5,540	92,804
Other	191	300	490	505	679	783	409	742	5,257	4,439
<b>Total taxation —</b>										
\$'000	15,071	21,470	8,682	15,008	41,961	76,059	115,501	193,916	708,719	1,366,866
(per cent)	(29.77)	(38.20)	(12.31)	(13.51)	(17.96)	(22.59)	(24.03)	(26.68)	(40.45)	(38.02)
Recovery of debt charges	6,580	5,351	4,955	5,898	12,840	21,242	32,576	47,107	76,826	136,733
Fees and charges	1,501	1,590	2,194	4,955	9,317	13,637	19,269	28,957	73,029	131,240
Land revenue	396	485	457	600	871	1,741	2,576	6,075	42,838	141,312
Harbour revenue	364	415	394	735	1,037	1,170	2,368	3,515	5,499	9,828
Railway revenue	19,013	19,712	31,180	40,500	75,390	78,064	102,028	105,205	129,004	228,704
Forests, water supply, and coal mining undertakings	1,726	2,044	3,893	4,791	11,129	13,026	15,868	19,247	34,270	63,812
Fines	39	67	71	145	266	944	2,631	5,169	10,309	23,323
Statutory corporation payments	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,425	14,520	45,238
Other	578	817	874	1,754	1,801	2,426	8,863	9,062	22,492	84,495
<b>Total revenue from State sources —</b>										
\$'000	45,268	51,951	52,700	74,386	154,612	208,309	301,680	425,678	1,117,506	2,231,551
(per cent)	(89.42)	(92.43)	(74.70)	(66.95)	(66.19)	(61.88)	(62.76)	(58.56)	(63.78)	(62.07)

CONSOLIDATED FUND (a), RECEIPTS: VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1979-80—continued

Particulars	(\$'000)									
	1934-35	1939-40	1944-45	1949-50	1954-55	1959-60	1964-65	1969-70	1974-75	1979-80
Commonwealth payments to the State —										
Financial agreement payments	4,254	4,254	4,254	4,254	4,254	4,254	4,254	4,254	4,254	4,254
Financial assistance grants	..	..	..	28,474	64,794	121,250	171,750	280,008	562,267	..
Personal income tax sharing entitlement	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,233,934
Other	1,100	..	13,591	3,999	9,919	2,808	2,984	16,960	68,168	125,375
Total Commonwealth payments —										
\$'000	5,354	4,254	17,846	36,727	78,967	128,312	178,988	301,222	634,689	1,363,563
(per cent)	(10.58)	(7.57)	(25.30)	(33.05)	(33.81)	(38.12)	(37.24)	(41.44)	(36.22)	(37.93)
Total—										
\$'000	50,622	56,205	70,546	111,113	233,579	336,621	480,668	726,900	1,752,195	3,595,114
(per cent)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)
	WORKS AND SERVICES ACCOUNT SECTOR (b)									
Proceeds of loan raisings	} 4,485	6,641	12,359	34,976	75,923	94,326	121,185	157,870	184,809	208,521
Loan repayments										
Commonwealth payments —										
Works grants	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	87,370	104,260
School building grants	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	49,524	50,244
Public transport—railways	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11,894
Sewerage advances	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	34,236	..
Total	4,485	6,641	12,359	34,976	80,266	105,960	128,773	164,486	362,221	390,388
Total receipts	55,107	62,846	82,905	146,089	313,845	442,581	609,441	891,386	2,114,416	3,985,502

(a) The Consolidated Fund established on 1 July 1970, superseded the Consolidated Revenue Fund and the Loan Fund by incorporating both into this new Fund. For comparative purposes, the table also shows for the years prior to 1974-75, an artificial incorporation of both these funds.

(b) The amounts shown for 1969-70 and earlier represent the receipts of the Loan Fund.

Source: Department of Management and Budget.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (a) PAYMENTS: VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1979-80

Particulars	1934-35	1939-40	1944-45	1949-50	1954-55	1959-60	1964-65	1969-70	1974-75	1979-80
				\$'000						
Public debt charges	15,933	16,919	16,863	18,590	33,564	59,292	89,057	130,511	194,492	314,686
Business undertakings —										
Railways	12,489	15,369	24,853	38,396	71,236	74,196	93,191	111,268	243,779	390,118
Other (b)	735	2,157	3,158	4,444	8,266	10,064	11,574	14,112	35,895	66,782
Social expenditure —										
Education (c)	5,139	6,398	7,952	17,342	38,846	71,138	125,199	236,619	565,507	1,141,615
Public health and recreation	77	195	394	1,088	2,400	4,408	6,964	10,484	24,353	47,306
Charitable —										
Hospitals	1,474	2,506	3,625	8,684	29,148	43,130	53,779	86,711	257,055	477,923
Child welfare	} 4,361	654	431	472	1,066	2,618	4,392	7,643	} 30,370	94,881
Other		4,184	1,088	1,806	6,052	(d)822	966	1,403		
Law, order, and public safety	2,378	2,711	3,579	6,820	12,754	20,750	27,885	41,445	116,348	258,078
Total social expenditure	13,430	16,648	17,070	36,212	90,266	142,866	219,184	384,306	993,633	2,019,803
All other expenditure	8,336	5,099	7,903	13,990	27,574	(d)49,576	67,661	102,086	299,530	742,307
Total	50,924	56,193	69,848	(e)111,632	(e)230,906	335,994	480,668	742,282	1,767,329	3,533,674
Appropriation to Works and Services Account (f)	4,485	6,641	12,359	34,976	80,266	105,960	128,773	164,486	347,087	419,432
Total payments	55,409	62,834	82,207	(e)146,608	(e)311,172	441,954	609,441	906,768	2,114,416	3,953,106

CONSOLIDATED FUND (a) PAYMENTS: VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1979-80—continued

Particulars	1934-35	1939-40	1944-45	1949-50	1954-55	1959-60	1964-65	1969-70	1974-75	1979-80
				PER CENT						
Public debt charges	28.76	26.93	20.51	12.68	10.79	13.41	14.61	14.39	9.20	7.96
Business undertakings —										
Railways	22.54	24.46	30.23	26.19	22.89	16.79	15.29	12.27	11.53	9.87
Other (b)	1.33	3.43	3.84	3.03	2.66	2.28	1.90	1.56	1.70	1.69
Social expenditure —										
Education (c)	9.28	10.18	9.68	11.83	12.48	16.09	20.55	26.09	26.74	28.87
Public health and recreation	0.14	0.31	0.48	0.74	0.77	1.00	1.14	1.16	1.15	1.20
Charitable —										
Hospitals	2.66	3.99	4.41	5.93	9.37	9.76	8.83	9.56	12.16	12.09
Child welfare	} 7.87	1.04	0.52	0.32	0.34	0.59	0.71	0.84	} 1.44	2.40
Other		6.66	1.32	1.23	1.95	0.19	0.16	0.16		
Law, order, and public safety	4.29	4.32	4.36	4.65	4.10	4.69	4.58	4.57	5.50	6.53
Total social expenditure	24.24	26.50	20.77	24.70	29.01	32.32	35.97	42.38	46.99	51.09
All other expenditure	15.04	8.11	9.62	9.54	8.86	(d)11.22	11.10	11.26	14.16	18.78
Total	91.91	89.43	84.97	(e)76.14	(e)74.21	76.02	78.87	81.86	83.58	89.39
Appropriations to Works and Services Account (f)	8.09	10.57	15.03	23.86	25.79	23.98	21.13	18.14	16.42	10.61
Total payments	100.00	100.00	100.00	(e)100.00	(e)100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

(a) Prior to 1970-71, Victoria's financial transactions were carried out through the Consolidated Revenue Fund, the Loan Fund, and the Trust Fund. From 1 July 1970, legislation abolished the Consolidated Revenue Fund and the Loan Fund and in lieu established the Consolidated Fund, which was designed to show, in a single statement, the receipts and disbursements of all money, both revenue and loan, coming within the scope of the Budget. (See *Victorian Year Book* 1976, pages 514 and 530.) The legislation also created a new trust fund, the Works and Services Account, to be financed by appropriations from the Consolidated Fund. For comparative purposes appropriation to the Works and Services Account for 1969-70 and earlier years represent the receipts of the Loan Fund.

(b) Includes tramways and omnibuses, harbours and rivers, etc., water supply and sewerage, electricity supply, etc.

(c) Includes technical schools, science, art and research institutions, libraries and art galleries, etc.

(d) A change occurred in the treatment of interest and repayments of advances under the Commonwealth-State Housing Agreement for 1959-60 onwards.

(e) Excludes interest subsidy paid by Treasury to Victorian Railways of \$3,376,000 in 1949-50 and \$4,296,000 in 1954-55.

(f) The amounts shown for 1969-70 and earlier years represent the receipts of the Loan Fund.

Source: Department of Management and Budget.

## PRIVATE FINANCE

## INTRODUCTION

The period since 1934 saw several significant changes in the private finance sector. The range of institutions operating at the beginning of the period was dominated by banks although building societies, insurance companies, finance companies, credit unions, pastoral houses, and trustee companies were all operating. Those other than banks tended to service sectional interests and were not generally regarded as being accessible by all. The banks were also limited in the services they could offer by a number of regulations.

By 1983 the range of financial institutions had expanded to include, *inter alia*, merchant banks and cash management funds. Whereas in the 1930s there was a climate conducive to regulation, by the 1980s the climate had changed to being receptive to less regulation and in many areas this process had begun to occur, e.g., in banking.

This Chapter discusses other changes during the period when considering the development of particular institutions.

The following table and graph show how the banking sector's share of total assets has varied from around 75 per cent to 45 per cent in 30 years.

TOTAL ASSETS OF FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS: AUSTRALIA,  
AT 30 JUNE 1953 TO 1980  
(\$m)

Financial institutions	1953	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
Trading banks	3,093	3,364	4,048	5,813	8,452	18,480	35,330
Savings banks	1,999	2,269	3,192	5,150	7,503	13,646	22,684
Other banking institutions	59	70	101	166	462	871	1,648
Banks (consolidated)(a)	5,076	5,612	7,158	10,922	15,795	31,638	58,115
Reserve Bank	2,071	1,903	2,142	2,515	3,164	5,356	12,007
Life insurance offices	1,105	1,289	2,032	3,285	5,481	8,909	14,001
Public pension funds	260	327	586	1,057	1,717	2,985	6,146
Private pension funds	233	298	545	973	1,608	2,810	5,944
Non-life insurance offices	212	266	486	938	1,799	3,433	8,219
Finance companies	171	340	1,157	1,500	3,502	9,221	17,780
General financiers	..	..	..	70	177	722	1,960
Money market corporations	3	4	24	60	798	2,732	6,460
Permanent building societies	} 242	301	480	276	1,082	4,126	10,860
Terminating building societies							
Authorised money market dealers	..	..	160	352	667	889	1,698
Credit co-operatives	1	2	5	31	124	633	2,192
Pastoral finance companies	259	276	377	485	662	837	1,257
Investment companies	18	21	36	87	344	381	649
Unit trusts, land trusts, and mutual funds	18	36	160	228	251	387	935
Other financial institutions	57	69	97	169	308	1,005	2,239
<b>Total</b>	<b>9,726</b>	<b>10,744</b>	<b>15,445</b>	<b>23,467</b>	<b>38,179</b>	<b>76,987</b>	<b>151,925</b>

(a) Discrepancies in totalling trading bank, savings bank, and other banking institutions are a result of netting effects.

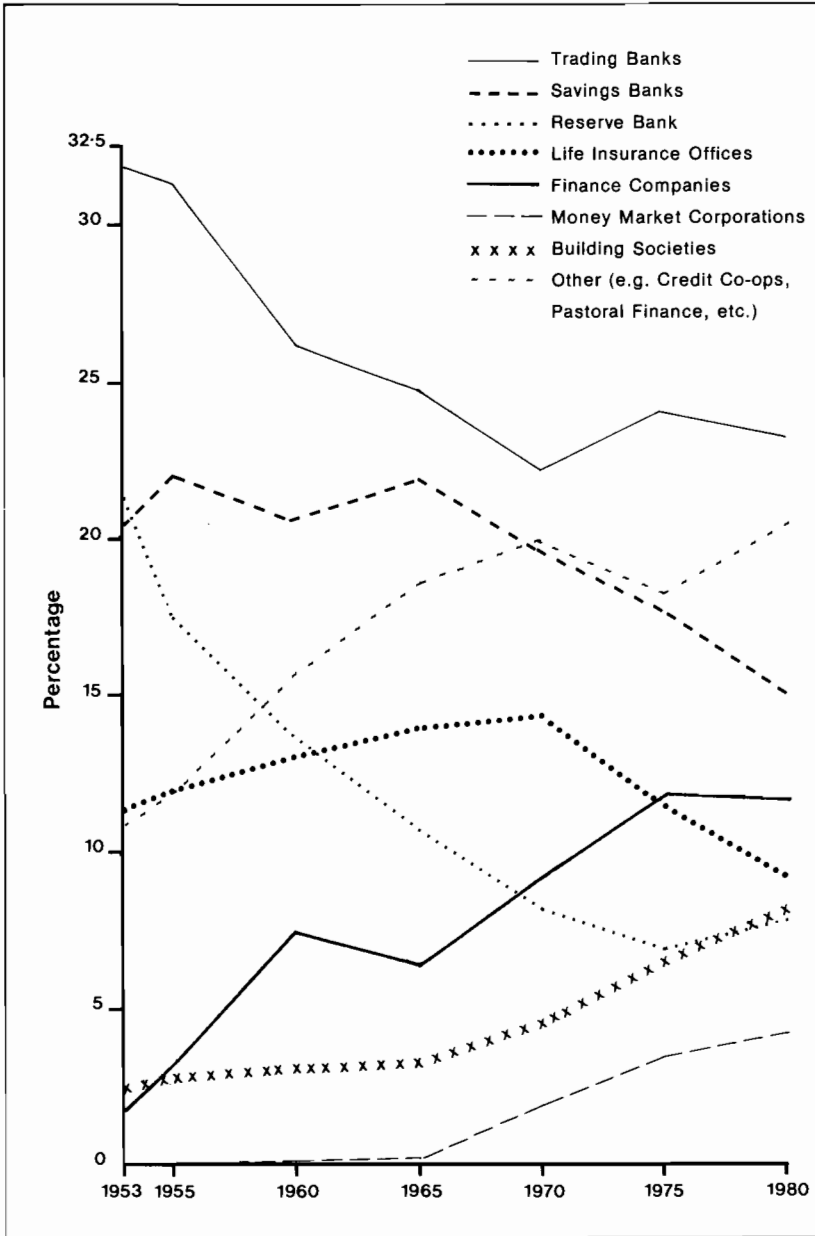


FIGURE 27. Australia—Total assets of financial institutions, year ended 30 June 1953 to 1980.

CENTRAL BANKING

The origins of central banking lay in the *Commonwealth Bank Act 1911* which established the Commonwealth Bank of Australia—its main objectives being to carry on general banking business rather than deal with central banking functions. However, during the First World War, the Bank assisted the Commonwealth Government by floating and managing loans, and its functions were extended further in the direction of central banking with the establishment of the Note Issue Department and the Rural Credits Department in



1920 and 1925, respectively. But it was not until the Depression years that the first real actions of a central bank were undertaken, when a heavy drain on Australia's overseas reserves forced the Bank to initiate emergency financial measures. The most important measures were the scheme of mobilising gold and foreign exchange in 1929-30 and the fixing of the Australian currency to the United Kingdom sterling rate of exchange in 1931.

A Royal Commission on the Monetary and Banking System was established in 1936 and recommended that the Commonwealth Bank be given more meaningful powers over the trading banks in the areas of credit and prudential controls, and foreign exchange management. The Commission also recommended that in the case of an irreconcilable difference between the Commonwealth Government and the Bank, the Government should publicly accept full responsibility for the policy which must be implemented by the Bank.

However, the Commonwealth Government was otherwise occupied by political considerations and strong objections from the trading banks prevented the passing of new legislation. With the outbreak of war in 1939 and the need to introduce emergency banking measures, the question of permanent banking legislation was deferred until 1945.

The war period brought with it special problems, particularly the need to finance expenditure and minimise inflationary pressures. Until 1941, finance was obtained largely through increased taxation and borrowing from the public. However, in 1941 the Commonwealth Government had difficulty raising sufficient funds by these means and sold Treasury Bills. The Bank was keen to curtail any inflationary monetary expansion—an aim which led to the establishment of Special Accounts for the repository of certain amounts of trading bank liquid assets, and the power to determine the advance policy and interest rates of the trading banks. These powers were incorporated into National Security Regulations of 26 November 1941 and based on the "Defence" power of the Commonwealth under the Constitution. Soon afterwards the problems of instability of the currency and sharply declining overseas reserves prompted the introduction of similarly based emergency powers of foreign exchange control, including formal supervision of all overseas exchange transactions, compulsory mobilisation of all foreign exchange reserves, and the power to fix exchange rates.

Government measures during the Second World War were responsible for the Commonwealth Bank increasing its central banking powers considerably. They also resulted in better relations developing between the Commonwealth Bank and the Commonwealth Government that grew out of a need to co-operate during a period of crisis.

After the war, the *Commonwealth Bank Act 1945* was the main piece of legislation which put into effect the 1936 Royal Commission's recommendations, and made permanent most of the Bank's emergency wartime powers. Special Accounts (later to be termed Statutory Reserve Deposit Accounts) became part of the Bank's programme for controlling credit. The Bank retained control over foreign currency held by the trading banks and was instructed to compete actively with the trading banks and co-operate extensively with the Commonwealth Government.

The *Banking Act 1947* was seen as controversial legislation that would, according to the then Prime Minister, Rt Hon. J.B. Chifley, "rectify the flaws in the banking system", by nationalising the banks. The Act did not remain law for long, as the High Court ruled against much of it on the grounds that it was unconstitutional. The Privy Council upheld this view.

The next major development in central banking, apart from the introduction of the Liquid Assets and Government Securities (L.G.S.) Convention in 1956, was the 1959 legislation which established the Reserve Bank of Australia as Australia's central bank. This was achieved through the *Reserve Bank Act 1959*, which allowed the Commonwealth Banking Corporation freedom to concentrate on trading, savings, and development banking business.

Since 1959 the powers of the Reserve Bank have been increased, particularly with the introduction of the *Financial Corporations Act 1974*. Although the section of this Act giving the Bank direct control over non-bank financial corporations has not been proclaimed, the Reserve Bank collects statistics and regularly consults with these institutions. In addition, the Bank has increasingly moved away from direct control over banks, through the Statutory Reserve Deposit Ratio and regulated interest rates, and increased its activity in the indirect area, such as open market operations.

## COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY INTO THE AUSTRALIAN FINANCIAL SYSTEM

On 18 January 1979, the Australian Treasurer announced the establishment of a Committee, to be chaired by Mr J. K. (later Sir Keith) Campbell, to inquire into the Australian financial system.

The Committee was asked to inquire into and report on the structure and methods of operation of the Australian financial system, and on the current regulation and control of the system. The Committee was asked to make recommendations for the improvement of the structure and operations of the financial system; on its regulation and control; concerning the existing legislation relating to the financial system; and on such other matters as the Committee believed relevant to the generality of its inquiries.

The Inquiry was the first of its kind since the Royal Commission on the Monetary and Banking System of 1936-37. The Interim Report of the Committee was tabled in the Commonwealth Parliament on 28 August 1980 and was published. Several of the recommendations were adopted prior to the presentation of the final report which was presented to the Treasurer on 29 September 1981.

The Committee described its main concern as being to promote a financial system that is efficient, competitive, and stable. The Committee's study of efficiency aspects led it to recommend abandonment of a wide range of direct controls and a shift to almost total reliance on open market methods of intervention in domestic financial markets. It also recommended reduced levels of intervention in foreign exchange markets, freer entry conditions to banking, and disposal of some government-owned financial institutions. By and large, the Committee was confident that if official barriers to entry and participation were removed (and if the Trade Practices Commission operated effectively), the financial system would be strongly competitive. The Committee looked critically at the effectiveness of the present system of prudential regulation of banks and other financial intermediaries, and in some areas suggested more rather than less government involvement, although with emphasis on increased flexibility of regulation, whenever the Committee thought it possible. Two of the recommendations introduced to date include allowing banks to set deposit and lending interest rates, and adoption of a tender system for the issue of securities.

## TRADING AND SAVINGS BANKS

### Introduction

Banks operate within the financial sector of the overall economy. As a consequence, in any period, the banks' general operations are almost totally dependent on the prevailing national economic conditions. This relationship generally holds at the State level because economic and banking conditions have been broadly similar across Australia during these five decades.

### Banking mergers

Banking operations in Victoria in 1934, like those for Australia as a whole, consisted of two distinctly separate groups—trading banks and State and Commonwealth Government savings banks. The nature of each group's business was almost totally different. Trading banks provided the key means of domestic payment, cheques, as well as offering foreign payment facilities. Deposits were accepted at call in cheque accounts bearing no interest, or on term deposits attracting interest. Assets were basically held as liquid and government securities and overdraft type advances.

In contrast, savings banks specialised in accepting deposits from small savers, in return offering a low rate of interest, investing the funds mainly in the securities of various levels of government and to some degree in housing loans. Therefore, savings banks operated in a distinctly different way from trading banks and provided these services to largely different sections of the population.

In 1934 there were 16 trading banks operating in Australia of which 10 were major trading banks operating across States through widespread branch networks. Six of these trading banks had head offices in Victoria: the Bank of Australasia; English, Scottish and Australian Bank; Union Bank of Australasia; Commercial Bank of Australia; National Bank of Australasia; and the Ballarat Banking Company. In the case of the first three

banks their ultimate ownership and direction was British. In total, all trading banks carried out business through about 2,500 branches and 500 agencies across Australia.

By 1982 the number of operating trading banks had been reduced to 11, mainly as the result of mergers and absorptions. In particular, the British based banks merged and shifted their domicile to Australia in two steps; in 1951 when the Union Bank of Australasia merged with the Bank of Australasia to form the Australia and New Zealand Bank, and 1970 when the Australia and New Zealand Bank merged with the English, Scottish and Australian Bank. Further, in 1955, the National Bank absorbed the Ballarat Banking Company. These reorganisations reduced the number of Victorian based trading banks to three, namely, the Australia and New Zealand Bank, the Commercial Bank of Australia, and the National Bank of Australia. Further changes occurred in 1981 with the merger of the Commercial Bank of Australia with the Bank of New South Wales (to become Westpac Banking Corporation trading as Westpac Bank), and the National Bank with the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney (to become the National Commercial Banking Corporation trading as National Australia Bank).

In the case of savings banks, in 1934 five operated in Australia, and there were two in Victoria—the Commonwealth Savings Bank and the State Savings Bank of Victoria. This number was substantially increased when all the major trading banks established savings bank subsidiaries after 1956. After the mergers of 1981-82, there were 3 private savings banks in Victoria, of which two had headquarters in Melbourne (the ANZ and the National Australia) and one in Sydney (Westpac). In 1934 there were about 600 savings bank branches in Australia, just under 250 in Victoria, as well as about 4,800 agencies, of which over 1,000 were in Victoria.

#### **Banking from 1934 to 1950**

The period from 1934 to 1950 was characterised initially by very slow economic growth as the country recovered from the Depression that was at its worst in the early 1930s. Indeed, from 1934 to 1939 trading bank deposits in Victoria increased each year by less than an average of 1 per cent, well below the experience of the more economically robust 1920s. These parlous economic conditions set the background for the work of the Royal Commission on the Monetary and Banking System set up in 1936.

The economy had not fully emerged from the Depression when war was declared in 1939. The large war expenditures could not be fully financed by taxes and public borrowings and it was important that, as money swelled public deposits and liquidity, inflationary forces were kept in check. Deposits rose at an annual rate of 8 per cent on average between 1939 and 1946 and as a consequence of this massive expansion and wartime needs, trading banks were subject to a comprehensive series of controls under the National Security Regulations of 1941.

The most important regulation was one that attempted to control the excess liquidity produced by this wartime expenditure. Trading banks were required to place deposits in frozen accounts with the central bank that earned practically no return. By the end of the war these amounted to just under 40 per cent of trading bank deposits and were almost equal in size to loans outstanding. Further, trading banks were subject to restrictive interest rate limits on what they could pay to depositors and charge borrowers, as well as lending directives on what sectors should receive loans and the total value of loans that should be made.

While trading banks were prepared to accept these substantial restrictions in wartime, they questioned their continued use in peacetime. When the Commonwealth Government announced its intention to nationalise the banks, this provided a major feature of the 1949 election which resulted in a change of government. As a result nationalisation was not introduced. However, the set of controls introduced as a wartime measure under National Security Regulations, which were formalised in the *Banking Act* 1945, continued in force and was perceived by the banks to be an increasing problem in their normal operations. The banks felt they were being discriminated against, which placed them at a disadvantage compared to their uncontrolled competitors (mainly the finance companies) in the financial market. This limited the ability of trading banks to service the needs of customers, while competitors were free to provide whatever financial services they chose. The banks argued that this was a loss to customers as they could not fully accommodate their needs through



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- ★ 37 6 Wool Travel Rugs for 24 6
- ★ 1 1½ Kanebo Spun Fuji Silk for 1 1½
- ★ Children's 1 6 Half Sox now at 7½d.
- ★ Ladies' 7 11 All-silk Sheer Hose, 3 11
- ★ Men's 2 6, 4 6 Wide-end Ties at 1 6
- ★ Men's 10 6, 16 6 Tourist Shirts, 7 11
- ★ Men's 6 11 Underwear now for 3 11
- ★ Boys' 1 11, 2 3 pair Golf Hose at 1 -
- ★ 3 11 yard Curtain Repps for 2 6
- ★ 8 11 Cotton Crepe Bedspreads, 4 6
- ★ Men's 2 11, 3 6 Half Hose, 1 6
- ★ Men's 2 11 each Singlets for 1

Myer "Star Bargains" as they appeared in 1934.  
Historian, Myer Emporium Ltd

**S.E. DICKINS PTY. LTD.**  
CORNER OF BURKE ROAD & DONCASTER ROAD NORTH BALWYN

Melbourne's **FIRST Free Standing SUPERMARKET**

**16% OFF** CHEDDAR CHEESE  
**3/11** BUTTER  
**5/3** APPLES  
**1/6** HALF SOCKS  
**3/11** UNDERWEAR  
**1/6** GOLF HOSE

(Below) Melbourne's first free standing supermarket, located at the corner of Burke and Doncaster Roads in North Balwyn was officially opened by the Premier of Victoria, Hon. H.E. Bolte, in 1960. An advertisement of the opening "specials" is shown (right).

G.J. Coles and Coy. Limited



their nationwide branch network which was geared to provide standard financial services, as well as more complex needs, such as foreign exchange transactions.

Over this period the general economic conditions described applied equally to savings banks. However, because the Commonwealth Savings Bank operated to a large degree in relation to Commonwealth central bank operations, and the State Savings Bank of Victoria was immune from Commonwealth legislation, the regulatory implications of the period were not as relevant.

### **Banking from 1951 to 1970**

Between 1951 and 1970 there was substantial economic growth in Australia. As well, the banking sector expanded. Deposits grew at a strong rate over the period and advances increased substantially to meet the credit needs of customers, thereby sustaining the economic expansion. However, in gathering funds and making loans, trading banks still felt they were over-restricted by regulatory controls. As a result, their rate of growth was limited in relation to their uncontrolled competitors, chiefly the finance companies, in which, however, they bought significant stakes after the early 1950s.

In the few years on either side of 1960 some substantial institutional changes were made to the banking system. The privately owned banks had earlier restricted themselves to trading bank activities. But increasing competition from the Commonwealth Bank which provided dual facilities motivated them between 1956 and 1962 to establish a savings bank subsidiary which provided passbook savings facilities for individuals and loans to individuals for housing. Until this development, savings banking had been the province of the Commonwealth Savings Bank and State and Trustee Savings Banks in a number of States. In particular, the State Savings Bank of Victoria had played a dominant role in this area of banking in Victoria.

The second major change involved Federal banking legislation of 1959 that provided for the separation of the central banking operations from the Commonwealth Bank with the formation of the Reserve Bank of Australia, leaving traditional trading and savings bank operations with the Commonwealth Banking Corporation. The new Reserve Bank was given the responsibility of regulating the Australian monetary and banking system, as well as carrying out other functions of a central bank.

A number of steps were taken in the late 1960s to expand the range of deposit and loan facilities provided by banks. A new trading bank financial instrument was devised to service the needs of large value depositors, the negotiable certificates of deposit. The terms available on fixed deposits were considerably widened. For the smaller saver, a new form of term savings bank account was introduced, the investment deposit stock accounts, offering small savers a higher interest return. Provision was also made for a higher return to those ordinary accounts with larger balances. A number of higher interest special purpose accounts were also introduced.

On the lending side, trading banks offered several new lending forms that met the changing needs of the borrower more adequately. In particular, some customers wanted a loan with more security of tenure than the overdraft. This was met with term and farm development loans which offered longer term, fixed repayment schedule loans. For shorter term borrowings trading banks became increasingly involved in using commercial bills as instruments of providing very short-term finance. For the smaller individual borrower, trading banks introduced personal loans with a fixed repayment schedule. This type of credit was made available on more favourable terms than from non-bank institutions.

In the 1960s demands by traditional customers for changes in financial methods became apparent, and Australia's growing needs for resource development finance placed an added responsibility on banks. This was met in part by the establishment by the major trading banks of the Australian Resources Development Bank in 1967 with the specific aim of providing for, and facilitating, project finance for national resource developments. This specialist bank has been based in Melbourne. Another specialist organisation, also established by the major trading banks, was the Australian Banks' Export Refinance Corporation. Its purpose was to provide re-finance to banks so that they, in turn, could make extended term export credit available to exporters of capital equipment. This organisation was absorbed by the Resources Bank in 1980.

The aggregate balance sheets that follow illustrate the size of the banks and the distribution of funds inflows and outflows. They show the contrast between 1955 and 1982, especially the increased size and complexity of banking operations, both in terms of funds inflows and outflows.

**ASSETS OF ALL TRADING AND SAVINGS BANKS: AUSTRALIA,  
1955 TO 1982  
(\$m)**

Year	Australian public securities		Loans, advances, and bills discounted		SRD and cash with Reserve Bank	Bills receivable and all other assets	Total assets
	Australian and State Government	Local and semi-government	Housing loans	Other loans, etc.			
TRADING BANKS							
1955	423.4	3.0	n.a.	1,851.6	620.8	161.5	3,060.3
1960	549.6	5.2	n.a.	2,211.1	672.2	434.3	3,872.4
1965	974.2	11.3	n.a.	2,955.1	682.8	673.2	5,296.6
1970	1,329.5	23.7	n.a.	4,901.1	684.2	1,021.9	7,960.4
1975	3,526.7	31.2	n.a.	11,205.0	426.3	2,784.3	17,973.5
1980	4,300.9	205.1	n.a.	20,402.0	1,399.7	7,768.0	34,075.7
1981	5,253.7	219.8	n.a.	23,028.7	1,859.4	9,460.1	39,821.7
1982	5,486.0	240.0	n.a.	26,214.0	2,141.0	14,075.0	48,156.0
SAVINGS BANKS							
1955	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1960	1,587.7	568.9	544.0	59.4	272.2	159.8	3,192.0
1965	2,066.1	1,092.3	1,185.2	131.7	430.3	244.4	5,150.0
1970	2,261.4	1,800.9	2,144.2	195.6	612.9	488.8	7,503.8
1975	2,962.1	3,296.7	4,717.4	602.7	907.6	1,087.3	13,573.8
1980	3,091.7	5,764.9	10,901.0	861.9	555.2	1,509.7	22,684.4
1981	3,773.0	6,118.4	12,022.9	1,255.0	128.6	1,588.0	24,885.9
1982	3,651.0	6,521.0	13,092.0	1,649.0	195.0	2,159.0	27,267.0

NOTE. Housing finance is not available for the Trading Banks.

**LIABILITIES OF ALL TRADING AND SAVINGS BANKS: AUSTRALIA,  
1955 TO 1982  
(\$m)**

Year	Deposits			Total depositor's balances	All other liabilities	Total liabilities
	Bearing interest		Not bearing interest			
	Fixed (a)	Current				
TRADING BANKS						
1955	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	2,946.0	n.a.	n.a.
1960	745.4	244.5	2,621.2	3,611.1	141.3	3,752.4
1965	1,909.7	353.0	2,775.7	5,038.4	269.0	5,307.4
1970	3,097.2	462.9	3,538.9	7,098.9	697.1	7,796.1
1975	8,635.0	842.6	5,458.1	14,935.7	2,291.5	17,227.2
1980	14,755.5	1,247.7	9,639.9	25,643.2	6,345.3	31,988.5
1981	17,187.8	1,218.4	10,899.7	29,305.9	8,123.8	37,429.6
1982	21,613.8	1,243.9	10,633.4	33,491.2	12,417.7	45,908.9
SAVINGS BANKS						
1955	..	2,146.0	..	2,146.0	123.0	2,269.0
1960	..	3,045.4	..	3,045.4	146.6	3,192.0
1965	..	4,886.6	..	4,886.6	263.4	5,150.0
1970	..	7,104.7	..	7,104.7	398.3	7,503.0
1975	..	12,790.4	..	12,790.4	855.6	13,646.0
1980	..	21,260.9	..	21,260.9	725.8	21,986.7
1981	..	23,217.9	..	23,217.9	815.2	24,033.1
1982	..	25,040.0	..	25,040.0	1,224.0	26,264.0

(a) From 1969 includes certificates of deposit.

Sources: Commonwealth of Australia Gazette and Reserve Bank Monthly Bulletin.

### Banking from 1971 to 1982

Inflation and unemployment increased in the 1970s and early 1980s and the level of economic activity has fluctuated. As a result greater emphasis was placed on monetary policy with greater direct controls over banks. Whereas for a brief period in the earlier 1970s, some of the restrictive terms and conditions under which banks operated were relaxed, for most of the period the controls produced conditions that once again allowed banks' uncontrolled competitors to expand. Under these conditions, the expansion in the range of services as perceived by banks was restricted.

The expansion that did take place emphasised service. Thus, business services were expanded through the establishment of merchant banking divisions, business and trade inquiry services, leasing facilities, and wider nominee, investment, and portfolio services; representative offices and agencies were established in many parts of the world to facilitate international trade and export services; and services to individual customers were augmented through the expansion of consumer finance services, delegation of responsibility through regional and area structures, expansion of travel services, and the introduction of small business advisory services. The shift to computer operations that began in the early 1960s has also enabled the banks to improve the efficiency of the payment mechanism as well as to provide additional services to customers such as the introduction in 1974 of Bankcard, a charge card and credit system. In a further move, the Primary Industry Bank of Australia was established in 1978 to refinance long-term loans to primary producers through the trading banks.

History was made on 15 February 1981 when the Australian Treasurer announced approval for the establishment of the Australian Bank Ltd, the first new trading bank for over 50 years. Its Melbourne office opened on 14 August 1981.

## FINANCE COMPANIES

### Introduction

Before the Second World War hire purchase (later included in instalment credit) was not widely used in the community and the difficulties experienced by some consumers as a result of the Depression brought about frequent occurrences of repossession. Also, the practice of hire purchase as such was not considered quite respectable among some parts of the community. Victoria introduced protective legislation for consumers in 1936 and Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia followed suit. The most comprehensive Act to that time however, was that of New South Wales in 1941.

During the 1950s when hire purchase grew significantly, an attempt was made to overcome the discrepancies between the hire purchase legislation of the States and following conferences between the Commonwealth and the States, legislation was introduced in 1959 and 1960 which achieved a considerable degree of uniformity and defined the obligations and rights of hirers and owners. In Victoria the legislation was the *Hire Purchase Act* 1959. A year previously, the *Stamps Act* 1958 imposed a duty on hire purchase agreements.

A complete review of consumer credit legislation commenced in 1966 when the Standing Committee of Attorneys-General commissioned a report from the Law School of the University of Adelaide. This was completed in 1969, and in 1972, at the request of the Standing Committee, the Victorian Attorney-General commissioned a report from a committee of the Law Council of Australia (the Molomby Report).

As a result of this report, three Bills were prepared in Victoria for producing a legislative model and were tabled for public discussion in 1978. This generated several amendments and the revised legislation was passed in November 1981. The new credit laws came into force in 1982 and were embodied in three statutes: The Credit Act, the Goods (Sales and Leases) Act, and the Chattel Securities Act. The Credit Act in Victoria replaced the Money Lenders Act and replaced hire purchase contracts for actions below \$15,000 with a contract of loan secured by mortgage.

The Goods (Sales and Leases) Act provided non-excludable conditions and warranties in sales and leases of goods. The Chattel Securities Act provided for the first time in Australia a computerised register of security interests in motor vehicles.

This legislation in the 1980s came at a time when finance companies' operations had



become greatly diversified into commercial and property enterprises, when banks' consumer lending had developed through Bankcard and personal loans, and when credit unions had expanded.

### Developments

The significant expansion of hire purchase and instalment credit dates back to the years after the Second World War when there was a large pent-up demand for consumer durables and motor vehicles (as well as houses), which had been denied to the public during the war. In addition as Australia experienced a long era of near full employment in the 1950s and 1960s, the money to underpin domestic commitments was available. The Commonwealth Government was so conscious of inflationary dangers after the Second World War that bank lending and liquidity were rigorously controlled. This had a major effect on consumer credit in the early 1950s: the banks either expanded existing, or established new, hire purchase companies.

The growth of instalment credit in those decades produced substantial effects: by adding to the buying power of consumers it affected the level and structure of consumer demand, which also increased as a result of the trend to "asset ownership", the introduction of new household goods, rising levels of average real income, and advertising. As there was security of employment, a high rate of home building and household formation, and relatively low rates of interest, a mild rate of inflation made the repayment of fixed debts relatively easy.

The following table shows the changing pattern of finance company operations both as regards the assets they held and the way they were financed and illustrates how the role of the finance companies has been changed from its original orientation towards consumer purchasing to commercial lending, more directly generating production and employment:

FINANCE COMPANIES, ESTIMATED ASSETS AND LIABILITIES SPREAD:  
VICTORIA, 1938 TO 1982  
(per cent)

Item	1938	1949	1959	1969	1979	1982
	TYPE OF ASSET					
Consumer credit	85	81	84	45	25	20
Commercial loans						
Wholesale finance	10	12	9	5	7	5
Property related and commercial loans	—	—	—	38	35	37
Leasing	1	3	4	8	30	35
Bills of exchange and liquidity placements	1	1	1	2	2	2
Commercial finance	12	16	14	53	74	79
Total finance assets	97	97	98	98	99	99
Non-finance assets	3	3	2	2	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
	TYPE OF LIABILITY					
Shareholders' funds	80	35	33	14	11	13
Bank overdraft	5	51	4	1	2	1
Public borrowings	4	2	52	80	77	78
Other	11	12	11	5	10	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The amounts of instalment credit for retail sales financed and balances outstanding for the years 1957 to 1982 were as follows:

INSTALMENT CREDIT FOR RETAIL SALES: VICTORIA, 1957 TO 1982  
(\$m)

Year ended 30 June—	Type of credit	Amounts financed during period by commodity group (a)					Balances outstanding to—	
		Motor vehicles, etc.	Household and personal goods	Plant and machinery	Total amounts financed	Amount financed by finance companies only	Finance companies	All businesses
1957	Hire purchase	76.9	49.1	5.7	131.7			
	All instalment credit	77.0	65.1	5.8	147.8	96.3	120.1	163.9
1960	Hire purchase	131.5	70.1	10.9	212.5			
	All instalment credit	137.0	104.4	11.1	252.5	160.9	216.9	323.7
1962	Hire purchase	84.4	53.5	10.6	148.5			
	All instalment credit	95.3	88.5	10.7	194.5	116.1	185.6	302.7
1965	Hire purchase	75.1	46.9	14.4	136.4			
	All instalment credit	146.7	92.6	15.8	255.2	171.1	253.7	354.5
1967	Hire purchase	53.7	37.6	16.5	107.8			
	All instalment credit	136.3	83.8	18.0	238.1	159.7	254.5	341.3
1970	Hire purchase	69.5	45.7	22.1	137.4			
	All instalment credit	221.7	100.5	25.5	347.7	260.5	390.9	475.9
1972	Hire purchase	78.0	47.4	19.3	144.7			
	All instalment credit	209.6	109.3	20.7	339.6	246.1	413.9	509.4
1975	Hire purchase	115.3	44.0	n.a.	159.3			
	All instalment credit	202.3	127.2	n.a.	329.4	251.5	420.1	471.2
1977	Hire purchase	193.3	62.4	n.a.	255.7			
	All instalment credit	271.5	148.3	n.a.	419.8	334.4	561.2	610.2
1980	Hire purchase	183.6	56.7	n.a.	240.2			
	All instalment credit	231.2	141.3	n.a.	372.5	298.0	625.1	670.7
1982	Hire purchase	236.6	59.8	n.a.	296.4			
	All instalment credit	297.8	174.6	n.a.	472.4	378.4	737.8	792.2

(a) Excludes hiring charges, interest, and insurance.

In 1958 twenty companies among credit granting institutions formed the Australian Hire Purchase Conference, in 1965 renamed the Australian Finance Conference. All major domestic trading banks, two State banks, eleven overseas banking and financial institutions, two large pastoral houses, three major insurance groups, and a number of domestic commercial interests were in 1982 major shareholders in the Conference member companies. Some companies have their national headquarters in Melbourne.

### Consumer loans

Hire purchase has always been closely linked to finance companies. The 1950s and 1960s were generally an era of great consumer expansion, although there were temporary checks in 1951-52 (the recession after the Korean War "boom"), 1955-56 (when the finance companies voluntarily agreed not to exceed 10 per cent growth in that financial year), and again in 1956 when the Commonwealth Government sharply raised the sales tax on motor vehicles.

Personal loans were introduced by finance companies in the 1960s, frequently unsecured, on the credit worthiness of the borrower. This was a change of emphasis from the original financing of new and used motor vehicles secured by hire purchase or chattel mortgage agreements, and brought competition in the market place from the banks, their Bankcard, and the credit unions.

### **Commercial loans**

In the 1950s finance companies expanded their commitment to wholesale finance, especially the lending of money to motor vehicle dealers for their stocks of vehicles pending actual sale; and more generally, the factoring of business book debts which became popular at the end of that decade. The wholesale "floor plan" finance to motor vehicle dealers was also supplemented by consumer credit for the purchasers of motor vehicles.

The leasing of plant, machinery, office equipment, fleets of vehicles, large haulage trucks, and agricultural and farming equipment for business (as distinct from consumer) purposes began in the 1960s and became wide spread as it was seen to hold taxation advantages (as a result of the Commonwealth Government's impetus through the investment allowance introduced in 1976) for businesses on the one hand, and to diminish their capital requirements on the other. In the following decade leasing became highly significant by finance companies. It was their greatest growth area in the 1970s.

There was a high level of domestic and commercial property construction in the 1970s and the finance companies supported this by lending for the purchase of land, the development of large property projects, and the construction of houses and housing developments sometimes almost reaching the size of a suburb. This rate of growth had subsided dramatically by 1982.

### **Borrowing operations**

The significant changes which have occurred in finance companies' lending operations, both within and beyond the consumer credit field, have been matched by major developments in their funding activities. At the beginning of the 1950s finance houses were obtaining a major share of their funds from bank overdrafts and shareholders' funds.

However, anticipating a Central Bank directive in 1955 which curtailed bank overdraft funding to finance companies, the industry began to raise funds from the public's personal savings through the issue of fixed interest debentures and unsecured notes, protected by Trust Deeds.

By these means finance companies had more than \$14,200m involved in fund raising through debentures, deposits, and notes at 31 May 1982. A substantial proportion of this total consisted of raisings from individuals and institutions in Victoria.

### **Conclusion**

The successive development of hire purchase, instalment credit, personal credit, leasing, wholesale financing, and property development finance has been a highly significant factor in the economic development of Victoria and Australia since the Second World War. As economic conditions changed and finance companies responded by offering new types of facilities, the background legislative requirements to protect the owner and consumer also developed simultaneously.

The 1970s especially were notable for the expansion of consumer protection through such Acts as the *Consumer Affairs Act 1972*, the *Motor Car Traders Act 1973*, the *Small Claims Tribunal Act 1973*, the *Credit Reporting Act 1978*, the *Market Court Act 1978*, and the *Magistrates Court Act 1979*.

## **SHORT-TERM MONEY MARKET AND THE MERCHANT BANKS**

Money markets depend for their existence on three necessary components: a pool of funds seeking short-term employment, a secure tenure for the short-term employment of those funds, and finally, a process whereby these supply and demand components can be brought together in an organised market.

The short-term money market had its beginnings in the 1930s when these three components began to emerge. Some Melbourne stockbrokers, acting as intermediaries, provided short-term investment outlets for large pockets of funds under official or bank control and channelled these funds into government securities which were then either mortgaged with lenders or, in a later trend, sold to them under short-term "buy back" agreements.

By the mid-1950s these practices had developed into an unofficial short-term money market, reaching beyond Victoria. The potential for further growth, however, was limited by the lack of suitable short-term government paper and a lender of last resort to provide liquidity to the brokers if needed.

These limitations led the central bank, to set up in February 1959 an official short-term money market, with the bank acting as lender of last resort so that the development of the market would be soundly based.

The market started with four authorised dealer companies, two of which were Melbourne based, and a further five companies were authorised by 1960, three of which were Melbourne based. There have been no additions to the number since.

Dealers borrow secured funds at call or for short fixed periods at market determined interest rates from a wide range of sources, public and private, to finance portfolios of mainly short-term Commonwealth Government securities in which they are expected to make an active Australia wide market.

Concurrently with the growth of the "buy back" market was the development in the 1950s of the intercompany money market. This market involves the arrangement of unsecured loan transactions at market rates between corporations with surplus and deficit fund positions. It was fostered by the same brokers who were active in the "buy back" market, acting as intermediaries between the parties for a fee. At times the market contracted severely following credit squeezes or company failures when funds were withdrawn in favour of a more secure haven. Only the strongest corporate borrowers have been able to rely upon this market as a continuous source of funds.

During the post-war period, merchant banks also began to be established in Australia. The first to be established was formed in Melbourne in 1949, owned by London merchant banking interests. Others followed in the early 1950s, but it was not until the late 1960s that merchant banks had grown in sufficient numbers to identify them as a group.

At the time there was growing international awareness of the development potential of Australia's mineral resources and of the limited capacity of conventional Australian capital sources to fund this development. Accordingly, internationally connected merchant banks were set up in the hope of sharing in what at the time appeared to be exciting commercial prospects, and based largely for their funds on the rapidly expanding Eurodollar market.

However, officially imposed restrictions on capital inflow and the decline of the 1967 to 1971 mining investment boom meant that, soon after their arrival, many of the newly formed merchant banks had to turn entirely to domestic sources of funds to provide loan facilities to their Australian clients. Accordingly, there was a rapid expansion during the 1970s in an unofficial short-term money market based on the funding requirements of the merchant banks.

This market exists in parallel with the official market but is unrestricted by any officially imposed limitations on the investment of funds and it does not have the benefit of the lender of last resort facility from the Reserve Bank. Instead, the merchant banks rely upon the backing of standby credits from Australian banks and overseas parent banks. Notwithstanding this, the unofficial market overtook the official market in size early in the 1970s.

In providing medium-term loan facilities of a year or more to their clients, the merchant banks are obliged to rely on borrowed funds which are available, for the most part, only for short fixed periods or at call on 24 hours notice. On the surface this would appear to be an unsound practice involving "borrowing short and lending long". However, these lending facilities are, to a large extent, based on the discounting of short-term bills of exchange, or the option to so do, on a revolving basis throughout the period of the facility. This system creates short-term paper which can be rediscounted by the merchant bank in the market for liquidity and enables the breakdown of the loan into short interest rate periods of 90 to 180 days. This process provides the merchant bank with a good measure of interest rate and liquidity protection.

Although bills of exchange have been used in Victorian commerce since the Colony began, they were recognised by the money market in the 1960s as being an ideal short-term market vehicle for both borrower and lender. At first the main growth in the market was in bills accepted or endorsed by trading banks but, later, bills of exchange became the basis upon which merchant banks were able to expand their lending.

In addition to money market and banking services, merchant banks also became involved with varying emphasis in underwriting debentures and new share issues, in providing advice relating to mergers, acquisitions and take-overs, financial re-organisations, planning for expansion, and stock exchange listing. Some offered the management of investment portfolios and leasing finance.

In 1972 Australian merchant banks, with a common interest in the bill market, formed the Accepting Houses Association of Australia (AHA) and established its permanent secretariat in Melbourne. This became the Australian Merchant Bankers Association in 1979, with a membership of twenty-three, when the AHA merged with another smaller merchant banking body, the Issuing Houses Association of Australia, to represent the wider interests of merchant banks.

### STOCK EXCHANGE OF MELBOURNE

By the end of 1935 investors were once again taking keen interest in the share market following a slow recovery from September 1931 when market prices reached their lowest ebb during the Depression.

The possibility of war in the late 1930s affected the expectations of investors. In 1939, for the second time in its history, the Stock Exchange of Melbourne closed because of the outbreak of war; on this occasion, the adjournment extended from Saturday, 2 September to Monday, 4 September inclusive. Upon re-opening, downward share price movements were comparatively small.

In February 1942 the Prime Minister announced new National Security (Economic Organisation) Regulations which embraced severe restrictions prohibiting the sale of investments other than Commonwealth and semi-government loans, and prohibiting investment of capital except under very rigorous conditions. The Stock Exchanges of Australia immediately suspended all dealings in company shares until the Regulations were modified on 11 March, thereby permitting shares to be sold after they had been registered in the name of a holder for five months, but only within a range of defined maximum and minimum prices.

These prices were revised fortnightly by the Exchanges in consultation with the Treasury, any alterations being restricted to 10 per cent above or below the previous limits. In November 1942 the ceiling prices were related to the highest sale of each particular stock in September 1941, with the provision that no ceiling would be below the paid-up value of the shares. In October 1945 there were no fewer than 700 stocks "jammed" at ceiling prices. There was no relaxation in these regulations until sixteen months after the end of the war.

In 1946, for the first time since 1937, the Exchange had its full complement of 129 members. In the post-war years the Exchange enabled many family businesses to expand through public listing. By 1950 the volume of business passing through the Exchange had increased to such an extent that plans for revised methods of trading became very pressing; thus in 1951 plans were prepared for a second call room. A sharp contraction of the market in 1952, because of a decline in the price of wool and a credit squeeze, deferred these plans until 1955.

In 1959, members passed a resolution to create ten additional seats and in 1960 an additional 35 seats were created. Finally, after a century of trading under the "call room" system, the Exchange introduced post trading in January 1962; this made possible the trading in all securities during the entire period the market was open.

In 1963 plans were announced for a new building to be erected at 351 Collins Street to be called "Stock Exchange House" and to be owned jointly by the Exchange and the ANZ Bank. The transfer of operations to that building meant that the Exchange would return to a site adjacent to its first home which was established in 1859. The Premier opened the new Stock Exchange premises on 14 October 1968. A computer communication

network from mid-1969 and a data link was established with the Sydney Stock Exchange computer in 1973. A Joint Committee of the Stock Exchanges of Melbourne and Sydney was formed in December 1976.

Between 1967 and 1971 there was a "mineral boom" in Australia following the development of vast deposits of iron ore in the Pilbara region of Western Australia, oil and gas in Bass Strait, nickel at Kambalda, and bauxite at Weipa, and the optimism of exploration companies such as Poseidon. A record number of 107 new companies were listed during the nine months to 30 June 1970, the previous record being 81 companies for the 12 months ending 30 September 1955. However, the market by October 1974 had lost all of its gains in the "mineral boom" and the Share Price Index was lower than the base year of 1960. Conditions in the share market were reminiscent of the Depression of the early 1930s.

During 1975-76 Stock Exchange seats which, in effect, provided a licence to operate as a share broker in Melbourne, provided the basis for membership of The Stock Exchange of Melbourne Limited for the last time. A new system was designed to open up membership of The Stock Exchange of Melbourne Limited to any person of good character with appropriate qualifications, experience, and financial standing. Under the old system there were 169 seats, whereas the new system provides for a membership of up to 250.

In 1978 there was progress towards the rationalisation of computer services in Melbourne and Sydney and a company owned equally by the Melbourne and Sydney Stock Exchanges was established for this purpose. Another interstate development—in 1980—was the Australian Stock Exchange Indices produced by the Melbourne and Sydney Exchanges.

From the depressed market conditions in 1974 the market recovered and in 1979-80 moved into a phase of confidence, high prices, and record turnover associated with renewed development and enthusiasm concerning Australia's mineral wealth. The total turnover by value for the year ended 30 June 1980 was \$4,212.3m, an increase of 148 per cent over 30 June 1979. In comparison with 1970-71 (\$1,259.1m), this figure reveals an overall gain of 235 per cent. The total number of transactions in share securities for the year ended 30 June 1980 was 767,151 compared with 1,276,000 in 1970 and 399,400 in 1974. These figures reveal a continuing trend towards higher average transaction values.

After 1980 there was a prolonged conflict between sharebrokers and merchant bankers about the handling of equity investments in relation to the provisions of Trade Practices Commission legislation. This more or less coincided with a decline in share values after early 1981 which reflected increasingly difficult economic conditions locally and overseas, record high interest rates, diminishing commodity markets, and a decline in the real world price of oil. However, this downward trend was reversed in 1983.

MELBOURNE STOCK MARKET, NOMINAL AND MARKET VALUES OF LISTED SECURITIES: VICTORIA, 1939 TO 1982 (a)  
(\$m)

Item	1939	1945	1953	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982
NOMINAL VALUE OF SECURITIES										
Commonwealth loans	} 1,156	3,062	5,228	5,928	7,056	9,364	11,656	16,447	16,963	17,873
Semi-government loans										
Company loans, debentures, notes, etc.	36	34	84	506	888	1,533	2,427	2,878	3,375	3,566
Total loans, securities	1,192	3,096	5,312	7,122	8,664	11,798	15,171	22,835	24,586	26,684
Industrial shares	314	404	932	2,106	3,226	4,055	5,958	7,935	9,172	10,081
Mining and oil shares	160	140	196	148	258	797	1,644	2,693	3,632	4,130
Total share securities	474	544	1,128	2,254	3,484	4,852	7,602	10,628	12,804	14,211
Total nominal value of listed securities	1,666	3,640	6,440	9,376	12,148	16,650	22,774	33,463	37,390	40,895

MELBOURNE STOCK MARKET, NOMINAL AND MARKET VALUES OF LISTED SECURITIES: VICTORIA, 1939 TO 1982 (a)—continued (\$m)

Item	1939	1945	1953	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982
MARKET VALUE OF SECURITIES										
Commonwealth loans	1,156	3,136	4,762	5,894	7,012	8,673	9,845	14,024	14,158	13,972
Semi-government loans				660	720	869	954	3,224	3,841	4,565
Company loans, debentures notes, etc.	32	32	78	428	884	1,480	2,043	2,660	3,272	3,134
Total loan securities	1,188	3,168	4,840	6,982	8,616	11,022	12,842	19,908	21,271	21,671
Industrial shares	610	742	1,640	6,262	8,456	12,046	11,883	27,597	36,868	28,568
Mining and oil shares	162	192	286	334	658	8,927	3,656	17,861	18,498	9,515
Total share securities	772	934	1,926	6,596	9,114	20,973	15,539	45,458	55,366	38,083
Total market value of listed securities	1,960	4,102	6,766	13,578	17,730	31,995	28,382	65,366	76,637	59,754

(a) Year ended 30 September from 1939 to 1965. Year ended 30 June from 1970 to 1982.

Source: The Stock Exchange of Melbourne Annual Reports.

MELBOURNE STOCK MARKET, TURNOVER: VICTORIA, 1955 TO 1982 (a)

Item	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	
TURNOVER BY VOLUME (million)									
Government loans —									
Commonwealth		123	173	115	140	441	985	1,048	1,775
Semi-government		6	6	16	16	14	60	85	334
Company loans, debentures, notes, etc.		2	4	14	18	15	14	13	19
Total loan securities		131	183	145	174	470	1,059	1,146	2,128
Share securities —									
Industrial (ordinaries, etc.)		66	88	113	247	282	722	824	702
Mining and oil		25	13	29	1,123	167	1,401	1,940	1,091
Total share securities		91	101	142	1,370	449	2,123	2,764	1,793
Total turnover by volume		222	284	287	1,544	919	3,182	3,910	3,921
TURNOVER BY VALUE (\$m)									
Government loans —									
Commonwealth	n.a.	n.a.	99	132	385	925	925	1,488	
Semi-government	n.a.	n.a.	14	15	13	49	79	293	
Company loans, debentures, notes, etc.	n.a.	n.a.	9	18	12	13	12	15	
Total loan securities	n.a.	n.a.	122	165	410	987	1,016	1,796	
Share securities —									
Industrial (ordinaries, etc.)	n.a.	n.a.	193	380	322	1,612	1,975	1,446	
Mining and oil	n.a.	n.a.	40	824	131	1,613	2,217	1,012	
Total share securities	n.a.	n.a.	233	1,204	453	3,225	4,192	2,458	
Total turnover by value	n.a.	n.a.	355	1,369	863	4,212	5,208	4,254	
NUMBER OF TRANSACTIONS ('000)									
Government loans —									
Commonwealth	n.a.	n.a.	16	11	8	6	5	6	
Semi-government	n.a.	n.a.	3	4	3	2	3	4	
Company loans, debentures, notes, etc.	n.a.	n.a.	4	7	2	2	1	1	
Total loan securities	n.a.	n.a.	23	22	13	10	9	11	
Share securities —									
Industrial (ordinaries, etc.)	n.a.	n.a.	293	355	217	332	335	243	
Mining and oil	n.a.	n.a.	75	921	101	435	490	214	
Total share securities	n.a.	n.a.	368	1,276	318	767	825	457	
Total number of transactions	n.a.	n.a.	391	1,298	331	777	834	468	

(a) Year ended 30 September from 1955 to 1965. Year ended 30 June from 1970 to 1982.

Source: The Stock Exchange of Melbourne Annual Reports.

## STATUTORY TRUSTEE COMPANIES

There was little change in the 1930s and the 1940s in the steady growth of the traditional business of executor and trustee companies, although the period of the Second World War saw some understandable increases in appointments as executor under wills and the use of agency services.

From the end of the 1940s the increasing work of trustee companies matched the economic growth during those decades. With growth, greater skills were required and this need led to the establishment by the companies of their own Executor and Trustee Institute for the training of staff in estate and trust care and administration.

In 1948, the Association of Victorian Trustee Companies became an Australia wide association to represent all statutory trustee companies; New Zealand companies were admitted in 1959.

After a review of the practical needs of the industry and the services appropriate for the community by the Victorian Parliament, the controlling legislation was amended during the 1950s to remove the original limitations on business activities by the companies. This legislation also authorised the establishment of Common Funds to permit the blending of trust funds into a common investment pool by the trustee companies. Coupled with the trend for testators to give corporate trustees wider powers of investment than permitted under the Trustee Act, there came an expansion of the long standing investment management capacities of the companies.

Changes to the Companies Act in that period specifically authorised the statutory trustee companies to act as trustee for the holders of debentures and notes on issue to the public. This brought a diversification of commercial trust business to the hitherto restricted trust operations of the companies.

Continued economic growth in the 1960s brought increasing value to asset structures, and thus an increasing incidence of death duties encroached into categories of estate values never intended to be caught in this taxation net.

The first steps to mitigate the problem and the proliferation of estate planning avoidance schemes came with considerable concessional deductions to primary producers. As the inflationary period of the 1970s magnified the problems, easing of the incidence of death duties came with progressive abolition of liability in estates passing to spouses, then to children and later to grandchildren.

More complex investment legislation was progressively introduced to give greater protection to the public. These changes added to the responsibilities of estate and trust administrators and demanded higher standards of capacity from investment managers, whether as trustees or as advisers to individuals. Investment responsibilities of trustees increased further in 1979, when the Victorian Trustee Act was amended to widen statutory trustee investments with an additional range of fixed interest investments including the trustee companies' Common Funds and to authorise investment of up to one-third of value of an estate in the purchase of real estate.

The steep rise in wages and salaries that occurred in the 50 year period brought particular challenges, as the statutory trustee companies are a labour intensive industry. To remain within the regulation fees set down by law the introduction of computers, word processing machines, and other technological aids helped contain the cost to the public of the traditional trustee services.

All these changes induced the trustee companies to adopt new marketing approaches and expand their existing financial skills and experience. There was greater concentration on asset planning, trusteeships for family trusts, and greater promotion of accounting and taxation and general investment management services. Services were offered in retirement planning, in the purchase and sale of real estate through wholly owned licensed estate agents' subsidiaries, in money market activities, and in pastoral and property management. By the early 1980s the statutory trustee companies offered financial services covering all investment needs and asset problems, dovetailing these with overall will and estate planning in addition to their traditional executor and trustee services.

As an indication of growth in trust funds, their value by 1956 totalled approximately \$400m. Twenty-five years later, the Victorian statutory trustee companies were responsible for the administration as executor, trustee or agent, or as trustee for debenture and note issues, of trust funds in excess of \$4,547m.



## PASTORAL HOUSES

The main function of a pastoral house was to provide the goods and services to meet the needs of the man on the land. An important part of this function was the provision of finance for the supply principally of livestock, farm requisites, fodder, running expenses, insurance, general merchandise, machinery, and fertiliser. In the main, these advances were short-term, being repaid at least annually from proceeds of livestock and/or wool.

The Depression of the early 1930s resulted in tight control over all substantially financed clients with assistance being provided on a month-to-month basis related to approved annual budgets. Pastoral houses were, however, lenient lenders. Some relief became evident in 1936 with improved world conditions, better seasons, and higher wool prices; however, this was to be short-lived because of the outbreak of war in 1939.

As a national war emergency measure the entire Commonwealth wool clip, (except for that portion required for local consumption) which traditionally had been sold at auctions organised by the pastoral houses, was acquired by the British Government for the duration of the war and one year thereafter. After seven seasons of appraisements under the Wool Purchase Arrangement, open auctions of wool recommenced for the 1946-47 clip.

There was much growth in the post-war years. Soldier Settlement developed and pastoral house lending became a major factor in the expansion of livestock numbers; the supply of finance and services improved carrying capacities, and producers, in turn, prospered.

In 1950-51, debtors increased with the wool boom during the Korean War. There was a rapid rise in living standards and a strong call for funds for agricultural development. Increased carrying capacities saw sheep numbers in Victoria rising by over 7 million to 26.6 million during this decade. Pastoral houses significantly expanded their branch organisations and thus more localised service and advice became available to their clients.

In January 1960, the operations of the Commonwealth Development Bank began. It provided longer term loans than those available from the pastoral houses and trading banks, lower interest rates, acceptability of second and third mortgage security, and thus complemented the lending of the pastoral houses.

The credit squeeze of the early 1960s resulted in a significant increase in pastoral houses' debtors in 1960-61 and marked the beginning of mergers of major pastoral houses. This has continued into the 1970s and 1980s. Trading bank advances to rural clients increased in this period by only \$11.2m throughout Australia while pastoral house advances increased nationally by \$41.8m.

Because of a fall in the price of wool in the early 1970s, incomes and borrowing capacity of farmers were severely reduced. Cattle population in Victoria from 1970 to 1975 increased from 4.5 to 6.2 million, while sheep decreased from 33.2 to 26.4 million. This increase in cattle numbers was followed by very low prices in the mid-1970s. There was, however, in the latter 1970s, a progressive and strong improvement in prices for wool, livestock, and properties and strong demand for live sheep exports to Middle Eastern countries.

During 1976, advances to agricultural producers by all pastoral houses continued to decline, reflecting the restrictive effects on clients' incomes of the continuing adverse economic conditions in the agricultural sector. Medium to long-term funds were being sought by an increasing number of growers, and especially those engaged in cattle production. Government assistance through State rural reconstruction authorities and the Commonwealth Development Bank continued to play an important part in meeting this demand by supplementing pastoral house advances.

By 1980 sound agricultural and export prospects continued with better than average incomes for the pastoral houses and their clients.

## LIFE INSURANCE

**Structure**

Since its beginning the life insurance industry in Australia has been organised largely along mutual or co-operative lines. The remainder of life insurance business is written by proprietary offices, which, although owned by shareholders, distribute most of their surpluses to policyholders.

In 1934 there were 24 life offices writing business in Victoria. The situation remained broadly the same until immediately after the Second World War from which time the

number of companies declined to 19 in 1957. During the late 1950s and early 1960s there was an influx of new companies, originating mainly from Britain, so that by 1965 there were 40 life offices writing business in Victoria. The number has remained at about this level since then. The majority of life insurance companies operating in Victoria belong to the Life Insurance Federation of Australia (LIFA) which was formed in 1979 by joining together 42 private enterprise companies, the majority of which had belonged to either the Association of Independent Life Offices (founded in 1972) or the Life Offices' Association of Australia (founded in 1905).

### **Products and marketing**

Traditionally, most life insurance in Victoria has been sold through "in-house" agents, although this has not precluded brokers or other intermediaries from directing business to particular offices. The "in-house" agency system often required the establishment of State wide agency networks, so that most of the larger life insurance companies became firmly entrenched in Victorian provincial centres and rural towns. More recently, however, life insurance companies have started to diversify their marketing methods.

Until 1962 life insurance business was divided into two classes: ordinary business and industrial business. Industrial (which became known as collector) business related to policies the premiums for which were payable monthly or weekly to a collecting agent. Ordinary business related to all other forms of life insurance, including superannuation. Since 1962 statistics for superannuation business have been separated from those for ordinary business.

Industrial business in Victoria was significant in the decade after 1934 but this significance declined rapidly after the Second World War. Industrial insurance had early appeal because it was suited to small insurances with premiums collected weekly. However, after the Second World War, high collection costs as well as low sums insured per unit of premium gradually diminished the appeal of industrial insurance to companies and policyholders, so that by the end of the 1970s it constituted only a very small proportion of both new business and business in force. By this time, too, only the two largest offices in this field still wrote industrial business.

By contrast, ordinary and, more especially, superannuation business grew strongly after 1945. This growth was partly accounted for by a personal income tax deduction for life insurance premiums, rapid population growth, and a sustained rise in household incomes. In the second half of the 1970s, however, the rate of growth of both ordinary and superannuation business decreased. Ordinary business in particular was affected adversely from about 1973 by the rapid acceleration in inflation, by competition from high interest rates obtainable on some short-term forms of investment, and by a series of taxation changes introduced between 1973 and 1975. Superannuation business, although gaining somewhat from the inflation of wages and salaries, was hampered to some extent by a loss of business confidence which made employers more cautious about establishing new superannuation schemes. From 1980-81 people who were self-employed, because of changes in the taxation requirements, are able to deduct up to \$1,200 per year from their assessable income in respect of contributions made by them to a qualifying superannuation fund.

### **Investment**

The pattern of life office investments has changed considerably over the years since 1935. In the mid-1930s life office investments were heavily concentrated in government (Commonwealth, local, and semi-governmental) securities and interest bearing loans, especially loans on policies and loans on agricultural properties. During the Second World War life offices directed nearly all their new investible funds into the purchase of Commonwealth bonds yielding a low 3.5 per cent. After the war there was a strong demand for funds by private industry and commerce which could not be met by the banking system, partly because of the restrictions imposed by the monetary authorities. Life offices then supplied considerable funds so that by 1955 loans on mortgage had risen to just over one-third of life office assets and investments in government securities had fallen to just under one-half. The post-war years also brought about an acceleration in

the inflation rate. This, as well as competition from other savings institutions, induced life offices to move into investments with higher returns than government securities and a share in capital growth. Thus they began to divert a significant proportion of their investible funds into corporate shares and debentures and into property.

The decline in the proportion of life office funds allocated to government securities led to the passing of the "30/20" legislation in May 1961. Under this legislation life offices are subject to certain taxation penalties unless they invest 30 per cent of their assets in Commonwealth and semi-governmental securities, including 20 per cent in Commonwealth securities. The impact of the "30/20" rule is evident from the table on Estimated Distribution of Assets: since 1965 life offices have held just over 30 per cent of their assets in the required form. The inflationary environment of the 1970s encouraged life offices to extend further their property and ordinary share portfolios, so that by 1980, apart from government securities, about 24.5 per cent of their assets were in the form of property and about 19.5 per cent in shares and the rest in other loans, debentures, and other assets.

Life office investments in property include not only their own city and regional buildings, but also factories, retail shopping centres, and housing developments. By the early 1980s there was a noticeable move towards a significant investment in natural resources.

### Regulation

Life offices carrying on business in Victoria have long been subject to regulation. The first Victorian Life Assurance Companies Act, which was based on the English Act of 1870, was passed in 1873 and was later incorporated into the Victorian *Companies Act* 1928. In 1938 the Industrial Life Assurance Act was passed following the recommendations of a Royal Commission on Industrial Assurance which was instigated by the Victorian Government as a result of strong pressure from the Anti-Sweating League. Further Acts relating to industrial and ordinary life insurance were passed in 1940.

Section 51 (xiv) of the Commonwealth Constitution gives the Commonwealth the power to make laws with respect to insurance other than State insurance and to State insurance extending beyond the limits of the State concerned. However, it was not until 1945 that a Commonwealth Act was passed which took precedence over the State Acts in force at the time. The *Life Insurance Act* 1945 provided for the appointment of a Life Insurance Commissioner to supervise the activities of life insurance companies in order to protect policy holders. The Act requires companies to submit to the Commissioner detailed statistics regarding their business and financial position, and has set up machinery for dealing with any company that fails to maintain a required minimum standard of solvency. The Life Insurance Commissioner can instigate investigations ranging from company financial matters to the treatment of individual policy holders' complaints.

### LIFE INSURANCE, BUSINESS IN EXISTENCE: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1980

Item	1935	1945	1955	1965	1975	1977	1980
	ORDINARY BUSINESS (\$m)						
Sums insured	198.8	335.2	1,142.0	2,937.0	10,676.3	13,212.4	n.a.
Annual premiums	6.7	11.6	39.6	76.3	203.0	216.8	n.a.
	SUPERANNUATION BUSINESS (a) (\$m)						
Sums insured	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1,227.0	6,058.4	8,244.6	12,042.7
Annual premiums	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	26.8	162.6	212.1	287.6
	INDUSTRIAL BUSINESS (\$m)						
Sums insured	39.0	108.0	191.2	264.1	444.3	440.2	n.a.
Annual premiums	3.5	6.2	9.4	11.0	16.6	16.1	n.a.
	TOTAL (b)						
Sums insured (\$m)	237.8	443.2	1,333.2	4,428.1	17,179.0	21,897.2	30,038.9
Annual premiums (\$m)	10.2	17.8	49.0	114.1	382.2	445.0	535.8
Sums insured (1935 = 100)	100	186	561	1,862	7,224	9,208	12,632
Annual premiums (1935 = 100)	100	175	480	1,119	3,747	4,363	5,253

## LIFE INSURANCE, BUSINESS IN EXISTENCE: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1980—continued

Item	1935	1945	1955	1965	1975	1977	1980
AUSTRALIA (\$m)							
Sums insured	818.7	1,483.8	4,556.2	14,927.5	62,498.3	82,004.7	118,142.7
Annual premiums	n.a.	n.a.	162.9	397.2	1,355.9	1,608.1	2,009.2
VICTORIA AS A RATIO OF AUSTRALIA (per cent)							
Sums insured	29.0	29.9	29.3	29.7	27.5	26.7	25.4
Annual premiums	n.a.	n.a.	30.1	28.7	28.2	27.7	26.7

(a) For 1935, 1945, and 1955 superannuation business is included in ordinary business. From 1978, ordinary and industrial business have been combined.

(b) It is necessary to treat State figures with caution. The data relate to businesses registered in the State.

## LIFE INSURANCE, NEW BUSINESS: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1980

Item	1935	1945	1955	1965	1975	1977	1980
ORDINARY BUSINESS (\$m)							
Sums insured	25.4	36.0	201.2	509.4	2,086.1	2,565.0	n.a.
Annual premiums	0.9	1.3	6.4	11.0	27.1	27.5	n.a.
SUPERANNUATION BUSINESS (a) (\$m)							
Sums insured	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	312.7	1,924.7	2,145.2	3,110.0
Annual premiums	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	6.2	52.8	55.5	71.3
INDUSTRIAL BUSINESS (\$m)							
Sums insured	10.6	12.2	18.6	33.6	41.1	43.9	n.a.
Annual premiums	0.7	0.7	0.8	1.3	1.4	1.5	n.a.
TOTAL (b)							
Sums insured (\$m)	36.0	48.2	219.8	855.7	4,051.8	4,754.0	6,512.3
Annual premiums (\$m)	1.6	2.0	7.2	18.5	81.4	84.5	104.8
Sums insured (1935 = 100)	100	134	611	2,377	11,255	13,206	18,090
Annual premiums (1935 = 100)	100	127	461	1,178	5,185	5,382	6,675
AUSTRALIA (\$m)							
Sums insured	114.3	167.2	737.3	2,738.8	15,025.5	18,999.6	27,762.7
Annual premiums	n.a.	7.1	25.1	63.4	283.6	312.2	415.2
VICTORIA AS A RATIO OF AUSTRALIA (per cent)							
Sums insured	31.5	28.8	29.8	31.2	27.0	25.0	23.4
Annual premiums	n.a.	28.2	28.8	29.2	28.7	27.1	25.2

(a) For 1935, 1945, and 1955 superannuation business is included in ordinary business. From 1978, ordinary and industrial business have been combined.

(b) It is necessary to treat State figures with caution. The data relate to businesses registered in the State.

## LIFE INSURANCE BUSINESS WITHIN AUSTRALIA: ESTIMATED DISTRIBUTION OF ASSETS HELD IN AUSTRALIA BY LIFE INSURANCE COMPANIES, 1935 TO 1980

Item	1935	1945	1955	1965	1975	1980
PER CENT						
Fixed assets	4.7	4.0	3.3	9.2	21.4	24.5
Government, local, and semi-government securities	53.0	69.0	47.4	31.9	30.7	31.0
Debentures and notes	(a)	(a)	4.0	11.3	9.1	8.0
Shares	(a)	(a)	4.0	12.9	16.4	19.5
Other loans (b)	34.5	21.0	36.6	31.3	17.9	13.0
Other assets (c)	7.9	6.0	4.7	3.3	4.4	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total (\$m)	358	631	1,352	3,803	9,307	14,000
(1935 = 100)	100	176	378	1,062	2,600	3,911

(a) Included under "Other assets".

(b) Includes loans on mortgage, on policies, and to controlled companies.

(c) Includes cash, outstanding premiums, outstanding interest, dividends and rent, and holdings in controlled companies.

## SUPERANNUATION

**Background**

During the Depression little thought was given to superannuation or to saving for retirement. As the worst effects of those years subsided, employment gradually increased and the improved conditions enabled the community to think again about saving money for superannuation. A clear superannuation pattern then developed, with most superannuation plans falling into two distinct types.

The first was the self-administered and self-invested fund established for public sector employees and employees of large companies (including banks and insurance companies) which generally provided benefits in pension form. The second was the endowment assurance plan effected by many (generally smaller) employers with life insurance companies and providing lump sum benefits at retirement.

Very few new schemes were introduced during the Second World War. Community interest in superannuation was renewed after the war and there was a growing awareness that without the aid of a superannuation plan, few employees could save the large amount of money necessary to provide a reasonable standard of living for themselves after retirement.

Full employment during the 1950s and 1960s encouraged many employers to establish new plans or to revise existing plans in order to attract new employees and discourage resignations.

In the 1960s the level of inflation increased, resulting in inadequate benefits in "defined contribution" or "contribution promise" plans (i.e., for plans where the benefits were defined in terms of the contributions payable). There was a marked trend towards "defined benefit" or "benefit promise" plans (i.e., plans where the benefits were defined in terms of the member's salary near retirement and his length of membership).

With some exceptions this trend to defined benefit plans has continued into the 1980s. Also, the favourable taxation treatment of lump sum benefits and the means test on social security pensions resulted in lump sums becoming much more popular than pensions.

The Victorian Government was the first in Australia to demonstrate an interest in the preservation of superannuation benefits. Under this concept an employee moving from one employer to another preserves the superannuation benefits which have accrued on his behalf, either with the employer's fund in which his benefits accrued or with another fund. The Victorian Government issued a draft Superannuation Benefits Bill in May 1971 which would have affected all Victorian superannuation funds but, because of opposition from some quarters, its provisions were subsequently amended to cover only certain statutory funds. The amended bill was enacted in 1977.

In recent years, discrimination on the grounds of sex or marital status has become illegal. Although equal opportunity legislation has been enacted in Victoria, superannuation plans have been exempted from the provisions, pending further study, although many superannuation plans have been amended voluntarily.

Another recent development has been the increased interest shown in superannuation by trade unions, some of which have established their own plans.

**State Superannuation Board**

The State Superannuation Fund was established in 1925 to provide pension benefits for State employees including the Public Service, Teaching Service, and Railways Service, and their dependants. By 1937 the Fund had grown to over \$8m, and was earning interest at the rate of 4.17 per cent annum. Little change occurred until 1941 when an amendment safeguarded the entitlements of contributors who had joined the Defence Forces. During the war years the Fund continued on its established basis and amounted to almost \$18m, of which half was held in Commonwealth Stock by June 1947, although the earning rate had dropped to 3.56 per cent. In December 1947 some increases in pensions and other variations were introduced.

The Board's Report as at 30 June 1950, twenty-five years after introduction of the scheme, showed that the income of the Fund had totalled \$58m, expenditure \$36m, and investments \$22m. Pensions had been paid to 7,806 widows and in respect of 3,161 children; pensions to 11,359 officers and widows and 550 children were still in force. By

1952 the earning rate was 3.5 per cent, the lowest since inception, but by 1955 the Fund had grown to \$38m, and the earning rate to 3.98 per cent. In 1955 the Act was amended to increase certain entitlements and pension rates and substantially liberalise the provisions.

The Fund grew to \$83m in 1963, earning 5 per cent per annum and legislation provided for the entry to the Fund by police officers. The *Pensions Supplementation Act 1966* was the most far reaching change to the Fund since its establishment, providing updated pensions, a new scale of entitlements, and other benefits. The Act was further amended in 1967. Investments had now increased to \$136m although the amount available for investment had decreased due to these increased benefits, and conversion of pensions to lump sum entitlements.

The *Superannuation Amendment Act 1968*, proclaimed on 1 February 1969, included some rationalisation of service requirements, provided for continuity of membership for persons retiring to accept employment with designated authorities, and prohibited married women appointed after that date contributing to the Fund. Concurrently, the Married Women's Superannuation Fund was established, incorporating the Married Women Teachers Pension Fund.

Investments were now \$149m, including \$1.1m on the security of commercial property and \$1.0m on the security of housing loans to contributors, the remainder invested in government, semi-government, and local government securities, although \$1.2m had been advanced as a result of legislation under government guarantee to the Trustees of the Melbourne Cricket Club, and Sisters of Charity (St Vincent's Hospital). The Board proposed to balance its portfolio with a significant amount in mortgage loans. In December 1969 amendments related to lump sum conversion, increased children's pension, and stronger provisions relating to recall of ill health pensions.

Amendments in 1970 introduced a new type of unit for some contributors on fulfilment of certain conditions, and provisions relating to cases of leave without pay and to part-timers who could not be contributors to the Fund. Further amendments, effective from 1 December 1972, included automatic updating of pensions in line with the Consumer Price Index and extension of the Board's investment powers to provide for purchase or lease of property within Victoria, subject to approval of the Treasurer.

The *Superannuation Act 1975* provided dramatic changes, including provision of a pension of 70 per cent of salary at age 65 under certain circumstances, limitation of contributions to 9 per cent of salary, and further provisions relating to adjustment of contributions annually. By 1981 investments had increased to \$533m (land and buildings \$37m, loans on commercial properties \$137m, housing loans \$64m, government guaranteed loans \$27m, and the remainder in Commonwealth Government, semi-government, local government, waterworks, and sewerage authorities' securities).

## GENERAL INSURANCE

### Background

The growth of insurance business since the 1930s reflects the expansion of domestic and business activity and the increased risks related to physical assets, accidents, business losses, etc. Most of the growth has been handled by established companies performing more business, but the number of companies active in Victoria in June 1979 was 197 (including 26 reinsurers) compared with 125 in 1933-34.

Over most of its history, the general insurance industry in Victoria has been subject to State laws. Most companies operating in the State operate throughout Australia, and many internationally; since 1973 they have also been subject to the Federal Insurance Act, which sets a solvency margin and other requirements, including regular returns to the Insurance Commissioner.

### Workers compensation

The State Accident Insurance Office was set up under a 1914 Act to provide functions which were taken over by the State Insurance Office in July 1975.

Workers Compensation insurance has incurred rising premiums as legislation has extended the entitlement of employees, and the compensation, legal, and medical expenses have become more costly. Victoria's first Workers Compensation Act took effect in 1914, and

there have been revisions since. Increases came about as the result of the Workers Compensation (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, passed in Victoria in December 1979. This Act introduced several significant changes. Many benefits to injured workers or their dependants increased by approximately 44 per cent. As a consequence of these increases, the Victorian Government established a Supplementation Fund in order to meet the costs of the increased benefits when the date of an injury preceded 1 December 1979. The Fund was being financed by an annual surcharge on employers which was set at 6 per cent.

Benefits have become indexed and will be increased or decreased in line with movements in the seasonally adjusted average weekly earnings. In addition, the definition of "injury" has been amended to mean, in general terms, any physical or mental injury. New provisions in the Act allow insurers to obtain reimbursement from the Motor Accidents Board for journey claims up to the amount which the injured person would have been entitled to recover under the *Motor Accidents Act* 1973 had he not been a worker.

The previous situation which allowed an injured person, or his dependants, to claim compensation under both the Workers Compensation Act and Part III of the *Wrongs Act* 1958 has been removed.

#### **Motor car insurance**

The Motor Car (Third Party Insurance) Act of 1939 came into force in 1941, making it compulsory for the owner of each vehicle to insure against any liability which may be incurred by him, or by any person who drives such vehicle, in respect of the death of or bodily injury to, any person, caused by or arising out of the use of the vehicle. The State Motor Car Insurance Office was established under the 1939 Act to enable owners to insure under the Act, and its business was taken over in 1975 by the State Insurance Office, which alone handled motor car insurance business by the late 1970s.

The fixed limit of liability for third party motor insurance was raised in 1948 because of the increased incidence of accidents resulting from alcohol and driving, and greater penalties were also provided. In 1971, wearing of seat belts was made compulsory in Victoria, a practice later followed in other States, and regarded as an innovation overseas, when it resulted in fewer accidents and claims.

#### **Catastrophes**

Bushfires have caused serious losses in Victoria during this period, some covered by insurance. In January 1939, severe fires cost 72 lives as well as property and forest losses. In 1944 much property was destroyed at Beaumaris. The Dandenongs suffered in 1962, when nine lives were lost, while in 1969 twenty-three deaths and heavy property and livestock losses occurred in the Lara district. In 1977 there were serious losses of property and livestock in the Western District, and in February 1983 the "Ash Wednesday" fires resulted in 48 deaths as well as much loss of property and livestock.

Maritime losses in recent decades in Victoria have included MV *Time* in 1949, which was abandoned after grounding on Corsair Reef at Port Phillip heads, and the sinking of MV *Straitsman* in 1974 at its Yarra River berth with the loss of two crewmen.

Serious losses were also met as a result of Melbourne's worst hailstorm in 1953, when many plate glass windows were broken in the city area, and damage amounting to nearly \$4m was caused by a fire at Footscray wool stores in 1960. In 1972, trading stock and property were severely damaged by flood water in Elizabeth Street, Melbourne, following exceptional rain.

The collapse of part of the West Gate Bridge during construction in 1970 caused the loss of 35 lives, delayed work, and incurred heavy workers compensation claims.

#### **Professional bodies**

In 1956 the Fire and Accident Underwriters carried out research in relation to atomic energy to advise of its implications for insurance. In 1975 the Fire and Accident Underwriters and the Marine and Salvage Associations were replaced by the Insurance Council of Australia (ICA), with headquarters in Melbourne, representing the whole general insurance industry with member companies underwriting fire, accident, and marine insurance. Its main functions are to represent interests of the industry to governments, provide a variety

of services to member companies, and information for consumers directly and through the media. In 1979, the ICA, with the Chartered Institute of Loss Adjusters and the Council of Loss Adjusters, established the National Insurance Emergency Service to assist in the expeditious handling of claims and so alleviate financial hardships suffered by victims of such major disasters as bushfires.

In 1945, the Insurance Institute of Victoria conducted post-war rehabilitation lectures for ex-servicemen returning to the industry, and in 1971 started courses for the Diploma of Business Studies (Insurance) at the Prahran College of Advanced Education.

#### FRIENDLY SOCIETIES

A friendly society exists to provide benefits for its members. To understand the changes in friendly societies and their membership since 1934 a comparison is made between the benefits to which a member would have contributed in 1934 and those in the early 1980s.

A member of a friendly society in 1934 belonged to a branch or "lodge" as it was usually called. He attended regular meetings and thereby became eligible to contribute for the benefits then available to provide security for himself and his family. These benefits included sickness, funeral, medical, and pharmaceutical benefits. In the early 1980s a typical member had joined a society to receive benefits such as hospital, medical, dental, endowment, or death benefits. He did not attend branch meetings and was only interested in receiving the benefits and services in return for a reasonable contribution.

This change in membership profile necessitated a change in the administration of societies. Societies are run by professional managers with the necessary administrative skills. Many societies have, however, retained the more traditional "lodge" structure for local administration and to provide the membership from which board members are elected.

In 1934 the number of societies and total membership was increasing and total membership of the basic benefit funds reached a peak in the mid-1940s. As early as 1925 one society was providing a hospital benefit and until 1951 many societies provided for members and their families the ability to receive medical treatment by medical practitioners who had contracted with societies to provide these benefits.

On 1 July 1953, after almost 40 years of consideration, a scheme commenced for the provision of hospital and medical benefits under the National Health Act. Many new members joined the societies directly for these benefits without first becoming "lodge" members. Thus began the movement from local branch administration to a central administration. The existing rapid growth in membership allowed societies to develop new benefits and to develop new ways of promoting these new benefits. Progressive increase in the maximum amounts of benefits determined in the Friendly Societies Act have allowed the development of life assurance, superannuation, and sickness benefits for ordinary members and employee groups.

Friendly societies traditionally have provided an avenue for social activity at branch level and provided worthwhile benefits to members. Many of these benefits are now provided by the State and Commonwealth Governments in the form of social welfare, age, and invalid pensions. These organisations have always had a policy of using a large proportion of their funds for housing loans to members. By 1980 four building societies were wholly owned by friendly societies, thus enabling members to invest and provide additional money for housing loans and thereby expanding the lending capacity of friendly societies.

The following table shows the development of friendly societies since 1934 and demonstrates the change in emphasis:



## FRIENDLY SOCIETIES: VICTORIA, 1934 TO 1981

Year	Number of societies	Total membership (a)	Benefits paid		Total funds
			Medical, hospital etc. (b)	Other	
		'000	\$m	\$m	\$m
1934	49	161			11
1944	92	237		1	14
1954	142	214	2	1	19
1964	132	588	7	1	28
1974	138	890	42	2	62
1979	123	853	109	4	83
1981	126	824	124	5	135

(a) Includes benefit contracts for whole of life and endowment, members affiliated with dispensaries, and members of specially authorised societies. A member may contribute for any number or all of the different benefits and is counted in respect of each benefit for which he/she contributes.

(b) Includes Commonwealth benefits paid via friendly societies, under the scheme commencing 1 November 1978.

## CREDIT UNIONS

The first co-operative credit institution was formed in Victoria in 1905 and registered under the *Provident Societies Act* 1890. It was registered as the Co-operative Bank of Victoria with limited liability, funds being raised through share subscription of members. This credit bank was an urban institution with a bond of association of members based on occupation. There was no further co-operative credit development for some 40 years.

In the mid-1940s several rural parish based credit societies were formed but because of inadequate legislation they were not registered. With the passing of the Co-operation Act in 1953, the impetus for co-operative credit development fell to a Catholic group, the Young Christian Workers (YCW). The YCW Central Co-operative Credit Society Limited, which was formed in 1954, was the first society registered under the 1953 Act. From this time a large number of parish based societies was formed as was the Association of Catholic Credit Co-operatives in 1957.

During the 1960s community and industrial credit co-operatives came into being, and a number of parish societies altered their bond to the community at large. In 1966 the Victorian Credit Co-operative Association was created by the alteration of the Catholic Association bond to admit all credit co-operatives in Victoria. In the 1970s, while the total number of credit co-operatives did not increase, there was a large increase in membership and asset size.

In December 1981 the Victorian Parliament passed the *Co-operation Act* 1981. The Act provides for the formation, registration, and management of co-operative societies which are classified into various kinds according to their objectives. Provision was also made under the Act for the creation of the Credit Societies Guarantee Fund Advisory Committee. Its task was to supervise a fund guaranteeing the money lodged by members with credit societies and to administer societies in financial difficulties. All credit societies in Victoria are required to place deposits in this fund equivalent to 1 per cent of their total assets.

With the advent of new technology in the financial system, credit co-operatives in the 1980s offered automated teller machine facilities and credit card transactions to their members.

## BUILDING SOCIETIES

In Victoria in the 1880s gold rush money was being turned into land and buildings and land speculation made fortunes for many. However, the profits were short-lived. The 1890s saw a world-wide depression and the land boom could not be sustained. Fortunes were lost overnight, banks closed their doors, and building societies collapsed. The Victorian Government had done little to restrict the land boom because several prominent Government members were heavily involved in land subdivision and there was no Federal Government to show restraint.

Those building societies which remained continued on a very small scale and it was not until after the Second World War that the urgent need for housing finance reactivated

interest in the "permanents". The Victorian Government finally made substantial amendments to the Building Societies Act in 1958, followed by further reviews in 1971 and 1976. It became impossible for a society to speculate in land (the major cause of the 1890s problems), the amount of liquid funds which a society should hold were strictly regulated, and every society had to set aside certain reserves. All of these requirements were supervised by the Registrar of Building Societies.

The growth and development of building societies in Victoria after 1934 was uneven; the most significant growth occurred between 1970 and 1980.

BUILDING SOCIETIES, NUMBERS,  
ASSETS, AND LOAN APPROVALS:  
VICTORIA, 1934 TO 1982

Year ended 30 June—	Number of societies (a)	Assets (a)	Loan approvals (b)
		\$'000	\$'000
1934	21	9,338	1,444
1940	21	13,484	2,436
1945	22	12,940	830
1950	20	47,322	7,076
1955	17	60,324	11,144
1960	24	40,972	9,378
1965	33	49,856	12,410
1970	47	106,573	33,155
1975	53	662,000	110,000
1976	55	906,000	319,000
1977	53	1,158,000	305,000
1978	53	1,382,000	347,000
1979	52	1,744,000	476,000
1980	51	2,100,000	453,000
1981	46	2,400,000	489,000
1982	40	2,917,000	363,000

(a) At 30 June.

(b) During the 12 months ended 30 June.

Building societies have become major providers of housing finance and in several States became the principal lender.

In the early 1970s societies began to install computers, which facilitated the handling of automatic crediting of social security payments, payroll tax deductions, and many other pensions and allowances.

Building societies have to compare favourably with competitive financial institutions in terms of investment and borrowers' rates. Much of the money attracted by societies is at call, although most societies also offer the option of fixed term deposits at higher rates of interest. Generally speaking, the prevailing rates of interest depend upon the general economic conditions and the rates paid on government securities such as the Australian Savings Bond rate.

The growth of building societies has seen a number of significant innovations which have benefited borrowers and investors. Growth has created a strong branch and agency network, a wide range of services and products, the introduction of mortgage insurance, the ability to borrow up to 95 per cent of valuation in some cases, and more recently, the ability of societies to act as depositories for trust money.

## PRICES

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### INTRODUCTION

Since the first decade of this century wage tribunals have been attempting to find a satisfactory method of awarding wage adjustments to compensate for changes in the "cost of living". It was always recognised that movements in some prices were more significant than movements in others and that some method of measurement needed to be devised in order to assess the impact of price movements on the economy. Prices indexes came to be seen as the most satisfactory way of measuring movements in prices and in 1912 the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics (later renamed the Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS]) published the first series of price indexes for Australia. Technical discussion of the theory determining price indexes, reports of investigations, and index series have appeared in issues of the *Labour Report* (published annually from 1912 to 1973) in submissions to investigating economic committees and wage fixation tribunals, especially the Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission. Since governments became involved in managing the national economy, economic and social planners, businesses, private individuals, and government and its agencies have used price indexes as an integral part of their activities.

The range of indexes, the items included, and the groupings of these items at different times can be seen as a response to the diverse demands of users, reflecting developments in a changing economy. The precise relevance of an index for a particular purpose is necessarily a matter for judgement and decision by users. For this purpose the Statistician has always sought to convey a clear statement of the nature and content of indexes and to provide assistance where needed. Retail price indexes have commonly been used as a yardstick for revising wages, salaries and other income payments to keep step with changing prices or as an indicator of the rate of inflation. The Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission as a major user has taken account of retail price index movements. Parties to National Wage Cases in submissions to the Commission on principles of wage fixation have presented their views as to the appropriateness or otherwise of using the Consumer Price Index for particular purposes in the Commission's deliberations. Similarly, the use of a retail or wholesale price index for any purpose, for example, in contract adjustment, deflation of current values, revaluation of stocks and assets, assessment of changes in purchasing power, etc., must necessarily be undertaken with due regard to the nature of the index itself.

### RETAIL PRICE INDEXES

The first retail price indexes were in separate series for the capitals of each State from 1901 to 1912 using as a base data relating to food and groceries and the rent of all types of houses in each capital city in 1911. From 1912 data were collected from twenty-four of the more important towns as well as for the six capital cities. An index number series (later termed the "A" Series) was compiled showing index numbers for each of the thirty towns relating to food, groceries, and rents of all houses, using the weighted average expenditure on the specified items in the six capital cities in June 1911 as base (=100). The Victorian towns other than Melbourne for which index numbers were prepared in this series were Ballarat, Bendigo, Geelong, and Warrnambool.

Index numbers on this base were completed retrospectively for Melbourne and the index numbers over the life of the index series from December 1901 to 1938 are shown in the following table:

RETAIL PRICE INDEX NUMBERS: MELBOURNE, "A" SERIES, 1901 TO 1938  
(Base: year 1911 = 100)

Year	Index number	Year	Index number	Year	Index number	Year	Index number	Year	Index number
1901	87.0	1909	90.5	1917	129.4	1925	174.5	1933	131.9
1902	90.3	1910	94.2	1918	134.9	1926	180.1	1934	136.7
1903	88.1	1911	95.0	1919	148.1	1927	178.1	1935	142.0
1904	85.4	1912	105.5	1920	178.8	1928	174.6	1936	147.2
1905	87.8	1913	105.1	1921	173.7	1929	181.2	1937	151.5
1906	87.8	1914	110.5	1922	162.5	1930	167.2	1938	154.5
1907	87.5	1915	127.7	1923	174.9	1931	144.8		
1908	92.6	1916	130.9	1924	170.3	1932	137.8		

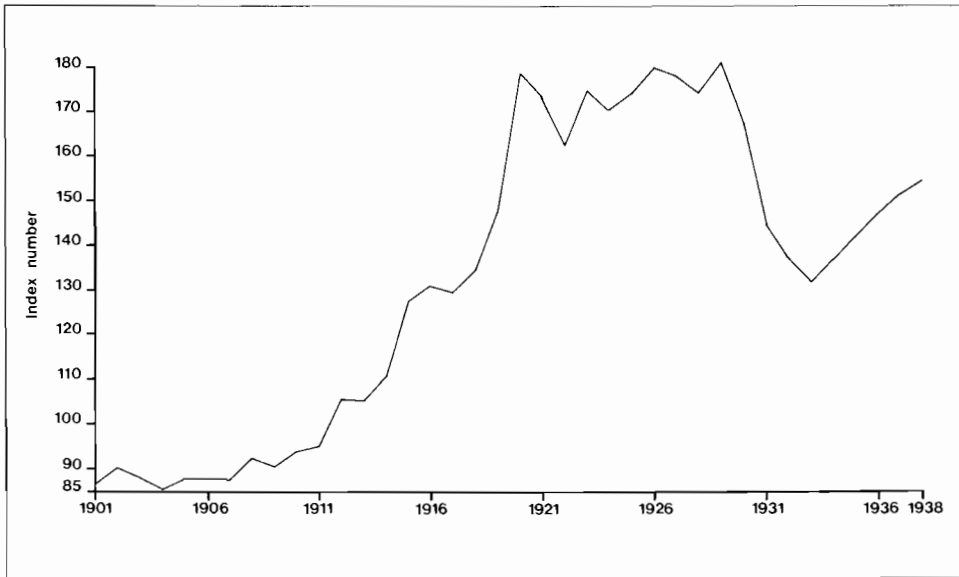


FIGURE 28. Melbourne—"A" Series Retail Price Index, year ended 31 December 1901 to 1938.

In two separate years percentage rises in double figures were recorded for Melbourne, 11.1 per cent in 1912 and 20.7 per cent in 1920, the latter largely due to pent up demand at the end of the First World War. The return of many returned soldiers to civilian life and the formation of new households were contributing factors. The highest index figure for Melbourne was 181.2 in 1929, followed by falls in four successive years to 131.9 in 1933, a decrease of 27.2 per cent over the four years. A fall of 13.4 per cent in 1931 was the largest in any individual year. By 1938 the index showed an increase of 77.6 per cent as compared with 1901. These patterns of rises and falls were an interesting reflection of economic conditions. After 1929 the effects of the Depression became apparent, especially with the decline in agricultural prices, growing unemployment, wage and salary cuts, and declines in interest rates. It was only after 1934 that economic conditions again began to improve, a trend which had strengthened by the late 1930s.

The Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration adopted the index in 1913 to determine the relative basic wage for towns throughout Australia.

A "B" series index was compiled from 1925 to 1953 and covered food, groceries, and

rent items of four- and five-roomed houses. It was actually the food and rent component of the "C" series index described below. It was designed to replace the "A" series index but was never used in connection with the adjustment of wages by industrial tribunals.

The "C" series covered the principal items of household expenditure, namely, food and groceries; rent of four- and five-roomed houses; clothing (man, wife, and three children); household drapery; household utensils; fuels; lighting; fares; tobacco; and some other miscellaneous items. The series originated in the findings of the Royal Commission appointed by the Commonwealth Government in 1919 which investigated the cost of living in each capital city of Australia for a family consisting of a man, wife, and three children under 14 years of age in November of each year from 1914 to 1920 at a standard which it determined. Following the recommendations of the Commission, the Australian Statistician extended the size of the collection of retail prices to cover all the main groups of household expenditure on the basis of a regimen similar to that adopted to compile the "B" series index numbers.

The "C" series was first published in 1921 but was not used in connection with the assessment of wages until its partial adoption by the Commonwealth Conciliation and

RETAIL PRICE INDEX NUMBERS: MELBOURNE, "C" SERIES, 1921 TO 1960  
(Base: weighted average of six capital cities 1923 to 1927 = 100)

Year	Index number	Year	Index number	Year	Index number	Year	Index number
1921 (a)	100.3	1931	84.6	1941	100.8	1951	188.0
1922 (a)	96.3	1932	81.3	1942	110.0	1952	217.0
1923	100.4	1933	78.9	1943	112.7	1953	228.5
1924	97.6	1934	80.1	1944	113.5	1954	228.8
1925	98.4	1935	82.4	1945	113.5	1955	236.5
1926	99.8	1936	84.4	1946	114.9	1956	256.7
1927	99.0	1937	86.8	1947	118.8	1957	256.2
1928	99.2	1938	89.6	1948	129.4	1958	259.0
1929	101.7	1939	92.4	1949	141.5	1959	269.8
1930	95.6	1940	96.4	1950	156.5	1960	294.9

(a) November.

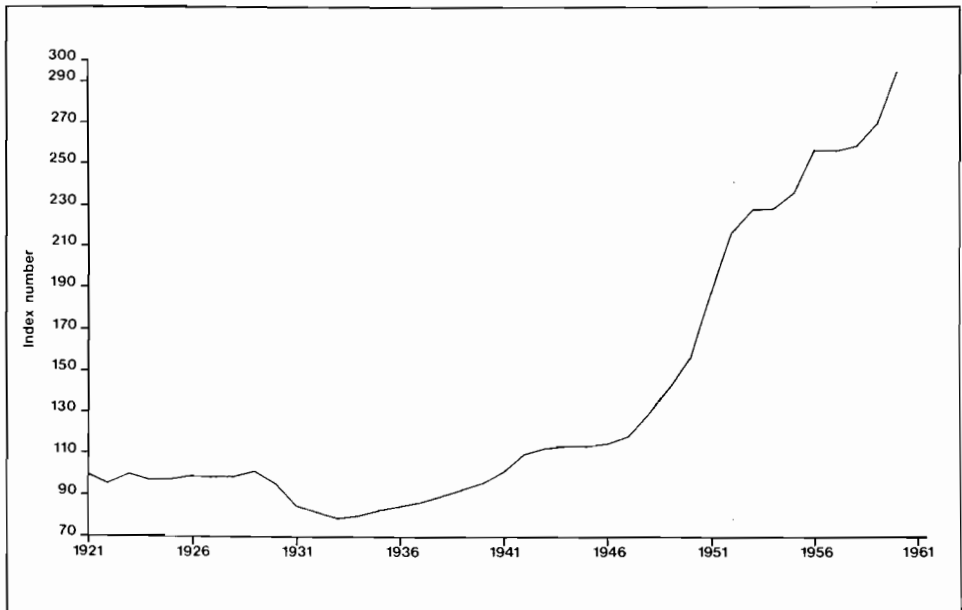


FIGURE 29. Melbourne—"C" Series Retail Price Index, year ended 31 December 1921 to 1961.

Arbitration Court in May 1933, when that Court introduced the "D" series of Indexes. However, in its Judgement of 17 April 1934 the Court adopted the "C" series as the sole basis of the wages declared in the Judgement and for the future adjustment of such wages. In its Judgement of 23 June 1937, the Commonwealth Court adopted this index as the basis of the "Court" series for the adjustment of the "needs" position of the Court's new basic wage. The Court did not use it after August 1953.

The investigations into the basic wage by the Court were still very much influenced by the concepts behind the determination of the Harvester Judgement of 1907. The basic idea was the economic need of a family unit, not of the ability of the economy to pay such a wage, as became the practice in the 1960s. For this reason the determination of the pattern of items of household expenditure ("the regimen") became of basic importance as it would eventually determine the standard of living of workers on the basic wage.

Use of the index by the Commonwealth Court stimulated a statistical examination leading to some important revisions of procedures. In 1936 the Australian Statistician, in consultation with the State Statist, overhauled the regimen and reviewed the methods of calculation. The influence of these revisions upon the current index numbers was small, but the changes reflected more accurately a wider range of retail items. The complete regimen then comprised 170 standardised items (apart from housing).

The list of component items and the weighting pattern of the "C" series Retail Price Index, first adopted in 1921, were only slightly revised by the Conference of Statisticians in 1936, but otherwise continued almost unchanged.

The sudden rise in index numbers between 1941 and 1942 illustrates the problems raised for the economic management of Australia's wartime economy. Although the level of demand evident for most of the 1930s had been slowly increasing, with the advent of war the level of demand increased dramatically. The requirements of manpower and materials had to be met from a limited base and prices needed control. Likewise controls were needed on wage rates, the raising of capital, interest rates, bank lending, international trade, and the use of overseas currencies.

From the outbreak of war in 1939 until late in 1948, periodic policy changes in regard to wartime controls such as price control, price stabilisation, price subsidies, and rationing caused recurrent changes in consumption and in the pattern of expenditure. This rendered changes desirable but made it impracticable either to produce a new index, or to revise the old one, on any basis that would render the index more representative than it already was of the changing pattern in those years.

#### PRICE CONTROLS, 1939 TO 1954

Immediately after the outbreak of war the Commonwealth Government fixed the maximum prices of certain goods at the level prevailing on 31 August 1939. On 28 September the National Security (Prices) Regulations were proclaimed by the Commonwealth Government. Extensive powers were conferred upon a Commonwealth Prices Commission to control the prices of goods declared for that purpose by the Minister for Trade and Customs. The Deputy Commissioners appointed in each State by the Commonwealth, on the nomination of the State Government, administered the regulations under the supervision of the Commonwealth Prices Commissioner.

The regulations provided for the automatic adjustment of prices to increases in costs. Selling prices were to be calculated by traders themselves on principles laid down in an Order, subject to official check. The basis of such prices was the cost of the goods being sold, plus a gross profit margin. The cost was defined as the actual into-store cost of goods being sold or, in certain circumstances, as the average cost of all goods held in stock at a given date. The Prices Commissioner could increase margins where they were shown to be inadequate, or reduce them where they were deemed to be too high. Many commodities were excluded from the operation of the general orders and for these commodities specific prices were fixed.

In April 1942 Prices Regulation Order No. 666 limited the trader's profit margin to the actual money margins obtaining on 15 April 1942. From that date the trader was allowed to increase his prices only by the actual amount of increased cost. The next phase of price control was designed to secure price stability. On 12 April 1943 Prices Regulation Order

No. 1015 fixed, as ceiling prices, the prices actually being charged by individual traders on that date. There were certain exceptions.

The price ceilings could not, however, eliminate all rising costs. When increased costs could not be absorbed within the process of production or distribution they were met generally at the source by payment of subsidies and thus were prevented from disturbing the whole price structure.

So long as the ceiling consisted of prices determined for each trader by the price charged on 12 April 1943, ample room existed for uncertainty among purchasers as to what was the legal ceiling price, and even for evasion. To meet this difficulty the Prices Commissioner extended his policy of fixing specific maximum prices which no trader could exceed, whatever may have been his price on 12 April 1943. Under these Orders the consumer knew the highest price he could be charged.

With the changeover from wartime controls to a peacetime economy the rigidity of price ceilings had to give way to a more elastic control to permit the expeditious pricing of thousands of new or restored lines. Late in 1946 important steps were taken by the Commonwealth Government to modify the operation of the Price Stabilization Plan so that relief from increased costs would be extended by price increase more frequently rather than by the payment of subsidy. Over this period the Prices Commissioner constantly watched the supply position of commodities and services in relation to the demand. When the danger of "black marketing" in any commodity or service was eliminated by supply overtaking demand and the interests of the consuming public were adequately safeguarded, steps were taken to remove the items from price control.

In February 1947 payment of a subsidy to cover basic wage adjustments was cancelled and steps were taken either to adjust prices or to require traders to absorb the increased costs.

The National Security Act expired on 31 December 1946 but control over prices was continued under the Defence (Transitional Provisions) Act for a further two years. The Commonwealth Government then decided to hold a referendum seeking authority for permanent powers over rents and prices. The referendum was held on 29 May 1948 and resulted in the rejection of the Government's proposal. Subsequently arrangements were made with the State Governments to take over control of prices. On 20 September 1948 each State Government issued declarations covering uniform lists of goods and services which were brought under price control.

In the operation of State price control, the State Prices Commissioners collaborated closely. Conferences of Commissioners were held at intervals of approximately two months. Thus a large degree of uniformity was attained in controlling and decontrolling items and in the fixation of margins and prices of major items. In each State the number of commodities and services subject to control was progressively reduced and price control in Victoria was terminated on 31 December 1954.

Altogether the Commonwealth Government spent approximately \$290m on its price stabilisation subsidies which reached a peak in 1947-48 when subsidies totalling \$70m were given.

#### PRICES AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

When commodity rationing had virtually ceased in the latter part of 1948, action was taken by the Australian Statistician to collect price data of about 100 additional items and to gather information as to current consumption and expenditure patterns. This was done to facilitate review of the component items and weighting system of the "C" Series Retail Price Index, in the light of the new patterns of wage earner expenditure and consumption that appeared to be then emerging.

In the next few years, conditions arose which caused wide price dispersion together with a very rapid rise in prices and a new sequence of changes in consumption and the pattern of wage earner expenditure. Under these conditions it was not appropriate to devise any new weighting pattern likely to be more continuously representative of conditions then current than was the existing "C" Series Index.

These post-war conditions were the result of pent-up demand and immigration. With the demobilisation of servicemen and the consequent formation of new households, a great demand developed for consumer goods, building materials, and motor cars. This demand

could not be met until the 1950s, and caused a general pressure on prices. Furthermore, the beginning of the war in Korea in 1950 suddenly gave Australia a very large balance of payments surplus mainly as a result of high wool prices. This again had an impact on prices and the large leap in the basic wage in 1950-51 caused great concern about "inflation". The Korean War wool "boom" came to an end in 1952.

By 1953 it was apparent that only the aggregate "C" Series Index was still reasonably reliable for current use. The "C" Series Index was continued on its pre-war basis without significant change in procedures, but an Interim Retail Price Index (1952-53 base year) was introduced in 1954 and continued until the March quarter, 1960, using putative weights and components, representative, as nearly as was possible, of the post-war pattern of consumer usage and expenditure.

The Interim Retail Price Index was a transitional index designed to measure retail price variations on the "C" Series model in terms of post-war consumption weights as emerging in the early 1950s. It embraced a wider range of commodities and services than did the "C" Series Index, but it did not take into account successive major changes in the pattern of expenditure and modes of living that began to occur early in 1950 and through to 1960. When these changes eventually came to be detected and measured, they signified a substantial change in lifestyle. Hire purchase came into its own in the early 1950s and matched the great manufacturing and consumer expansion of the motor car.

In this period home owning largely replaced house renting; the numbers of government-owned rented houses rose appreciably; the use of the motor car greatly increased and partly replaced the use of public transport; various items of electrical household equipment and black and white television came into widespread use; household consumption of electricity greatly increased; and technological developments such as the introduction of new synthetic materials produced a number of changes in clothing and other groups of items. Through the impact of these continuing changes in usage, combined with disparate movements in prices, the Interim Retail Price Index itself became outmoded. In consequence, the situation was met by compiling the Consumer Price Index, constructed as a chain of linked indexes with significant changes in composition and weighting effected at relatively short intervals (generally of four or five years duration).

Both the "C" Series Retail Price Index and the Interim Retail Price Index ceased in 1960 when they were replaced by the Consumer Price Index, compiled retrospectively to the September Quarter 1948.

Substantial changes in the pattern of expenditure of wage-earner households make it necessary to construct indexes with additional items and changes in the weighting patterns at intervals. These indexes are "linked" to form a "chain" of fixed weight aggregative indexes. Under this method, average percentage price movements are assessed on one pattern up to the time of the link and on another pattern thereafter. Linking ensures that the series reflects only price variations and not differences in the cost of old and new combinations and lists of items. The introduction of new items and weights by linking does not of itself affect the level of the Consumer Price Index.

The following table shows the Consumer Price Index for Melbourne, All Groups from 1948-49 to 1981-82:

CONSUMER PRICE INDEX: MELBOURNE, ALL GROUPS, 1948-49 TO 1981-82  
(Base: year 1980-81 = 100)

Year	Index number	Year	Index number	Year	Index number
1948-49	14.0	1960-61	29.0	1972-73	41.1
1949-50	15.2	1961-62	29.1	1973-74	46.6
1950-51	17.2	1962-63	29.0	1974-75	54.3
1951-52	21.0	1963-64	29.2	1975-76	61.3
1952-53	23.0	1964-65	30.4	1976-77	70.1
1953-54	23.5	1965-66	31.5	1977-78	77.0
1954-55	23.5	1966-67	32.4	1978-79	83.1
1955-56	24.9	1967-68	33.6	1979-80	91.4
1956-57	26.2	1968-69	34.4	1980-81	100.0
1957-58	26.3	1969-70	35.2	1981-82	110.4
1958-59	26.8	1970-71	36.6		
1959-60	27.6	1971-72	38.7		



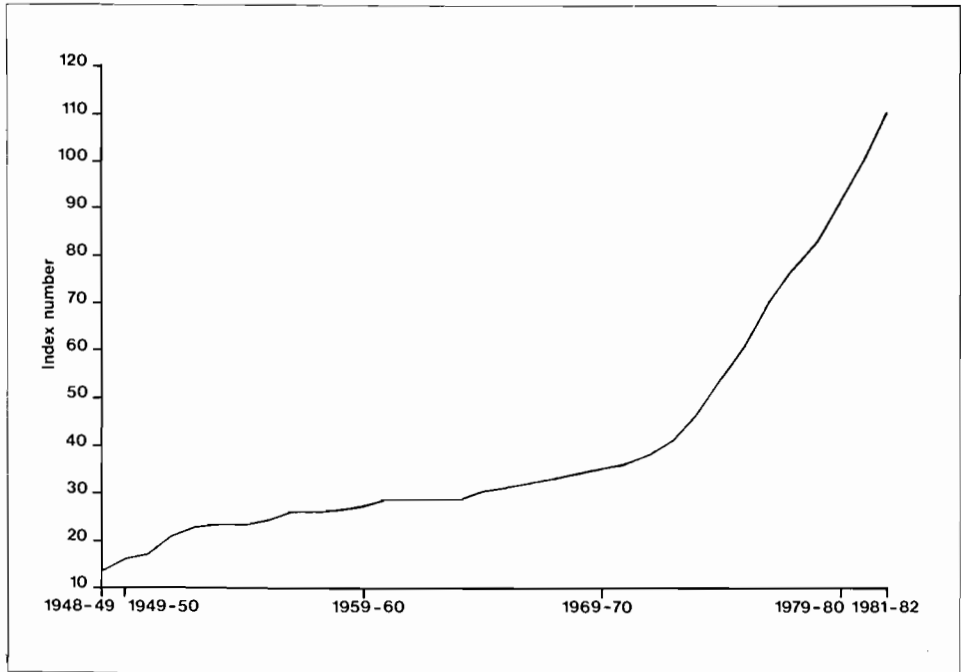


FIGURE 30. Melbourne—Consumer Price Index, All Groups, year ended 30 June 1949 to 1982.

In contrast to index series covering years up to the 1930s which recorded periodic falls in price aggregates, the Consumer Price Index has not indicated a specific fall in its aggregated price in any of the thirty years since the Second World War. Automatic adjustment of the basic wage had ceased in 1953, was resumed in 1975, but was soon followed by a system of partial indexation which ceased in 1981. Indexation was re-introduced in 1983.

The 1970s saw a worsening in the rate of inflation as measured by the Consumer Price Index. The Australian "mining boom" which began in the mid-1960s, as well as the economic impact of the Vietnam war, exhibited their full effects by the early 1970s when the Australian dollar became significantly undervalued and large amounts of capital were attracted into the country. In 1973 an effort was made to counter these trends by revaluing the dollar and reducing tariffs across the board by 25 per cent. Nevertheless the rapid rise of wages after 1973-74, even in the midst of growing unemployment, helped to accelerate inflation in a way not experienced previously. The situation was not helped by the dramatic rise in the price of oil after 1973. During the 1970s several government initiatives were taken in an attempt to influence prices and consumer awareness of value for money. In 1973 the Prices Justification Tribunal was established to conduct inquiries into prices for the supply of goods and services and to report to the Commonwealth Minister the results of every such inquiry. The Act which governed the Tribunal's operations provided that the Tribunal should have due regard to the need for the company or companies under review to achieve a level of profitability that is sufficient to enable the company or companies to maintain an adequate level of investment and employment. The Tribunal was abolished in 1981, the same year as the Petroleum Products Pricing Authority was established. This Authority took over the responsibility for price surveillance of the petroleum products industry. The following graph indicates movements in the price of petroleum since 1972:

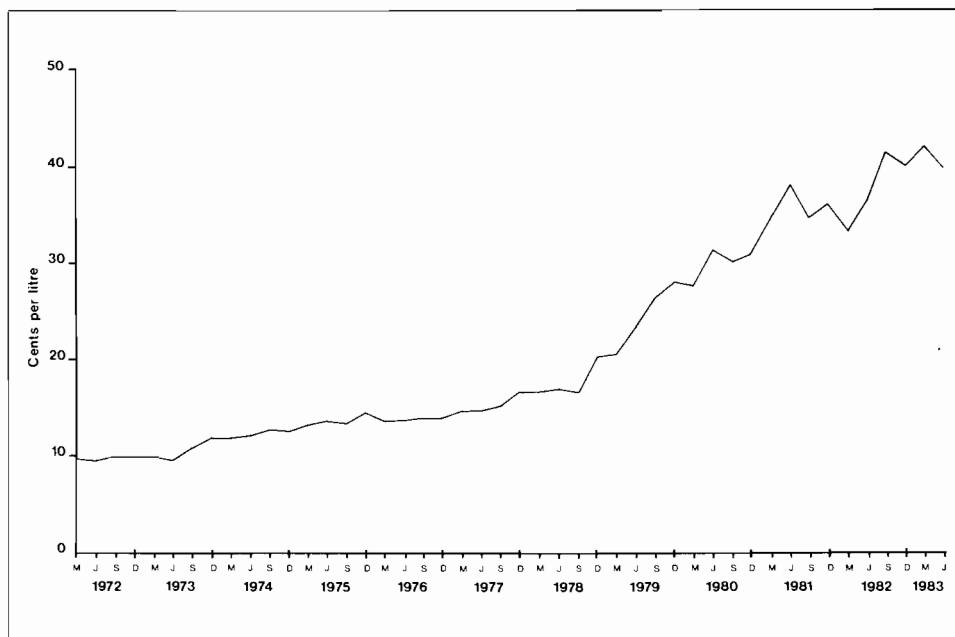


FIGURE 31. Melbourne—Average retail price of premium grade petrol, 1972 to 1983.

As well as the Prices Justification Tribunal, both State and Commonwealth Government sponsored Consumer Affairs Bureaux were established in the 1970s. Although these Bureaux do not have a direct influence on prices, they were responsible for making consumers aware of their rights and assisting them, where necessary, to obtain those rights.

For all but one of the ten series of the Consumer Price Index the items and weights for the different periods covered have been derived from the analysis of statistics of production and consumption, censuses of population and retail establishments, the Survey of Motor Vehicle Usage, the continuing Survey of Retail Establishments, and information supplied by manufacturing, commercial, and other relevant sources. For the ninth series household expenditure statistics were used to establish the weighting pattern.

During 1974-75 and 1975-76, the ABS conducted two surveys in order to obtain information about the expenditure patterns of private households. The 1974-75 survey was confined to a sample of households in the six State capital cities and Canberra (collection in Darwin being suspended in December 1974 due to cyclone Tracy), while the coverage of the 1975-76 survey was extended to include other urban and rural regions. Apart from limited attempts in 1910-11 and 1913 to assess the spending patterns of Australian households, these surveys were the first official collections of household expenditure statistics conducted in this country.

Perhaps the most important reason for the collection of data relating to expenditure at the household level is to provide information for use in improving the representativeness of the items and the weighting pattern used to compile the Consumer Price Index. Household expenditure statistics also provide a rich source of data needed for a wide range of policy and research purposes. These included the planning of welfare services; assessing the need for, and effect of, programmes in fields such as housing, education, and health; assessing the impact of taxation and government benefits; and improving estimates of private final consumption expenditure in the National Accounts. Further information on the surveys can be found on pages 505-10 of the *Victorian Year Book* 1979.

## HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE BY REGIONS: VICTORIA, 1974-75 and 1975-76

Particulars	1974-75		1975-76		
	Melbourne	Melbourne	Urban regions (a)	Rural regions (b)	Victoria
Number of households in sample	2,544	653	498	176	1,327
Estimated total number of households in population ('000)	822.0	837.4	239.9	85.7	1,163.0
Average number of persons per household	3.15	3.08	3.09	3.38	3.10
Average age of household head (years)	45.03	45.92	45.02	48.83	45.95
Average weekly household income (\$)	212.22	241.97	207.54	204.41	232.10
AVERAGE WEEKLY HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE (\$)					
Commodity or service —					
Current housing costs (c)	22.95	26.41	21.06	11.03	24.18
Fuel and power	4.38	4.90	4.53	3.92	4.75
Food —					
Bread, cakes, and cereals	3.66	4.00	3.63	3.83	3.91
Meat and fish	8.30	9.09	7.62	7.12	8.64
Dairy products, oils, and fats	4.81	5.39	4.78	5.55	5.27
Fruit and vegetables	4.77	5.26	3.94	4.32	4.92
Other food	11.69	12.91	11.59	8.76	12.34
Alcohol and tobacco	9.04	11.73	8.49	7.40	10.75
Clothing and footwear	15.65	17.98	14.22	9.27	16.56
Household equipment and operation	14.87	18.82	16.51	13.05	17.92
Medical care and health expenses	6.21	5.59	5.27	5.82	5.54
Transport and communication	25.90	35.35	31.03	31.06	34.14
Recreation and education	14.67	17.11	18.77	11.25	17.02
Miscellaneous goods and services	14.88	15.13	13.64	11.64	14.56
Total expenditure	161.83	189.66	165.08	134.02	180.49
Selected other payments (d)	43.47	48.19	43.45	37.62	46.43

(a) All towns and urban centres with a population of more than 500 persons (excluding the capital cities) as defined for purposes of the 1971 Census of Population and Housing.

(b) Localities with a population of less than 500 persons and rural areas.

(c) Included in current housing costs are both principal and interest components of any housing loan repayments. Excluded are outright purchase of, or deposit on, dwellings or land, and other payments of a capital nature.

(d) The main components of this item are income tax, superannuation contributions, life insurance premiums, purchases of and deposits on dwellings and land, and gambling payments. Receipts from sales of dwellings and land, and gambling winnings are offset against payments. These figures are subject to large sampling errors and should be treated with caution.

The following tables show the Consumer Price Index for the years 1949-50 to 1981-82 for all groups for the six State capital cities and Canberra and for each group for Melbourne for the years 1949-50 to 1981-82:

## CONSUMER PRICE INDEX : ALL GROUPS, SIX STATE CAPITAL CITIES AND CANBERRA, 1949-50 TO 1981-82

(Base of index for each city and for six State capital cities combined:  
year 1980-81 = 100.0)

Year	Six capitals (a)	Sydney	Melbourne	Brisbane	Adelaide	Perth	Hobart	Canberra
1949-50	15.1	15.0	15.2	15.1	15.5	15.3	14.8	15.9
1954-55	23.6	23.4	23.5	23.1	24.3	24.4	24.0	25.4
1959-60	27.3	27.0	27.6	27.2	27.6	27.1	27.6	28.7
1964-65	29.9	29.5	30.4	30.1	30.1	29.6	30.5	31.3
1968-69	34.8	34.5	35.2	35.1	34.7	35.0	35.0	35.2
1974-75	54.5	54.9	54.3	54.6	54.4	53.1	53.8	54.1
1979-80	91.4	91.1	91.4	91.5	91.6	91.9	91.6	91.1
1980-81	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1981-82	110.4	110.2	110.4	110.7	110.5	111.2	110.0	110.7

(a) Weighted average of six State capital cities.

CONSUMER PRICE INDEX: MELBOURNE, 1949-50 TO 1981-82  
(Base of each index : year 1980-81 = 100.0) (a)

Year	Food	Clothing	Housing	Household equipment and operation	Transportation	Tobacco and alcohol	Health and personal care	Recreation and education (a)
1949-50	13.7	17.7	13.7	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1954-55	24.0	26.6	18.0	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1959-60	27.9	29.1	23.2	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1964-65	30.9	30.7	28.9	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1969-70	35.5	34.0	35.2	39.3	34.4	34.1	28.4	n.a
1974-75	52.6	54.5	56.7	55.4	51.1	54.5	52.2	n.a
1979-80	90.6	93.4	91.6	89.7	91.0	94.7	90.8	n.a
1980-81	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	n.a
1981-82	108.6	106.9	111.2	110.9	108.6	108.3	128.7	n.a

(a) As a result of the introduction of the revised Consumer Price Index in June 1982 there are significant differences between the Recreation and education group and the old Recreation group, and the two series had not been linked at March quarter 1982. Instead, the new Recreation and education group index, and its component sub-group indexes for holiday travel and accommodation and education and child care commenced at March quarter 1982.

## LONG-TERM PRICE MOVEMENTS

The index numbers shown in the following table are presented as a continuous series, but they give only a broad indication of long-term trends in retail price levels. They are derived by linking a number of indexes that differ markedly in scope.

The successive indexes used are: from 1901 to 1914, the "A" Series Retail Price Index; from 1914 to 1946-47, the "C" Series Retail Price Index; from 1946-47 to 1948-49, a composite of the Consumer Price Index Housing Group (partly estimated) and the "C" Series Retail Price Index, excluding rent; and from 1948-49 onwards, the Consumer Price Index.

RETAIL PRICE INDEX NUMBERS: AUSTRALIA,  
SIX STATE CAPITAL CITIES COMBINED, 1901 TO 1982  
(Base : year 1911 = 100)

Year	Index number	Year	Index number	Year	Index number	Year	Index number	Year	Index number
1901	88	1918(a)	150	1935	138	1952	367	1969	564
1902	93	1919(a)	170	1936	141	1953	383	1970	586
1903	91	1920(a)	193	1937	145	1954	386	1971	621
1904	86	1921(a)	168	1938	149	1955	394	1972	658
1905	90	1922(a)	162	1939	153	1956	419	1973	720
1906	90	1923	166	1940	159	1957	429	1974	829
1907	90	1924	164	1941	167	1958	435	1975	954
1908	95	1925	165	1942	181	1959	443	1976	1,083
1909	95	1926	168	1943	188	1960	459	1977	1,216
1910	97	1927	166	1944	187	1961	471	1978	1,313
1911	100	1928	167	1945	187	1962	469	1979	1,432
1912	110	1929	171	1946	190	1963	472	1980	1,578
1913	110	1930	162	1947	198	1964	483	1981	1,731
1914(a)	114	1931	145	1948	218	1965	502	1982	1,923
1915(a)	130	1932	138	1949	240	1966	517		
1916(a)	132	1933	133	1950	262	1967	534		
1917(a)	141	1934	136	1951	313	1968	548		

(a) November.

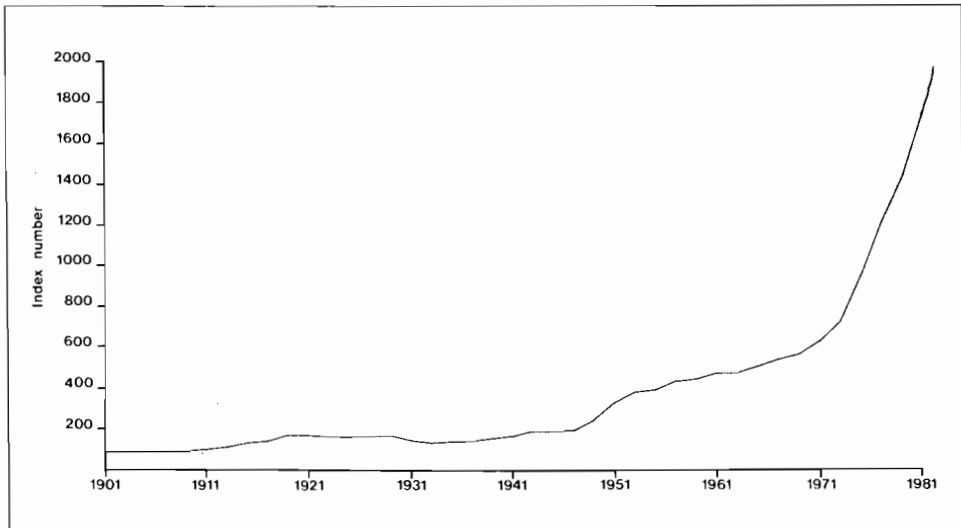


FIGURE 32. Australia—Retail Price Index Numbers, year ended 31 December 1901 to 1982.

### WHOLESALE PRICE INDEXES

The understanding of wholesale price indexes is closely linked to that of the retail series. Both are reflections of basic economic trends and conditions, although the object of wholesale price indexes is largely related to understanding the input costs of the manufacturing and retail distribution sectors.

An index of Melbourne wholesale prices was first compiled from 1912 with the year 1911 as base. It was compiled retrospectively to 1861 and related chiefly to basic materials and foods weighted in accordance with consumption in the years immediately preceding 1912. The index was compiled from 1912 to 1961, but the component items and weighting remained unchanged although as early as 1930 the Conference of Statisticians resolved to revise and extend the items included in order to bring the index into line with changed conditions. A new Wholesale Price (Basic Materials and Foodstuffs) Index was introduced with the year 1928 as base and with a weighting system based on average annual consumption during the years 1928-29 to 1934-35 inclusive. Several special purpose indexes also became available.

Apart from a few important exceptions price quotations for the Basic Materials and Foodstuffs Index were mainly from Melbourne sources. Earlier price movements for both indexes were seen as representative of fluctuations in wholesale prices of basic materials in most Australian markets.

By 1960 consideration was being given to the enlargement of the Basic Materials and Foodstuffs Index to cover additional groups and to the revision of the weighting pattern of the index. A comprehensive study was undertaken by the ABS to ascertain index number requirements, having in mind wider aspects of the national economy and its sectoring in terms of industries producing goods, final consumers, and the rest of the world. From 1970 new indexes were constructed sequentially which reflected price movements for inputs and outputs of industries, together with some special purpose indexes.

The Wholesale Price Index of Materials Used in Building Other than House Building measures changes in the prices of selected materials used in the construction of buildings other than houses and "low rise" flats (in general those up to three storeys). The index was revised and rebased as from 1979-80 and the material composition in the revised index differs significantly from the material composition of the previous groups. The following two tables show the index numbers for materials used in building other than house building for the period 1966-67 to 1981-82:

WHOLESALE PRICE INDEX OF MATERIALS USED IN BUILDING  
OTHER THAN HOUSE BUILDING: MELBOURNE, 1966-67 TO 1979-80  
(Base of each index : year 1966-67 = 100.0)

Year	Concrete mix, cement, sand, etc.	Cement products	Bricks stone, etc.	Timber board and joinery	Steel and iron products	Aluminium products	Other metal products
1966-67	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1967-68	99.9	101.0	102.4	100.8	102.4	100.9	105.8
1968-69	101.1	103.1	107.3	104.0	106.2	104.0	106.7
1969-70	104.4	108.5	110.5	107.8	110.4	108.7	124.1
1970-71	111.9	115.1	115.8	113.4	116.0	117.1	120.8
1971-72	124.9	122.6	123.0	118.7	128.4	125.0	118.6
1972-73	129.6	133.4	130.8	127.7	136.4	134.5	123.1
1973-74	135.6	145.0	146.0	156.7	155.5	149.6	153.2
1974-75	162.6	176.7	169.3	189.9	197.8	174.2	152.7
1975-76	191.8	215.3	189.8	212.0	239.6	194.1	164.3
1976-77	216.2	237.3	205.4	238.1	272.3	217.1	183.5
1977-78	235.9	261.0	221.2	256.7	296.3	235.5	185.3
1978-79	248.5	280.9	237.0	268.5	314.1	250.6	217.4
1979-80	300.5	314.8	262.9	302.8	347.9	280.8	273.4

	Plumbing fixtures	Miscellaneous materials	Electrical installation materials	Mechanical services components	Special purpose index	All groups
1966-67	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1967-68	102.4	102.8	100.9	101.4	n.a	101.7
1968-69	103.4	104.3	102.1	108.0	n.a	105.0
1969-70	111.8	106.4	112.2	112.1	n.a	109.8
1970-71	121.6	110.2	110.9	119.4	114.8	115.1
1971-72	136.4	115.5	114.7	128.0	124.2	123.9
1972-73	149.8	123.6	120.5	132.8	132.1	131.2
1973-74	167.7	133.6	138.3	144.3	149.6	148.0
1974-75	210.2	164.8	157.4	181.4	182.9	180.6
1975-76	249.9	187.6	177.4	201.6	214.1	209.4
1976-77	267.5	203.0	199.6	225.6	240.1	234.8
1977-78	270.0	216.4	215.3	247.3	259.8	254.4
1978-79	275.5	225.0	242.6	268.1	275.1	271.4
1979-80	318.5	245.8	285.4	298.1	310.3	306.6

WHOLESALE PRICE INDEX OF MATERIALS USED IN BUILDING  
OTHER THAN HOUSE BUILDING: MELBOURNE, 1979-80 TO 1981-82  
(Base of each index : year 1979-80 = 100.0)

Year	Structural timber	Clay bricks	Ready mixed concrete	Precast concrete products	Galvanised steel decking, cladding etc.	Structural steel	Reinforcing steel bar fabric and mesh	Aluminium windows
1979-80	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1980-81	116.0	115.8	115.2	110.6	112.7	113.5	115.9	108.0
1981-82	122.2	133.1	116.7	121.3	126.8	125.8	127.8	119.7

	Steel windows doors, louvres etc.	Builders' hardware	Sand aggregate and filling	Carpet	Paint	Non-ferrous pipes	All groups
1979-80	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1980-81	113.5	113.5	110.1	109.6	118.4	95.2	112.7
1981-82	124.2	128.1	122.3	118.1	131.2	96.2	123.6

The Price Index of Materials Used in House Building measures changes in prices of selected materials used in the construction of houses. Buildings of any kind other than houses are not represented in the index. The following table shows the index numbers for materials used in house building for the period 1966-67 to 1981-82:

WHOLESALE PRICE INDEX OF MATERIALS USED IN HOUSE BUILDING:  
MELBOURNE, 1966-67 TO 1981-82  
(Base of each index : year 1966-67 = 100.0)

Year	Concrete mix, cement, sand	Cement products	Clay bricks, etc.	Timber board and joinery	Steel products	Other metal products
Value weight (per cent)(a)	4.63	8.55	10.48	37.78	5.58	6.47
1966-67	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1967-68	100.0	104.0	102.4	99.6	101.5	104.1
1968-69	101.1	108.2	107.7	101.5	104.8	107.1
1969-70	103.3	118.8	110.9	103.8	110.3	112.0
1970-71	110.4	129.9	115.7	109.2	113.9	114.0
1971-72	122.0	138.2	123.5	114.5	126.4	119.4
1972-73	127.2	141.5	132.0	125.3	135.3	124.8
1973-74	132.8	160.6	148.7	158.7	154.5	147.1
1974-75	159.7	205.2	172.4	190.5	196.5	168.5
1975-76	189.4	241.1	192.3	207.3	231.9	185.4
1976-77	213.1	279.1	209.4	233.5	269.4	206.2
1977-78	232.0	303.4	233.7	247.2	295.8	219.9
1978-79	244.8	325.9	239.4	255.8	316.2	242.6
1979-80	292.9	357.8	266.9	291.9	347.9	285.1
1980-81	325.6	410.8	312.2	337.1	399.4	321.3
1981-82	338.9	476.4	357.5	358.2	443.3	352.4

	Plumbing fixtures etc.	Electrical installation materials	Installed appliances	Plaster and plaster products	Miscellaneous materials	All groups
	3.34	1.66	6.87	7.19	7.45	100.0
1966-67	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1967-68	100.9	103.4	100.0	102.0	103.2	101.3
1968-69	101.6	105.3	99.9	103.8	104.7	103.6
1969-70	103.1	116.6	101.8	106.0	107.5	107.2
1970-71	110.9	114.7	102.7	111.6	111.4	112.3
1971-72	120.5	119.6	104.3	119.2	116.5	118.9
1972-73	131.2	125.3	106.8	120.4	124.7	126.5
1973-74	146.4	145.3	115.1	124.2	135.8	147.8
1974-75	177.4	165.9	145.3	151.4	161.6	178.4
1975-76	204.6	181.0	166.8	168.1	186.7	200.1
1976-77	218.7	200.3	181.9	175.8	208.2	223.6
1977-78	221.7	213.8	195.4	187.7	221.4	238.6
1978-79	228.4	238.1	203.8	199.5	230.7	251.4
1979-80	261.1	281.2	220.7	217.3	255.0	283.4
1980-81	304.0	313.6	246.1	236.4	296.1	324.7
1981-82	339.9	348.3	272.4	257.2	322.5	355.1

(a) Composition and weighting pattern as at reference base year.

The Price Index of Materials Used in Manufacturing Industry is a net sector index which measures changes in prices of materials used in establishments classified to the Manufacturing Division (Division C) of the Australian Standard Industrial Classification (ASIC), and which enter that Division from other Divisions in the Australian economy or from overseas. The following table shows the index numbers for materials used in manufacturing industry based on the Australian Standard Industrial Classification for the period 1968-69 to 1981-82:

PRICE INDEX OF MATERIALS USED IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY:  
AUSTRALIA, GROUP INDEX NUMBERS BASED ON AUSTRALIAN STANDARD  
INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION, 1968-69 TO 1981-82  
(Base of each index : year 1968-69 = 100.0)

Year	Imported materials				Home produced materials					All groups
	Agriculture	Mining	Manufac- turing	Total imported materials	Agriculture	Forestry and fishing	Mining	Electricity	Total home produced materials	
Value weight (per cent)(a)	1.92	4.17	21.07	27.16	47.04	1.12	18.92	5.76	72.84	100.0
1968-69	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1969-70	104.5	96.2	101.0	100.5	101.6	103.5	108.8	99.7	103.4	102.6
1970-71	101.8	105.3	102.0	102.5	99.3	110.1	98.7	99.4	99.3	100.1

PRICE INDEX OF MATERIALS USED IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY: AUSTRALIA, GROUP INDEX NUMBERS BASED ON AUSTRALIAN STANDARD INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION, 1968-69 TO 1981-82  
(Base of each index : year 1968-69 = 100.0)—*continued*

Year	Imported materials				Home produced materials					All groups
	Agriculture	Mining	Manufacturing	Total imported materials	Agriculture	Forestry and fishing	Mining	Electricity	Total home produced materials	
<i>Value weight (per cent)(a)</i>	1.92	4.17	21.07	27.16	47.04	1.12	18.92	5.76	72.84	100.0
1971-72	95.5	112.0	103.4	104.1	103.5	120.9	97.1	101.7	102.0	102.6
1972-73	105.2	109.1	104.4	105.2	125.3	131.0	100.4	103.7	117.2	113.9
1973-74	130.6	196.3	113.1	127.1	147.9	157.3	119.0	109.9	137.6	134.7
1974-75	149.3	357.8	149.5	181.5	132.2	187.8	129.0	124.6	131.6	145.1
1975-76	166.5	423.6	162.6	202.9	132.3	213.7	163.3	137.9	142.0	158.6
1976-77	258.6	479.5	182.1	233.2	152.5	245.2	189.2	148.8	163.2	182.2
1977-78	303.4	515.3	201.6	257.0	162.4	273.5	211.4	160.9	176.7	198.5
1978-79	285.3	542.6	222.1	275.7	228.8	263.5	280.4	173.8	238.4	248.5
1979-80	329.2	911.8	261.8	366.4	280.3	300.3	403.5	186.7	305.2	321.8
1980-81	293.6	1,146.3	278.7	413.0	295.9	344.4	454.1	210.2	330.9	353.2
1981-82	264.5	1,247.8	290.6	435.7	281.9	363.0	471.3	253.3	330.1	358.8

(a) Composition and weighting pattern as at reference base year.

Price indexes of articles produced by manufacturing industry are a set of *net* sector indexes which measure changes in the prices of articles produced by establishments classified to the Manufacturing Division (Division C) of ASIC and the twelve Manufacturing Subdivisions of ASIC. The following table shows the index numbers for Articles Produced by Manufacturing Industry for the period 1968-69 to 1981-82:

PRICE INDEX OF ARTICLES PRODUCED BY MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY (a):  
AUSTRALIA, INDEX NUMBERS, 1968-69 TO 1981-82  
(Base of each index : year 1968-69 = 100.0)

Year	Net ASIC subdivision indexes						
	All manufacturing industry index	Food, beverages, and tobacco (21-22)	Textiles (23)	Clothing and footwear (24)	Wood, wood products, and furniture (25)	Paper, paper products, and printing (26)	Chemical, petroleum, and coal products (27)
1968-69	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1969-70	103.9	105.1	98.8	102.5	104.5	103.9	99.2
1970-71	108.5	111.4	100.0	107.2	112.1	111.2	101.3
1971-72	113.9	117.3	104.1	112.8	118.4	117.5	104.1
1972-73	120.7	127.7	113.9	119.9	125.1	122.9	106.0
1973-74	134.6	142.8	129.6	136.7	148.8	134.6	111.6
1974-75	158.1	153.0	142.4	161.3	190.0	168.5	142.4
1975-76	177.8	163.5	159.7	185.2	219.9	196.3	168.2
1976-77	196.9	180.0	178.6	208.1	246.8	212.8	182.4
1977-78	213.8	195.6	193.3	225.2	264.0	231.7	200.7
1978-79	237.4	226.4	205.1	238.4	280.4	245.0	233.1
1979-80	274.9	266.5	228.8	255.3	315.5	269.6	307.4
1980-81	305.2	290.9	252.7	276.5	357.3	304.2	366.9
1981-82	329.0	301.9	270.6	298.1	388.4	346.0	401.1

Year	Glass, clay, and other non-metallic mineral products (28)	Basic metal products (29)	Fabricated metal (31)	Transport equipment (32)	Other industrial machinery equipment and household appliances (33)	Miscellaneous manufacturing products (34)
	1968-69	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1969-70	102.9	108.8	102.7	102.4	103.2	101.8
1970-71	108.1	105.9	107.5	105.5	106.7	103.8
1971-72	114.7	109.3	116.5	111.3	114.0	107.5
1972-73	119.6	113.2	125.1	116.0	119.8	112.2



PRICE INDEX OF ARTICLES PRODUCED BY MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY (a): AUSTRALIA, INDEX NUMBERS, 1968-69 TO 1981-82  
(Base of each index : year 1968-69 = 100.0)—continued

Year	Glass, clay, and other non-metallic mineral products (28)	Basic metal products (29)	Fabricated metal (31)	Transport equipment (32)	Other industrial machinery equipment and household appliances (33)	Miscellaneous manufacturing products (34)
1973-74	129.6	129.4	142.3	124.9	132.4	120.6
1974-75	158.3	151.9	183.2	151.2	158.9	143.7
1975-76	183.2	174.0	217.1	175.8	179.2	159.0
1976-77	202.5	200.6	244.9	195.0	199.4	176.0
1977-78	219.8	214.0	268.7	211.6	215.3	192.4
1978-79	236.8	237.2	287.7	230.2	232.2	209.8
1979-80	265.2	282.7	323.9	252.2	261.3	252.5
1980-81	300.2	297.8	371.6	275.7	289.7	273.9
1981-82	337.5	315.3	414.2	303.2	320.7	289.5

(a) ASIC subdivision codes are shown in brackets.

The Price Index of Metallic Materials measures changes in prices of materials used in the ASIC Subdivision 31—Fabricated Metal Products. This special purpose index was supplemented by the Wholesale Price Index of Copper Materials Used in Manufacture of Electrical Equipment and provided a replacement for the metals component of the Wholesale Price (Basic Materials and Foodstuffs) Index. The following table shows the index numbers for Materials Used in the Manufacture of Fabricated Metal Products for the period 1968-69 to 1981-82:

PRICE INDEX OF METALLIC MATERIALS USED IN THE MANUFACTURE OF FABRICATED METAL PRODUCTS (a): AUSTRALIA, GROUP AND ALL GROUPS INDEX NUMBERS, 1968-69 TO 1981-82  
(Base of each index : year 1968-69 = 100.0)

Year	Group					All groups 100.0
	Value weight (per cent)(a)	Iron and steel 83.2	Aluminium 8.9	Copper and brass 5.7	Zinc 0.5	
1968-69		100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0
1969-70		104.2	102.2	122.5		93.8
1970-71		106.7	104.5	106.5		90.9
1971-72		116.2	106.8	106.2		83.6
1972-73		122.6	109.2	106.6		98.7
1973-74		131.7	118.2	138.1		151.3
1974-75		161.1	141.9	131.1		192.4
1975-76		200.2	158.0	137.5		207.8
1976-77 (b)		227.8	176.9	158.1	259.8	222.5
1977-78		248.9	193.7	153.9	237.9	246.8
1978-79		264.9	208.9	179.2	291.3	327.4
1979-80		294.4	251.5	216.6	329.5	957.3
1980-81		336.0	281.5	209.9	332.4	719.7
1981-82		370.2	291.2	210.0	373.8	406.3

(a) Composition and weighting pattern as at reference year.  
(b) From 1976-77 Silver and Zinc were published separately.

## TRANSPORT

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### INTRODUCTION

The important role of transport in Victoria's development during the fifty years since 1934 is the theme of this Chapter. It begins with a study of land transport pre-war and in each subsequent decade, considering railway, tramway, and road transport passenger and freight movements in the metropolitan area and the country, as well as urban planning schemes, road traffic accidents, alternative fuels, roads and freeways, and road funding. A section on sea transport looks at major ports in Victoria, the decline of passenger services, and developments in cargo handling, including containerisation. The air transport section gives an historical overview covering the development of airlines, airports, and aircraft, and operation of services under the two-airline system.

### LAND TRANSPORT

#### 1934 to 1939

By 1934, land transport in Victoria was highly developed with a road and rail network extending into every corner of the State. Historically, the road network was the first to be developed, and it took almost 80 years of experimentation before the present system evolved. As late as 1910 the roads were still so bad that even over short distances travel was difficult. Several reports were prepared for the Victorian Government and these recommended the establishment of a central road authority, culminating in the Country Roads Act, passed in 1912—the Board being established in 1913. By 1934, the Board was responsible for 3,695 kilometres of State highways, 10,245 kilometres of main roads, and 5,788 kilometres of developmental roads. The Victorian railway system by 1934 had extended to 7,688 kilometres of track, and carried 6.07 million tonnes of goods and 137.3 million passengers in that year. The suburban railways had been electrified and the tramway conversion to electric traction was well advanced. Passenger traffic in 1934 was heavy. The suburban railways carried 134.3 million passengers and the railway trams 5.5 million passengers. The Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board electric trams carried 126 million passengers and the cable trams a further 40.4 million passengers. The population of Melbourne in 1934 was estimated at 1,000,000 persons. The average number of trips made per person per annum on fixed rail public transport in Melbourne in 1934 was 306. Fixed rail services were also supplemented by buses. The provincial cities of Geelong, Ballarat, and Bendigo also operated electric tramway systems, carrying 8.1 million passengers in that year.

The period immediately prior to 1934 was one of financial stringency. The Depression left its mark in reduced funds for roads and public transport. Finance for roadworks from State sources was closely tied to revenue obtained from motor registration fees. Registration of motor cars and motor cycles had grown quickly from 89,458 in 1925 to 179,261 in 1930. There was then one car for every 9.9 persons. The railways suffered greatly from the cut in finance as, although the system made a working surplus, it was not sufficient to meet the payment of the interest on borrowed capital and this deficit was a major factor in the State's finance. Capital works were cut during the Depression.

LENGTH OF ALL ROADS AND STREETS FOR GENERAL TRAFFIC (a):  
VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1980  
(kilometres)

Year (b)	Road surface					Total
	Wood or stone	Bituminous seal, concrete, etc.	Water-bound macadam, gravel, sand, and other hard loam surface	Formed, but not otherwise paved	Not formed but open for general traffic	
1935	256	10,498	35,814	39,595	85,142	171,305
1940	117	14,476	40,871	39,999	73,587	169,050
1945	108	15,034	41,943	39,979	69,339	166,403
1950	99	13,219	44,444	37,238	74,790	169,790
1960	129	31,134	52,130	37,728	42,149	163,270
1970	n.a.	50,567	46,280	33,320	32,460	162,627
1980	n.a.	62,291	48,398	23,790	22,580	157,059

(a) The estimated length of all roads and streets (excluding State highways) is compiled from information supplied by all municipal authorities.

(b) At 30 September for 1950, 1960, and 30 June for the remainder.

#### *Railways and motor vehicles*

Immediately after the First World War, the construction of improved roads by the Country Roads Board and local municipalities was accompanied by a large increase in Victoria's motor vehicles. Up to the end of the First World War the railways had a monopoly on land transport in Victoria, but increasingly faced serious competition. The railway system was the largest component of accumulated investment in the State, and the diversion of freight and passengers to motor trucks and buses and to the private motor car caused concern as the increased railway deficits threatened the financial stability of Victoria. An early attempt to regulate bus traffic was made in 1928 when the Country Roads Board became the licensing authority for buses carrying not less than six passengers. Municipal councils at that time were also licensing authorities for urban motor buses. This regulation was designed to slow particularly the decrease in country rail passengers, which owing to the effect of increased numbers of motor cars in use, the Depression, and competition from bus services, showed a sharp decline from a peak usage in 1919-20. Suburban passengers also decreased mainly because of the Depression. However, competition for freight continued with the railways, as the State's common carrier, being left to perform the less profitable transport tasks. Because of Victoria's financial difficulties, any reduction in the railway's income was not acceptable to the government of the day.

In 1932 the Victorian Government instituted an inquiry to investigate, among other things, "the Better and More Economic Co-ordination and the Better Regulation and Control of Railway and Road Motor Transport". The resulting report led to acceptance and implementation of the philosophy that in the community interest, competition with rail was to be controlled by regulation, except where the substantial advantage of road transport could be readily demonstrated. While the representations of farmers about the importance to them of motor transport led to certain significant exemptions from regulations (in the form of granting "as of right" licences for primary production purposes), the *Transport Regulation Act 1934* established a system of restrictive licensing of freight motor transport for most other purposes. However, the regulation of metropolitan and urban taxi services was not transferred to the newly formed Transport Regulation Board and in the metropolitan area remained with the Melbourne City Council. In 1934-35, 750 taxis were licensed for the Melbourne metropolitan area.

However, operating losses were not the only financial problem facing the railways. The boom era of expansion had left a legacy of unpaid debt, while the annual payment of interest on loan funds also contributed to the continuing railway deficits. Furthermore, no serious attempt had been made to account for depreciation of railway assets. The value of departmental property—lines, buildings, rolling stock, and other equipment—remained at original cost. A considerable portion of the book value consisted of depreciated assets, or in some cases, valueless obsolete plant and equipment.

While this period was bedevilled by the problems of the railways, owing largely to the size of their deficit, some advances were made in updating rolling stock and improving

tracks. There was little construction of locomotives and passenger carriages, but some vans and trucks were built, although new construction was more than offset by the scrapping of worn out and obsolete vehicles. To improve the efficiency and safety of the remaining rolling stock, a major programme was undertaken, spread over many years, to provide automatic couplings on all suitable vehicles. A further innovation was the thermit welding of track to reduce wear at rail joints and introduce better riding qualities. This method of welding is done on site by placing a crucible around the joint with the welding material in the crucible which is then fired to produce intense heat and weld the rails. The Geelong line became a show piece with long sections of welded track.

The highlight of the period was the construction of the *Spirit of Progress*. Existing "S" class steam engines were overhauled and streamlined and fourteen all steel air conditioned carriages were constructed at the Newport Workshops for use with the train. The first run between Melbourne and Albury took place on 23 November 1937.

Over this period the Railway Commissioners pointed out to the Victorian Government the serious deficiencies in the system, particularly the lack of modern locomotives, carriages, and other rolling stock. The Commissioners proposed that sufficient funds be made available to update the railways. However, funds were not made available, and the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 meant the diversion of available funds to other areas.

**RAILWAYS AND TRAMWAYS PASSENGER JOURNEYS: VICTORIA,  
1935 TO 1982  
('000)**

Year ended 30 June—	Under the control of the Victorian Railways Board					Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board			Country tramways
	Victorian Railways (a)			Road motor services	Electric street tramways	Cable	Electric tramways	Omnibuses	
	Country	Suburban	Total						
1935	5,426	134,263	139,689	757	5,492	41,936	130,910	8	8,146
1940	6,957	137,692	144,649	1,153	5,478	17,772	167,511	17,874	8,645
1945	n.a.	n.a.	195,698	888	9,197	—	284,139	70,664	16,715
1950	8,232	173,869	182,101	1,233	7,138	—	203,697	59,765	14,214
1955	8,553	160,651	169,204	1,916	5,020	—	202,437	56,511	12,637
1960	4,635	153,659	158,294	1,571	—	—	177,868	31,286	6,201
1965	4,907	144,846	149,753	1,154	—	—	147,891	29,812	4,728
1970	4,000	140,309	144,309	926	—	—	110,692	22,353	2,902
1975	4,963	112,757	(b)117,720	793	—	—	111,077	22,658	—
1980	3,664	85,247	88,911	453	—	—	98,889	19,872	—
1981	(c)3,500	(c)84,500	(c)88,000	456	—	—	100,474	21,017	—
1982	3,587	72,726	76,313	501	—	—	103,479	23,546	—

(a) Based on ticket sales making allowances for periodical tickets. Tickets sold at concession rates are counted as full journeys.

(b) A new method of calculating passenger journeys from periodical tickets was introduced in 1973.

(c) Estimate.

### *Urban transport*

On 29 December 1932, an Act was passed providing for the appointment of a Transport Regulation Board. This was essentially a Review Board, empowered to make recommendations to the Governor in Council "with respect to the better and more economic co-ordination for the better regulation and control of railways, tramways, motor, sea, and air transport". Following the report of this Board, legislation was proclaimed on 29 December 1933, providing for the regulation of motor transport, including commercial passenger vehicles, and commercial goods vehicles. The five member Board was a forerunner of a three member Transport Regulation Board, until it was reconstituted in 1980, again with 5 members but with wider powers.

In 1934 the State Electricity Commission (SEC) assumed responsibility for the provincial tramways. The Ballarat and Bendigo systems were by then completely run down. Both these systems were fully reconstructed by the SEC as a matter of urgency, and provided with second-hand trams from the Melbourne system. The Geelong tramways were at the time considered to be in reasonable condition.

In the Melbourne metropolitan area the Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board (MMTB) continued its policy of replacing cable tram lines with electric traction, although some lines were replaced with buses. By 1939 the MMTB operated 113 buses in the metropolitan area.

Buses, taxis, and other vehicles in the urban areas were licensed by the respective municipal councils. By 1939 there were 291 buses and 949 taxis and hire cars licensed. Some horse drawn vehicles were still in use but not for long. Private buses outside the urban areas were now licensed by the Transport Regulation Board and improvements were effected in the standard of vehicles used and in the services offered. In the Melbourne metropolitan area the bus services were closely co-ordinated with the railway services.

Motor vehicles continued to increase in number and by 1939, 261,855 were registered in Victoria, a growth of 39 per cent over the previous five years.

### The 1940s

Following the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, resources were largely devoted to the war effort. The railway workshops were turned over to war work and maintenance of the railway system was kept to a minimum. Manpower was reduced as men enlisted in the services, and large numbers of women were employed in their stead. The burden on the remaining staff was severe, with long hours and little leave. The tramways were similarly affected and conductresses were appointed for the first time. Short extensions were quickly made to the Melbourne and Bendigo tramways to serve munitions and ordnance works.

Wartime restrictions produced peak conditions for both the railways and tramways, as petrol rationing reduced the number of vehicles on the road. In 1945 the MMTB recorded the highest number of passengers in one year on their system, totalling 354.8 million trips. During the war the provincial tramways also carried record numbers, and in 1944, 16.9 million trips were made. In 1945 the railways carried 195.7 million passengers and 8.3 million tonnes of freight. The railways were able to show a financial surplus from 1941 to 1945, after meeting interest payments.

During the Second World War the Country Roads Board assisted defence authorities in works such as the construction of aerodromes and strategic roads. This commitment, the enlistment of many Board officers, and financial stringency meant that little other than essential maintenance could be carried out on Victoria's roads.

From road funds accumulated over the war years, the Country Roads Board made \$4,780,390 available for roadworks in 1946-47, the highest allocation from the Country Roads Board Fund since the Board's inception.

The railway system reflected the years of stringency from 1928, and the strains of the war years. The system was greatly run down because of wear, tear, and obsolescence. With obsolete equipment and tired staff, as well as wage demands and political pressures, a number of industrial stoppages occurred between 1946 and 1950. These culminated in a prolonged strike, from 15 October to 8 December 1950, when no trains ran in Victoria for 55 days.

On the material side "Operation Phoenix" was born. From 1929 to 1950 only four locomotives, five carriages, and 230 wagons had been constructed. In 1949 the Victorian Government invited Sir John Elliot of the British Railways to report on the condition of Victoria's rail system and suggest ways for its improvement. Sir John reported that the Commissioners had a very considerable programme in front of them for refurbishing the railways. Following his report orders were placed for urgently needed locomotives, rolling stock, and other materials. These included 170 steam locomotives, 26 diesel electric main line locomotives, 10 diesel electric shunting locomotives, 25 electric main line locomotives, 39 rail cars, and 3,000 open goods wagons. These initial diesel electric locomotives were so successful that the decision was made to replace the existing steam locomotives with the new motive power as soon as finances permitted.

Financially and physically, the Melbourne tramway network was in better shape than the railways. Although loadings during the war years were extremely high, the tramway plant stood up to the demands placed upon it. During the previous decade sufficient finance had been available to keep track and buildings in good order and to build new trams and buses. While there was a back log of maintenance from the war years, this was dealt with in the normal way. One hundred and ten new trams were built between 1939 and 1950 many of which were in service in 1982. The end of the war brought about an improvement to cross country bus routes in the Melbourne metropolitan area. Many new

privately operated bus lines were established, their services linking tram and rail lines to newly developing suburbs. Petrol restrictions were maintained for almost five years after the war, and this was the factor enabling the new bus lines to become established. Many of their routes were marginal, however, and the lifting of petrol restrictions with the manufacture of motor cars in Australia in the early 1950s so reduced patronage as to render a number uneconomic.

In 1944 the Victorian Government instituted a free bus service system to convey country school children to State secondary, consolidated, and group schools, and by the end of 1944 a total of 134 services were in operation. These services were provided by private bus operators. Students attending primary schools were later permitted to travel by these buses.

### The 1950s

By the *Transport Act 1951*, a Ministry of Transport was established "for the purpose of securing the improvement, development and better co-ordination of railway, tramway, road and air transport in Victoria". Previously this had been a function of the Transport Regulation Board. Under the Ministry of Transport, provision was made for a Co-ordinator of Transport (later Director), who was given a number of functions, the major one being related to the improvement, development, and better co-ordination of transport in Victoria. In 1952 the Tramways Board became the responsibility of the Minister of Transport.

Despite representations made by rural interests unprofitable branch railway line closures occurred in the early 1950s. Although this meant that farmers could truck their produce to the nearest main line station the Transport Regulation Board through stringent application of policies continued to limit the overall growth of road transport. Objections by road carriers were unsuccessful.

However, the position of road hauliers was strengthened by the transport strikes between 1948 and 1950 and the Privy Council ruling in 1954 which, by upholding section 92 of the Australian Constitution, in essence broke the railway monopoly on interstate transport and prevented State authorities from imposing road taxes on interstate hauliers.

Motor transport technology improved at a relatively faster rate than rail, and as the competition by road operators increased, the railways found that they were losing the fight to retain intrastate traffic, although the opening of the standard gauge line between Melbourne and Albury in 1962 led to an increase in the amount of interstate rail traffic.

During this period, public transport patronage dropped sharply as persons came to use their private cars for most activities. The long drawn out strikes of 1950 hastened the movement away from public transport, with overcrowded vehicles, particularly at peak period, encouraging the shift to private transport. Fare rises and reduced services largely because of decreased usage further encouraged the drift. School bus services continued to grow, however, and by 1960 numbered 1,026 and cost \$3,564,000.

Industrial development in the outer areas of Melbourne, together with associated housing estates in the new suburbs, placed many persons beyond the reach of the fixed radial transport routes. Tramway usage in 1949, the year before the long strike, was 338 million passenger journeys. In 1951 it had fallen to 306 million trips, and by 1960 usage had further declined to 209 million passenger trips. During this period the population of Melbourne increased from 1.2 million in 1947 to 1.8 million in 1960, while the population of the inner suburbs, which are best served by tram and train routes, declined.

A somewhat similar pattern was seen in the three large provincial cities. New development was beyond the limits of the tramway networks. The provincial trams were old, the tracks obsolescent and the operator, the SEC, wished to divest itself of these uneconomic operations. Private buses ran from the outer areas to the town centres paralleling the tram routes and both forms of transport were losing patronage. In 1956 the SEC was given permission to abandon the tram services in Geelong. The Transport Regulation Board licensed private bus operators to operate route buses on these lines as part of a co-ordinated bus network in Geelong. Ballarat and Bendigo followed a similar pattern, and their tramway services ceased in September 1971 and April 1972, respectively. Parts of both systems were later re-opened as tourist attractions.

The increase in motor vehicle registrations in Victoria, and the increased funds available to the Country Roads Board from both State and Commonwealth sources allowed the

Board to grant additional funds to municipalities for work on main and council roads, while considerable efforts were made to improve State highways and extend the network of sealed roads. In 1956 the Country Roads Board was empowered to construct freeways, described in the Act as "by-pass roads". The Board considered that construction of such roads, with their restricted access, was essential to the development of an efficient State wide road network. The construction of freeway routes was expected to bring considerable benefit to the community, because of their high traffic capacity, low accident rates, and lesser vehicle operating costs.

#### *Metropolitan transport planning*

By 1951, Melbourne's population had grown to approximately 1.3 million persons, located mostly within 15 kilometres of the city centre. Due to lessening dependence on fixed track transport certain previously undeveloped areas between the rail corridors were now brought into residential or industrial use. Now too, there were more inter-suburban journeys, mainly by motor vehicle, with a smaller proportion of daily movements made by public transport.

These changes resulted from various reasons including a lack of convenient cross-town or circumferential public transport routes, the greater dispersion of trips, the convenience of the car, the ready availability of roads, and particularly, parking space away from the Central Business District (CBD). The changed circumstances were acknowledged by the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works in preparing its 1954 plan for future metropolitan development. This placed emphasis on the proposed distribution of various land-uses throughout the Melbourne metropolitan area.

The 1954 proposals were intended to accommodate a metropolitan population of some 2.5 million persons, primarily through additional outward settlement, distributed in accordance with demand. The CBD was looked on as a prime focus of the metropolitan area, supplemented by five suburban district centres, and it was envisaged that extensive redevelopment would occur in the inner suburbs to maintain their population at the current levels.

Action was proposed to encourage industrial development to the east and south-east where the major population settlement was occurring. A rural zone surrounded the defined urban areas, but it was envisaged that this would later absorb further urban development. There was no thought then that Melbourne would not continue to grow; in fact it was anticipated that growth would be rapid.

Changed circumstances and trends in the urban environment required a new approach to planning of the necessary transport services. Consequently, in 1963, the Metropolitan Transportation Committee (MTC) was formed to advise the Victorian Government on planning development, co-ordination control, and improvement of transport in Melbourne and its environs. This was a milestone in transport planning, being the first effort to investigate transport problems in depth. The first task undertaken by the Committee was a survey of Melbourne's transportation system in 1964-65. The first result of this planning activity was the announcement in 1969 of a Metropolitan Transport Plan for the next 15 to 20 years. Significant features of the Plan were the provision of an underground rail loop, proposed rail and tram extensions, considerable increases in bus services, improved capacities and speeds on metropolitan arterial roads, and a proposed additional 400 kilometres of freeways. The plan proposed that the new bus services would mainly link outlying areas with the rail network and would act as a feeder to the rail network and be considered as an extension to that network.

Other planning reports examined the possibility of large-scale redevelopment in the inner suburbs, but the conclusions were that even allowing for inner area redevelopment, provision would still have to be made for major growth in the perimeter areas. The recommended form, adopted as government policy, was a series of corridors radiating from the urban area, with green wedges of open country between. The Victorian Government also favoured satellite development, in locations such as Melton and Sunbury to encourage development to the north.

In 1971, the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works submitted to the Victorian Government its report on planning policies for the Melbourne metropolitan area. This was

a development of the 1967 recommendations on the long-term development of the Melbourne metropolitan area and the Victorian Government's adopted policy. It attempted to define these recommendations in more detail over the extended planning area.

As part of an urban strategy, the Report outlined two alternatives. The first retained and encouraged the Melbourne CBD as a main focal point in the area, but envisaged establishment of lesser growth centres within the various corridors to encourage their growth in accordance with demand. The second alternative entailed concentration of growth to the south-east, incorporating a major growth centre. This strategy, the report suggested, might need to be adopted should public funds be inadequate to service all corridors, or access to the central area be unduly restricted. The first alternative was the policy recommended.

The 1971 proposals represented a change from earlier concepts on unlimited growth around the perimeter of the city area, to one of guiding development into specific corridor locations and giving new and specific emphasis to conservation of natural environments close to the urban area. Their acceptance provided the impetus for transport planning on a corridor basis and foreshadowed the subsequent adoption by the Minister of Transport of a corridor oriented transport planning policy.

### The 1960s

In 1950, the Parliamentary Public Works Committee commenced an inquiry into providing a city underground railway. The report, submitted in 1954, accepted the principle of the provision of additional stations linked by underground tracks to the existing surface system. In 1958 the Minister of Transport formed a committee to review plans for Melbourne's proposed underground railway. The committee confirmed the need for additional points of passenger dispersal connected by underground tracks to the existing suburban network. Several proposals were considered and one which included a loop incorporating new city stations was adopted. The MTC produced the Melbourne Transportation Study in 1969 which again proposed, among other things, the construction of an underground rail loop.

The loop scheme, approved by the Victorian Government, was incorporated in the *City of Melbourne Underground Railway Construction Act 1960*. This Act was later repealed and replaced by the *Melbourne Underground Rail Loop Act 1970*, which provided for a new authority (the Melbourne Underground Rail Loop Authority) to be responsible for the supervision and co-ordination of the planning, financing, and construction of the loop. The Authority was constituted in February 1971.

The loop was designed primarily to improve rail access to the CBD and disperse the peak hour commuter concentration, which was centred on Flinders Street and Princes Bridge Stations, on the southern edge of the CBD and to a lesser extent on Spencer Street Station on the western edge, by distributing a proportion of the city's labour force through three additional stations on the eastern and northern edges of the area, namely Parliament, Museum, and Flagstaff.

While the underground rail loop made provision for improvement to services in the CBD, related improvements were taking place elsewhere. In accordance with Metropolitan Transportation Committee findings, the Victorian Government concentrated on improving the framework of the fixed track system, as here capacity could be doubled on non-polluting electric transport, substantially within existing rights of way. As part of a comprehensive plan to ensure that the greatest advantage would be gained from the increased capacity of the rail network following construction of the underground rail loop, priority was given to the elimination of bottlenecks by providing additional tracks for faster, more frequent services on a number of lines. Substantial upgrading and modification of stations took place on the Glen Waverley line, with similar improvements planned for the lines from Box Hill to Ringwood, Greensborough to Eltham, and Cheltenham to Mordialloc.

The electric train network was planned eventually to extend to Langwarrin and Werribee to serve new and growing areas. Following the success with diesel electric locomotives introduced with "Operation Phoenix", steam locomotives were phased out by 1970. A few steam locomotives were retained for tourism. Owing to the high capital cost, electrification of country lines other than the Traralgon line was not carried out. The



decision to phase out steam locomotives assisted the railway drive for greater efficiency as the new locomotives were serviced at a central workshop and the small steam outstations and repair shops were closed. Work was also undertaken to re-equip the entire Melbourne metropolitan rail system with modern signalling equipment, over a period of years.

The aim to see an integrated public transport network utilising rail for peak trunk movements prompted a programme to allow passenger transfer from one form of transport to another in the best conditions. Provision for free car parking spaces at suburban stations was substantially increased. Improvements were also being made to bus terminals at suburban stations to provide better weather protection for passengers changing transport modes, while improved facilities were being provided for "Kiss and Ride" passengers at suburban railway stations.

With the growth of the Melbourne metropolitan area more cross suburban trips were required which could not readily be met by the existing public transport routes. Motor vehicle registrations continued to grow and by 1970 totalled 1.4 million vehicles in Victoria, mostly in metropolitan Melbourne. This growth was encouraged by relatively cheap fuel in real terms, and the development of the road network. In the country, most trunk roads were sealed and journeys between towns could be made faster than by rail. The same defect existed in the Melbourne metropolitan rail system, the radial system based on Melbourne and it was far easier to travel direct by road.

While the road network had been steadily developed, the rail system remained static, and fought a losing battle against the increasing capacity of motor vehicles to provide the required passenger and freight services. From 1949 the railway revenue frequently was insufficient to meet operating expenses let alone interest charges on borrowed capital. In 1962 the Victorian Government agreed no longer to charge the interest to the railway accounts but to pay it from other funds at the Treasury. The rail deficit from now on would be the difference between revenue and operating expenses. By 1970 the number of rail passengers had fallen to 140.3 million in the suburban area with only 4 million passengers using country services. The rail deficit by 1970 had reached \$21m.

Consideration was also given to building a standard gauge railway line to link with the New South Wales system at Albury. Following agreement with the Commonwealth and New South Wales Governments the new line was built, and opened on 12 April 1962. In addition, bogie exchange centres were opened at Dynon and Wodonga to allow suitable freight vehicles to run on either the broad or standard gauge lines.

The Melbourne tramway network also suffered from lack of patronage and by 1970 carried only 133 million passengers, each fare rise bringing reduced numbers. The tramway bus network, however, greatly expanded in 1961 when services were commenced in the Doncaster district, the first major extension for about 25 years. Conversion of the Point Ormond and Footscray tram lines to buses also increased the number of bus routes over this period, but reduced patronage necessitated the Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board reducing services. Owing to vastly increased numbers of motor vehicles on the roads, traffic congestion increased trip times.

By 1970 there were 2,520 taxis licensed to operate in the Melbourne metropolitan area and 587 taxis licensed in the country. School bus services continued to grow and by 1969 there were 1,318 school bus services under contract to the Education Department in both urban and country areas.

### Since the 1970s

#### *Board of Inquiry into the Victorian land transport system*

In 1970, the Victorian Government appointed a Board of Inquiry to examine the Victorian land transport system. The one man Board, Sir Henry Bland, C.B.E., was commissioned to determine a number of matters, particularly the adequacy of the land transport system, the division of freight traffic between road and rail, the duplication of transport services, the degree of flexibility in the system, and what effect any changes proposed would have on the transport industry and government finances.

Bland proposed that both the network and service provided be pruned, so that the railways were mainly involved in dense point-to-point trunk movements, and that all other forms of movement be freed for road transport, if that mode was competitive, when

hidden subsidies were removed and all costs were taken into account. The Victorian Government accepted the report in principle, and a number of changes came about. A new Railways Board was created, and the Transport Regulation Board's Act was amended to simplify transport regulation and grant new commercial goods vehicle licences. A review of country rail services was carried out in 1976, and a Task Force set up to co-ordinate the orderly introduction of the recommended changes.

Developments towards implementing these recommendations included the replacement of many branch line rail motor passenger services, and introduction of regional freight centres. With these centres, rail use was generally restricted to main line and bulk carriage movements, where substantial economies of scale could be achieved. This took place in conjunction with arrangements for the forwarding of general goods to final destination by road from distribution points—regional freight centres—located at main line stations in selected major country towns. The advantage of road flexibility for delivery of general merchandise to and from rail freight centres was combined with the faster movement in bogie wagons between Melbourne and the freight centres, giving an efficient integrated rail-road public transport service.

#### *Manpower*

Following the conclusion of the Second World War, a severe shortage of labour was experienced in Australia and efforts were made to secure migrants from Europe to fill the job vacancies. The railways sponsored many migrants from the United Kingdom and funded hostels and housing for them at Sunshine. Both the Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board and the Country Roads Board acquired and operated hostels for migrant workers. With the growth of housing and population, these measures were later not required as staff could be obtained by normal recruitment methods and the hostels were disposed of.

Industrial action and strikes have occurred from time to time in all the authorities but have not reached the intensity experienced in 1950. Since the changes commenced in the railways following the Bland report, staff numbers have been reduced by the means of not replacing staff as they resign or retire. Numbers employed by the railways have declined from a peak of 30,202 in 1955 to 21,111 in 1982. Personnel employed in the other transport authorities also rose during the period as statutory responsibilities increased, but have stabilised and are slowly decreasing as new methods and technology are introduced.

#### *Motor cars*

The ever increasing use of the motor car has had a significant effect on Victoria's life style and environment. From 1950 to 1983, total registrations of motor vehicles in Victoria increased by over 500 per cent to about 2 million. During the same period, Victoria's population rose by a little over 70 per cent to approximately 3 million persons. The increase in car ownership has resulted in widespread changes in trip making characteristics and a lessening of dependence upon public transport. Since 1960, many suburbs have been developed without an adequate public transport system, and public transport was no longer the pre-requisite for development. Thus, the accessibility provided by the motor car has come to be accepted as a necessity, not a luxury. However, those who did not have the use of a car suffered restricted business and social opportunities available to them. During this period the Melbourne metropolitan bus network had settled down into a pattern of feeder services to the fixed rail network providing cross suburban links not catered for by the rail network and providing transport to outlying areas.

Although the motor car has provided great mobility, it has done so to the detriment of the environment, particularly regarding pollution and noise levels, land-use, and aesthetics. A pollution problem with the motor car concerns smog-forming engine emissions. Traffic noise, produced by vehicle engines, transmissions, exhausts, wheels and brakes, is another undesirable by-product of the motor age. These effects are felt particularly in residential streets, many subject to high traffic flows because of congestion on the main arterial roads.

**NEW MOTOR VEHICLE REGISTRATIONS (a):  
VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1983**

Year ended 30 June—	Cars and station wagons (b)	Other (c)	Total (d)	Motor cycles
1935	10,617	3,252	13,869	2,406
1940	11,613	5,773	17,386	1,370
1945	496	2,351	2,847	86
1950	32,321	17,240	49,561	6,440
1955	47,528	15,907	63,435	2,363
1960	70,197	17,252	87,449	2,220
1965	96,268	17,486	113,754	1,000
1970	110,797	20,058	130,855	4,689
1975	133,163	26,073	159,236	8,770
1980	115,567	22,021	137,588	10,884
1981	114,699	23,921	138,620	14,450
1982	121,960	27,517	149,477	15,731
1983	123,834	26,688	150,522	13,153

(a) Excludes Defence Service vehicles.

(b) Includes ambulances and hearses until 1970-71 inclusive.

(c) Includes utilities, panel vans, trucks, truck-type vehicles, and buses. Includes ambulances and hearses from 1971-72 onwards.

(d) Excludes motor cycles, tractors, plant and equipment, caravans, and trailers.

**MOTOR VEHICLES ON REGISTER (a): VICTORIA,  
1935 TO 1982**

Year ended 30 June—	Motor cars and station wagons (b)		Total motor vehicles (c)	
	Number (d)	Rate per 1,000 of mean population (e)	Number (d)	Rate per 1,000 of mean population (e)
1935	140,500	76.5	178,000	97.0
1940	156,300	82.8	240,900	127.7
1945	141,200	70.7	235,400	117.8
1950	227,100	104.4	369,600	169.9
1955	456,000	183.5	600,000	241.4
1960	585,900	207.8	782,300	277.4
1965	818,300	260.9	1,037,300	330.7
1970	1,067,900	312.2	1,300,200	380.1
1975	1,375,600	364.4	1,652,100	437.7
1980	1,580,100	405.2	1,906,200	488.8
1981	1,632,500	415.3	1,971,700	501.6
1982	1,731,200	436.1	2,097,500	528.4

(a) Excludes Defence Service vehicles.

(b) Includes ambulances and hearses until 1970-71 inclusive.

(c) Excludes motor cycles, tractors, plant and equipment, caravans, and trailers.

(d) Rounded to nearest 100 vehicles.

(e) Mean population for years ended 30 June.

**AVERAGE ANNUAL KILOMETRES BY TYPE OF VEHICLE  
REGISTERED IN VICTORIA: 12 MONTHS ENDED  
30 SEPTEMBER 1963 TO 1982  
(\*000 kilometres)**

Year	Cars and station wagons	Motor cycles	Utilities and panel vans	All trucks	Total
1963	13.9	n.a.	13.9	n.a.	n.a.
1971	16.4	6.6	n.a.	n.a.	16.4
1976	15.7	6.8	18.5	18.9	15.9
1979	15.6	6.8	16.8	20.8	15.8
1982	15.2	6.2	16.6	22.0	15.4

NUMBER OF DRIVERS' AND RIDERS'  
LICENCES IN FORCE: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year ended 30 June—	Licences		
	Drivers'	Riders'	Total
1935	n.a.	n.a.	260,288
1940	n.a.	n.a.	370,838
1945	n.a.	n.a.	353,584
1950	n.a.	n.a.	525,709
1955	n.a.	n.a.	725,826
1960	n.a.	n.a.	967,952
1965	1,185,050	30,385	1,215,435
1970	1,464,523	37,551	1,502,074
1975	1,829,298	56,576	1,885,874
1980	2,046,331	74,138	2,120,469
1981	2,099,421	82,293	2,181,714
1982	2,164,116	91,323	2,255,439

*Road traffic accidents*

Another cost of the widespread use of the motor car is the road accident problem. In the 1960s, up to 1,000 persons had been killed in a single year in Victoria, with many injured, together with extensive property damage. About 25 per cent of fatalities were pedestrians. However, with the implementation of compulsory seat belt legislation since 1970 and random breath testing since 1976, there has been a significant decrease in road accident fatalities in recent years, although the numbers of vehicles on Victorian roads has risen rapidly. Victoria was a world leader in its compulsory seat belt legislation and soon followed this by the creation of the Motor Accidents Board which administers a "no fault" motor accident compensation scheme.

ROAD TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS INVOLVING CASUALTIES: VICTORIA,  
1935 TO 1982

Year (a)	Number of			Rate per 10,000 vehicles registered		
	Accidents involving casualties	Persons killed	Persons injured	Accidents involving casualties	Persons killed	Persons injured
1935	n.a.	382	6,765	n.a.	18.1	320.0
1940	7,561	515	8,723	283.5	19.3	327.1
1945	3,827	260	4,368	150.0	10.2	171.2
1950	8,618	501	10,538	213.3	12.4	260.9
1955	10,217	528	12,833	162.4	8.4	204.0
1960	12,267	698	16,595	152.8	8.7	206.7
1965	14,432	907	20,482	137.5	8.6	195.1
1970	17,030	1,065	24,502	128.9	8.1	185.4
1975	12,625	910	17,586	73.7	5.3	102.7
1980	14,988	657	19,957	75.1	3.3	99.9
1981	15,576	713	20,764	76.5	3.5	102.0
1982	15,658	717	20,758	72.1	3.3	95.6

(a) Year ended 30 June, except 1935—year ended 31 December.

*Alternative fuels*

The realisation that non-renewable fuel and other power resources are limited has made the community more conscious of the energy consumed in moving persons and goods. There has also been greater concern that the residential areas originally planned around the motor car may become less accessible to transport in future if energy is limited. Access to and from such areas is assuming much greater importance in planning considerations.

To assist in lessening the dependence on imported petroleum products and on oil produced from Bass Strait, the Victorian Government is encouraging the use of liquefied

petroleum gas (LPG) and the conversion of petrol powered vehicles to LPG as well as the establishing of filling depots throughout the State. At the same time heavy vehicles commenced to change from petrol to diesel power to obtain cost-saving and economy. By 1982 a total of 2,878 taxis were licensed in the Melbourne metropolitan area, 201 in Ballarat, Bendigo and Geelong, and 393 in country towns. In Melbourne 75 per cent of the metropolitan taxis were converted to LPG.

### *Cycling*

With the increasing usage and ownership of motor vehicles, the environment for cycling has also deteriorated over time. In 1974, concern for the safety of cyclists resulted in the establishment of the State Bicycle Committee. Recognition of the bicycle as a mode of transport has led to the construction of new bicycle tracks and to the implementation of a number of successful and innovative bicycle studies, particularly the Geelong Bikeplan.

### *Roads and freeways*

In 1934 the network of roads declared by the Country Roads Board totalled 13,900 kilometres. This had grown to about 24,000 kilometres in 1980 and contained many kilometres of dual carriageways. Most of these roads are now sealed, with the few remaining unsealed sections in remote areas having low traffic volumes. Roads in Victoria open to the public totalled approximately 160,000 kilometres in 1980.

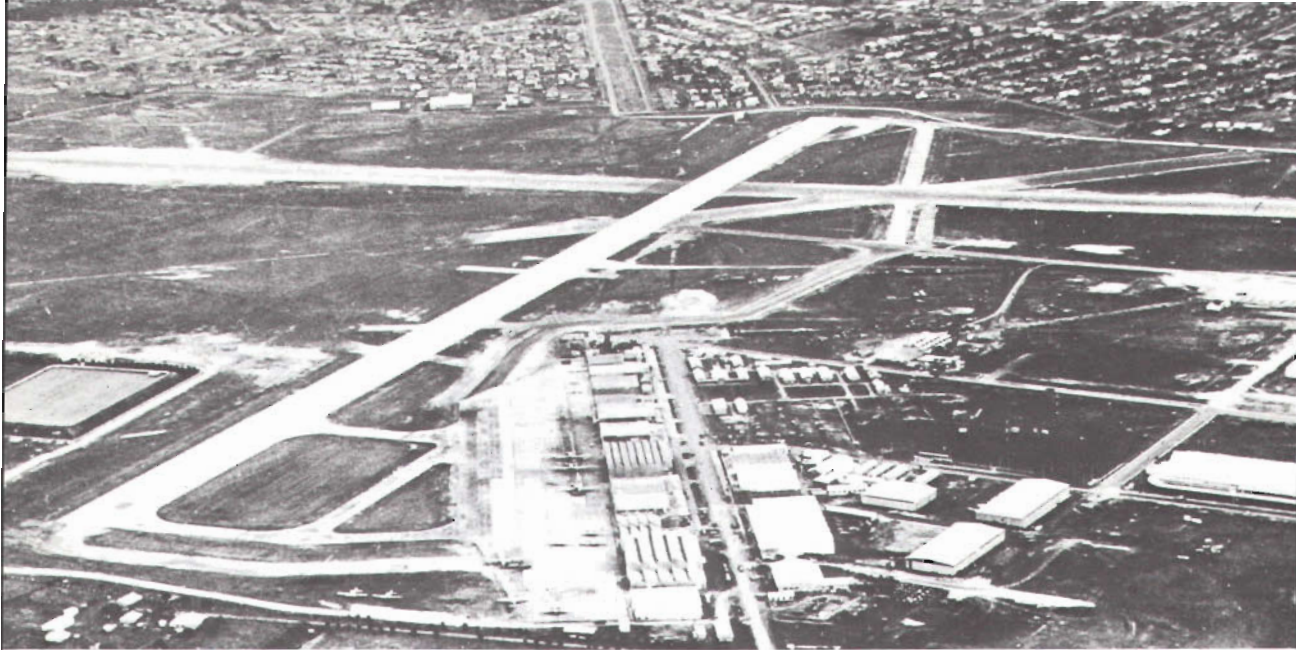
Adequate finance to carry out all the work required to meet the needs of ever growing traffic on the roads had been the principal problem of the early 1980s. The actual amount of road works undertaken by the Board and municipal councils has slowly decreased each year.

To assist traffic movement in and around the CBD, and improve access to the docks, an additional major Yarra River crossing was constructed by the Country Roads Board at Johnson Street, South Melbourne and opened to traffic in 1978.

Outside the CBD the congestion of arterial roads and the use of residential roads by through traffic, became critical problems as the use of the car for work trips increased in the post-war decade. Introduction of the "Clearway" system, imposing severe penalties for parking along arterial roadways during peak periods, led to significant improvement in arterial traffic flow. In 1975, replacement of the "Give Way to the Right" rule, with the METCON system of classifying priority and secondary roads, improved traffic flow along main roads and discouraged the use of residential streets for through trips. This programme was extended to country towns under the title of STATCON. Additional allocations to the "Special Projects Fund" allowed the improvement of key intersections. The introduction of modern traffic signalling equipment alleviated certain dangerous bottlenecks scattered throughout the Melbourne metropolitan area. However, the most significant programme of adjusting the metropolitan road system to the needs of the modern car-orientated society arose out of the investigation by the Metropolitan Transportation Committee (MTC).

The existing network was not capable of handling the expected increased traffic volumes at a desirable standard of service. Consequently, the MTC concluded that a large-scale, long-term programme was required to prevent chronic traffic congestion and greatly increased transport costs. The MTC plan provided for the development of metropolitan roads as a single integrated system comprising a network of new freeways, a network of improved and extended arterial roads, some having controlled access, and a network of local roads.

The MTC roads proposals were based primarily on traffic considerations, and, had they been implemented, would have provided a system of freeways to be added to the existing metropolitan road pattern. However, subsequent to the publication of its Report, a greater public awareness of environmental and sociological factors which affect urban life-style led to a modification of the proposals (especially in the inner suburbs) in favour of a greater reliance on public transport. Consequently, in 1972, the Victorian Government declared its determination to modify the proposed freeway network. Particularly affected by this declaration were those freeways which would have passed through established suburban communities. Victorian Government policy was further clarified in 1973 when



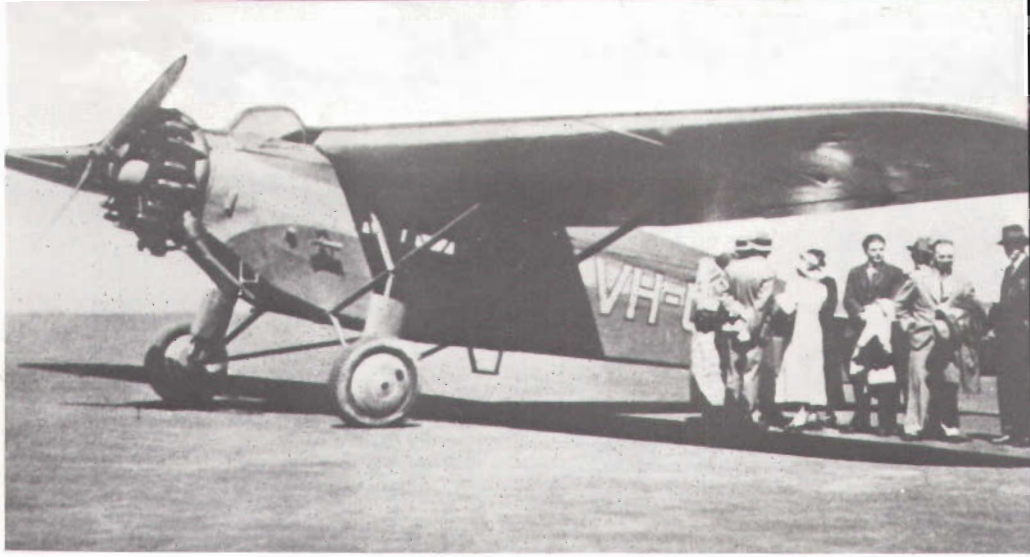
Essendon Airport, formerly known as Melbourne Airport, was developed in 1921. It is now the centre for charter and supplementary airline operators, domestic freight services, and support services for general aircraft. It also caters for private and training flights, some military operations, and general aviation activities.

*Department of Aviation*

Melbourne Airport (Tullamarine) in 1983. The airport was opened in 1970, replacing Essendon as Victoria's international airport. The airport is situated on a 2,167 hectare site and provides modern passenger, freight, and engineering base facilities.

*Department of Aviation*





Passengers about to board the first Ansett Airways flight at Hamilton, bound for Melbourne, on 17 February 1936. The aircraft was a six-passenger Fokker Universal F-XI monoplane.

*Ansett Airlines of Australia*



Arrival at Mascot Airport, Sydney, of the first official Trans Australia Airlines flight from Melbourne, 9 September 1946.

*Trans Australia Airlines*

(Below) The Fokker F27 "Friendship" aircraft was introduced into service with Ansett Airlines in 1959, and mainly serviced Victorian regional areas.

*Ansett Airlines of Australia*





The twin-aisle Boeing 767-200 jet was introduced into service in June 1983.  
*Ansett Airlines of Australia*



The Airbus Industrie A300 aircraft is capable of carrying 230 passengers and commenced operations in Victoria in 1981.  
*Trans Australia Airlines*

(Below) Boeing 747B "Jumbo jets" parked at Tullamarine Airport's international concourse, 1983.

*Department of Aviation*







The Tait electric train came into service with the electrification of the Victorian Railways' suburban network in 1919. The famous "red rattler" carriages were originally hauled by steam locomotives nine years earlier.

*Metropolitan Transit Authority*

Sixty of the blue and gold Harris trains came into service between 1956 and 1970.

*Metropolitan Transit Authority*



Passengers alighting from a silver train at the new Parliament Station in 1983, which forms part of the Melbourne underground rail loop.

*Melbourne Underground Rail Loop Administration*

Carpeted, air-conditioned Comeng trains commenced service on the Melbourne metropolitan rail network in 1981.

*Metropolitan Transit Authority*





*Puffing Billy*, the restored narrow gauge steam train, carries tourists through the forests and fern gullies of the Dandenong Ranges near Melbourne.

*State Transport Authority*



The *Spirit of Progress* built at Victoria's Newport railway workshops was Australia's first air-conditioned train. Pictured in 1937, the streamlined "S" class locomotive hauled the *Spirit* non-stop to Albury with Sydney bound passengers, who, until 1962, were required to change trains due to a break of gauge.

*State Transport Authority*

(Below) A "B" class locomotive hauls a set of new air-conditioned carriages. Similar trains form part of Victoria's inter-city and inter-urban rail system.

*State Transport Authority*





Cable trams similar to this one operated on the Melbourne tram network from the 1880s to 1940.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*

Melbourne's "Z" class trams which incorporated modern Swedish design and control equipment, entered service in 1975.

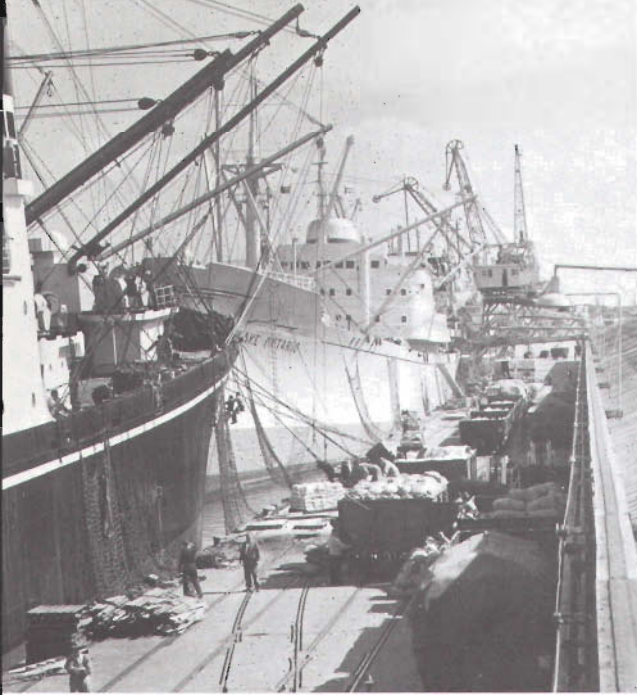
*Metropolitan Transit Authority*



Buses such as this M.A.N. Series SL 200 service the Melbourne metropolitan area.

*Metropolitan Transit Authority*





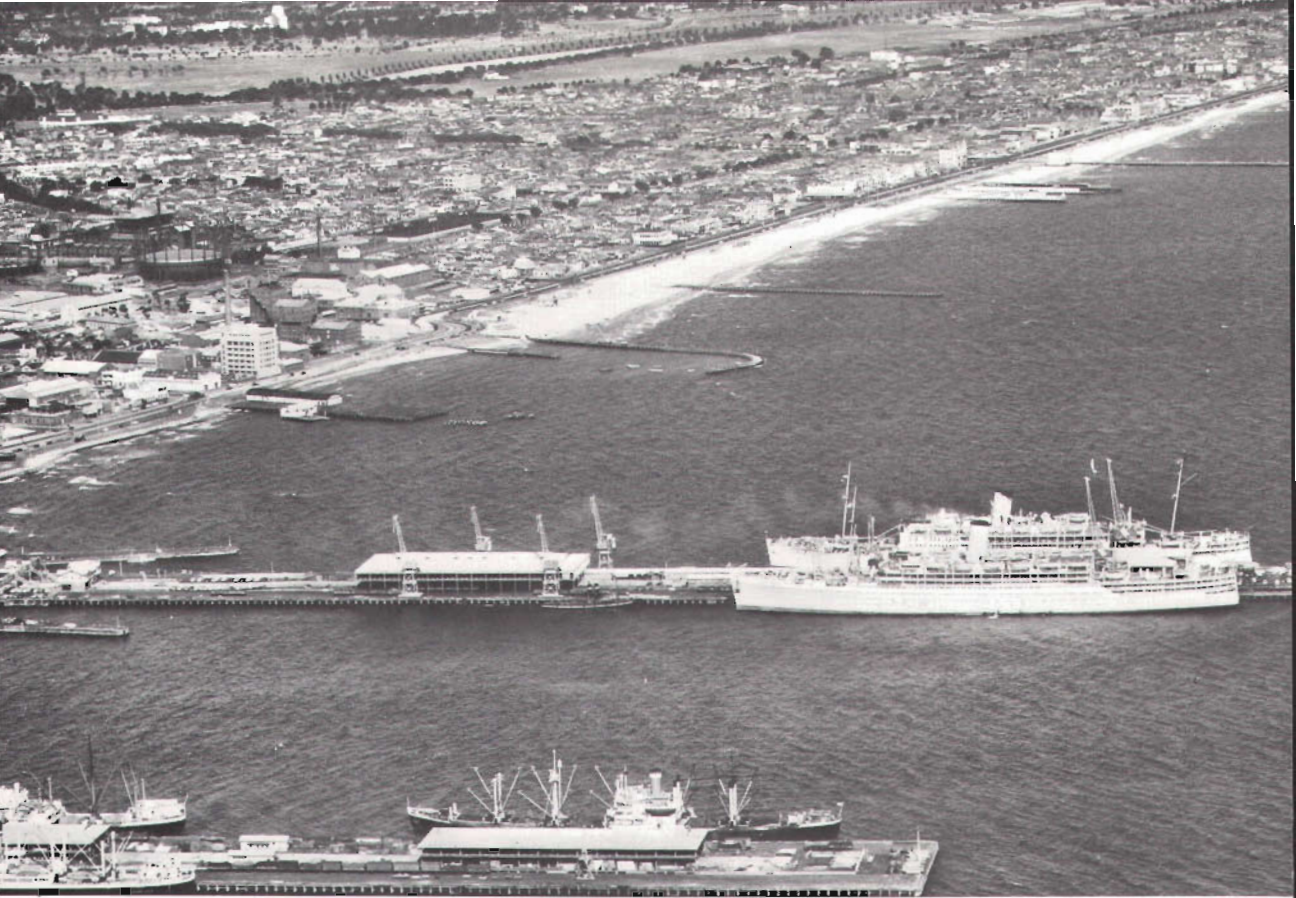
Labour intensive cargo handling (above left) has given way to containerised loading methods. Swanson Dock, the Port of Melbourne's seven-berth overseas container complex (above right) is served by eight modern Portainer cranes.

*Port of Melbourne Authority*

Approximately 70 per cent of all general cargo handled in the Port of Melbourne is now containerised. Swanson Dock is at the centre with Appleton Dock to the left. Beyond Swanson Dock are the Maribyrnong River berths with the West Gate Bridge in the distance.

*Port of Melbourne Authority*





R.M.S. *Orion* and R.M.S. *Strathnaver* berthed at Station Pier on 7 July 1961. Until the 1960s passenger ships were the most usual form of transport between Australia and overseas.

*P. and O. Cruises Limited*

The P. and O. liner R.M.S. *Stratheden* sailing from Station Pier, Port Melbourne, for the last time on 17 September 1963.

*Port of Melbourne Authority*



the Government substantially reduced Melbourne's proposed freeway network, stating that the construction of a total of eleven freeways would "not now proceed".

Freeways which were constructed in the Melbourne metropolitan area included the South Eastern, Tullamarine, Mulgrave, South Gippsland, Mornington Peninsula, West Gate, and Eastern Freeways. The construction of these freeways has had a significant effect on the development of the Melbourne metropolitan area, because of the high level of access made available to certain areas. The Tullamarine Freeway made suburbs such as Keilor, Niddrie, and Airport West more readily accessible by road. This, in turn, caused a more rapid development of new housing and industrial estates in these areas. In the east, the Mulgrave and South Gippsland Freeways helped establish new suburbs at Endeavour Hills and Hampton Park, as well as aiding industrial and commercial development. In general, property values in areas served by such major road facilities have tended to increase more rapidly than in other sections of the metropolitan area.

The programme of upgrading arterial roads became particularly urgent after the modification of the urban freeway proposals. It has been accelerated by widening roads where feasible, providing grade separation at railway crossings, and by the creation of separate easements for trams wherever possible. An example of such improvements is the St Kilda Junction-High Street project which was begun prior to the 1973 announcement and completed in 1975. This proposal was first suggested in the 1920s. Its benefits are being progressively extended to the whole of the southern suburbs by the widening of the section of the Nepean Highway between Gardenvale and Moorabbin to provide a multiple lane arterial road from Princes Bridge to Mordialloc.

In 1964, a special Victorian Government committee recommended that a proposed crossing over the lower Yarra River should be built as a high level bridge. This recommendation was agreed to by the Government in 1965 and legislation was passed in December of the same year giving the West Gate Bridge Authority, or Lower Yarra Crossing Authority, as it was then known, the power to construct and operate a toll bridge over the lower Yarra River. The bridge was finally opened in 1978 after a tragic collapse in 1970 with considerable loss of life. By March 1983, over 40 million vehicle crossings had been made on the bridge, although the actual use of the bridge did not match earlier expectations.

#### *Road funding*

The Road Construction Authority (RCA), formerly Country Roads Board (CRB), constituted under the Country Roads Board Act in 1912 is the State road authority. The Authority is solely responsible for proclaimed State highways, freeways, tourists' roads, and forest roads while municipal councils are responsible for unclassified roads and private street construction. The Authority and the councils share construction and maintenance works on declared main roads.

Two main sources of funds are available to the Authority—money received from State sources and money received from the Commonwealth Government. Since 1924, the Commonwealth Government has provided financial assistance to the States for road works. Approximately one-third of Victoria's road expenditure over the past decade has come from Commonwealth funding. Commonwealth road grants were once geared to the Commonwealth's collection of fuel taxes, but this nexus was broken in 1959. Since then, road grants have been provided from Consolidated Revenue and allocated on a triennial or five year funding basis under Commonwealth legislation.

The Commonwealth's financial assistance for roads has taken two main forms: general financial assistance and assistance for specified roads or specific road projects. Payments of the latter kind were subsumed in the general programme of road grants introduced in 1974-75. However, the provision of this general financial assistance has not been free of Commonwealth direction in the application of funds. A feature of the arrangements under the *Commonwealth Aid Roads Act* 1969 which operated for the five year period 1969-70 to 1973-74 was the requirement to develop particular classes of roads in given proportions—urban arterial, sub-arterial, rural arterial, rural roads other than arterial—and for planning and research.

Over the period 1974-75 to 1979-80, the Commonwealth Government continued to allocate funds to a specified number of road categories. These included national roads,

national commerce roads, urban and rural arterial roads, urban and rural local roads, beef roads, and minor traffic engineering and road safety improvements. The Commonwealth category of "national roads" generally covers the main highways connecting the State capital cities and these are fully funded by the Commonwealth. Over this period an increasing percentage of the total funding went to national roads to the detriment of other categories covering arterial and local roads.

The legislation during this time also imposed on each State a "quota" of funds that had to be expended on roadworks each year by each State from its own resources, to be eligible for Commonwealth funding. Victoria's quota in 1979-80 and 1980-81 (in terms of State dollars expended for each Commonwealth dollar received) was the highest of any State and was the only instance where the required contribution by the State exceeded the amount of funding by the Commonwealth.

The *Roads Grants Act* 1981 made available assistance for the year 1981-82. The Act provided for a number of changes including the abolition of State expenditure quotas and the reduction from four to three in the number of categories for which assistance is made available, the new categories being national roads, arterial roads, and local roads.

GRANTS FOR ROAD PURPOSES: VICTORIA, 1977-78 TO 1981-82  
(\$ per head of population)

State	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82
New South Wales	30.96	32.32	34.29	37.59	40.47
<b>Victoria</b>	<b>29.59</b>	<b>27.11</b>	<b>28.89</b>	<b>31.82</b>	<b>34.39</b>
Queensland	46.94	49.54	52.25	56.72	60.53
South Australia	31.18	33.16	35.49	39.28	42.64
Western Australia	50.35	51.96	54.89	59.94	64.22
Tasmania	52.08	55.23	58.69	64.55	69.58

The Commonwealth Government also provided funds for planning and research projects related to roads from 1974-75 to 1980-81 under the Transport Planning and Research Act (1974 and 1977). Up to and including 1977-78, the Commonwealth met two-thirds of expenditure on approved programmes of projects and met one-half of such expenditure incurred by the States in the following years.

For many years Victoria's contribution to roads finance had been provided largely by road user taxes, the major source being motor registration fees and various types of motor car driving licence fees. Funds were also provided for road purposes through the road maintenance tax which was abolished in 1979. Income lost from this source for the maintenance of roads was replaced by funds raised by the *Business Franchise (Petroleum Products) Act* 1979. The Act introduced a fuel franchise system for persons engaged in petroleum wholesaling and/or retailing.

From a combination of Commonwealth and State money provided each financial year, the CRB allocated funds to its own works and also made allocations to municipal councils for main roads and unclassified roads.

Municipalities throughout Victoria undertook construction and maintenance work on main roads on behalf of the CRB. Expenditure in the first instance was incurred by municipalities but was later refunded by the CRB subject to adherence to prescribed conditions. Each municipality undertaking main road maintenance work was required to make an annual contribution to its cost, which was calculated by the Board. The proportion payable varied according to the capacity of the municipality to pay and to the extent to which it had benefited from the work done.

Supplementary allocations were made to councils for urgent roadworks as well as Special Impact works to specified councils. These allocations provided for the reconstruction or improvement of roads subject to extra traffic as a result of government action or planning, such as in the establishment of regional freight centres, with increased road traffic to surrounding towns and additional traffic resulting from closure of country rail lines.

In addition to CRB funding, local government provided finance for its own work on local or unclassified roads, from rate collections, untied Commonwealth grants, and borrowings.

Assistance was also provided for natural disaster damage to roads and bridges during the 1970s and early 1980s. Considerable sums were provided to the CRB and municipal councils for flood damage restoration over the period. These funds have come from both Commonwealth and State Governments, under a joint arrangement.

#### *Rail services*

The years since the Bland Report in 1970 have been years of change. They have seen a decrease in rail passenger services, the introduction of regional freight centres, the substitution of certain country rail passenger services with contract road bus services, together with the opening of the Melbourne underground rail loop, and the associated signalling changes with METROL. The Geelong line duplication and electrification to Werribee were completed in 1983. In 1982 the rail network carried 3.6 million country passengers, 72.7 million suburban passengers, 500,000 interstate passengers, and 11.6 million tonnes of freight. (In 1934 the system carried 6 million tonnes of freight.) The operating loss in 1981-82 was \$251.2m. However, this did not include interest and sinking fund contribution of \$35.9m, the actual deficit on railway operations being approximately \$287.1m.

Since the inception of the Victorian Railways Board in 1973 many of the recommendations contained in the Bland Report have been implemented. Some rail lines have been closed and others were placed under review. Many economies in operation have been introduced.

#### GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS GOODS AND LIVESTOCK CARRIED (a): VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982 ( '000)

Year ended 30 June—	Tonnes carried	Year ended 30 June—	Tonnes carried
1935	6,106	1965	12,798
1940	6,285	1970	12,025
1945	8,193	1975	11,057
1950	9,271	1980	13,453
1955	10,244	1981	12,721
1960	9,842	1982	11,623

(a) Excludes road motor services.

#### *Other transport developments*

Since 1981 the MMTB has experienced a resurgence of patronage, with 109 million passenger journeys in 1982-83, and a further 26 million tramway bus passenger journeys. The increased patronage, while returning greater income than previously, resulted in a deficit of \$53.9m in 1982 which was subsidised by the Victorian Government. The tram routes were operated over 219.59 kilometres of track and were serviced by 750 tramcars. The bus routes covered 276 kilometres, serviced by 278 buses.

With the opening of the Eastern Freeway and the West Gate Bridge, new bus services were operated over these routes. In 1978, a new tram extension of 3.4 kilometres on the Burwood line was built, the first such public construction since the conversion of the Bourke Street routes in 1955-56.

By 1983 private route buses under the control of the Transport Regulation Board were carrying 53 million passengers annually. The private operators used 1,103 buses, which were, with some exceptions, cross suburban and feeder route services in the outer sections of the Melbourne area. In the large provincial cities some 199 buses carried 5.1 million passengers in 1982.

School bus services continued to be maintained, and during this period supplementary Community Bus Services for disadvantaged groups made their appearance to fill needs not met by regular route services. As communities on the outskirts of Melbourne have grown, additional route services have been provided and experiments with the Ministry of Transport, involving demand responsive services, have been undertaken.



With the opening of the Melbourne underground rail loop in January 1981 and the METROL controlling centre, major technical changes have been instituted in train control and signalling in the Melbourne metropolitan area.

Ultimately most suburban rail movements will be controlled from the METROL building with the resultant closure of the present manually operated signal boxes. With the increased use of new technology and remote supervision of platforms considerable scope is available for the more efficient use of available manpower. However, improvements to technology notwithstanding, all forms of transport activity remained labour intensive.

#### *Transport planning*

In 1978, the Victorian Government released the "Draft Transport Bill" for Victoria, the first complete revision since the 1969 MTC plan. By this time, increasing community concern with disruption caused by large transport projects, combined with population predictions lower than forecast in 1969 and the emergence of conservation of energy as a critical issue, became factors affecting the use and provision of transport. The 1978 plan aimed to set out transport policies and their relationships with other policies such as land-use and environment. The Draft was released for community discussion, and was widely commented on.

The Victorian Parliament, on 13 June 1979, approved the carrying out of a transport investigation and the then Minister of Transport appointed Mr W. M. Lonie to carry out this study. Further implementation of the Bland Report recommendations was deferred pending his inquiry and recommendations. The Victorian Transport Study reports released in 1980 contained far reaching recommendations and provoked considerable community discussion principally because of their economic rather than social approach.

The implementation of deregulation recommended by Bland continued with the *Transport (Deregulation) Act* 1980. This Act implemented the Victorian Government's commitment to provide greater road freedom for the carriage of goods throughout the State. It meant the restrictions to general freight moving only by rail were lifted, and the railways no longer had the protection of the law in carrying freight. Some measure of protection has, however, continued with bulk traffic such as grain and superphosphate regulated to rail.

By the early 1980s considerable capital expenditure was needed for public transport because of the lack of infrastructure investment over many years which had resulted in a rapid deterioration of levels of service. Competition for road transport saw a change in cartage of freight from rail to road, although road transport itself was facing difficulties from the rising cost of fuel and an over-supply of operators.

In order to share road costs more equitably and provide capital for road improvements the Business Franchise (Petroleum Products) Act was introduced in 1979. This Act provided for a licence fee payable by petroleum wholesalers or retailers to be paid into the Transport Trust Fund. Most of this money was transferred to the Transport Regulation Board and Country Roads Board accounts, but a small percentage was used to promote public transport and planning at the Ministry of Transport.

During 1980 and 1981, there was a significant effort to rehabilitate an ageing public transport infrastructure by investment in new rolling stock and the improvement of services. New generation (Comeng) suburban and country trains were ordered and the modern Z class orange tram replacement programme was expanded. In October 1981, a new multimodal Melbourne metropolitan ticket system was introduced (Travelcard—reorganised in 1983), and the country rail passenger system was completely redesigned, introducing faster and more frequent trunk route services.

The administrative infrastructure of transport has evolved historically, and by 1980 was under the control of several Ministries, Commonwealth and State. The Victorian Government began to examine this structure and the first steps towards re-organisation began with the *Motor Registration Act* 1980, which set the scene for the amalgamation of the Motor Registration Board with the Transport Regulation Board. This released police for police work rather than clerical duties, and sought to improve the level of service offered to the public. Measures to improve service included the introduction of paying motor registration through the banking system (operational in October 1982), and a register of vehicle ownership (Chattel Securities).

In April 1982, transportation policies and priorities were altered. Legislation was introduced to transfer the administration of the West Gate Bridge to the Country Roads Board. It also removed the Road Safety and Traffic Authority from the Ministry of Police and Emergency Services to the Ministry of Transport in line with strengthening the Ministry.

The Victorian Government announced its policy for a stronger Ministry of Transport and the creation of four new transport authorities in place of the previous eight. The four new authorities planned by the Government were:

- (1) Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA), to be responsible for the operation of a metropolitan public transport system using trains, trams, and buses. (The Metropolitan Transit Authority succeeded the Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board and the Melbourne Underground Rail Loop Authority and was also responsible for co-ordinating Melbourne metropolitan passenger rail services with the tram and bus systems in the metropolitan area.);
- (2) State Transport Authority (STA), to be responsible for all rail operations and the marketing of freight and rural passenger services using all modes of transport. (The STA succeeded VicRail as the railway operational authority.);
- (3) Road Construction Authority (RCA), to be responsible for the construction and maintenance of the road network throughout the State. (It succeeded the Country Roads Board.); and
- (4) Road Traffic Authority (RTA), to be responsible for road safety, traffic signals, and the licensing and regulation of motor vehicles. (It succeeded the Road Traffic and Safety Authority and the Transport Regulation Board.)

During 1982 and early 1983, the Ministry was restructured to reflect the desire to operate the Ministry as a corporate transport headquarters responsible for the performance of all Victorian Government transport activities and the development of transport strategy and allocation of resources between modes, co-ordinating the raising of loans, and the management of existing finances.

A Victorian Transport Directorate (VTD) was established to act as a corporate management group for transport. The VTD is responsible for the implementation and review of policy making, and the monitoring of the operating and financial performance of each of the new transport authorities.

In order to restructure the entire portfolio, the Victorian Government created a series of working groups consisting of senior officers of all the transport authorities. There were four main working groups each responsible for a new authority. Their specific job was to advise on the complete restructuring, including staffing, administrative processes, and appropriate locations for functions. These working parties reported to Steering Committees of management, unions, councils, and relevant special interest groups such as bus proprietors, the taxi industry, and the Train Travellers Association. The Steering Committees met regularly in what was known as the "central task force", chaired by the Minister. This process generated the general structure and functions of the four new authorities. The Minister then appointed a Legislative Committee consisting of senior officers of the four authorities in order to prepare the new legislation.

The emphasis in planning has shifted from the construction of freeways to the development of better traffic management strategies such as signal linking, road widening, and public transport priority. The trend to cut or reduce services on rail lines such as St Kilda and Port Melbourne was reversed. In May 1982, full service was restored to these lines. Several metropolitan corridor studies were begun to evaluate the feasibility of new light rail technology.

In November 1982, the Victorian Government introduced the neighbourhood concept for public transport. This was introduced to the Caulfield, Moorabbin, and Sandringham region of Melbourne and meant that passengers could travel in that region for a flat fare for 2 hours. The concept was extended throughout the metropolitan area and Geelong. In all neighbourhoods, routes and timetables were re-organised in an attempt to improve service and operating efficiency.

The Victorian Government has expanded the purchase of new generation trains and a redesigned Z class tram, and ordered prototypes of larger articulated light rail vehicles. The East Preston tram route extension was commenced in 1983.

## SEA TRANSPORT

**Introduction**

Victoria's sea transport has undergone a complete change since 1934. The two major developments which have brought this about have been the technical improvements to port facilities and cargo handling (especially containers), and the demise of the important and long standing regular passenger service between Britain and Australia. This was replaced by large-scale overseas air travel which competed with success as capital and operating costs of shipping lines began to rise during the 1960s. The completion of the uniform gauge rail line between Melbourne and Sydney and the Indian-Pacific railway also affected coastal shipping economics, as did the growth of air freight.

In overseas transport, grain products came to be shipped in bulk carriers from Geelong and Portland, with most refrigerated cargoes to Europe and the Far East travelling in containers. Conventional refrigerated cargo vessels still call regularly but their destinations are mainly now in the Middle East. Motor vehicles are now discharged from specially designed roll on-roll off carriers. Converted tankers with capacities exceeding eighty thousand head are used for live sheep export. All coastal cargo is now shipped in bulk, containerised, or in unit loads in roll on-roll off vessels.

**Conditions in 1934**

In 1934 the Melbourne waterfront was run down because of the effects of the Depression. Three years earlier the port had been paralysed by a lengthy strike. Comparative industrial peace reigned over the succeeding two years when world shipbuilding figures dropped to their lowest since 1888. Waterside workers were paid 30 cents an hour in 1934; mechanisation was scarce and rudimentary; and most cargo was manhandled and swung inboard and outboard by derricks and winches of the ships. Draught horses hauled rail trucks on piers and assisted in cargo handling.

In spite of economic difficulty, tonnages of individual ships increased so that in 1931 the *Strathnaver* (22,283 tonnes) (P&O Line) was added to the United Kingdom and Australia passenger trade via Suez. She was oil fired, and turbo-electric propelled. *Strathmore* (P&O Line) was laid on the run together with *Orion* (Orient Line) in 1935. Gradually, the P&O branch line which carried British migrants to Melbourne by the Cape route after the First World War almost ceased operations because of financial strictures and diminished migrant flow.

Passenger-cargo vessels of Shaw Savill and the Blue Funnel Lines used the largely abandoned Cape route and most Shipping Conference lines' vessels accommodated twelve passengers while operating to a strict freight timetable. Australian owned and manned passenger coastal vessels supplied a comfortable alternative to land transport. Sea travel options from Port Phillip were nightly sailings across Bass Strait, regular trans-Tasman departures, and voyages to the Far East.

Motor ships became prominent because of the importance of the wool trade to Europe, with fast vessels making a single bunkering call at Suez as they attempted to reach Dunkirk as quickly as possible. Wilhelm Wilhelmsen's new freighters appeared together with new Port, Clan, and Blue Funnel Line vessels. New style motor ships of the Blue Star Line were laid on for Melbourne in 1934.

British owned E&A Line vessels competed for the substantial Japanese trade with NYK, OSK, and Yamashita Lines of Japan. *Melbourne Maru*, *Sydney Maru*, and *Brisbane Maru* were built for the OSK Line in 1929 and 1930 for the Australian trade and these motor powered units were replaced by the heavier and faster *Tokyo Maru* and *Canberra Maru* in 1936. Meanwhile old steam freighters originally belonging to various nations, arrived at Port Phillip wearing the Japanese flag and lifted cargoes of grain, flour, and scrap iron. A pleasurable sight in the Depression was the Dutch yachts *Nieuw Zeeland* and *Nieuw Holland* making or leaving port.

Since 1934 vast financial expenditure has been incurred on the Melbourne waterfront to provide facilities required by constantly changing demands for increased channel and berth water depths, heavier duty wharves, new navigational aids, and large heavy duty back-up areas.

### Major ports

The four main ports are Melbourne, which includes Williamstown and Port Melbourne, Geelong, Portland, and Western Port.

#### *Melbourne*

Total wharfage at the port for many years paralleled the Yarra banks. The Melbourne Harbor Trust (later the Port of Melbourne Authority) was instituted in 1877, and since then the port has extended down stream to embrace the lower reaches, Hobsons Bay shoreline on the west, and Port Melbourne to the east.

In the 1930s, Victoria Dock was principally used for discharging of overseas cargoes. Interstate passenger and cargo ships used North Wharf and the upstream end of South Wharf, while imported timber and coal was handled at the South Wharf berths. Another coal berth at North Wharf served the requirements of the gas works. South Wharf was extended downstream, but on the opposite side of the Yarra River between Victoria Dock and Yarraville was an area of swamp surrounding an animal quarantine station.

Bulk molasses and bagged raw sugar were landed at Yarraville for processing at the sugar refinery located there. Sulphur for sulphuric acid production and phosphatic rock for manufacturing agricultural fertiliser were also discharged. Oil tanker terminals were sited at Yarraville and Newport. The last mentioned terminal was built upon a reclaimed section of the former Greenwich Bay and was considered a hazard by pilot and shipmaster alike, due to narrowness of the river and capricious action on the underwater hull of a passing vessel by surface and bottom currents in opposition.

Williamstown operated three deep water piers in 1934. They were connected to the rail system which was used to move export grain cargoes from huge wheat stacks and grain sheds westward of Breakwater and Gellibrand piers. Certain steamers under charter to load grain brought out cargo at rates as low as 50 cents a tonne to position themselves at Melbourne for the more lucrative homeward loading. However, most vessels arrived out in water ballast and carried their own dunnage.

Alfred Graving Dock and a smaller floating dock attracted shipping to Williamstown for docking and repairs. The alternative for ship repairs was the dry dock of Duke and Orr on the Yarra bank at South Melbourne. This dock was rendered obsolete in the 1970s when a low level bridge was constructed across the river slightly downstream. The dock is now an historic showpiece within which is preserved the fully restored barque *Polly Woodside*. She was restored after being the last of the Melbourne coal hulks, named *Rona*.

As ten berths were also cut off by the bridge and no suitable graving dock site was available, a floating dock of similar dimensions to the dry dock was moored in the upstream swinging basin which lies immediately downstream from the bridge.

Victoria Dock was almost redundant as the overseas cargo terminal, because of post-war development downstream and the subsequent demise of conventional shipping. It has been modernised. The Union Company's New Zealand and Tasmanian roll on-roll off terminal is on the east side, while the southern and western sides were rebuilt for container or quarter ramp roll on-roll off traffic—the most important development in the late 1960s and one in which the Port of Melbourne played a key role. The dry dock entrance was widened by demolition of the end of North Wharf, and increased swinging space was achieved within the dock by removing Central Pier and increasing water depth to 11 metres.

The initial attempt to excavate Appleton Dock from swamp land below Victoria Dock failed. The contract with a Dutch company was cancelled. Work resumed successfully after the Second World War. Upon completion it provided seven general cargo and three bulk cargo berths with modern cargo handling equipment. The vanishing collier fleet commenced using Appleton Dock, and South Wharf was rebuilt and extended westward with six additional general cargo berths. Appleton Dock and South Wharf extension enclosed a swinging area 300 metres in diameter dredged to 11 metres.

Oil had supplanted coal for most purposes by the middle 1950s. Crude oil imports for processing at the Altona refinery created the need for a Williamstown terminal. Breakwater Pier and the area between it and Gellibrand Pier were reclaimed and modified to become a berth with a capacity for tankers up to 200 metres in length with a draught of 11 metres.

The Port Melbourne channel turn-off to Williamstown and a swinging basin were dredged to meet these requirements. Tankers soon outgrew Breakwater Pier, and Gellibrand Pier was reconstructed and re-aligned for berthing a new generation of supertankers which partly unloaded at Port Stanvac, South Australia, prior to entering Port Phillip drawing a maximum of 11.5 metres.

### *Geelong*

Geelong emerged as a modern deepwater port when the Ford Motor Company established itself at Corio Quay in 1924. The berth constructed for Ford has been used by Shell tankers with a maximum draught of 8 metres since 1930. Port approaches were improved by 1938, with the widening of Hopetoun Channel, dredging a new cut through Wilsons Spit, and creating a short channel through Portarlington sandbank so vessels drawing 8.8 metres could use Geelong. Grain silos and bulk loading facilities after 1939 increased the port's trade by adding grain to wool and refrigerated agricultural produce.

Shell chose North Corio as its oil refinery site in 1948, and proposed using tankers drawing 9.8 metres. The steel industry established at Kings Wharf benefited by that proposal as tankers used its wharf until a pier to serve the refinery was built. Tankers drawing up to 9.4 metres used it by 1954, when channels were dredged to 9.8 metres in anticipation of the building of bigger tankers.

Sixteen kilometres of channels from Point Richards to the refinery were dredged to 11 metres, and in 1958, the first 33,000 tonne tanker berthed at Refinery Pier drawing 10.4 metres. Similar depths at other berths enabled bulk carriers to use Geelong. An aluminium smelter built at Point Henry in the early 1960s and the Government explosives depot at Point Wilson also needed new piers and connecting channels.

Heavier tankers and bulk carriers demanded increased depths at Port Phillip Heads and by 1973, a 14.3 metre deep channel was carved through Rip Bank. The channel was deepened to permit 70,000 tonne vessels access to Geelong at the existing draught limit of 11.5 metres, after partly discharging their cargoes elsewhere.

### *Portland*

Lack of natural shelter from oceanic conditions limited Portland's expansion as a deep-water port until 1949, when a harbour trust was instituted. Two breakwaters were built to enclose 400 hectares of port waters and provide five sheltered berths for general and bulk cargo as well as tankers drawing 12.2 metres. Fertilisers and petroleum products have become the main imports, while exports through the port are wool, frozen meat, dairy products, and livestock. An aluminium smelter was begun in Portland in the early 1980s.

### *Western Port*

Western Port developed as a deepwater port in 1964, when British Petroleum established Crib Point oil refinery. A supertanker channel, berth, and swinging area designed to take vessels drawing 14.3 metres were constructed to create a crude oil import terminal. This usage changed upon discovery of the extensive Bass Strait oil and gas production fields and Western Port became a short oil and gas export terminal site with an additional berth built at Long Island and a steel products handling port after roll on-roll off facilities were required by a new steel production complex by 1969.

Supertankers, which became prominent in the 1960s, sailed regularly from Western Port for Japan laden with natural gas during the 1970s. Extensive industrial port development was suspended under representations from conservation groups and the findings of environmental impact reports and inquiries. Proposals to use Western Port as a fast cross Bass Strait roll on-roll off container service were also abandoned.

## OVERSEAS AND INTERSTATE SHIPPING: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1975

Year ended 30 June—	Vessel arrivals (vessel calls)	Vessel departures (vessel calls)	Cargo discharged		Cargo loaded	
			'000 tonnes weight	'000 tonnes measure	'000 tonnes	'000 tonnes measure
1935	2,603	2,585	3,013	755	1,558	458
1940	2,658	2,672	3,122	1,682	1,329	844
1945	1,412	1,444	3,475	817	1,051	1,119
1950	2,315	2,314	4,539	1,752	1,532	797
1955	2,718	2,719	6,259	1,857	2,181	1,108
1960	2,983	2,987	8,038	1,947	2,920	1,211
1965	3,316	n.a.	9,892	2,497	4,132	1,545
1970	3,364	3,352	11,357	3,414	5,628	2,105
1975	3,435	3,470	5,978	4,969	15,257	2,396

*Containerisation*

In the early 1970s, containerisation revolutionised the Victorian shipping industry. In terms of cargo handled it has led to increased efficiency in turn around time, heightened security, and an improvement in handling techniques.

LOADED CONTAINER THROUGHPUT: PORT OF MELBOURNE,  
1972-73 TO 1982-83  
(Twenty-foot equivalent units)

Year	Overseas		Coastal		Total
	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	
1972-73	100,993	98,393	55,138	65,068	319,592
1973-74	127,473	86,633	40,689	41,276	296,071
1974-75	133,781	93,182	42,532	43,452	312,947
1975-76	145,400	111,156	42,788	45,550	344,894
1976-77	164,772	130,909	39,038	39,453	374,172
1977-78	142,187	128,892	44,642	39,268	354,989
1978-79	156,650	147,345	46,849	30,891	381,735
1979-80	176,636	151,001	49,223	38,304	415,164
1980-81	178,597	151,912	48,202	38,877	417,588
1981-82	192,653	158,886	45,384	35,623	432,546
1982-83	164,128	157,164	44,449	31,703	397,444

CONTAINERISED GENERAL CARGO  
AS A PERCENTAGE OF  
TOTAL GENERAL CARGO THROUGHPUT:  
PORT OF MELBOURNE, 1975-76 TO 1980-81  
(per cent)

Year	Overseas		Coastal		Total
	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	
1975-76	64.6	69.2	54.3	51.8	62.7
1976-77	63.0	76.3	48.4	50.3	63.4
1977-78	61.6	80.5	48.5	53.0	64.0
1978-79	63.7	83.4	52.1	54.5	66.8
1979-80	65.9	85.7	52.2	61.9	69.0
1980-81	66.5	83.5	52.9	64.0	69.1

*Shipping changes*

During the 1930s the painted names of many famous old sailing ships were still legible, although faded, on the wharf timbers of the port. Sailing ships occasionally still carried a cargo of Baltic timber to South Wharf. The big Swedish four-masted *C.B. Pedersen* was one of these. The little ships of the mosquito fleet, consisting of ketches and schooners which ran to Tasmania and South Australia, had yet to face the effects of war and financial difficulties. Smaller ketches were carrying sand for glass-making to Spotswood Jetty, and the old gunboat *Protector* had been sold and hulked for use as the oil hulk *Sidney*. Soon a new oil barge named *Comor* was launched as the first of her type within the port. Economical oil burning vessels were fast gaining ground but coal burners still dominated the coastal and overseas trades.

A regular stream of colliers in the 1930s delivered Newcastle coal to Melbourne for railways, gas production, domestic and industrial usage, and bunkering ships. Bunkering a ship from a coal hulk was carried out by hand shovelling coal into baskets which were then hoisted and tipped into the bunkers of the ship being coaled.

Trade patterns changed after the worst years of the Depression. Royal mail vessels belonging to P&O or Orient Lines berthed at Port Melbourne every Sunday night and were met by press and radio newsmen seeking to interview celebrities among the passengers.

Orient Line added *Orion* and *Orcades* in the 1930s to their five smaller vessels each of 20,000 tonnes, while P&O added five "Strath" ships to *Mooltan* and *Maloja*, which had been the largest vessels in the Australian trade until 1932. Vessels mentioned utilised the Suez Canal, but Shaw Savill laid *Dominion Monarch* on the Australian and New Zealand route by way of the Cape in 1939. This, the largest vessel using Australian ports, was replaced by *Southern Cross* in 1955, and as world cruising proved popular, *Northern Star* joined her in 1962. Shaw Savill ten years later replaced *Southern Cross* with *Ocean Monarch*, but within three years abandoned their passenger services. Among passenger lines, others to follow suit were such ships as the *Himalaya*, *Orsova*, and *Oriana*.

In the 1930s overseas passenger and mail vessels discharged cargo into rail trucks for freighting by steam locomotives to Montague rail yards for distribution. Outward cargo was loaded using the ship's derricks from road and rail vehicles. Road transport was still largely horse dominated, and large trains of livestock trucks carried thousands of horses to the wharves to be shipped to India as remounts for British and Indian army cavalry units. This practice ceased after 1947.

The days of the Port Phillip excursion vessels such as the *Weeroona* (which was to serve in New Guinea during the Second World War) were drawing to a close. The aged *Edina* (which had served in the Crimean War) was taken off the Geelong run and hulked in 1938. The next year the world was at war and by 1943, the port had become the chief American supply base in Australia. Alfred Graving Dock and the State Shipyards reverted to Commonwealth control as war became imminent and keels of Australian minesweeping vessels were laid down.

War found the number of coastal vessels incapable of meeting demands placed upon them. Because of gaps in rail and road communication throughout Australia, sea transport became vital. Both naval and mercantile ship building proceeded at Williamstown, and other locations throughout Australia. After the war shortage of coastal shipping continued and the newly created Australian Shipping Board exercised the control functions of wartime authorities. The Australian coastal fleet of 1949 was newer and larger than it had been upon the outbreak of war, but did not operate as efficiently because of slow turn arounds, shortage of materials, industrial strife, and vastly better pay and living conditions for seamen. Government owned tonnage was in a most favourable condition with regard to its competition with private ownership. Improved road systems and air routes made heavy inroads into sea transport. Air freight in particular for light articles had the important considerations of time saved and pillage prevented, even when measured against heavier freight rates, and it was necessary to formulate the *Australian Coastal Shipping Agreement Act 1956*.

All merchant ships, including prizes of war and new tonnage, were controlled by the Australian Shipping Board. New tonnage ordered included 6,000 tonne oil burning steamers.

*River Loddon* and *River Mitta* were built at Williamstown. *Dandenong* was launched in 1946 as the last coal burner and then the Board turned to diesel propulsion.

Rising costs in America affected the Pacific trade and *Monterey* and *Mariposa* of the Matson Line disappeared from the Port of Melbourne after the Second World War, while the trade with Indonesia declined because of lack of money available to the administration for imports.

A new *Orcades* arrived during 1949, to replace her namesake lost in the war. Two years later she was joined by *Oronsay*. These air conditioned vessels were designed for comfort passing through the Indian Ocean, Suez Canal, and Red Sea. Building costs had risen so that each vessel cost \$8m. The old financial relationships within the shipping industry were rapidly changing. Speeds rose and ship profiles altered rapidly. In the 1950s the mastless new *Orsova* made 25 knots on trials. Advent of these newer liners relegated the older ships to the breakers' yards. Newer vessels also needed more powerful diesel tugs which replaced such famous steam tugs as *James Paterson* and *Toorong*.

As air travel became cheaper and more readily available in the 1950s, Shaw Savill attempted to compete by primarily using large general and refrigerated cargo vessels which carried 80 passengers. Despite this effort, air travel became more popular and the long standing passenger services between Britain and Australia gradually disappeared and were replaced by air travel.

Use of the Cape route revived in 1956, as a result of the Suez Crisis. Rapidly rising freight rates enabled Australian owned and manned ships to operate profitably throughout the Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean areas. Re-opening of the Canal, however, reversed the situation.

The outstanding fleet of interstate liners also had not fared well: *Canberra*, *Orungal*, *Manoora*, *Duntroon*, and *Kanimbla* disappeared progressively from the coastal passenger run after the Second World War. *Loongana* was claimed as the fastest ever interstate vessel until taken off the Tasmanian run in 1936. She was sold to Japan and survived the Pacific War in the Inland Sea. Her ultimate successor *Empress of Australia* is the sole remaining regular service passenger vessel operating out of Melbourne. Escalating operating costs and competition from road, rail, and air services forced withdrawal of interstate passenger ships. *Taroona* was subsidised for the Tasmanian trade and the last interstate liner to be withdrawn in 1959, when an increased subsidy to cover a major overhaul was refused. Transformation of the coastal trade started in 1962, when a series of amalgamations and takeovers in the transport industry began. However, they only affected interstate cargo shipping.

Several vessels were laid up and the Commonwealth Government owned fleet was offered unsuccessfully to private companies, although a condition of sale was the requirement to maintain certain unprofitable interstate services and in particular the Darwin run. The Australian National Line (ANL) with its headquarters in Melbourne then assumed control of the vessels. ANL streamlined the Darwin service by designing and constructing *Darwin Trader*. This container ship was fitted with a gantry crane on deck to handle containers, as she acts as a container ship when Darwin bound and a bulk manganese ore carrier when southward bound from Groote Eylandt.

*Kooringa* was the first container ship equipped with a gantry crane. This innovation was introduced by Associated Steamships in 1964. When Swanson Dock and similar facilities became operational the gantry crane was removed. *Kooringa*, *Manoora*, and *Kanimbla* by then were providing a regular container service between Fremantle, Melbourne, and Sydney. Industrial delays at each port meant overseas container ships vied with Australian vessels for the limited facilities available. Coastal container ship services were discontinued in the early 1970s.

#### *New cargo concepts*

ANL chose the roll on-roll off concept in preference to the cellular method (i.e., lift on-lift off method) in the 1970s. The ships had quarter ramps. Fork lift trucks load and discharge pallets, containers, or other cargo without lifting gear, while cranes handle deck cargo.

Swedish and British lines together with ANL built three similar vessels for the North American trade. Appleton Dock was used for the Scandinavian trade, while South Wharf



was modified for the Pacific-Australia direct line. Swanson Dock was used for gantry crane equipped ships discharging loaded lighters through a stern door and unloading their container deck cargo. Access to this dock with six portainer crane berths was achieved by realigning the Yarra River entrance, increasing water depths, and eliminating tanker berths at Yarraville by excavation of Holden Dock.

Webb Dock evolved from the need to provide a special berth for the *Princess of Tasmania*. Five more berths were then dredged to meet the needs of the unit load system. Portainer cranes supplemented the roll on-roll off capability by handling containers on the dock. BHP took over South Wharf coal berth and installed special cranes for handling steel products carried in conventional ships. The area was then redesigned for ships with quarter ramps.

The sole roll on-roll off casualty within Port Phillip was *Straitsman* which capsized in 1974 off Swanson Dock creating a navigational hazard until it was raised.

The unit load system was successful and caused shipping companies and road hauliers to integrate as special ship and terminal requirements needed collective action.

#### *Port facilities by the 1980s*

Vessels could use Melbourne at its maximum depth of 14 metres from Fawkner Beacon to Swanson and Appleton Docks and lower South Wharf. Few supertankers visited Breakwater Pier but smaller chemical and gas tankers continued to berth there, while Maribyrnong River berths were available for chemical, gas, and acid tankers. Petroleum product tankers used Holden Dock. The Port of Melbourne Authority has slipways and repair yards at Williamstown but there are no commercial dry docking facilities.

At Williamstown, shipbuilding berths and the Alfred Graving Dock have been used exclusively by the Commonwealth as HMA Naval Dockyard, Williamstown since 1942. Nelson Pier was demolished and replaced by two new piers required by dockyard expansion plans.

### AIR TRANSPORT

#### **Development**

By the beginning of 1934, air travel was beginning to be recognised in Victoria, as in other States, as a practical alternative form of passenger transport. While still somewhat hazardous and costly by comparison with other means of travel, the time-saving it offered demanded that it be taken seriously.

Though air transport within the State at that time was confined to the activities of the Victorian section of the Australian Aero Club (later to become the Royal Victorian Aero Club), as well as several "air taxi" operators based at Essendon Airport, (developed thirteen years before in 1921), Captain Victor Holyman's Tasman Aerial Services were operating a thrice-weekly service between Melbourne and Launceston using a six-passenger, twin-engined DH84 Dragon. It was the first Australian airline aircraft to be fitted with radio.

The service proved such a success that in October 1934, with an airmail contract from the Commonwealth Government, the company took delivery of a 12-passenger four-engined DH86, an aircraft specifically designed for the Brisbane-Singapore section of the proposed Empire Air Route to London.

Unlike all previous Bass Strait air services which had been operated through either Flinders or King Islands, the new aircraft was capable of flying directly between Melbourne and Launceston. Another innovation was a uniformed crew—something that had only become possible with the advent of fully-enclosed cockpits. Radio equipped like its smaller predecessor, the DH86 was described as the "first dependable commercial proposition" on the Bass Strait route. The comment was to prove wrong. Only three weeks after its inaugural flight, the plane, *Miss Hobart*, was lost in Bass Strait with all on board, including Captain Holyman himself. Other DH86s were grounded pending an airworthiness investigation, but after extensive tests carried out by the manufacturers had failed to detect any major problem, the type returned to service.

A year later in October 1935, public confidence in this aircraft received a further setback when Holyman Airways second DH86 *Loina* crashed into the sea near Flinders Island in

circumstances just as mysterious as those of its sister aircraft a year before. An even greater shadow was cast over the type's integrity when a third Holyman Airways DH86 force-landed on Hunter Island. However, public interest was then switched to the impending arrival of its first 14-passenger all-metal Douglas DC2 *Bungana*. This revolutionary new design had won international acclaim by gaining second place in the 1934 MacRobertson England-Australia centenary air race, won by Scott and Black in their specially-built De Havilland Comet racing aeroplane.

By this time, Holyman's had expanded their routes to link Melbourne with Canberra and Sydney, and in mid-1936 the company merged with Adelaide Airways to form the Melbourne based Australian National Airways (ANA). The second company to bear the name (the first being formed by Sir Charles Kingsford Smith and Charles Ulm), it was to become Australia's major private enterprise airline until the advent of the "two airline policy", with a route network extending from Perth, through the populous southern and eastern States, to the outback areas of far north Queensland. With the addition of two more DC2s to the fleet, it became possible for the first time to fly between Adelaide and Perth in a single day. The company's first DC3s entered service two years later in 1938.

Meanwhile, in the Western District city of Hamilton, a service car operator R.M. (later Sir Reginald) Ansett had run into difficulties with the Victorian Government. His road services had proved such a success with Western District customers that they were affecting passenger traffic of the Victorian Railways. When Ansett proposed a service between Hamilton and Melbourne, legislation was passed to prevent such competition. Ansett then responded by buying a second-hand, single-engined, six-passenger Fokker Universal, and commenced a regular air service between Melbourne and Hamilton. The inception of the service in February 1936 marked the birth of another significant Melbourne based airline operation.

Ansett Airways prospered at first; the Fokker was soon replaced by a twin-engined Airspeed Envoy; and a flying school was opened at Hamilton. The company then went public and three fast, new, all-metal 10-passenger Lockheed 10s were ordered to operate daily services between Melbourne, several Riverina centres, and Sydney. However, developing financial problems and a hangar fire at Essendon Airport which destroyed the Fokker and one of the new Lockheeds, ran the company into serious difficulties and they were almost forced to sell out to ANA. At this stage the Commonwealth Government, realising the defence value of the airline, came to the rescue with a subsidy and Ansett Airways survived.

With the increasing number of modern, high speed airline aircraft operating on Australia's air routes, there was concern over the gap between the performance of the aircraft and the civil aviation ground organisation, particularly the lack of radio navigation aids, which the loss of Airlines of Australia's Stinson *City of Brisbane* in the MacPherson Ranges, Queensland in February 1937, had shown to be so necessary. Despite frequent requests from the aviation industry, the Commonwealth Government's scheme for the installation of VHF radio navigation aids to replace the antiquated Bellini Tosi high frequency direction finders on major air routes was proceeding very slowly, and there was growing apprehension over the risks being taken to maintain airline schedules, particularly in poor weather.

The industry's worst fears were realised in October 1938 when ANA's DC2 *Kyeema*, letting down through apparently innocuous cloud cover into Essendon at the end of an uneventful flight from Adelaide, plunged into the top of the cloud-enshrouded Mt Dandenong. It was Australia's worst air disaster to that time, taking the lives of eighteen persons, including Charles Hawker, a notable Member of Federal Parliament. But it was also Australian aviation's most salutary lesson and the public inquiry that followed was to have a profound effect. The long-delayed system of radio aids—the Lorenz VHF radio range operating on 33 megacycles—was implemented as a matter of urgency, not only as an approach aid, but also along air routes to provide en route guidance. A "flight checking" system, later to evolve into Australia's unique air traffic control network, was introduced for all aircraft operating airline services. As well, the former Civil Aviation Board, which had been part of the Department of Defence, was re-organised to become the Department of Civil Aviation, a new Commonwealth portfolio in its own right, with its headquarters in Melbourne. Within Victoria, also, to supplement the Airways facilities at Essendon Airport, Aeradio communications stations were opened at Nhill and Mildura.

The war years, although necessarily restricting the growth of civil aviation, did much to stimulate technical development and personnel training and thus prepare the way for its unprecedented post-war expansion.

During this period, the engineering resources of virtually the entire industry were switched to the war effort, and expanded with work contracted by the Commonwealth Government and Allied military services. ANA, though heavily committed to military charter operations between Australia and New Guinea, for the most part continued to operate airline services from Melbourne with a reduced fleet. Ansett Airways, with the exception of their Melbourne-Hamilton services, ceased operations in Victoria to undertake full-time military charters, but their workshops remained and expanded at Essendon Airport. The Commonwealth Aircraft Corporation Ltd (a public company) which had been established at Fishermens Bend to build Wirraways for the RAAF, was augmented by a modern aircraft factory for the newly-formed Department of Aircraft Production, initially to produce Bristol Beauforts and later Beaufighters. This move firmly consolidated Melbourne as the aviation capital of Australia.

By the end of the war, with so many servicemen and women having gained flying experience during the war, aeroplanes were now classed with the train and the motor car as an accepted means of public transport. There was also a great number of ex-RAAF pilots; many Australians had become skilled engineering tradesmen; manufacturing industry generally had gained high-tolerance capability through wartime contractors; and ex-military transport aircraft such as DC3s, Lockheed 14s, Ansons, and Dragons were available cheaply. Ground facilities had also been improved, especially the installation of non-directional radio beacons for homing and en route navigation, the introduction of radio communications in control towers for airport control, and the establishment of airport fire services.

However, not all the technical and operational problems of operating regular air services in all weathers had been overcome. The loss of several ANA aircraft in the late 1940s, particularly the DC3 *Lutana* in the ranges of northern NSW, the *Amana* at York in Western Australia in 1950, and the accident to the Ansett Viscount VH-TVC in severe thunderstorm conditions over Botany Bay as late as 1961, showed that both the industry and the Commonwealth Government still needed to do much. In fact, these airline accidents, in common with those involving the *Southern Cloud* in 1931, the *Stinson City of Brisbane* in 1937, and the *Kyeema* in 1938, hastened the movement of Australia's airways system to present day standards. For out of the *Lutana* inquiry came a re-organisation of the air traffic control system into today's form, with separate functions for airport, area, and operational control; more refined instrument approach procedures; and the replacement of the earlier 33 megacycle Lorenz radio ranges with VHF visual aural radio (VAR) ranges which not only provided great reliability and accuracy, but were free from atmospheric interference. Likewise, the inquiry following the VH-TVC accident highlighted the danger of intense thunderstorm cells, and resulted in meteorological radar services at principal airports which would enable air traffic controllers to vector aircraft away from areas of severe turbulence. Air-borne radar was also required to be carried by turbo-prop and jet aircraft for the same purpose.

In 1945, the Commonwealth Government enacted legislation to nationalise air services. After ANA had won an appeal to the High Court, and a national referendum had failed to give the Chifley Government the amendment to the Constitution it required to bring about the nationalisation, the Commonwealth Government decided to form its own airline, a right which had been upheld in the High Court decision. In February 1946, the Australian National Airlines Commission was formed, and established Trans-Australia Airlines (TAA). After abortive applications by the private airlines for leave to appeal to the Privy Council against the Commonwealth Government's action, TAA began operations between Melbourne and Sydney the following September, using a DC3 converted from RAAF C47 configuration. By the end of the year, with their headquarters established in Melbourne, TAA were carrying passengers, mail, and freight between all States.

Competition between the two major operators was fierce, and by the end of 1946 both airlines were operating 44-passenger DC4s, the biggest commercial aircraft then seen in Australia, on their trunk routes. Ansett's in the meantime had re-established their domestic services with three ex-military DC3s, from Melbourne to Sydney, Adelaide, and Hobart

via intermediate ports. Early in 1948, after both ANA and TAA had increased their fares by 20 per cent, Ansett's short stages and the 28-seat high-density configuration which the company had adopted for their DC3s, was producing sufficient revenue to enable it to undercut the major operators. Late in 1948, TAA began operating Convair 240s, the first pressurised aircraft to enter service in Australia.

The competition was eased for ANA to some extent in 1952 when the Civil Aviation Agreement Act gave the company free and equal access with TAA to government airline business, including mail contracts. But while TAA re-equipped in the early 1950s with profitable turbo-prop Vickers Viscounts, ANA were again disadvantaged by their decision to buy DC6-Bs, an aircraft unsuited to the company's typical interstate legs such as Melbourne-Sydney. The company's finances and management became uncertain and Ansett offered to take over the company in 1957 for a little over \$6m, one-third of it provided by Ansett Transport Industries themselves with a further one-third financed by the Vacuum and Shell oil companies.

The new company, Ansett-ANA, immediately re-equipped their aircraft so that they could compete on a more equal footing with TAA. Ansett's had already gained some experience of operating advanced pressurised aircraft with their Convair 340s, and they now selected the new Lockheed Electra turbo-prop as the most suitable type. But TAA, already operating turbo-prop Viscounts with great success, were preparing to step up to Sud-Aviation Caravelles, a French 70-passenger twin-engined pure jet aircraft. Ansett-ANA then told the Commonwealth Government that in their present difficult financial circumstances they could not possibly buy jets to compete with TAA.

The Government compelled TAA to buy Electras; as a result the Airlines Equipment Act of 1958 strengthened the Civil Aviation Agreement and ensured that the "two airline policy" became workable. Under this the two national operators offered services that were parallel in almost every respect. This arrangement continued unchanged into the era of domestic jet operations in 1965 when both airlines re-equipped with Boeing 727s, supplemented a few years later with DC9s.

Not until the early 1980s were there any significant changes to the policy, when with TAA operating Airbus Industrie A300s and Ansett Airlines Boeing 767s as their first-line aircraft, an entirely new and much more competitive two-airline situation began to emerge.

#### **Developments in airports and cargo services**

The most significant development of post-war aviation in Victoria possibly was the establishment of the new international airport at Tullamarine to replace Essendon as Melbourne's major airport. Opened in 1970 at a cost of \$63m, Tullamarine has provided modern passenger, freight, and engineering base facilities and an increasing amount of international traffic to Melbourne. Tullamarine has also endowed Melbourne with a three-tier airport system unique in Australia. Moorabbin Airport, opened in the early post-war years as a secondary airport to Essendon, continues as a centre for flying training and private operations, and as the base for the Royal Victorian Aero Club; Essendon has become the centre for charter and supplementary airline operators, as well as an engineering base for general aviation aircraft; while aircraft movements at Tullamarine are almost entirely confined to heavy international, domestic, and cargo service traffic.

The development of cargo services, particularly those providing a service across Bass Strait, has been another noteworthy aspect of civil aviation development in Victoria in recent years. One company which pioneered such services from Moorabbin Airport in the early post-war era was Brain and Brown Airfreighters. The company eventually progressed from RAAF Ansons to DC3s, transferring their base to Essendon Airport at the same time. A four-engined turbo-prop Argosy was acquired in the mid-1970s, but financial difficulties led to the company's absorption into Air Express Ltd. Air Express was forced to cease operations in 1979.

In the meantime, after many legal difficulties, IPEC Aviation, had begun a freight operation between Essendon and Launceston in 1978 with two turboprop Argosys. In 1980, the company announced plans to build a major freight terminal at Tullamarine and began negotiations for the purchase of jet aircraft. A DC9 jet freighter was acquired in

August 1982 and the Argosys, now three in number, established an additional regular night freight service connecting Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, and Brisbane.

#### Administrative changes

Any review of air transport in Victoria would be incomplete without some reference to the administrative changes that have occurred in the former Department of Civil Aviation (DCA) in recent years.

Though intended ultimately to be re-located in the National Capital, the Central Office of DCA was still based in Melbourne in December 1973 when that Department was merged with the Commonwealth Department of Shipping and Transport to become the Department of Transport. Moves were begun shortly afterwards to implement the long-intended move to Canberra.

This lengthy and complex undertaking was in its final stages when, in 1982, the aviation responsibilities of the Department of Transport were again separated to form the present Department of Aviation. Only the Department's Regional Office for Victoria and Tasmania now remains in Melbourne.

#### AIRCRAFT AND PASSENGER MOVEMENTS: MELBOURNE AIRPORT, 1960 TO 1982

Year ended 31 December—	Domestic (a)		International (b)	
	Aircraft movements	Passenger movements (c)	Aircraft movements	Overseas passengers arriving/ departing
1960	37,436	1,170,608	931	20,808
1965	47,938	1,705,739	1,201	43,306
1970	58,860	2,699,013	2,165	100,533
1975	71,993	4,137,338	7,278	551,626
1980	72,028	5,173,405	9,907	971,376
1981	66,500	5,038,312	9,719	955,784
1982	61,102	4,830,846	10,710	968,002

(a) Domestic operations transferred from Essendon to Tullamarine Airport from 20 June 1971.

(b) International operations transferred from Essendon to Tullamarine Airport from 1 July 1970.

(c) Domestic passenger movements represent the total of embarkations and disembarkations for Essendon Airport until 19 June 1971, and for Tullamarine Airport from 20 June 1971.

Source: Department of Aviation.



A selection of postage stamps, some of which commemorate notable Victorians or Victorian events.

Stamps courtesy of Australia Post

Warrigal Road, Burwood, in 1938, looking south between Riversdale and Burwood Roads.

*Road Construction Authority, Victoria*



An "autograde" at work on the construction of the Hume Highway at the Seymour Bypass.

*Road Construction Authority, Victoria*



Traffic on the Princes Freeway at Drouin.

*Road Construction Authority, Victoria*





The introduction of petrol rationing in 1940 restricted the travel of motorists and this led to a greater use of substitute fuels. The modification at the rear of this vehicle is a charcoal gas producer, the variations of which provided enough gas to drive even heavy cars.

*Australian War Memorial*



Peak-hour traffic is not a new aspect of Melbourne's transport routes. This is a scene of Spencer Street during the 1950s.

*Metropolitan Transit Authority*



The availability of car parking space in the Central Business District has become a problem in Melbourne, as in any other large city.

*M. White*





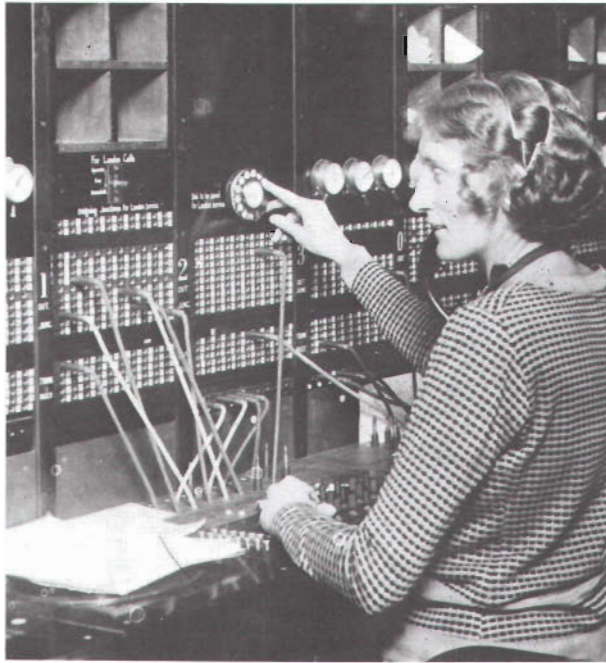
An ABC crew broadcasting the landing of Sir Charles Kingsford-Smith and Charles Ulm at Flemington Racecourse in 1934.

*Australian Broadcasting Corporation*

The control room at 3LO Melbourne in the 1930s.

*Telecom Australia*





Australia's first international telephone call (between Melbourne and London) being dialled/connected, April 1930.

*Telecom Australia*

Airmail being loaded aboard a Douglas DC2 in the late 1930s.

*Australia Post*





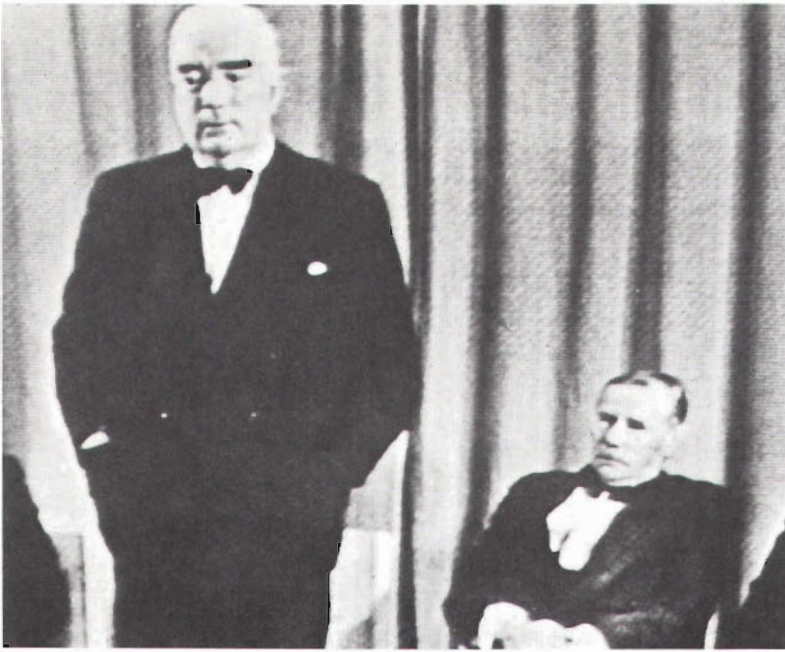
Television screens used to monitor the quality of satellite television pictures.

*Overseas Telecommunications Commission*

Laying the first submarine telephone cable between Tasmania and Victoria, 1935.

*Telecom Australia*





The first few minutes of ABC-TV. The Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. R.G. Menzies, opens ABN-2 (Sydney) on 5 November 1956. ABV-2 (Melbourne) opened on 19 November 1956 at 7 p.m.

*Australian Broadcasting Corporation*

Mount Dandenong radio and television transmitter masts.

*Telecom Australia*



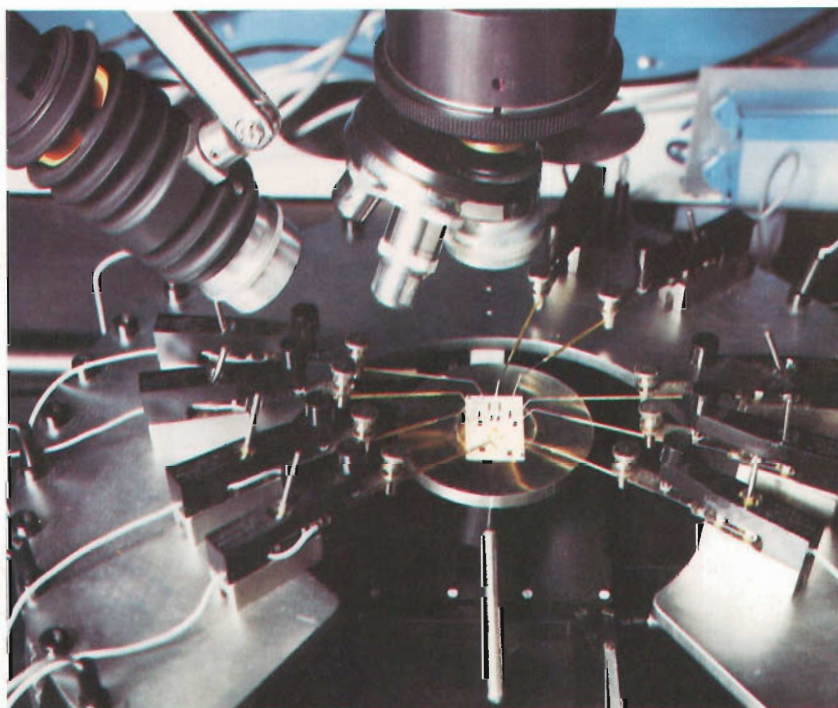
A typical International Manual Assistance Centre connecting Australian telephone customers with the world.

*Telecom Australia*



A microchip undergoing tests at Telecom's Research Laboratories at Clayton.

*Telecom Australia*



OTC coast radio operator logs details of a Telex message just received by radio from a ship at sea.

*Overseas Telecommunications Commission*



## COMMUNICATIONS

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### INTRODUCTION

Since 1934, the development of faster and more efficient communications systems has been one of the most notable events in Australia as elsewhere. In order to understand the effects of these innovations in Victoria, this Chapter considers the important events of the time and suggests how they frequently acted as a catalyst for improving communications systems. There were two radio broadcasts of Coronation services, one in 1937 and one in 1953; famous Test matches both before and after the war; the effects of the Second World War itself; the Olympic Games held in Melbourne in 1956; the introduction of black and white television in 1956 and colour in 1975; the launching of the first satellite by the USSR in 1957; and the landing of the first man on the moon by the United States of America in 1969.

All these events had effects on Australia's communications systems and formed the backdrop against which great technical advances were made. Development of computers received impetus during the Second World War. Subsequently the combination of ever more sophisticated computers (made even smaller through the micro chip), satellites for relaying voices, signals, and images, and improvements in high frequency electronics made for communications improvements undreamed of in the 1930s.

The Chapter traces these developments through the perspective of the Postmaster General's Department which was responsible for all communications until 1975, and thereafter through the perspective of the Australian Telecommunications Commission (Telecom) and the Australian Postal Commission (Australia Post), respectively. The establishment of these two Commissions reflected not only the most convenient means of administering Australia's communications, but also the ever changing technological situation, ranging from the ability to transmit instant television images across the world to the convenience of push-button telephones.

### 1934 TO 1939, PRE-WAR YEARS

#### **Communications after the Depression**

In common with many other institutions, the activities and finances of the Postmaster-General's Department during the Depression ran at a low ebb. One of the signs of this was a lower level of recruitment and training of staff. However, by 1934 there were signs of hope in the Department, no less than in the wider community, and as one of the largest employers in Australia, the Department was at last able to review its personnel policies in that year. In its Annual Report for 1933-34 it stated: "A number of the cadet engineers, who were regressed during 1931, have now been reinstated on the Engineering Staff in order that they may complete their training course and thus ensure qualified officers being available to meet Departmental demands. Towards the end of 1930, as a consequence of the depressed conditions, and of the unprecedented decline which took place in all States in telephone development, the Departmental training classes for junior mechanics were discontinued, and it became necessary to transfer a considerable number of trainees to non-technical positions. The improvement which has now taken place in industrial and financial conditions, and the present upward trend in telephone development, has justified the re-establishment of the training classes and these ex-trainees are being given an

opportunity to complete their training. It has also been decided to recruit a limited number of new trainees early in 1935 to meet future staff requirements." A significant figure in that year was a net gain of 13,740 telephones for the whole of Australia, as well as a recorded profit in Victoria of \$1,462,516.

POSTAL AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS, NUMBERS EMPLOYED: VICTORIA,  
1935 TO 1982

At 30 June—	Permanent employees	Temporary and exempt employees	Part-time employees	Non-official post-masters and staffs	Mail contractors	Telephone office keepers	Total				
POSTMASTER—GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT											
1935	5,749	2,086	—	2,455	1,017	255	11,562				
1940	7,426	3,379	—	2,548	1,645	252	15,250				
1945	8,373	7,131	—	2,605	1,772	238	20,119				
1950	10,331	9,822	—	2,611	1,237	225	24,226				
1955	12,368	8,538	587	2,531	1,085	197	25,306				
1960	15,806	7,701	523	2,524	1,164	185	27,903				
1965	16,385	9,007	645	2,427	998	138	29,600				
1970	18,346	9,429	712	2,036	984	56	31,563				
1975	22,540	8,414	803	1,634	878	9	34,278				
	AUST- RALIA POST	TELE- COM	AUST- RALIA POST	TELE- COM	AUST- RALIA POST	TELE- COM	AUST- RALIA POST	TELE- COM			
1980	6,546	19,193	2,043	1,999	511	513	1,210	607	7	10,917	21,712
1981	7,491	19,265	1,262	1,875	534	497	1,168	683	—	11,138	21,637
1982	7,669	19,087	1,061	1,146	518	517	1,143	697	—	11,088	20,750

Source: Postmaster-General's Department, Australia Post, and Telecom Annual Reports.

### Technical developments

The sharp decline in the number of telephone services in each State during the earlier years of the Depression, caused the Postmaster-General's Department to train special staff to canvass new business, and to dissuade those who had given notice for the disconnection of their telephone from proceeding with that intention. During 1933-34 orders for 13,351 new services throughout Australia were obtained in this way, while 2,360 cancellation notices were withdrawn. Another innovation for new subscribers in the metropolitan area and large provincial towns was the employment of female officers, to call all new subscribers, welcome them to the service, and ensure that they were familiar with the operation of the instrument. New subscribers were also supplied with a brochure describing briefly the services a telephone can render, as well as a supply of postcards, so that clients and friends could be advised of the new telephone number prior to the publication of the next directory.

### TELEPHONE EXCHANGES, SERVICES, AND INSTRUMENTS CONNECTED: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

At 30 June—	Number of Exchanges	Number of services	Number of instruments connected	Instruments per 1,000 of population
		'000	'000	
1935	1,650	122	168	92
1940	1,685	157	218	115
1945	1,674	182	264	131
1950	1,714	246	349	158
1955	1,757	367	505	200
1960	1,783	488	677	234
1965	1,625	632	860	268
1970	1,312	824	1,182	343
1975	1,127	1,062	1,544	r409
1980	1,124	1,355	2,054	530
1981	1,115	1,424	2,162	550
1982	1,102	1,484	2,200	554

Source: Postmaster-General's Department and Telecom Annual Reports.

In March 1934 the Postmaster-General's Department installed a short-wave transmitting station at Lyndhurst, Victoria, to provide a broadcast service to listeners in the more remote parts of central and northern Australia, who previously had not been catered for by existing national stations. In order to extend the National Broadcasting System, tenders were accepted during 1933-34 for the supply of transmitting apparatus required for the erection of seven new regional broadcasting stations in Australia, one of which was to serve the Gippsland area, and another the western area of Victoria. During the same year, tenders were also called for an underwater cable across Bass Strait, to provide telephone and broadcasting links between the mainland and Tasmania.

Another technical innovation was the use of the pneumatic tube. *The Argus* newspaper on 10 May 1934 noted its attempt to beat its rivals with news flashes sent by telegraph: "Telegraph messages will be received in *The Argus* Office within 65 seconds of their dispatch from the Elizabeth Street Post Office as a result of a new pneumatic tube service (underground), between the two buildings. It is the first pneumatic tube service between the Postal Department and a Victorian newspaper".

Economic conditions continued to improve in 1935. The year had opened on a bright note, with the return of the Melbourne G.P.O. chimes, which had been silenced for many years. The Postmaster-General's Department set an example to private enterprise to help in the national recovery by embarking on an extensive building programme. This included new automatic telephone exchanges at City West, Melbourne, Caulfield, and Brunswick. The City West, Brunswick, and Caulfield Exchanges were designed to have initial capacities of 6,000, 3,600, and 2,000 lines, respectively. At 30 June 1935, work on these exchanges varied from near completion at Caulfield to just commenced at City West. In addition, five rural automatic exchanges were installed during 1934-35 in Victoria, at Iona, Thornton, Yallourn, Somerville, and Tyabb.

The old system of providing telephone subscribers' services by open wires mounted on poles began to be phased out during 1935-36 to be replaced by underground cable.

In the early 1930s there was an increasing interest in aviation, of which the London-Melbourne air race in 1934 was a sign. During 1935-36, internal air mail services within Australia had virtually doubled the route kilometres flown in previous years. New services established during that year included Melbourne to Sydney on six days each week; Melbourne to Hamilton, six days each week; and Adelaide to Melbourne, twice weekly. This impetus to air mail development both internal and overseas and to the steady growth of telecommunications was under the leadership of the Postmaster-General's Department.

The 161 nautical miles of underwater cable planned to link Apollo Bay, Victoria, with Stanley, Tasmania, was successfully laid across Bass Strait by the Cable Ship *Faraday*, the work being completed on 26 November 1935. The installation of the associated equipment to provide telephone, telegraph, and broadcasting channels was completed in March 1936, and the cable system opened for communication on 25 March 1936.

## 1939 TO 1945, THE WAR YEARS

### Mail arrangements

One of the ultimate results of the outbreak of war in September 1939 was the necessity to produce substitutes in Australia for many of the articles that had previously been imported. This led to many advances in the manufacturing industries, which came to produce equipment needed for the war effort.

With the embarkation of Australian Forces for overseas service, the Postmaster-General's Department had to organise special facilities for the handling of their mail. A complex system of sorting was introduced in order to meet the unique requirements of mail for the Forces overseas. Facilities provided at Military Post Offices comprised the sale of postage stamps and postal stationery; the acceptance and delivery of mail matter, including registered articles and parcels; the issue and payment of postal notes and money orders; public telephone and trunk line facilities; the acceptance and delivery of telegrams; and savings bank facilities in cases where the Commonwealth Savings Bank did not make independent arrangements. In places where troops were stationed but where the provision of a separate Post Office was not thought necessary, steps were taken to ensure that adequate postal facilities were available to the members of the Forces.



Reduced rates of postage and reduced air mail rates were introduced for correspondence dispatched to Australian Armed Forces on service within and beyond the Commonwealth. The operations of the Empire Air Mail Scheme were curtailed and the frequency of the service was reduced from three times to twice weekly. Later, further modifications became necessary.

An airmail service operating on a weekly schedule between Auckland and Sydney, which was inaugurated by a flight from New Zealand on 30 April 1940, was conducted by Tasman Empire Airways, a company formed specially to operate it. Flying boats were used on the route, and the journey between the terminal points took approximately nine hours. Shortly before the outbreak of war, the frequency of the KNILM Dutch Air Service which operated between Batavia (Netherlands East Indies, now Indonesia) and Sydney, was reduced from twice to once weekly in each direction, and the volume of mail conveyed to Australia by this service declined. The circulation of mails throughout the world had been seriously dislocated as a result of the war, and many re-arrangements were necessary in order to meet the changing conditions. Mail routes through enemy and enemy-occupied territories were, of course, no longer available, and serious difficulties were met in the effort to find avenues for the exchange of mails with the remaining neutral countries in Europe. The regularity of the sailing of mail ships had been lost to a great extent, and the time of transit of mails had materially increased owing to the necessity to use other than the normal routes. Every suitable sailing was, however, used for the dispatch of mails, and the Department had been able to maintain reasonably frequent dispatches to overseas destinations.

The war affected the Department in many ways. Thus it had to provide a Duplicate Letter Service by which letters in duplicate, or in triplicate, addressed to places beyond the Commonwealth were accepted for transmission by successive seaborne mails (or successive air mails), according to the sender's requirements. To meet the desire of senders for the transmission of letters to Britain by other than the normal route, the Department arranged special routings of letters as best it could. For prisoners of war, it laid down a complete organisation for postal articles addressed to them, and this service embraced civilian internees, as well as interned members of the Forces. The Australian Red Cross Society acted as intermediary for postal articles addressed to Australians interned abroad. Correspondence for persons in enemy countries was another special requirement and as normal postal channels were not available for the transmission of correspondence, special services were authorised under which senders could, subject to the necessary restrictions and conditions which had been prescribed, arrange for such correspondence to be sent through an approved intermediary.

The airgraph service, whereby a message written on a special form was microfilmed, the rolls of film sent airmail, then enlarged prints made for the recipient, was established on 4 June 1943. Initially, it covered mail between Australia and Britain, but by 1943-44 it had been extended to include Canada, India, the Middle East, and nearly 40 other destinations. During 1944-45 it was decided to discontinue the airgraph service. As air mail facilities to Europe, Africa, and Asia, via Ceylon, were reintroduced in July 1944, the volume of airgraph letters declined substantially and, on the inauguration of the airletter service, the decrease became more pronounced despite a reduction in airgraph fees from eight cents for civilian communications and four cents for the Forces, to a flat rate of three cents for each.

POSTAL ARTICLES HANDLED: VICTORIA 1935 TO 1982  
( '000)

At 30 June—	Posted for delivery within Australia	Posted for delivery overseas	Received from overseas	Total
		LETTERS		
1935	221,563	9,249	7,242	238,054
1940	245,264	6,866	5,817	257,947
1945	259,236	5,377	4,455	269,068
1950	311,927	11,774	10,698	334,399
1955	374,327	8,077	9,368	391,772
1960	442,606	9,708	21,512	473,826
1965	542,554	27,281	44,207	614,042

POSTAL ARTICLES HANDLED: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982—*continued*  
(‘000)

At 30 June—	Posted for delivery within Australia	Posted for delivery overseas	Received from overseas	Total
		LETTERS— <i>continued</i>		
1970	559,138	32,949	44,193	636,280
1975	596,148	29,227	50,199	675,571
1980	552,401	24,856	38,708	615,965
1981	574,209	27,313	43,231	644,753
1982	589,329	27,422	42,766	659,517
		OTHER ARTICLES		
1935	26,939	3,609	2,470	33,018
1940	28,713	2,830	1,839	33,382
1945	44,745	2,095	3,641	50,482
1950	50,277	2,607	6,683	59,566
1955	53,199	3,600	8,036	64,835
1960	74,609	3,950	9,131	87,690
1965	89,312	4,481	11,867	105,660
1970	94,188	3,878	9,982	108,048
1975	102,911	3,480	11,547	117,938
1980	99,298	4,613	14,874	118,785
1981	105,818	4,207	15,498	125,523
1982	110,524	4,171	15,515	130,210
		PARCELS		
1935	1,683	42	71	1,796
1940	1,843	52	67	1,962
1945	4,752	247	139	5,138
1950	4,429	698	167	5,294
1955	4,183	157	198	4,538
1960	4,473	129	324	4,926
1965	5,183	163	380	5,726
1970	5,652	271	521	6,444
1975	5,574	391	752	6,716
1980	6,374	426	701	7,501
1981	7,436	440	740	8,616
1982	8,144	431	585	9,160
		REGISTERED ARTICLES		
1935	1,793	86	121	2,000
1940	2,219	85	99	2,404
1945	4,606	31	51	4,688
1950	4,689	92	164	4,945
1955	4,446	224	181	4,851
1960	3,239	177	244	3,660
1965	2,313	515	544	3,372
1970	2,262	584	666	3,511
1975	1,557	662	845	3,064
1980	778	474	806	2,058
1981	800	462	843	2,105
1982	756	459	834	2,049
		TOTAL		
1935	251,978	12,986	9,904	274,868
1940	272,039	9,833	7,822	295,695
1945	313,339	7,750	8,286	329,376
1950	371,322	15,171	17,712	404,204
1955	436,155	12,058	17,783	465,996
1960	524,927	13,964	31,211	570,102
1965	639,362	32,440	56,998	728,800
1970	661,240	37,682	55,362	754,283
1975	707,190	33,760	63,343	803,289
1980	658,851	30,369	55,089	744,309
1981	688,263	32,422	60,312	780,997
1982	708,753	32,483	59,700	800,936

Source: Postmaster-General's Department and Australia Post Annual Reports.

**MONEY ORDERS AND POSTAL NOTES ISSUED: VICTORIA,  
1935 TO 1982**

At 30 June—	Money orders		Postal notes	
	Issued	Value	Issued	Value
	'000	\$'000	'000	\$'000
1935	542	5,830	5,888	3,846
1940	663	7,272	6,476	4,646
1945	752	11,811	6,908	5,005
1950	1,025	16,929	11,574	8,434
1955	1,654	28,274	6,890	5,960
1960	2,537	42,116	4,523	4,442
1965	3,030	100,444	3,818	4,019
1970	1,927	38,932	3,808	8,086
1975	785	34,058	3,616	13,974
1980	2,167	99,654	(a)	..
1981	2,129	107,724	(a)	..
1982	1,906	111,064	(a)	..

(a) Postal notes no longer issued.

Source: Postmaster-General's Department and Australia Post Annual Reports.

### Telegrams

Under the Post and Telegraph Rates (Defence Forces) Act, which came into operation on 30 May 1940, concessional rates were applied to telegrams within the Commonwealth lodged by, or addressed to a member of the Forces, the charges fixed for such messages being five cents for a minimum of fourteen words, with one cent for each additional two words or less in the case of ordinary telegrams, and ten cents for a minimum of fourteen words and one cent for each additional word in respect of urgent telegrams.

By arrangement between British Empire Governments, Cable and Wireless Ltd, and Amalgamated Wireless (Australasia) Ltd, a special telegram service was established on 9 February 1940 to and from members of His Majesty's Army and Air Force abroad. Messages in this category were accepted at four cents per word for the text and signature only, with a minimum charge of twenty-five cents for six words, no charge being made for the words included in the address, or for the indicator Empire Forces Mail ("EFM"). This concession was later extended to British naval forces.

By special arrangement between the Commonwealth and Britain on the one hand, and Cable and Wireless Ltd and Amalgamated Wireless (Australasia) Ltd on the other, a telegraphic service was introduced in January 1941, permitting the exchange of messages between evacuee children in Australia and their parents in Great Britain. The plan permitted the dispatch of one telegram from parent to child and one in the reverse direction, each month, free of charge.

**TELEGRAMS AND CABLEGRAMS  
DISPATCHED: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982  
( '000)**

At 30 June—	To places within Australia	To other countries	Total dispatched
1935	3,306	230	3,536
1940	4,083	238	4,321
1945	8,330	303	8,633
1950	8,030	425	8,455
1955	5,019	461	5,480
1960	4,397	499	4,896
1965	4,361	608	4,969
1970	3,909	765	4,674
1975	3,015	671	3,686
1980	1,135	271	1,405
1981	1,136	132	1,267
1982	1,042	115	1,157

Source: Postmaster-General's Department and Telecom Annual Reports.

### **Voluntary war efforts**

The war provided Post Office staff with the opportunity of helping the war effort in various ways during off-duty hours. A "Post Office Volunteer Corps" was formed among male members of the Department to undertake, should occasion demand, the protection of communication services under the control of the PMG. Female staff supported the Post Office Women's Auxiliary. Its activities covered a wide field, including the collection of funds for war and charitable appeals, the organisation of First Aid Groups, the formation of Comforts Fund and War Savings Certificates Groups, and the training of female officers in various useful directions. Officers established organisations numbering thousands of helpers who actively supported the various patriotic funds and Red Cross auxiliaries by regular cash contributions and/or personal services. In Sydney and Melbourne money was subscribed for military ambulances.

During 1940-41 an Army Base Post Office was established in Melbourne under the control of the Department of the Army, to provide means of training members of the Army Postal Services before their embarkation for service abroad. In the same year the Department embarked on a special drive to stimulate the sale of Red Cross seals, by means of postmark slogans, the display of posters, and a special appeal from the Postmaster-General to the staff. Facilities were provided for the sale of seals from tables installed at Post Offices.

### **Personnel**

During 1942-43 a further 2,000 men throughout Australia were released to the Armed Forces, which brought the number of the Department's staff on war service to about 7,000 persons. This was achieved by the elimination of all work not absolutely essential, by the employment of returned soldiers and other men unfit or ineligible for war service, and by the use of female labour. Over 3,500 women were engaged on work normally carried out by men.

The casualties among the staff on active service were comparatively few, although 58 employees had died on service by 1942-43. At the end of June 1945, 8,000 members of the Department's staff throughout Australia were on war service; another 204 had lost their lives; and 6,000 women were being employed on work formerly carried out by men.

### **Wartime restrictions**

As the war progressed, more and more restrictions were placed on services not classed as "essential". The need for giving absolute priority to the requirements of the Armed Forces and essential organisations inevitably created restrictions on the provision of telephone facilities and these were introduced in February 1942. New or additional exchange services were not provided unless required by the Armed Forces, organisations concerned actively with public defence security or welfare, or persons engaged in the production and distribution of vital foodstuffs. Other limitations applied in order to conserve manpower and materials, including a ban on the provision of extension services and auxiliary facilities, the substitution of one type of apparatus for another, and removals solely to meet the convenience of subscribers. Public telephones were installed in exceptional cases only, and trunk lines were not erected unless required to provide for urgent official communications. Restrictions also applied to the overseas telephone services. The radio telephone service between Australia and Britain, New Zealand, New Guinea (Rabaul), Papua (Port Moresby), Netherlands East Indies, and the Philippine Islands were closed down. The service with the United States of America, however, was partially used.

### **Works and equipment**

During 1941, a new short wave 10 kW transmitter with the call sign VLG was brought into operation at Lyndhurst in Victoria. The transmitter augmented the existing 2 kW unit VLR, which had been designed and constructed by Post Office staff. VLG was intended mainly for internal service, but was also used for overseas broadcasts sponsored by the Department of Information.

One of the features of the war was its tendency to make Australia more self sufficient. The manufacture locally of telephone communication equipment was advanced by companies setting up for production of material such as automatic switching equipment, uniselectors racks, relays, 3,000 type and 600 type relay mountings, lead covered cable, switchboard plugs and cords, hand generators, and bi-motional switch wipers and parts. Such products were previously procured from other countries, but their local manufacture not only reduced delays in obtaining essential equipment, but also released shipping space and plant capacity in the countries of other Allied nations.

By 1944, the Department was already planning for post-war requirements. In order to overtake the heavy arrears which had accumulated since the outbreak of war, and to enable it to assist in the development of agriculture and manufacturing industry in Australia, a comprehensive programme of post-war works was prepared. The first stage of the programme involved an expenditure of some \$36m. The initial section of this post-war programme comprised mainly those projects which had a high degree of priority and were urgently needed improvements in the postal, telecommunications, and broadcasting services of the Commonwealth.

The constantly growing demand for services directly involving communications, posed serious problems for the Postmaster-General's Department, now desperately short of suitable accommodation to house telephone exchanges and new post offices. During 1944-45 essential defence requirements absorbed most of the skilled labour and materials available for building purposes and, in consequence, no new building works were undertaken for the Department, except those required for vital war telecommunications.

Altogether the limitation of building activities during the war years and the steady increase in Post Office business created an acute accommodation problem and, as a result, it was seen that many new buildings, extensions, and remodellings would soon be required.

#### NUMBER OF POST OFFICES: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

At 30 June—	Official	Semi-official	Non-official	Total
POSTMASTER-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT				
1935	238	35	2,263	2,536
1940	255	27	2,301	2,583
1945	283	19	2,208	2,510
1950	279	12	2,164	2,455
1955	299	5	2,058	2,362
1960	318	2	1,937	2,257
1965	329	—	1,807	2,136
1970	334	—	1,493	1,827
1975	331	—	1,174	1,505
AUSTRALIA POST				
1980	330	—	938	1,268
1981	332	—	916	1,248
1982	332	—	891	1,223

Source: Postmaster-General's Department and Australia Post Annual Reports.

#### End of hostilities

The surrender of Japan, in September 1945, resulted in the lifting of certain wartime controls on services operated by the Department. Restrictions on internal and international telegrams were gradually withdrawn. The use of code addresses and private codes and ciphers was again permitted without special authority; personal and commercial telegrams could be written in any plain language; telegrams could contain reference to shipping movements; and the inclusion of the sender's surname as a signature for transmission became optional once more. After 30 September 1945, censorship of all forms of telegraph communication in Australia was discontinued. The prohibition of radio telegrams to and from merchant ships, which was introduced on the outbreak of war on security grounds, was withdrawn from 1 January 1946 and in December of that year, the embargo on Christmas, New Year, and Mother's Day greeting telegrams, and on tipster and betting telegrams, was removed.

To cope with new broadcasting demands an additional high frequency (short wave) broadcasting transmitter was brought into operation at Lyndhurst on 21 January 1946. The transmitter was of 10 kW power and operated as a unit of the National Broadcasting Service with the call sign VLH. It served listeners in the outback areas of Australia. New short wave equipment was completed at a special centre at Shepparton. This station comprised two 100 kW transmitters and one 50 kW transmitter, at that time the most powerful transmitting station in the southern hemisphere, which was capable of providing a good signal to any country in the world, and was used for broadcasting Australian news and views to overseas countries.

## 1946 TO 1958, POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS

### General

The Postmaster-General's Department was now able to proceed with its post-war programme, and in 1945-46 planned that this programme would extend over three years, and would involve expenditure of about \$60m.

During 1946-47, the scheme for the mechanisation of the Mail Branch, Melbourne, was advanced to the stage where plant for the handling of packets and newspapers was introduced on trial. The equipment incorporated some novel features, and the results of the trials had an important bearing upon the actual design adopted for the complete installation.

A Cabinet Sub-committee was appointed in 1946-47 to report upon the question of introducing frequency modulation (FM) broadcasting into Australia. Two experimental FM transmitters, designed and constructed by Departmental engineers, were installed in Sydney and Melbourne. The Cabinet Sub-committee also considered the introduction of television and awaited a report from the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, concerning the inquiries made by the Department in other countries about the latest developments in television.

The Department began its extensive programme of providing buildings to house new telephone exchanges and post offices. Not only were many new exchanges required, but a large number of manual exchanges needed to be converted to automatic working. During 1947-48, thirteen new automatic exchanges were provided throughout Australia, those in Victoria being at Glen Iris, Kew, Mordialloc, and Ringwood.

The work of updating services continued over the next few years, particularly in regard to telephone exchanges where new technical developments were constantly outdating earlier equipment. In 1948-49, eight new automatic exchanges were provided in the Melbourne metropolitan area and six in Victorian country districts. During 1949-50, thirteen new automatic exchanges were completed in the metropolitan area and twelve in Victorian rural districts. In 1950-51, five metropolitan and nineteen rural automatic exchanges were completed in Victoria, and in the following year two metropolitan and twenty-eight rural exchanges. During 1952-53, a further eleven metropolitan and thirty rural exchanges were added. However, the new services were necessary, and the money spent in this direction contributed to the stimulation of the economy and provided work for others released from the Armed Forces after the war.

During 1953-54, machines for the sorting of letters and parcels were provided for the first time in the Mail Branch, Melbourne. These installations completed the initial stage of a scheme whereby the sorting of letters, newspapers, packets, and parcels could be performed by mechanical processes.

### Royal Visit, 1954

The visit to Australia from 3 February to 1 April 1954 of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and His Royal Highness The Duke of Edinburgh, was Australia's first visit by a reigning Monarch. It provided officials of the Postmaster-General's Department with a complex task in arranging the handling of mails of the Royal Household, installing special switchboards for its telephone requirements, providing a wide network of programme channels so that Australia and the world could keep in close touch with the movements of the Royal couple, and cater for the varied communication requirements of press and radio reporters.

### **Olympic Games, 1956**

The XVIth Olympic Games Broadcasting and Communications Committee was formed as early as 1952 for the planning and operation of all communications for the 1956 Olympic Games. This Committee comprised members of the Postmaster-General's Department, the Olympic Organising Committee, the Australian Broadcasting Commission, the Overseas Telecommunications Commission (OTC), and the Australian Federation of Commercial Broadcasting Stations. By 1955, 107 broadcasters from 32 countries and 36 organisations had indicated their intention to attend. To service the various broadcasting points and to provide the necessary technical assistance to the commentators, the Post Office commenced the special training of some 300 technical officers. Further facilities were also required for the press, as more than 800 accredited newspaper representatives were to attend the Games and lodge at least 10,000 words every hour for overseas destinations. News traffic to capital cities and provincial centres throughout Australia was greatly increased and thousands of picturegrams were lodged during the Games. The technical back-up needed for the Olympic Games was first assessed in 1955.

In the event the Australian Post Office and OTC were requested to provide the bulk of the communication facilities, and twelve additional overseas broadcast channels and sixteen extra interstate picturegram channels were provided, as was additional radiotelephone equipment for new services to London and Vancouver; two mobile post office units, the first ever to be provided in Australia; an emergency power plant for the Main Stadium to service Departmental and OTC equipment and the Organising Committee's Results Service; press facilities at all locations, including 300 teleprinters, and 350 tape recorders; postal and telecommunication services at the Olympic Village (Heidelberg) as well as for the public at all locations, including two portable post offices at the Main Stadium; a round-the-clock information service for overseas visitors, pocket sized directories of important telephone numbers, and guide books to Melbourne and Olympic sites; a special series of postage stamps, and postmarks, denoting the location from which mail matter was posted; and an interpreter service at the main Olympic Games Post Office, which was located at the Russell Street Exchange.

### **Introduction of black and white television**

During September 1954, the Commonwealth Government decided that television services, both national and commercial, should be introduced progressively in Australia. Initially, one national and two commercial stations were planned to operate in Sydney and Melbourne. The Australian Post Office was authorised to secure buildings for transmitters, and procure under contract the necessary towers, aerials, and transmitting equipment required, as well as radio links between the transmitters and studios.

The inauguration of the National Television Service in Australia began with the transmissions on an interim basis from the national television stations in Sydney and Melbourne in November 1956. The stations were scheduled for completion at the beginning of 1957 but, by providing some temporary facilities, telecasts of the Olympic Games were made possible. The stations had been expanded as buildings and facilities became available. The transmitting stations operated by the Department commenced full power transmission early in 1957-58. They were rated at 100 kW effective radiated power, secured by 18 kW transmitters and high gain aerial systems. Standby transmitters of 5 kW output were provided as a precaution against interruption to service. Standby diesel alternator generating units were also provided. The aerials were sited on self-supported steel towers, 152 metres high in Sydney and 122 metres high in Melbourne.

## **1959 TO 1969, TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENTS**

### **Background**

During June 1959, contracts were arranged for the supply of cable and associated electronic and power equipment necessary for the coaxial cable between Sydney and Melbourne. Contracts for the project involved a capital outlay of approximately \$10m. It

was the largest single undertaking ever handled by the Department. The new coaxial cable replaced old open wire overhead pole routes, which were badly outdated. Apart from providing the necessary telephone, telegraph, and sound broadcasting and television relay channels between Sydney, Canberra, and Melbourne, the scheme enabled all telecommunications services along the route to be improved. Subscribers' cables were laid in the coaxial cable trench, and spur cables, spur carrier systems, and automatic equipment for trunk transit switching were installed concurrently with the main project. The undertaking took some three years to complete, but channels were made available progressively as the work proceeded.

After installing a new form of telephone switching equipment known as Crossbar (acquired from a Swedish firm) at a small exchange in Templestowe (Victoria), and another at Sefton (New South Wales), it was decided that this form of switching would best meet Australia's future needs, both in terms of service and economy of operation. Compared with existing "step by step" equipment, Crossbar had lower maintenance charges, and increased speed and reliability.

During 1959 further progress was made towards National Subscriber Dialling, an all-numeral telephone plan. The system was planned to eventually provide nation wide subscriber to subscriber dialling, whereby any number in Australia could be dialled direct by the calling party. The Australian Post Office was also able to offer an improved service for interstate letters, at no extra cost to the sender, in that year. After 1 November, wherever delivery of mail would be expedited, air conveyance would be given without surcharge to all letterform articles of small and medium size, posted in Australia for delivery within Australia. The new service was named Operation Post Haste.

On 9 July 1962, the Australia-New Zealand section of the Commonwealth Trans-Pacific (COMPAC) cable was officially opened by the Prime Ministers of Australia and New Zealand, in simultaneous ceremonies at Sydney and Auckland. The cable linked Australia and Canada via Auckland, Suva, and Hawaii, and interconnected via a trans-Canadian broadband link with the Commonwealth Atlantic cable.

During 1963-64, a comprehensive data transmission service was set up for the Defence Services and negotiations were begun with the Stock Exchange in Melbourne for the provision of transmission links for a high speed share quotation service. In addition, a number of business houses began planning for data transmission equipment using Australian Post Office telephone lines.

Three years later the Department launched an extensive publicity programme to encourage the business community and the public to use the four digit numeric postal addressing code which was named Postcode. The use of Postcodes was allied to the electronic sorting equipment, and sought to achieve a speedy and efficient handling of the rapidly increasing volume of mail.

In March 1968, the first public on-line time sharing computer system came into operation. The system utilised the normal telephone network to establish connections between the data equipment of subscribers and a centralised computer. The new service was designed for use by small businesses in such tasks as the preparation of payrolls and stores inventories, and in situations where a computer would be required for limited research purposes.

### **Moon landing**

The Australian Post Office assisted in the field of communications when man first landed on the moon in July 1969. Thousands of kilometres of Australian Post Office telephone and data circuits linked the National Aeronautics and Space Administration tracking stations to the overseas network and then to the United States, and 12,800 kilometres of Department television relay channels distributed the instant video pictures of the historic event to viewers over the whole continent. Satellites also had a more mundane use. To improve trunk calling to and from Western Australia pending completion of the new east-west microwave link, twenty-four circuits were provided between Sydney and Perth via the Intelsat III satellite, by arrangement with OTC. The circuits were retained in service for some nine months.



### **Colour television**

In preparation for the introduction of colour television, the Department converted the national television transmitting stations and the associated television relay networks to colour operation. An expenditure of approximately \$6.5m on converting transmitters, and \$2.25m on work on the relay network was incurred. Approximately \$4m was spent on replacement of television transmitters at Sydney, Melbourne, and Hobart, studio-transmitter links at Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth, and Hobart, and the conversion of the Canberra transmitter. All capital city stations of the National Television Service were converted by the end of 1974, in preparation for the official opening of the colour service on 1 March 1975. Conversion of most national regional television stations took place some eighteen months later.

## **1970 TO 1975, POSTAL AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS DEVELOPMENTS**

### **Postal techniques**

There were several developments in postal techniques. By 1970 all mainland States were participating in the exchange of surface mails in containers with the United Kingdom Postal Administration. There were nine cellular container ships operating on the UK-Australia route, mostly on a weekly frequency. For the posting of breakable articles, thickly padded bags in a variety of sizes were introduced at selected post offices in Victoria and Tasmania during 1971, at first on a trial basis. Their popularity soon resulted in the bags being made available at a large number of post offices.

On 5 April 1974, the Department's first Post Office Museum to be opened on the Australian mainland was established at Richmond and was officially opened by the Premier of Victoria.

As early as 1972, plans were approved for the implementation of a new mail network system for Victoria. It involved the setting up of centralised mail exchanges in selected areas of Victoria that would eliminate unnecessary sorting in local post offices, and reduce the distance over which mail was conveyed. Properties in Ballarat and Geelong were acquired for this purpose, and plans prepared for the conversion of the buildings for mail handling.

### **New administration of postal and telecommunication services**

Early in 1973, the Commonwealth Government had announced the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry to determine the true functions of the Australian Post Office; how best those functions could be carried out; and the sort of organisation that was necessary to meet the postal and telecommunications needs of the future. The Commission of Inquiry consisted of three commissioners who reported in 1974. The Commonwealth government indicated that it "had accepted the Commission's recommendation that the Post Office should be independent of the control of the Public Service Board and that separate statutory corporations should be established to administer the postal and telecommunications services. Each corporation would have responsibility for organisation, staff, pay, and the conditions of its employees".

The Commonwealth Government in February 1975 endorsed the following principles:

- (1) The Commissions were to be financed by Treasury advances subject to interest payment, each to be responsible for financing at least 50 per cent of new capital investment from internal sources;
- (2) the Commissions were to be free to set tariffs, subject to ministerial approval, for basic services;
- (3) past accumulated postal deficits were to be written off;
- (4) the Commissions were to be independent of the Public Service Board, and the arbitral authority between the Commissions and their staff was to be the Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission;
- (5) consultative facilities would also be established; and
- (6) legislation was to be introduced to preserve the rights of existing staff, and to continue the sponsorship of the Australian Postal Institute.

From 1 July 1975, all postal services, and most of the services provided by telecommunications, ceased to operate as the Postmaster-General's Department, but were embodied in two separate Commissions—the Australian Postal Commission and the Australian Telecommunications Commission, which used the trading names of "Australia Post" and "Telecom Australia". Radio and television licensing (until abolished in 1974) and monitoring activities remained as a part of the Postmaster-General's Department. Late in December 1975, this Department became the Department of Post and Telecommunications, the title "Postmaster-General" becoming "Minister for Post and Telecommunications", and in 1980, "Minister for Communications".

## SINCE 1975, POSTAL AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS DEVELOPMENTS

### General

The new statutory authority, Australia Post, took over the operation and management of Australia's postal services on 1 July 1975. The *Postal Services Act 1975* chartered Australia Post to raise sufficient revenue to cover its operating costs and to fund at least 50 per cent of its capital expenditure. Unlike its predecessor, Australia Post was to receive no government subsidy for its operations.

The Commission was, therefore, required to restructure the prices of the whole range of postal services. Substantial increases in postal charges were announced in the first month of operation, including a rise of 80 per cent in the basic postage rate of 10 cents. The new 18 cents postage charge took effect in September 1975. Mail volumes fell and by the end of its first financial year, Australia Post faced a near 12 per cent decline in mail traffic. This decline continued until 1977. In July 1978 the basic postage rate increased to 20c, 22c in March 1980, 24c in July 1981, 27c in April 1982, and 30c in October 1983.

### Internal re-organisation and re-structuring of mail network

Postal operations in Victoria underwent some basic changes. Management was brought closer to the labour force by the introduction of a regional management structure where a manager took total responsibility for all postal services within his designated area. Similarly the traditional centralised system of the mail handling process was dismantled into strategically placed mail centres, each responsible for the collection, processing, and delivery of the mail within its area.

The Blackburn Mail Centre commenced operations in August 1975, followed by mail centres at Geelong in October 1975 and Ballarat in May 1976. By the end of 1977, the Victorian country network was completed with the establishment of centres at Bendigo, Seymour, and Morwell. The ensuing years saw the establishment of the Melbourne metropolitan centres at Clayton South in October 1978, and Footscray West and Preston in October 1979. At the same time, the Melbourne Central area was served by two centres. In November 1981 the International Mail Centre was opened to handle overseas air and sea mail.

### Developments in postal services

Australia Post also introduced a range of new services. An "intrastate Priority Paid" service was introduced in November 1975 to supplement the existing interstate Priority Paid service which guaranteed next day delivery. The International Priority Paid Service, which was first introduced in 1974 to the USA and Britain, was extended to include Hong Kong and the Netherlands in May 1976, and later to Singapore, Japan, Switzerland, Canada, France, Malaysia, the Peoples' Republic of China, Papua New Guinea, and the Republic of Korea.

Australia Post Courier began in February 1976, providing a door-to-door service in Melbourne, interstate capital cities, and a number of provincial centres. By 1980, the service had expanded to a fleet of 84 vehicles in Victoria.

During 1976-77 a comprehensive review of services in remote areas was commenced, providing information on the history and present range of services, difficulties, and costs. Despite the high costs involved, delivery frequencies to many remote areas were increased.

The rapid growth of direct mail advertising was anticipated by Australia Post and in November 1976, the "local rate" category in householder postings was extended making it possible to substantially lower the cost of posting a standard article. In January 1977, considerably lower rates were introduced for overseas air parcels over 2.5 kilograms.

Existing services such as the Overnight Parcel Service were expanded, to include the provincial centres of Ballarat, Bendigo, and Geelong. The overseas SAL (Surface Air Lifted) service was expanded in October 1977 to include the Netherlands and Canada, as well as Britain, USA, West Germany, Greece, and Italy. SAL mail travelled by surface (within Australia and after arrival in the country of designation) and by air (between Australia and the country of destination).

In 1978, the airlift of non-standard enveloped mail was introduced at no extra cost to the customer and services such as the Postal Money Order and the Registered Publication were reviewed to provide a simpler mode of operation. Closer liaison was also established with members of commerce and industry through meetings and the conduct of mailing courses.

In July 1979, Australia Post combined with Telecom Australia to offer an electronic mail service utilising facsimile machines, and telephone service, and Australia Post Express for the fast movement of copies of documents between all capital cities, including Darwin.

An Express service was established on 14 July 1981. This service was designed to incorporate the priority transmission feature of the Priority Paid service, and generally complement that service but with expedited delivery and an optional collection service.

#### **Telecommunications facilities**

The Australian Telecommunications Commission (trading as Telecom Australia) was established on 1 July 1975 under the *Telecommunications Act 1975*. This followed acceptance by the Commonwealth Government of the recommendations of the Vernon Commission of Inquiry into the Australian Post Office that separate statutory authorities should be established to administer the telecommunications and postal services. As provided by the Act, Telecom is responsible for the provision, maintenance, and operation of telecommunication services which best meet the social, industrial, and commercial needs of Australian people for such services. Revenue must cover current expenses each year and provide not less than half capital requirements, and services must be available throughout Australia as far as practicable at the most efficient and economically lowest charges.

Throughout Australia, Telecom employed 88,095 persons in 1982 and purchased nearly \$829m worth of materials and equipment to carry out its operations. Australian industry provided some 90 per cent of these needs. In Victoria more than 20,853 persons were employed in some 180 occupational categories. Telecom's profit rose from \$152.4m in its first year to \$232.5m in its sixth year. As the profit is earned, it is reinvested in capital expenditure of the network and provides new services which generate additional traffic. Besides being a major employer of labour in Victoria, Telecom contributes substantially to the Victorian economy through purchases of a wide range of stores and equipment which are manufactured within Victoria—these include telephone switching equipment, telephone cable, telephones, and motor vehicles.

Since 1975 there has been a rapid growth in the number of telephone services in Victoria from 1,062,000 in 1975 to 1,484,497 in 1982—an increase of 41 per cent. Business sector demand for telex and data services has grown strongly. The number of telex services grew from 3,541 in 1975 to 8,512 in 1982—an increase of more than 100 per cent. Likewise the number of data terminals in the State has grown over the same period from 2,002 in 1975 to 15,717 in 1982—a 685 per cent increase.

To cater for the high level of demand for these services and in order to introduce a range of new Telecom services to Victoria, Telecom commenced a planned programme of modernisation of the Telecom switching network in 1977. This has involved the application of computer techniques to the control of switching operations in local telephone exchanges. Similar facilities were introduced into the telex network when a computer controlled telex exchange was installed in 1982.

The extension of the STD facility (direct dialling by the customer) throughout Victoria continued and was scheduled to be available to all Victorian telephone users by 1984, when the last of the manual exchanges is planned for conversion to automatic operation.

Between 1975 and 1982 there has been a 182 per cent increase in the number of STD calls dialled by customers in Victoria.

In 1976, International Subscriber Dialling (ISD) was introduced. By 1982, the service was available to 79 per cent of telephone customers in Victoria, with more than 80 countries able to be called directly from Australia.

Australia wide facilities are being designed to meet the diverse needs of the rapidly growing group of data users. To enable the Digital Data Service (DDS) customers to plug into the rest of the world at some time in the future Telecom has adhered to international standards.

Another business service for the data user will be Telecom's *Austpac* for which equipment is currently being installed. It will offer customers a nation wide service which will solve many existing and emerging customer data problems incorporating network and switching intelligence, such as electronic funds transfer, credit charging, electronic mail, and corporate data and message systems.

A development which will eventually benefit all telephone users is the introduction of AXE exchange equipment. Some of the facilities made possible by this computerised equipment include abbreviated dialling; individual identification on accounts for STD and international calls; redirection of calls to a Telecom operator when the customer is on holiday; and diversion of calls to another number.

ISD Call Charge Record (CCR) has already been introduced into many of Telecom's exchanges. This facility means that customers, upon request, can receive a detailed account of all ISD calls. Most metropolitan customers will have access to ISD CCR.

Another technological innovation introduced in 1981, was the Public Automatic Mobile Radio Telephone Service (PAMTS) which enables customers to have telephones in their cars. The high capacity radio paging system *Telefinder* was being progressively extended to Victoria's major regional centres.

#### DATEL SERVICES: VICTORIA, 1970 TO 1982

Year	Number of services
1970	143
1975	826
1980	9,755
1981	11,669
1982	15,070

Source: Postmaster-General's Department and Telecom Annual Reports.

#### TELEX NETWORK: VICTORIA, 1955 TO 1982

Year	Number of services	Number of internal calls (a)
1955	47	( <sup>'000</sup> ) 2
1960	198	135
1965	635	549
1970	1,700	3,099
1975	3,541	4,528
1980	6,903	8,145
1981	7,676	9,026
1982	8,512	9,472

(a) Originating and terminating in Australia, to and from Victoria.  
Source: Postmaster-General's Department and Telecom Annual Reports.

## STAMP ISSUES

Stamps are a perceptive indicator of historical events and developments. There were only three stamp issues during 1934. The first of these was a set of three stamps to commemorate the centenary of Victoria. Issued on 2 July, all three values depicted an Aboriginal with spear in hand, gazing across the Yarra River at Melbourne. The second issue, released on 1 November, also comprised three values, and commemorated the centenary of the death of John Macarthur, the man who played a large part in establishing the wool industry in Australia. The final issue for 1934 was issued on 1 December, depicting the messenger Hermes winging his way around the world.

The year 1935 marked the Silver Jubilee of His Majesty King George V, and a special stamp issue was released in Australia to commemorate this event. There were three values of similar design, each featuring the King astride his horse "Anzac". The issue was released on 2 May.

A special stamp issue was released on 1 April 1936 to commemorate the laying of the submarine cable linking Victoria with Tasmania. The issue comprised two values, twopence scarlet, and threepence blue. Both stamps were similar in design, and featured a symbolic picture of Amphitrite sailing across Bass Strait in a large sea shell and holding aloft a section of the cable.

Following the death of His Majesty King George V early in 1936, two stamps were issued on 10 May 1937, for the Coronation of His Majesty King George VI. The new King was portrayed on a twopence scarlet stamp, and Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth on a one penny stamp, printed in emerald green. Several additional values were added later that year, and further values released in 1938, to complete the issue up to one pound in value. With the issue of the first two stamps in this series, an innovation by the Department was the provision of special First Day Covers. These were well received by the public, and became a regular feature.

On 1 October 1937, a set of three stamps was issued to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the foundation of New South Wales. All three stamps were similar in design and featured a group of officers of the First Fleet, led by Captain Arthur Phillip coming ashore at Sydney Cove. Over two and a half years were to elapse before the next commemoration issue, but several definitive stamps were released in 1938.

A special issue of four postage stamps was made on 15 July 1940 to commemorate Australia's participation in the Second World War. The design for each stamp contained a representative from each of the Australian Armed Forces, with the head and shoulders of a Red Cross Nurse above the three figures.

The continuing need for wartime funds was reflected in a war postage charge of one half penny per postal article (except in the case of parcels, correspondence to and from members of the Forces, and on air mail articles addressed to places abroad) which became operative as from 15 December 1941.

The first commemorative stamp to be issued for five years was released in Australia on 19 February 1945. It featured twin portraits of Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester. (The Duke arrived in 1945 to take up his appointment as Governor-General of Australia, the only member of the Royal Family ever to occupy this Office.)

Japan's defeat resulted in the issue of a new Australian commemorative set of stamps on 18 February 1946. There were three values, each different in design, but all commemorating victory in the Pacific area, and bearing the words "Peace 1945".

Among several stamps issued after the war was one released on 20 November 1947, to commemorate the marriage of Her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth to His Royal Highness the Prince Phillip. The stamp had a face value of one penny, and was purple in colour.

During the years 1948 to 1954, stamp collectors had many new issues. They included seven high values, ranging from one shilling and threepence to two pounds, issued progressively from February 1948 to January 1950. A noteworthy issue was the single three and a half pence stamp issued in October 1949 to mark the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Universal Postal Union. It was acclaimed for the excellence of its design, which featured an outback mailman on horseback with an aircraft in the distance to emphasise the passing of time. Other stamp issues included reproductions of the first stamps of New South Wales and Victoria, issued in September 1950, to commemorate the

centenary of the first postage stamps in Australia. There were also four stamps released in May 1951 to commemorate the Golden Jubilee of the Commonwealth of Australia. On 25 May 1953, three stamps—ranging from three and a half pence to two shillings—were issued to commemorate the Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, while three stamps were released in February 1954 to commemorate the Royal Visit to Australia. Two more postage stamp centenary issues were made during the period, those of Tasmania (November 1953), and Western Australia (August 1954).

Publicity for the Melbourne Olympic Games was obtained before the event by the issue of a two shilling stamp featuring the Olympic Games Symbol and printed in deep blue. It was issued on 1 December 1954. The same design and value was re-issued in November 1955, printed in deep bluish green. The actual "Games" issue featured four stamps ranging from four pence to two shillings in face value, and these were released on 31 October 1956. The two high values were printed in photogravure—the first stamps to be printed in Australia by this method.

The 150th anniversary of the establishment of the postal services in Australia was celebrated in April 1959. A special stamp, depicting Isaac Nichols, Australia's first officially appointed postmaster, was issued at that time. The bi-centenary of the discovery of the eastern coast of Australia by Captain Cook in 1770 was commemorated by the issue of five 5c stamps and one 30c stamp. Besides being issued in normal perforated format, the stamps were also released in miniature sheet form unperforated. This was the first miniature sheet of stamps to be issued in Australia since 1928.

Australia Post has given special attention to philately since 1975. Against an international background of growth in popularity of the hobby, interest in Australian issues grew with philatelic sales in Australia Post's first four years increasing by 300 per cent.

## EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

This Chapter traces the main developments of Victoria's education system from pre-school facilities to post-secondary education. The main sections cover pre-school education; general developments in government schools in the respective periods of 1934 to 1944, 1945 to 1959, 1960 to 1969, and 1970 to 1982; and specific developments in primary, post-primary, and technical schools as well as in curricula and special services. The Chapter then explains the development of the non-government schools, being the Catholic education system and the non-Catholic non-government schools, respectively, and the major features of Technical and Further Education (TAFE), tertiary education, and adult education.

The following tables set out comparative numbers of schools, institutions, and students in 1935 and 1982:

#### PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION: VICTORIA, 1935 AND 1982

Year	Number of schools		Number of students	
	Government	Non-government	Government	Non-government
1935	2,754	518	289,159	78,014
1982	2,140	641	584,781	227,203

#### TERTIARY EDUCATION: VICTORIA, 1935 AND 1982

Year	Universities		Colleges of advanced education (CAE) (a)(b)		Technical and further education (TAFE) (b)	
	Number	Students	Number	Students	Institutions	Students
1935	1	3,497	27	20,008	(c)	(c)
1982	4	44,150	17	57,300	188	181,482

(a) The figures for 1935 are the numbers of senior technical schools and students. The 1982 figures are those of institutions listed under the *Tertiary Education Act 1977* as colleges of advanced education.

(b) A TAFE institution is defined as a location or set of locations at which technical and further education is provided. The figure for students excludes those taking Adult Education courses.

(c) TAFE Colleges did not exist in 1935 but higher technical education is covered in the CAE column.

### GENERAL BACKGROUND

#### Demographic aspects

Any understanding of the very significant changes in education must be based on the demographic trends of the period. In outline, these were a low birth rate in the Depression years and mid-1930s, and a high number of marriages towards the end of and just after the Second World War, which resulted in a large number of births after the mid-1940s. These children were ready for primary school by the early 1950s and placed a sudden and considerable strain on school facilities, which was repeated in the secondary schools by the late 1950s. The shortages of buildings and resources could be traced back to the 1930s when little was done to build schools.

The pressure on the tertiary institutions came after the late 1950s, and the 1960s were the golden era of tertiary development—new universities in 1961 and 1967, colleges of advanced education in all parts of the State, and the upgrading of teachers colleges into the State College of Victoria structure in the early 1970s.

The 1970s saw a decline in births for the first time since the end of the Second World War, and, in the 1970s, growing economic difficulties. By the end of the 1970s the growth of schools and institutions had run its course. The significant demographic fact had become the ageing of the population; and by the early 1980s stringency in government finances prompted the need to rationalise educational facilities.

Excluding Tertiary Orientation Programme students under Technical and Further Education (TAFE), statistics on retention rates for year 12 at secondary school indicate that males were increasingly tending to leave school before reaching year 12 during the 1980s when compared with the early 1970s. Although the current female participation rate stabilised in the early 1980s, it remains at a much higher level than the rate for males at year 12. Since 1978, females have had a higher participation rate at all types of schools at year 12, when compared with males. This is the opposite of the trend until 1970.

Participation rates to year 10 and year 11 for males and females have continued to rise until the present time, with females having the largest percentage gains.

#### SCHOOL STUDENTS: PARTICIPATION RATES (a), VICTORIA, 1971 TO 1982 (per cent)

Age (years)	1971	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
				MALES				
14	96.8	97.8	97.6	98.0	98.3	97.8	98.7	99.1
15	86.3	87.6	88.5	90.7	89.1	90.3	90.2	90.4
16	64.7	66.0	65.6	67.7	67.2	66.1	67.1	68.7
17	35.6	34.3	34.8	34.3	35.1	32.5	32.9	33.7
18	10.1	8.5	7.6	7.6	8.1	6.2	6.3	6.6
19(b)	2.2	2.6	2.3	3.0	3.0	2.9	2.9	2.3
				FEMALES				
14	96.3	98.6	98.4	96.8	97.7	97.8	97.8	98.7
15	81.3	87.2	89.4	89.9	90.5	91.3	90.5	90.7
16	58.5	68.0	69.5	71.9	71.0	71.4	72.5	73.5
17	30.2	37.3	38.8	39.9	39.7	37.7	39.2	39.7
18	4.9	6.6	6.8	7.0	7.5	5.5	5.6	5.8
19(b)	0.8	2.3	2.3	2.8	3.3	3.4	2.9	2.5
				PERSONS				
14	96.6	98.2	98.0	97.4	98.0	97.8	98.2	98.9
15	83.9	87.4	88.9	90.3	89.8	90.8	90.4	90.5
16	61.6	67.0	67.5	69.7	69.1	68.7	69.7	71.1
17	32.9	35.8	36.8	37.0	37.3	35.1	36.0	36.6
18	7.6	7.6	7.2	7.3	7.8	5.9	5.9	6.2
19(b)	1.5	2.5	2.3	2.9	3.1	3.1	2.9	2.4

(a) School students as a percentage of the population of the same age and sex.

(b) Includes a small number of students aged over 19.

#### SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS: APPARENT RETENTION RATES (a), VICTORIA, 1971 TO 1982

Years of study	1971	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
1st to 3rd last year —								
Males	83.3	86.8	86.7	88.5	88.7	90.2	91.1	91.8
Females	79.4	85.7	87.0	89.3	90.4	91.7	92.6	92.8
Persons	81.4	86.2	86.9	88.9	89.5	90.9	91.8	92.3
1st to 2nd last year —								
Males	62.7	63.3	61.7	63.4	63.0	64.1	65.2	68.1
Females	58.5	65.9	68.2	69.9	70.9	73.3	74.6	75.5
Persons	60.7	64.6	64.9	66.6	66.9	68.6	69.7	71.7



SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS: APPARENT RETENTION RATES (a),  
VICTORIA, 1971 TO 1982—*continued*

Years of study	1971	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
1st to final year —								
Males	32.6	31.8	30.6	28.8	28.3	28.1	28.8	29.4
Females	30.1	38.2	37.3	37.5	35.8	37.1	37.6	39.5
Persons	31.4	34.9	33.8	33.0	32.0	32.5	33.1	34.3

(a) The apparent retention rate is the percentage of students commencing secondary school who remain at school until the third last, second last, or last year of schooling. The rates are called apparent as they do not take into account the effect of migration, the repeating of classes, or inter-system transfer on the school population.

Source: Commonwealth Department of Education.

### Social aspects

Education in Victoria had suffered greatly under the privations of the Depression in the 1930s, the restrictions during the Second World War, the post-war shortages of staff and accommodation, and the overcrowded classrooms of the 1950s. However, a change developed in the following decade: public interest in education increased, governments provided funds, communities became involved, and professional innovation became accepted. All this happened over a rapidly changing social background: the growing participation of women in the labour force, changing community standards, and the growing influence of the mass media.

At all levels and in all types of schools and educational institutions, the 1960s were, to a greater or lesser degree, a time of experiment, testing, new ideas, and extra-curricular activities. They were times when much greater practical concern was shown for those who had special physical, intellectual, or social handicaps. In response to the growing demand for higher employment entrance qualifications, an increasing proportion of students remained at school or college to senior level. Two universities, as well as the Victoria Institute of Colleges, which incorporated and gave academic accreditation to technical colleges, were established during the decade.

The financial assistance to each State's education system provided by Commonwealth Government grants from 1965-66 onwards marked a milestone in Australian education advancement. The proportion of total government expenditure given to education continued to increase. Teachers' associations and unions were most active, both in encouraging new ideas and in demonstrating against defects, by means of industrial action. Issues which teachers' associations protested about were: large classes; employment of insufficiently qualified teachers in secondary schools; staff shortages; dissatisfaction with the structure and working of the Teachers Tribunal; and the disadvantages of the external examination system. Voluntary in-service teacher training was undertaken on an extensive scale. Press, radio, and television provided wider, more frequent coverage of educational developments and difficulties. Education became headline news in many senses to an extent not hitherto seen in Australia. The community's interest in its schools and colleges progressed far beyond the conventional areas of working bees, fetes and fund raising, and the emphasis began to turn towards making the school a community centre. The increase in knowledge and the changes in the society of the 1960s were two major factors causing a new outlook in education.

The tertiary institutions also witnessed some unprecedented events in the 1960s. The Vietnam War engendered deep differences of opinion in the community and led to radical demonstrations in the universities, especially Monash, which came close to a standstill as the result of student demonstrations. These were also aimed at the university administration, as the 1960s was the decade when participation in university government became an issue which resulted in an academic assembly at the University of Melbourne and a greater participation in faculty administration.

Two of the most influential events for all schools in the 1970s were the establishment by the Commonwealth Government of the Australian Schools Commission and, in 1973, publication of the report *Schools in Australia* produced by the Interim Committee of the Commission. The report recommended resource targets for all schools, which entailed a considerable increase in funding and redistribution of funds on a needs basis. Thus recurrent grants to Independent schools, which were classified into eight categories from

A to H in descending order of their current resources, were to be on a needs basis with no funding for "category A" schools beyond 1975. This recommendation concerning "category A" schools was not implemented. Non-government schools had already received some Commonwealth help for libraries, science laboratories, and other capital works since 1963, but this range of assistance now came to be systematised and extended and was augmented by per capita grants to parents. This movement drew forth a challenge about its legal validity under the terms of section 116 of the Commonwealth Constitution and the High Court ruled in February 1981 that such aid to non-government schools was valid.

Another important aspect of non-government schools was the emergence of locally autonomous schools which had either no church affiliation as such (in contrast with the older "public" schools) or were based on an ecumenical or non-denominational foundation. Many of Victoria's ethnic communities also established their own, usually primary stage, schools which served to continue the particular cultural traditions they valued.

### PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION

In 1934 the Free Kindergarten Union, formed in 1908 and the pioneer in Victorian Pre-School Education, had 29 affiliated kindergartens located, as were the few established church kindergartens, in industrial suburbs where families often lived in great hardship. The Victorian Government paid a small maintenance subsidy to the Free Kindergarten Union and also a nominal grant for the Union's Kindergarten Training College.

Early kindergarten programmes, largely based on the educational theories of Froebel were rather formal, stressing education and learning through directed play, but by the 1940s, new insights into growth and development led to more creative and child-centred activities.

A Victorian report to the National Health and Medical Research Council in 1939 expressed concern about young children's health and welfare and, in particular, that so few were being catered for by kindergartens. The Commonwealth Government provided a substantial grant to the newly formed Australian Association for Pre-School Child Development (later the Australian Pre-School Association and now the Australian Early Childhood Association), to build a model demonstration centre in each capital city. The first of the Lady Gowrie Child Centres opened in Melbourne in 1940, attracting much public interest and renewed community demand for kindergartens.

In 1943, after representations by voluntary groups, the Commonwealth Government extended assistance to other approved pre-school organisations, placing the governing bodies of Church of England, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Roman Catholic kindergartens on the same footing as the Free Kindergarten Union.

The Director of the Maternal and Child Welfare Branch in the Department of Health formulated an extension scheme, and in 1945 the Branch became responsible for the supervision and development of all pre-school services. The post of Chief Pre-School Educational Supervisor, conditions of subsidy, and a formula for per capita funding were established. All this set the pattern for the co-ordinated development of infant and pre-school welfare and education services within the Department of Health, and for the continued involvement of voluntary organisations.

### NUMBERS OF PRE-SCHOOL SERVICES: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year	Kindergartens	Pre-school play centres	Day care centres (a)	Toddler groups (b)	Total
1935	49	—	12	—	61
1940	48	—	12	—	60
1945(c)	85	7	12	—	104
1950	142	31	15	—	188
1955	237	112	13	—	362
1960	357	101	13	—	471
1965	524	108	14	—	646

NUMBERS OF PRE-SCHOOL SERVICES: VICTORIA,  
1935 TO 1982—*continued*

Year	Kindergartens	Pre-school play centres	Day care centres (a)	Toddler groups (b)	Total
1970	701	113	16	—	830
1975	(d)924	(d) 80	27	19	1,050
1980	1,100	64	36	41	1,241
1982	1,142	60	36	52	1,290

(a) Day care centres did not receive government subsidy until 1948. There is an educational as well as a care component in all-day care.

(b) Toddler groups were established before 1975 but were included under pre-school play centre figures. They are held in infant welfare centres with professional supervision but with a parent in attendance with the child.

(c) The pre-school section within the Department of Health was established in February 1945. Subsidy was made available to individual free nursery kindergartens.

(d) Decrease in figures for pre-school play centres is mostly due to up-grading to kindergartens.

In the post-war period there was increasing interest in pre-school education, and more general realisation of its importance. Many parent groups having sought the advice of the Department of Health, formed committees to work for kindergartens in their own communities and, with their combined expertise, were usually able to raise the necessary funds required for a Victorian Government Capital Grant. Many of these committees banded together to form the Municipal Pre-School Association, which promoted a plan for the extension of pre-school services on a municipal basis with strong local government involvement. However, this system tended to favour the "self-help" groups which were able to work more quickly, and as a result some country regions and the eastern and southern suburbs of Melbourne have been generally well provided with kindergartens in comparison particularly with the northern and western suburbs.

The supply of teachers for this early period of expansion was initially fostered by the Department of Health bursary scheme of 1948, and later encouragement came through a somewhat more realistic salary structure initiated in 1951 by the Free Kindergarten Union and formalised in 1959 by the newly formed Wages Board of the Kindergarten Teachers Association of Victoria.

The Victorian Branch of the Australian Pre-School Association following its formation in 1948 had gradually taken on the task of watchdog and spokesman for the voluntary organisations, continually going to the government to request more finance and better conditions for pre-school education.

The post-war period brought increased awareness of the significance of early childhood experience in emotional development and mental health, and teachers were assisted by the child psychiatrist appointed by the Department of Health to find methods likely to foster this.

Throughout the 1960s, expansion continued: approximately thirty new kindergartens were built yearly by community groups, assisted initially by a capital grant, and when in operation, by the government subsidy. In the kindergartens greater attention was given to the assessment and possible enrolment of children with special needs or disabilities, to the language difficulties of migrant children, and to methods of assisting them to achieve optimal language facility.

The better understanding about early education, particularly in the area of cognitive development, had an impact not only on teachers, but on parents, as they sought increasingly to appraise what their children were receiving. Parent/teacher meetings aroused more interest at this time.

To provide teachers with the much needed opportunity for study of the new educational theories in early childhood education, the Kindergarten Training College introduced in 1965 a one year Advanced Diploma Course, which attracted teachers from every part of Australia. This was only one of many graduate diploma courses offered by the Institute of Early Childhood Development, in addition to the basic Diploma of Teaching and Bachelor of Education.

Generally speaking, this considerable growth in pre-school services in the 1960s came about because there was now world wide acknowledgement of the importance of pre-school education, as well as much greater community involvement in its provision. The

strength of community feeling was shown when the Victorian Government announced that there would be no additional funding in 1970-71 for new programmes or buildings. The Victorian Branch of the Australian Pre-School Association arranged a public meeting in Melbourne to provide a forum for reaction, and it attracted a very large State wide attendance of parents and community leaders, as a result of which the Minister of Health undertook to set up a consultative council on all aspects of pre-school child development and care.

At this time also the Commonwealth Government established the Australian Pre-Schools Committee and following this a committee within the Social Welfare Commission, which led to the establishment in 1975 of the Interim Committee for the Children's Commission which, from 1976, was established as the Office of Child Care. Most of the funding from this Office has been directed to day care programmes.

In 1973 the Kindergarten Teachers' College became a constituent member of the State College of Victoria and received Commonwealth funding through the Commission on Advanced Education. To reflect its proposed new course offerings in the area of child development but outside teacher education, it was renamed the Institute of Early Childhood Development. It has since become part of the Melbourne College of Advanced Education.

The report of the Victorian Consultative Council, mentioned earlier, was published late in 1973, and advocated a significant shift towards regional administration of pre-school centres to bring about co-ordinated multi-disciplinary services for the whole 0-6 year period. Provision was again made in the new structure for voluntary organisations.

Following these recommendations, a pilot programme for the planning and co-ordination of health, education, care, and guidance services for young children was set up in the City of Knox by the Department of Health in co-operation with the Knox Municipal authorities, a separate Division of Pre-School Child Development within the Health Commission was established, and regionalisation of all pre-school supervisory services commenced. The success of the Knox scheme which commenced in 1975 prompted similar programmes in other regions.

## MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS IN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

### 1934 to 1944

Despite the disastrous effects of the Depression, the 1934 school year promised encouraging developments in education. In 1933-34 the Victorian Government spent \$2.6m on education and the amount spent on school buildings was \$77,348 more than in the previous year. A new and more liberal primary course of study was introduced in 1934. A marked increase in technical school enrolments occurred, mainly through the improving industrial conditions. Schools throughout the State celebrated the Centenary, including the associated visit of H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester, who opened the new MacRobertson Girls High School, an outstanding event in the State's secondary education programme. This was the first secondary school built since 1928-29.

In accordance with the general government policy of retrenchment, teachers' salaries had been cut in 1930 and 1931 by up to 21.5 per cent, according to salary level. During 1931, the special Board of Inquiry investigating the administration of the Education Department had recommended harsh measures. Economic rather than educational in aim, these measures effectively cut education budgets in the 1930s by such means as the closing of Ballarat and Bendigo teachers' colleges and of some rural schools; the reduction of teacher training courses; the imposition or increase of post-primary school fees; the slowing of teacher promotion; and the virtual elimination of new building programmes.

The amount expended by the State of Victoria on education in 1928-29 was \$3.3m. However cuts began in 1930-31 and continued until 1932-33 when the amount spent was \$2.5m, a drop of 23 per cent on the 1928-29 amount. It was not until 1937-38 when \$3.6m was spent on education that the 1928-29 figure was surpassed. Whereas during 1928-29 as many as 53 new State school buildings had been erected, there were only two such buildings provided in 1933-34. As only the most essential works had been carried out between 1930 and 1934, schools were frequently overcrowded, despite falling primary school enrolments after 1932.

With gradually returning prosperity by the mid-1930s, school building was stimulated.

In 1936-37, twelve new schools and nine new residences were erected. However, this urgently needed building programme was halted by the Second World War. Moreover, the requisition of Melbourne High School and MacRobertson Girls High School buildings during 1942 to 1944 and 1942, respectively, when they were occupied for defence purposes, aggravated an already grave accommodation problem.

### 1945 to 1959

The end of hostilities in 1945 by no means meant an end to the school accommodation problem. Indeed the position worsened, becoming critical for many years after 1945 and lasting into the late 1950s. This lack of sufficient school buildings was a legacy not only from the severe wartime restrictions and shortages of labour and materials, but also from the drastic economies of the 1930s.

The magnitude of this post-war crisis was not foreseen. It was accentuated by such factors as the rapid increase in the birth-rate after 1945; the admittance, from 1946, of five-year-olds to schools; the growing tendency for children to remain at school after the age of fourteen years; and the immense impact of Australia's immigration policy in the 1950s. The largely unanticipated population explosion, beginning in the late 1940s, led to a severe shortage of school accommodation. Virtually all schools felt the impact, and an urgent building programme was initiated. From 1946 emergency measures such as the use of leased halls, army huts, drill halls, formerly-closed rural schools, and sections of some primary schools by high schools were commonplace; and during 1948 to 1950 no less than 782 pre-fabricated classrooms were ordered from overseas. Many of these were the Bristol aluminium two-unit classroom type.

The importation of pre-fabricated units decreased after 1953, when the Education Department established what was then a revolutionary design and type of building for larger schools: one-storey, standardised, light timber construction (LTC) schools, with their large windows and masonry veneer. These were capable of being erected quickly in a series of stages, ideally one section (or wing) for each of four years. However, so vital was the need for basic classroom accommodation that the stages for wings housing essential assembly halls, gymnasiums, and libraries had frequently to be postponed for years.

The building rate did not keep pace with enrolments, particularly in post-primary schools. It was, therefore, generally necessary for these schools to commence in temporary premises, often on two sites some distance apart. Such makeshift measures added to the strain of staffs establishing the schools, deprived students of some of the normal curriculum's practical work, and made good school tone more difficult to achieve.

### *Staffing shortage and teachers' conditions*

A problem as acute and as critical as that of accommodation—and one that took even longer to solve—was that of staffing schools. Of prime significance was that for almost all the years between 1945 and 1959 it was very difficult to recruit the number of teachers needed. Classrooms were greatly overcrowded.

Because of teacher shortages, the Education Department was unable to staff 96 of its rural schools at the beginning of the 1946 school year; and had it not been for the employment of temporary teachers, hundreds of primary schools would have closed. In the post-primary sector the position was even worse. In 1951, for example, the Secondary Division required an additional 550 teachers for the 169 schools under its control.

Urgent measures were necessary. Recruitment campaigns were intensified; teaching bursaries were awarded to senior school students; people with minimum academic qualifications were employed; short emergency programmes were established for the training of such temporary teachers; retired primary teachers were employed in post-primary schools; other teachers from the Primary Division were made available on loan to secondary and technical schools; and teachers were recruited from overseas. Despite such measures, the 1950s closed without any significant improvement in post-primary staffing. In almost all subjects, and particularly in secondary school mathematics and science there was a shortage of trained teachers.

Although coping with large classes, and often in understaffed, unsuitable school buildings, teachers of that era saw the development of generally improved conditions of service. In 1946 came a significant turning point for the teaching service: the Victorian Teachers Union finally succeeded that year in its long struggle to have established a Teachers Tribunal. In turn, the Tribunal's decisions led to more attractive salary awards and other long-awaited reforms.

The struggle to have established the Teachers Tribunal occupied the Victorian Teachers Union (VTU) over a period of about 20 years (1927 to 1946). In 1926, primary, secondary and technical teachers had united to form the VTU. In 1927, the Union "urged upon the government the necessity for the early establishment of an Independent Tribunal, on which the Union should be represented, to determine salaries and conditions in the teaching service ..." Further efforts were made by the VTU, especially in 1928-29, 1937, 1940, and 1943. The September 1943 Special Conference of the VTU declared that "Parliament has proved to be an entirely unsatisfactory Wages Board ..." Virtually all teachers supported the establishment of a tribunal, and some 48 per cent were even prepared to strike on the issue. In 1943, in a 92 per cent strike ballot poll, 2,674 teachers voted against striking, but 2,587 were in favour. The Labor Party came into office in Victoria in 1945 with a declared policy of creating a tribunal as sought by the VTU.

Prior to the establishment of the Teachers Tribunal, salaries and staffing positions were determined by a schedule of the Public Service Act, so that any change required an amendment to the Act. Because their salaries and promotions thus depended upon a decision of the Victorian Parliament, teachers agitated for the setting up of an independent tribunal to determine their salaries, promotions, and general teaching conditions.

## 1960 to 1969

### *School buildings*

Although becoming less acute each year, the problem of providing sufficient school accommodation continued to some extent throughout the 1960s. Significant achievements were made, nevertheless, in the provision of more suitable temporary accommodation, better designed buildings, and greater facilities such as science blocks, central libraries, assembly halls, and gymnasiums.

The disadvantage of new schools initially occupying off-site temporary accommodation was overcome in 1961, when a new type of temporary classroom was used. These portable classrooms suitable for erection on a school's own permanent site virtually eliminated the need to rent premises, provided a much better standard of temporary accommodation, and enabled each new school to be housed as a unit. When permanent buildings were completed, the portable classrooms were transferred to accommodate other new schools.

During 1928-29 there were 53 new government school buildings erected, including 50 primary schools. This compares markedly with the lack of building activity during both the Depression and the 1940s and in fact between 1929-30 and 1949-50. Twelve new school buildings erected in 1944-45 was the highest number erected in any year. However, there was rapid progress made during the 1950s and 1960s, when some 20 to 30 new buildings were erected annually. Over the three years 1979-80 to 1981-82, 40 new schools were built, including four secondary and technical schools. Many new schools opened in leased premises or in relocated old closed school buildings, and the number of schools established annually was often greater than the number of new school buildings erected each year.

While sites for new schools were normally much larger than before the Second World War, the necessarily smaller sites available for schools in the middle and inner suburbs led to the new three storey type of high school buildings being erected at such places as Caulfield, Kew, and Prahran. A feature of the new primary school buildings was the introduction of brick veneer as a medium, giving a fresh appearance and range of colours to exteriors, while the interiors were bright, light, and attractively furnished and decorated. The establishment in 1965 of the Educational Architecture Research Laboratory led to a plan for new schools, the classrooms being arranged around a paved court containing a multi-purpose room. The decade witnessed the introduction of flexibility into the designs of such buildings, furniture, and equipment to meet the changes in teaching methods and curricula.

*Staffing problems*

The second serious problem inherited from the 1950s, that of staffing schools adequately, soon eased in the Primary Division, but improved only very gradually in secondary and technical schools. Although in the early 1960s there were still some elementary classes of more than fifty pupils, the primary staffing position improved sufficiently to permit the transfer of a number of teachers for temporary duty in post-primary schools, both secondary and technical.

It was in the Secondary Division that the position was most acute. Throughout the decade temporary teachers comprised no less than 33 per cent of the total number of secondary teachers, and in 1969 the proportion was as high as 37.2 per cent. Of these temporary employees almost two-thirds were untrained. Although the pupil-teacher ratio improved during 1960 to 1969, the proportion of qualified teachers worsened, and teachers' organisations protested vigorously in the late 1960s against the continued employment of unqualified teachers in all types of post-primary schools. The shortage continued well into the 1970s.

**1970 to 1982***Education Department and the community*

It was in the 1970s, particularly, that the links between the Education Department and the community were noticeably strengthened. By many people the school was expected to cater for all aspects of a child's development, as well as to supply additional care and supervision. Many, too, looked to the schools and other educational institutions to meet fully their demands for an ever-widening range of courses—for general education, qualifications, vocations, or leisure. On its part, the Education Department encouraged schools to share their facilities with the community. It encouraged schools to accept more autonomy and more responsibility, and it relied largely on the community to support its policies by taking a greater part in school-based decision making.

School and community co-operation was facilitated also by the improved school staffing situation in the 1970s. Whereas in the primary schools this improvement had been evident in the late 1960s, it was not until 1976-77 that the post-primary Divisions finally emerged from their long and difficult period of general teacher shortage.

Among the most significant educational developments between 1970 and 1982 were the initial decentralisation of the Education Department's administration, the increased community involvement in education, the extensive restructuring of the administration from 1981 onwards, and the consequent development of regional, school, and community responsibility for decision making in education.

*Decentralisation and the restructuring of the administration*

The centenary of State education in Victoria was celebrated in 1973. For almost all of those one hundred years the Education Department had been a highly centralised authority. In 1972 that situation changed.

With so many decisions having to be made at headquarters, Melbourne, communication problems and frustrating delays occurred, especially after 1952, when the Education Department grew rapidly in size and complexity. The appointment of three regional directors marked the first important step in the process of decentralisation. These officers took up duty at the beginning of 1972 in the three newly established regions of Ballarat, Bendigo, and Gippsland. In 1974 the rest of Victoria was incorporated in the plan, with the creation of three more country regions and five metropolitan, a regional director being appointed to each. Responsible for the general well-being of all types of government schools in their areas, the regional directors relieved the central administration of decision-making on such matters as regional in-service training, school maintenance, supplementary staffing, and surveys of regional education needs.

At first, decentralisation was much more apparent to Education Department administrators than to parents. However, as the roles of both the regional directors and the newly constituted school councils became more clearly defined in the late 1970s, and as consultation between parent groups and local directors increased, so decentralisation became more

evident. When community ideas on specific school building and site works programmes were put into practice through such consultations, a measure of decentralisation was seen to be a reality.

Concurrent with this development was the conscious effort by the Education Department to increase the authority and status of school principals by delegating more responsibility to them and offering them greater freedom in the administration of their schools. This allowed principals to make decisions in important areas such as curriculum, school finance, and student assessment procedures. Direct Victorian Government grants from July 1970 enabled principals and school councils to spend money as they saw fit on minor school maintenance, equipment, furniture, and minor improvement projects.

By 1981-82 the process of decentralisation had accelerated rapidly. It was during those years that restructuring of the administration proceeded to a greater extent than ever before in the history of the Department. Arising from the 1979-80 Ministerial Review of Education in Victoria, the restructuring of the central and regional offices had the following main aims: the improvement of education in the schools; greater participation by parents, community members, teachers, and principals in education, improved consultation and communication; greater efficiency and economy in management; the reorganisation of the central office administration on functional lines rather than the traditional hierarchical, school-type divisions; and the setting up of twelve new regions, each with a regional council and regional director, whose office assumed many more of the functions previously the responsibility of the central administration. The objective of the restructuring was to bring as much decision making as possible to the schools themselves, involving more responsibility for local and regional bodies in order to serve more effectively the needs and interests of the individual child.

#### *Community involvement*

The development of closer links and understanding between the school and the community in the 1970s was exemplified by the establishment of the Collingwood Education Centre. As many as twenty-two committees were involved in its planning. They represented, for example, administrators, municipal authorities, local residents, educationists, architects, the Housing Commission, the Public Works Department, and the Education Department, all of whom aimed to define the requirements of a type of school suited to modern educational needs and to community interests.

This school and many others kept their doors open long after school hours for community use. Early in the decade, co-operation between the Education Department and the Department of Youth, Sport and Recreation led to legislation allowing community use of school premises and facilities. Thus assembly halls, gymnasiums, classrooms, and libraries became available for interested people.

Consultation with parents, local councils, and other community organisations produced more functional, and attractive school buildings. "Operation Outreach" was planned to seek out possible joint projects with community groups, and by 1978 this programme resulted in 55 partnerships involving the Education Department and local organisations in producing sporting complexes, libraries, and theatres, as well as "normal" school buildings. Community involvement encouraged community interest.

This interest was shown in various ways: in serving on the more widely representative school councils; in attendance at evening classes; at special sessions intended to help parents' understanding of new teaching methods; in seminar-type activities for the public; and in the presence, in senior secondary day classes, of many mature age students who had returned to school from employment. Additional funding for in-service education created opportunities for community members to participate in some of these activities; and, with funds also available for improving or rebuilding disadvantaged schools, there was a further quickening of parental interest and participation.

Not only did the public use the school; the latter served the community to a greater extent than ever before. Schools such as the Swinburne Community School aimed to foster a dynamic relationship with the community, making extensive use of local resources and in turn helping its residents. Students delivering meals-on-wheels, providing other assistance to the needy, assembling school displays in shopping areas, and organising community



education programmes illustrated the growing co-operation between the school and the community. By 1982, 62 Community Education Officers were provided to help school councils plan suitable activities. General policy was the responsibility of the Community Education Committee.

### PRIMARY EDUCATION

Although frequently crowded into classes of fifty or sixty, many of the occupants being poorly clad and hungry, primary school children of 1934 faced a new, refreshing, less mandatory, more flexible course of study. Referring to it, the Minister stated that teachers had "risen splendidly to the occasion in jettisoning much of what is now regarded as educational lumber".

Although in the 1930s there was little evidence of general public interest in education, the Melbourne dailies and some nine provincial newspapers played a part in helping the community become more educationally minded. They published weekly a series of articles based on this revised primary curriculum for 1934, dealing in turn with such subjects as health, science, geography, handwork, and civics. Education generally was given an additional fillip at this time by the introduction into schools of wirelasses and film projectors. Educational broadcasts were particularly valuable in counteracting feelings of isolation and loneliness in remote country schools.

The Director of Education, James McRae, had at that time referred to the period 1931 to 1936 as "the difficult years". Unfortunately, further difficulties were in store. The late 1930s and the 1940s brought one setback after another. The 1937-38 infantile paralysis epidemic forced hundreds of primary children to study at home, with specially prepared weekly booklets. The January 1939 bushfires destroyed many small country schools and teachers' residences, and substitute accommodation had to be found quickly. The "troubled thirties" ended with the outbreak of the Second World War, with its far-reaching, long-lasting, disastrous effects on staffing, accommodation, and equipment in all types of schools.

Amid such setbacks, however, noteworthy achievements continued. Following the stimulating New Education Fellowship Conference of 1937, a Curriculum and Research Officer was appointed in 1938. More attention was given to the primary curriculum, "to meet the changing demands of the modern world", especially in the fields of English, speech, writing, composition, and arithmetic. A revised course of study in the latter subject appeared in 1942. Group libraries for rural schools were introduced in 1940-41, while early in 1944 the Victorian Government began to subsidise the purchase of library books. Thus children were encouraged to read beyond prescribed texts such as the grade readers and the *School Paper*.

From 1934 to 1949 there had been only limited finance and limited opportunities for change. On the other hand, the 1950s were a period of great progress. As society inevitably questioned its own values after the Second World War, education came under close scrutiny, one of the results being greater community interest in, and support for, education at all levels.

One of the most beneficial services for primary school children living in isolated country districts had begun in January 1944, when the first consolidated school in Victoria was established at Murrayville. Group schools (ones with enrolments of less than 200) were set up on similar lines. By 1948 there were four consolidated schools operating, and by 1959 there were twenty-eight. Established only after the wishes of the local communities had been thoroughly investigated, these schools provided children with a wider range of educational and social opportunities, more specialist teachers, and greater facilities and equipment.

Helped by this developing community awareness of the importance of education and by such special departmental branches as Curriculum and Research, Psychology and Guidance,

Audio Visual, and Library Services, many of the aims of Victorian educationists materialised in the 1950s: tables and chairs, rather than desks, in infant school classrooms; more opportunity grades; a wider range of reading material; the revision of virtually all subject courses; more emphasis on cultural activities, such as musical festivals, drama, literature, and appreciation of art; greater provision for the education of handicapped children; and the elimination of unnecessary formal work. The earlier, pre-war emphasis on the "three Rs" aim of primary schooling had been considerably widened to include more stress on the importance of developing the "three Cs"—character, culture, and citizenship.

It was in the 1960s, more so than in any preceding decade, that primary education addressed itself to the challenge of rapid technological and social change. Generally, mass rote learning gave way to discovery and understanding by the individual or small groups of children proceeding at their own pace. There was a growing awareness of the variety of individual pupil differences and capabilities. Consequently, not only was more attention given the less intellectually capable child, but greater provision was made for the talents of the brighter pupil. Subject co-ordinators, flexible courses, and more subject specialists were features of this era.

The new curricula concepts stressed individual progress, not grade uniformity, as shown by the new sequential reading schemes and the Cuisenaire system of coloured number rods. Cursive script was introduced for Grades III to VI; social and environmental studies created opportunities for enjoyable investigations; and music making and sharing was particularly valuable in those early years of television. The development of curricula became increasingly flexible in the 1970s and 1980s, enabling school principals and their staffs to adapt the general guidelines to their own circumstances as they understood them.

#### POST-PRIMARY EDUCATION

After completing Grade VI, State school children of the 1930s and the Second World War era had a number of choices available. These included: continuing at their own primary school in Grades VII and VIII; doing the Forms E and F (later called Forms I and II) of the high school course by attending a district high school, central school, central classes, or a higher elementary school; or attending a junior technical school, a girls' school, or a school of domestic arts. Special schools and correspondence tuition were available for handicapped children and other special cases.

The financially struggling community of the early and mid-1930s, however, had by no means accepted the idea of universal post-primary education. It could not afford to do so. High school fees had been increased in 1931; and in any case many parents took their children from school as soon as legally possible so that youthful employment earnings might supplement meagre family incomes. Nevertheless, with the gradual return of prosperity in the late 1930s, the pre-1935 fall in post-primary school numbers was arrested, and between 1934 and 1944 post-primary school enrolments steadily increased from 30,589 to 47,497.

During this period post-primary schools had to cope not only with rapidly increasing enrolments, but also, after 1939, with increasing shortages of staff, buildings, and equipment. By 1945 many more children were staying at school beyond the compulsory school leaving age of 14 years.

Those who, like the Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools, Julia Flynn, argued for the raising of the school leaving age, had their efforts partly rewarded in 1943, when legislative provision was made for raising that age to 15 years. However, this legislation was not proclaimed until 1964. Meanwhile, more schools were needed, despite wartime shortages of manpower and materials, for those remaining longer at school. Whereas in 1934, there were 174 State post-primary schools, by 1945 the number had grown to 207, including senior technical schools in both cases. A generation later, in 1975, there were as many as 388 government post-primary schools.

## HIGH SCHOOLS

A standard course in high schools for Forms I to IV in the 1930s comprised the following subjects: English, history, French, geography, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, elementary science, physics, chemistry, drawing, commercial principles and practice, shorthand, typewriting, singing, and, for Forms I and II only, needlework and cookery or woodwork. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s such secondary school courses were largely influenced and determined by the requirements of the University of Melbourne through the Schools Board, particularly in the case of Forms IV to VI, where the Board controlled the external Intermediate, Leaving, and Leaving Honours (Matriculation from 1944 to 1970) examinations. At this time, there was some thought in the Education Department that the individual needs of pupils could best be met by breaking away from the Schools Board's external examination system and control. The Education Department's own Proficiency Certificate, awarded at the Form III level and introduced in 1939, played an important part in liberalising the secondary curriculum. It encouraged children to remain at school beyond Form II, and offered a wider choice of subjects. Consequently, but not until 1944, the Schools Board included manual subjects in its intermediate course, together with other new subjects such as social studies, physical education, English literature, and English expression. Moreover, the new Matriculation examination of December 1944, to be taken not at the previous Form V level but at the end of the Form VI year, followed the general world trend to lengthen the period of schooling.

From 1979, the responsibility for Higher School Certificate (HSC) examinations and assessments was assumed by the Victorian Institute of Secondary Education (VISE), an autonomous statutory body established in 1976, which from 2 April 1979 took over the functions of the Victorian Universities and Schools Examinations Board (VUSEB).

Provision for some students who wanted to study modern languages not normally available in secondary schools began in 1935. In that year Saturday morning classes for pupils (and teachers) began in Japanese and Italian. Known as the Saturday School of Modern Languages, the School was responsible for the teaching of some twenty-six different languages at no less than twelve high schools, and in most cases tuition is available from year 7 to Higher School Certificate standard.

## PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS(a): VICTORIA, 1934 to 1982

Year	Intermediate (b)			Leaving (c) (d)			Matriculation (c)		
	Attempted to pass fully	Passed fully	Percentage who passed fully	Attempted to pass fully	Passed fully	Percentage who passed fully	Attempted to pass fully	Passed fully	Percentage who passed fully
1934	6,144	2,781	45.3	3,260	1,396	42.8	..	..	..
1939	7,135	4,502	63.1	3,589	2,109	58.8	..	..	..
1944	8,245	4,663	56.6	4,970	2,768	55.7	969	619	63.9
1949	8,375	5,354	63.9	4,763	3,205	67.3	2,041	1,181	57.9
1954	10,720	7,310	68.2	6,882	4,552	66.1	2,700	1,700	63.0
1959	19,323	12,501	64.7	12,192	7,328	60.1	4,723	3,127	66.2
1964	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,801	7,054	65.3
1969	..	..	..	..	..	..	16,932	10,987	64.9
1974	..	..	..	..	..	..	21,686	14,835	68.4
1979	..	..	..	..	..	..	21,738	15,034	69.2
1980	..	..	..	..	..	..	21,367	14,609	68.4
1981	..	..	..	..	..	..	23,397	16,162	69.1
1982	..	..	..	..	..	..	23,425	16,367	69.9

(a) Where supplementary examinations have been held in the following February, the results have been included in the previous year's figures.

(b) Includes candidates with Headmaster's Certificates which were accepted as satisfying the requirements of the examination. The last year in which the examination was held was 1967. From 1963 to 1967 Intermediate was a subject examination (one in which the candidate is presented with a certificate listing the subjects he or she passed, i.e., the candidate does not pass or fail the examination as a whole). The only available figures show the total number of entries (persons) regardless of the number of subjects each is sitting for and have been excluded.

(c) From 1934 to 1943 Matriculation was gained by passing English, a branch of mathematics or science, a foreign language, and at least two other subjects at Leaving level and a foreign language at Intermediate level. A Matriculation examination was introduced in 1944. In 1970 the title was changed from Matriculation examination to Higher School Certificate of Victoria Examination (HSC).

(d) Since 1964 known as a subject examination (see footnote [b]). Figures 1964 to 1971 excluded. In 1971 the Leaving Certificate commenced to be phased out. A large number of schools conducted their own 5th year secondary examinations.

### TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

The four main fields of technical education in Victoria were:

- (1) Junior technical schools, which provided a general education and pre-vocational training up to Intermediate Certificate standard;
- (2) apprenticeship courses for those in skilled trades who needed schooling concurrent with their industrial experience;
- (3) certificate courses covering specialised fields and imparting techniques for laboratory staff, supervisors, and technicians;
- (4) diploma courses giving tertiary training at professional level, and leading to industry or university.

Unlike the high schools, technical schools were not dominated by external examinations. In the 1930s the three-year courses in junior technical schools were based largely on direct vocational preparation.

Among the emerging new ideas in education was a need to pay more attention to a general education, with greater emphasis on its social and cultural aspects. Typical subjects available for students in their second year of technical education in the 1930s included: English, geography, history, civics, arithmetic and mensuration, algebra, theory of geometry, solid geometry, electricity and magnetism, physics and chemistry, hygiene, singing, homecrafts (including cookery, laundry, domestic science housewifery, and horticulture) needlecrafts, instrumental drawing, machine shop engineering, woodwork, and physical drill. Until the mid-1940s, there was a lack of emphasis on library facilities, music, English, and other humanities and aesthetic subjects.

This undue emphasis on specialised technical, vocational training was offset by a stimulating, progressive move in 1945: the junior technical school course was extended from three to four years, at the end of which the Intermediate Technical Certificate was awarded. The extension allowed a much broader education both for the students leaving at the junior or intermediate level and for those proceeding to diploma courses.

Departmental diploma courses were of three years duration until 1939. In that year the courses were liberalised and extended to include a fourth year of part-time evening study. Seven years later the full four-year diploma course commenced. The increased industrial activity from 1936 onwards was reflected in the greater demand for technical instruction, both for skilled trades and professional work. The demand for diploma-trained students, exceeded the supply in such courses as electrical, mechanical, mining, and civil engineering.

The contribution of Victorian technical schools to the Second World War effort was of special importance. Despite severe shortages of accommodation and staff, administrators, teachers, and part-time instructors played essential roles in defence and repatriation training. Food services personnel for the Armed Forces trained at the Emily McPherson College and at the William Angliss Food Trades School (now the William Angliss College), which opened in 1940. New courses were established, and others were revised and extended throughout the State to suit wartime needs. Thousands of young men and women were thus trained for defence needs, the accommodation and facilities of the technical schools being placed at the disposal of the Commonwealth.

### CURRICULA

A liberalisation and widening of courses was witnessed between 1945 and 1959. In general, the secondary school courses (high, central and consolidated schools) became more practical, adapting to the needs of the less academic students, while the secondary technical school curriculum gave increasing emphasis to English, social studies, music, and physical education.

These developments resulted largely from a growing conception after 1945 that post-primary education was an essential part of a lifelong process. By the early 1950s it had become generally accepted that all ex-Grade VI children should begin some form of post-primary education, so the curricula had to cater for a much larger proportion of pupils of average or less-than-average ability. In the 1950s, the four courses of the normal high school were: professional; commercial; boys' practical; and girls' practical. To study such courses students often travelled long distances by officially approved bus transport. These

free bus services made a valuable contribution to the development of education in Victoria's rural areas, in consolidated schools, and all types of post-primary schools.

Despite the many post-war years when provision of teachers, buildings, and equipment were frustratingly inadequate, secondary schools made advances, other than in mere numerical terms. In August 1949 a residential seminar for secondary and technical teachers was held at Queenscliff. The central theme was "How can we relate the instruction and activities of the classroom to the interests and the problems of the community, of which the school is an agent?" Changes in the curriculum during the post-war years demonstrated how this question was answered. Children were encouraged to read a considerably wider range of English literature, including more Australian writers and Australian themes. Student investigations through assignments and projects were encouraged, together with educational excursions. Before the close of the 1940s the old, rather narrow concept of drawing gave way to a new, freer, more stimulating course in art. Art was seen not just to occupy a drawing board, but to influence all aspects of life itself. Together with this new course, woodwork, craft, metalwork, cookery, and needlework were being taught in virtually all high schools. To make their content and application more meaningful, more closely related to each student's environment, humanities courses, too, were revised, particularly at junior secondary level. The 1950s witnessed a gradually increasing reaction against the restrictive influence of university pre-requisites for secondary education.

Many of these changes in the Secondary Division had their counterparts in the technical schools, both junior and senior. The post-war common courses in English, mathematics, and science in junior technical and high schools brought a welcome reduction in the differences between the two types of schools. Time devoted to vocational training in technical schools necessarily gave ground between 1945 and 1959 to the demands of a wider, more general education.

In the post-war years investments were made in ever increasing amounts in Victoria's developing factories, hydro-electric schemes, and open cut brown coalmining, with the consequent increase in industrial output. Hence the need for specialised training—from the apprentice level onwards—also grew rapidly. One of the most important developments in apprenticeship was the provision for full daytime training. Introduced at the beginning of 1948, this allowed apprentices time off work to spend one full day per week receiving trade education at a technical school.

Victoria's rapidly developing industries of the mid-1950s depended largely on the flow of trained craftsmen, technicians, technologists, supervisors, and managers into public and private organisations. Much of this skilled labour force was provided by the technical schools through technician, diploma, and post-diploma courses, and a variety of additional training schemes.

Many of these senior level needs—such as engineering courses appropriate to the more advanced post-war technology, electronics, institutional management, higher level commercial courses, and art education—were met by the further development of technical diploma courses. Concurrent with the return of ex-service personnel, such courses were not only increased in attendance to 2,852 full-day students in 1947, compared with 1,541 in 1944, but their liberal content was increased by more adequate provision for English expression. In 1946 full-time diploma courses in the applied sciences were made of four years' duration for the first time. Similar extensions soon followed. The development of these full-time day senior courses was an outstanding feature of Victorian technical education in the 1950s. During 1959, there were as many as 4,103 full-time diploma students. The growth of diploma and post-diploma courses, the world wide shortage of technologists, and the growth of community interest in more advanced education led to official consideration being given to the need for a degree-awarding institute of technology. It was not until 1965, however, that such an institute was ultimately established.

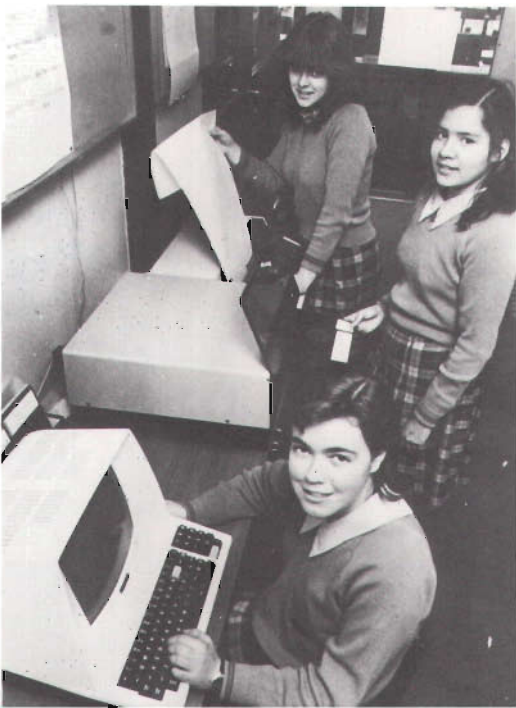
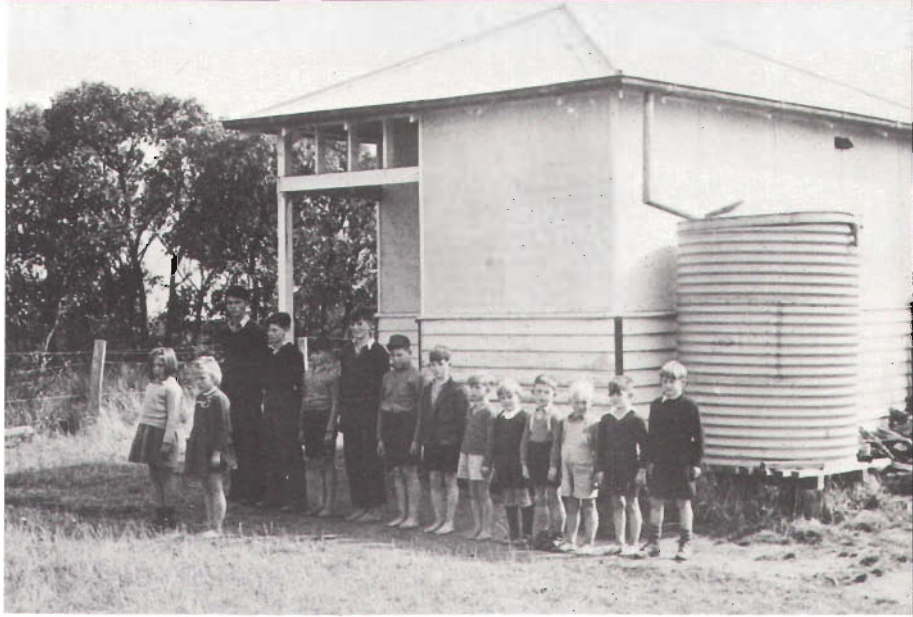
Although new curricula concepts and experimental courses were evident in secondary schools in the first half of the 1960s, their impact was not widely felt until the latter part of the decade. Significant leads were given by the Victorian Universities and Schools Examination Board (VUSEB), established in 1965, and the Curriculum Advisory Board, set up by the Education Department in 1966. VUSEB, for example, sought opinions from heads of government and non-government schools on such matters as alternative Form V and VI courses for those students not intending to proceed to tertiary education. As a



Junior school cricket at Melbourne Grammar School.  
*Melbourne Grammar School*

Kew High School, showing the type of multi-storey building erected on smaller sites in the 1960s.  
*Curriculum Branch, Education Department of Victoria*





(Top) A typical one-teacher country school of the 1930s and 1940s.

(Above) Courtyard of Brunswick South-West Primary School, 1976.

*Curriculum Branch, Education Department of Victoria*

Students learning to operate and programme a computer system.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*

The Lake, University of Melbourne, viewed from the north, with the original Wilson Hall in the background, 1929.

*University of Melbourne Archives*



The Menzies Building reflected in an ornamental lake at Monash University.

*Monash University*





(Top) Individual teaching at Glendonald School for the Deaf, 1969.  
(Above) Open classroom activity at Fitzroy Primary School, 1976.

*Curriculum Branch, Education Department of Victoria*

result of the widely representative Curriculum Advisory Board's recommendations, certain main guidelines were accepted and publicised, encouraging schools to develop their own programmes, influenced by the social needs and characteristics of the local community. High schools such as Moreland, Ferntree Gully, Kyneton, and Maryvale pioneered these new developments, keenly experimenting in school organisation, curriculum, and teaching methods.

Some of the main features of the new curricula in these and many other secondary schools included the following: general (integrated) studies; learning by studying themes rather than narrowly defined subjects; radically new courses in mathematics; the entire revision of general science through Victoria's Junior Secondary Science Project; electronically equipped language laboratories; a broader study of modern languages, including German, Italian, and Indonesian; and the introduction of such subjects as Asian history, consumer education, home economics, and legal studies. The abolition of the external Intermediate Certificate examination in 1968 further helped schools to develop their own programmes. Greater student participation and experimentation, fewer teacher dominated lessons, and more opportunities for student decision-making were among the other notable features of the new curricula concepts.

Similarly, technical schools and colleges experienced a period of dramatic change and development. Society's growing dependence on advanced technology, new diploma courses, the creation of the Victoria Institute of Colleges (VIC) in 1965, and the injection of extensive Commonwealth and State funds helped develop a much more socially acceptable image for technical education generally in the late 1960s.

Following the transfer of the senior technical colleges to the VIC, the Education Department was left with a truncated, three-tiered structure providing for secondary, trade, and technician programmes. Here, too, significant developments took place, both before and after the creation of the VIC. In 1961, for example, the Victorian Government formed the State Advisory Council on Technical Education, one of its many curricula concerns being the development of courses at the technician level. With an ever-increasing proportion of students staying on to at least Form IV, the Leaving Technical Certificate was introduced in 1964, and the Junior Technical Certificate was abolished in 1965. Junior sections of technical schools were increasingly regarded as places of general education in their own right, not simply as places of preparation for specific occupations.

At the close of the 1960s re-examination of the role of the Education Department in the field of technical education was commenced. Questions such as the accountability of the schools to the communities they served and the responsibility to plan their own educational programmes were to be critically and carefully examined in the early 1970s.

The decentralisation of the Education Department was paralleled by the decentralisation of the curriculum, the latter being a gradual process extending over many years. The first course of instruction, printed in January 1873, had been simple, basic, narrow, and prescriptive. By January 1973 the curricula, based on general guidelines, were many, broad, flexible, and varied. They were largely in the hands of school principals and staffs, who based their courses on the needs of the child, school, and community.

Schools had to take cognisance of society's rapid changes of the 1960s and 1970s—economic, social, cultural, and technological changes that influence for good or otherwise an individual's outlook. More than ever it became necessary to help children realise the relevance of their studies to the society they lived in. Beyond a general core curriculum of basic skills at all levels, a broader range and choice of programmes continued to be developed. A feature of the decade was the open classroom. This situation, where several grades or forms are amalgamated and taught by a team of teachers, was a demanding arrangement on the teachers, but one that aimed at developing greater social responsibility and self-reliance in the children.

With much smaller class sizes in the 1970s, and with a variety of in-service education programmes, teachers continued to gain a better understanding of the learning process, and were able to give greater attention to the child's needs.

Among the newer studies in many of these schools were the following: cottage crafts (such as pottery and weaving), environmental studies, pre-driver education, modern Greek, child-care studies, communication engineering, creative drama, film-making, and outdoor education including camping, bushwalking, and orienteering. In the late 1970s and early

1980s many post-primary schools used the services of career guidance teachers and introduced work experience programmes. Some of the general curricula developments included the growth of Technical and Further Education (TAFE) courses in the new technical colleges, through the injection of Commonwealth funds; the further liberalising of secondary technical school courses, which were allowed considerable local latitude for varying needs; the growth of co-educational technical schools; the new course in primary science, introduced in 1971 after experiments and trials in the 1960s; and, particularly at the lower secondary level, boys and girls taking subjects that were traditionally the province of one sex only.

Tradition has also been broken at the senior secondary level, for a noteworthy feature of recent years has been the liberalising of the HSC courses and examination procedures. Since 1979 these have been the responsibility of the Victorian Institute of Secondary Education (VISE). The year 1981 was significant, because it saw the implementation of a new policy changing the traditional "external" HSC requirements. This policy—first announced in April 1978—allows schools to offer Group 1 subjects which have an externally assessed core component and internally assessed options, and Group 2 subjects which, subject to accreditation by VISE, are totally school-assessed. Part of the responsibility of VISE for assisting people in their transition from secondary school to further studies or employment, or from employment to further secondary education, includes the provision of adequate information and guidance services, and in co-operation with schools, post-secondary education institutions, and other bodies, the development of a range of curricula appropriate to the diverse abilities and needs of students.

#### SPECIAL EDUCATION AND SPECIAL SERVICES

A new division of the Education Department—Special Services—was created in 1968. Special schools for the handicapped, as well as specialised curriculum services for schools generally, were available both well before and after 1934. Prior to 1968 these special branches and services had been the responsibility of the Director of Primary Education. Over the years their number and scope had expanded enormously. Hence the Special Services Division was established so that the work of the various branches could be integrated and controlled. Special Services encompasses the following services: education of physically disabled children; education of backward children; psychology and guidance; curriculum and research; physical education; audio-visual education; library services; publications; speech therapy; homecrafts; forestry and young farmers' clubs; school camps; and welfare.

Continuing and developing all aspects of the work of previous years, the new Special Services Division provided in particular a specialised form of education for the physically, intellectually, and socially disabled. Then, as later, it was difficult to give a normal type of education to such children. During the 1960s there developed the principle of keeping handicapped children in normal schools, as far as possible. There, special provision was made for them and for their teachers through visiting specialists and advisers and through treatment centres.

Nowhere was community co-operation more essential or more apparent than in the provision of special education for the disabled. The work of the Special Services Division in this regard received recognition in a number of ways during the 1970s. In February 1971 the Director of the Division represented Australia at the first Pan-Pacific Conference on Special Education for Handicapped Children; in 1972, for the first time in the history of the Education Department, an assistant Minister was given specific responsibility for the Special Services Division; the Fifth International Seminar on Special Education was hosted by that Division in August 1972; and the first Australia wide conference of leaders of Special Education was held in Melbourne in June 1974, being chaired by the Director of Special Services. The increased community concern for those in need of special help was officially referred to in 1975 as "a dramatic upsurge of public interest".

In December 1973 the Handicapped Children (Assistance) Act gave the Education Department responsibility for the education of all handicapped children from birth to sixteen years. As a result, a number of former day training centres, which had been administered by the Mental Health Authority, transferred to the Education Department as

special developmental schools, serving the needs of the moderately intellectually handicapped. To further the integration of disabled children into normal schools, supportive services, such as counselling, guidance, clinical services and visiting teacher services, were greatly increased.

In other areas also the Special Services Division expanded its responsibilities: in child migrant and adult migrant education; in the education of Aboriginal children since 1975; and in highly specialised services directed towards the needs of teachers and children in secondary, technical, and primary schools: Library Services Branch, for example, with its central cataloguing system, mobile libraries, and professional guidance programmes; and the Physical Education Branch's remedial centres throughout Victoria, its liaison with the Department of Youth, Sport and Recreation, and its physical education advisers attached to the fifty inspectorial districts. So complex and important are these and other curriculum services that in 1976 a comprehensive Curriculum Services Inquiry was established. Recommendations of the Inquiry were implemented from 1979 onwards. The restructuring of the Department's administration includes the phasing out of the Special Services Division, while the services it provides will be organised largely at the regional level.

## NON-GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS: CATHOLIC EDUCATION

### Developments since 1934

Catholic education in Victoria since 1934 has aimed to provide primary school education for every Catholic child. The parish primary school was owned and built by the parish, and a Religious Order was invited by the parish to staff the school. The majority of teachers at that time were members of Religious Orders. In 1930, there were 2,031 teachers from Religious Orders altogether in the State, and 2,564 by 1940.

Independent and autonomous, the schools were financed usually by very low fees and by the parish. The schools were subject to a number of government regulations, under the *Registration of Teachers and Schools Act 1905*, and generally followed the State curriculum in secular subjects. The Bishop of the Diocese exercised supervision over religious education and general policy. The main source, however, of co-ordination in Order-owned schools was the strengths, traditions, and support of the particular Religious Order.

A small number of Catholic secondary schools operated at this time, most of these existing since the previous century. They included the Academy of Mary Immaculate in Fitzroy (Sisters of Mercy), and St Patrick's College (Jesuit Fathers) and Christian Brothers College, both in East Melbourne. The secondary schools were owned and conducted by Religious Orders. Vocational and technical education became of interest as an alternative to the strictly academic courses offered in secondary schools. During the 1930s two Catholic boys' schools offered technical facilities and two others followed. Central schools were also in operation: St Ita's, North Fitzroy (girls) and St Colman's, Fitzroy (boys) educated children from parish primary schools who had won diocesan scholarships for one year, to sit for the Junior Government Scholarship for secondary education.

During the 1930s, innovations in material used in schools were made. In 1937 the catechism used for religious education throughout Australia was revised. A Victorian Catholic school paper entitled *The Children's World* appeared in 1934, and in the same year a Catholic history syllabus was introduced. In 1936, a Catholic Vocational Guidance Auxiliary was established, and in 1942 the Catholic Primary Schools' Parents' Association and the Young Catholic Students (YCS) movement began. In 1945 a set of Catholic history readers was published.

During the 1940s, very few new primary schools were built, but the 1950s saw an enormous expansion in the demand for Catholic primary education. This expansion was a result of immigration and the high post-war birthrate. To assist with the erection of new schools and the building of extra facilities in existing ones, the Schools Provident Fund was established in 1956. Between 1950 and 1962 the number of primary pupils in Melbourne doubled, and 65 new primary and 9 new secondary schools were established.

Because of such sudden increases, the Religious Orders could themselves no longer fill all staffing demands. In 1955-56, four training centres were established in Melbourne to prepare young female lay teachers for work in parish schools. Between 1950 and 1960, the

proportion of lay teachers in Victorian Catholic schools rose from approximately 16 to 28 per cent.

In 1948 a Diocesan Correspondence Course in Christian Doctrine was established and a syllabus for Religious Education in all Dioceses in Victoria was introduced in 1950. The Federation of Catholic Mothers' Clubs was founded in 1958.

Some of the Religious Orders of women had become interested in kindergarten education in earlier years. Interest in Catholic kindergartens gradually increased, especially after the advent of assistance to denominational kindergartens by the Victorian Government in 1943. A Catholic Kindergarten Union was formed, with a model kindergarten attached to the Mercy Sisters Training College at Flemington, to train kindergarten teachers. By 1958, there were 25 Catholic kindergartens in Victoria.

In the 1960s, the expansion and development of Catholic education in Victoria continued. In order to meet growing demands for secondary education, the Regional Post-Primary School Plan was established in 1962. Under this plan, a number of parishes co-operated to build and support their own regional secondary school, which enrolled children advancing from their parish primary schools. The advantages were that the regional system spread the financial burden of secondary schooling over a wider population; it guaranteed secondary education for children in those parishes; and it allowed secondary education to expand into the new suburbs. Regional schools were also staffed by Religious Orders, and, to secure sufficient religious teachers, several overseas teaching orders were approached. As first planned, these regional colleges were single-sex, as were most of the older, Order-owned secondary colleges.

In addition to the secondary schools, many parish primary schools, particularly in the country, continued with several post-primary grades. As the 1960s progressed and the pressure towards higher standards in secondary education intensified, the number of these schools decreased. In 1966, the eight Catholic central schools closed.

During the latter part of the 1960s, schools faced an increasing degree of financial stress, mostly caused by staffing factors. There were big increases in the number of teachers needed, partly because of the adoption of an educational policy of maximum class size of 50 in parish schools beginning in 1965; and this was associated with an accelerating decline in the proportion of religious teachers. Further financial pressure on the schools also resulted from the need to finance greater numbers of lay students at teachers' colleges (in 1971, over \$0.5m was levied from parish schools to support teachers' colleges). The cost of teacher training was increased in 1966-67 with the introduction of a two year training course.

Some government assistance began to flow to Catholic schools during this decade. In 1965, the Commonwealth Government introduced grants for the building of science laboratories in both government and non-government schools and grants for libraries followed. Meanwhile, in 1967 the Victorian Government recognised the pressures which non-government (particularly Catholic) schools were experiencing, and introduced per capita grants of \$10 per pupil per annum (primary) and \$20 per pupil per annum (secondary).

The Archdiocesan Education Advisory Council was established in 1963. This council was the first co-ordinating body for Catholic education in the archdiocese which had included lay people, and which met on a regular basis. It served as a catalyst for further activity and as a forum for discussion for those concerned about Catholic education. In 1969 the Advisory Council was dissolved and replaced by the new Melbourne Catholic Education Board. Its membership was principally representative: one priest and one parent from each of the twelve zones of the archdiocese and representatives of principals and staff. The Board functioned as a channel of communication between all parties involved in Catholic primary and secondary education, and participated in decision-making in all matters relating to the Christian education of the Catholic children of the diocese. One of the first actions of the Board was to recommend the appointment of lay professionals to the Catholic Education Office in Melbourne, which until then had been staffed mainly by priests. As a percentage of total teaching staff at Melbourne Parish schools, religious teachers constituted 51.2 per cent in 1963 and 32.1 per cent in 1971.

The establishment of the Melbourne Catholic Education Board was associated with the formation of representative Parish Education Boards in many parishes. These boards had similar functions at the local level to the Melbourne Board.

### Developments in the 1970s

In the 1970s Catholic education experienced great change and development. Change was the result of financial constraints which had arisen largely as a result of rapid expansion during the 1960s and of external pressures particularly towards higher educational standards.

The financial and staffing problems of the schools during the late 1960s and early 1970s were the subject of a report to the Melbourne Catholic Education Board by the Catholic Education Office in 1971, entitled *The Future for a School System*. This report was of great significance, and its recommendations were the subject of much public debate. It closely examined the difficulties which would be faced as the decade progressed and the pressure of primary enrolments increased as a result of a period of high birth-rate. It was a matter of particular concern that growing numbers of Catholic children could not be accommodated in Catholic schools. Many of these children received no religious instruction, although the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine attempted to reach as many as possible.

The report contained two main recommendations:

- (1) That in view of the fact that the existing policy of providing education in a Catholic school for *some* children at *all levels* (i.e., partial coverage at all levels) led to discrimination and had caused considerable strain on all sections of the Catholic community, this policy should be replaced by one aiming at total cover at the primary level, at least.
- (2) That the burden borne by the Religious Orders in their traditional role of being almost totally responsible for the administrative control of parish schools should be alleviated, and a greater share of administrative responsibility should be taken by lay teachers.

This latter recommendation led to a reappraisal by Religious Orders of their commitments and the appointment to many schools of lay principals. In a number of cases, members of a Religious Order remained on the staff of a school although the school had a lay principal. Efforts were made, as a result of this trend, to recruit more male teachers for Catholic primary schools. Later, secondary colleges experienced similar difficulties because of the declining numbers of religious teachers. By 1982, 57 per cent of parish primary schools had lay principals, while 25 Catholic secondary colleges had lay principals and a considerably higher number had lay deputy principals.

An important early action by the Melbourne Catholic Education Board was establishing the Salary Review Committee for lay teachers in parish schools. In 1972, its recommendation was accepted that salaries should gradually increase until they reached parity with basic salary levels of teachers in State primary schools. This position was reached in 1974, and adjusted for inflation in February 1976.

The need for co-ordination in Catholic education at diocesan and State levels was obvious in the early 1970s. Ballarat and Sale Dioceses established Diocesan Boards to perform similar functions to the Melbourne Catholic Education Board. Co-ordination of policy and administration among the four Victorian dioceses was achieved to some extent through an Inter-Diocesan Education Committee. However, there was a growing awareness on the part of the policy makers that some State structure was necessary. In 1972, the First National Conference on the Administration of Catholic Education recommended to the Australian Bishops Education Committee that suitable State and Federal Catholic education structures should be established.

Apart from these internal moves for State wide structures, external forces developed which virtually demanded action in this direction, notably the Report of the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission (1973) which recommended that Catholic parish schools should be funded as a group or system in each State rather than individually. Later, many Catholic secondary schools opted to be funded systemically. The setting up of the required structures and the accounting for funds required a State Catholic education authority. Consequently, in 1973 the Bishops of Victoria established the Catholic Education Commission of Victoria to co-ordinate the formation of policy for, and administration of, Catholic education through a State wide structure.

The Commission is a policy-making body which aims to co-ordinate the use of human and material educational resources available to the best possible advantage of all Catholic children in the State. It aims to produce consensus among the different groups involved in Catholic education, and so its original membership included representatives of the Bishops, the four dioceses, male and female teaching Religious Orders, and secondary school principals. Later in the decade, membership was extended to include primary and secondary principals, primary and secondary teachers, a representative of the Institute of Catholic Education, parish priests, and parents (from Melbourne and from country dioceses). The Commission has an independent chairman and a full-time executive committee, including an executive director who is the Director of the Catholic Education Office of Victoria. The Commission operates on the principle that decisions are made at the lowest appropriate level, and that major responsibility for finance, staffing and curriculum is firmly placed at the local school or parish level (as they were traditionally).

A further important source of co-operation at the State level is the Education Liaison Committee, established in 1974 and composed of representatives of the Education Department, Catholic education, and the Association of Independent Schools of Victoria.

### **Government funding**

During 1971-72 the Commonwealth Government increased its per capita funding of Independent schools, and introduced grants for the building of capital facilities. In 1972, the Commonwealth Government adopted a policy by which they and the States were to share equally in funding all non-government school pupils at a rate of 40 per cent of the cost of educating a pupil in a government school. The Victorian Government accepted this policy in 1972 and continued to fund non-government schools at 20 per cent of the cost of educating a child in a government school until 1979, when it was agreed to increase this rate to 25 per cent in 1984 by an annual rise of 1 per cent.

Despite these increases, Catholic schools still faced financial difficulties. It was not until the introduction of Commonwealth funding according to need in 1973 that some measure of financial security was reached by many Catholic schools. The funding programmes offered by the Australian Schools Commission were the outcome of the Report of the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission (1973).

In addition to offering recurrent grants according to six levels of need, the Schools Commission gave special assistance to disadvantaged schools and to schools with migrant pupils. In 1979, for example, 68 Catholic schools were assisted under the Disadvantaged Schools Programme. A survey of children in parish primary schools in 1978 found that over 40 per cent of children were from non-English speaking backgrounds. It was estimated that one-third of children enrolled in Catholic secondary schools were also from a migrant background.

A provision of the Schools Commission Recurrent Grants Programme was that non-government schools could choose to be funded individually or as part of a system. Within Catholic education in Victoria, a funding system was formed to which all parish primary schools and two-thirds of secondary schools belonged by the end of the decade. In conjunction with a staffing schedule, a seven factor formula was prepared so that funds could be allocated in the most equitable manner.

Increases in Commonwealth funding of non-government schools had some political opposition. Of particular concern was the writ taken out in the High Court of Australia by the organisation for the Defence of Government Schools which claimed that Commonwealth aid to religious schools was unconstitutional under section 116 of the Australian

Constitution. Although this writ was of national concern, it was based in Victoria and most witnesses called were people involved in Catholic education in Victoria. The Catholic Education Office of Victoria played the leading role in the defence case on behalf of all Catholic schools in Australia and, in conjunction with the National Council of Independent Schools, all other non-government schools. In 1981 the High Court dismissed the challenge.

After the establishment of the Catholic Education Commission of Victoria in 1973, the Catholic Education Office expanded gradually and was able to offer a wide range of services to schools. One of the first and most important developments was the appointment, from 1974, of an educational consultant to each of eighteen regions of the State, to supervise educational developments and planning. Their work prevented the administration of Catholic education becoming over-centralised. Further field-based personnel comprised Field Officers under the Disadvantaged Schools Programme and Migrant Advisory Teachers. Other assistance available included replacement salaries for teachers attending in-service courses, help with building plans and procedures, and prefabricated classrooms for rental by schools with accommodation problems.

The Catholic Education Office continued its work of the 1960s in the development of curriculum materials in the area of religious education for children in both Catholic schools and catechist classes. In 1973, *Guidelines for Religious Education* (primary) were issued in the Archdiocese of Melbourne; further editions followed, and *Guidelines* was produced for secondary schools in 1977.

During the 1970s, improved conditions of service for lay teachers in both primary and secondary schools were achieved. Class sizes were reduced, wherever possible, and many principals, relieved or partly relieved of heavy teaching loads, devoted more time to leadership tasks.

Other conditions of service gradually improved, particularly for primary staff. The introduction of a long service leave scheme in 1978 allowed primary and secondary teachers portability of long service between Catholic schools. To ensure that isolated and disadvantaged schools are adequately staffed, primary graduates of Catholic teachers' colleges are appointed to positions during their first three years by their Diocesan Office. At all times, however, teachers are employed by the local school.

#### **Secondary staffing report**

In 1977 the Catholic Education Commission of Victoria compiled a report on the staffing of Catholic secondary schools. The aim was to analyse the changing staffing patterns caused by the decreasing proportion of religious teachers, and to propose ways to ensure that the specifically Catholic nature and tone of the schools were preserved. The Report encouraged lay teachers to undertake professional development, particularly in religious education. This recommendation paralleled the accreditation policy of 1977 in parish primary schools, under which teachers who have undertaken specified studies in religious education have additional protection in their employment.

#### **Teacher development**

Teacher development programmes greatly expanded throughout the 1970s, particularly after the opening of Simonds Hall, a centre for residential seminars in South Yarra, in 1978. The personal and leadership development of principals and senior teachers was a particular aim. Other seminars were regularly offered on the religious education guidelines, on aspects of migrant and multicultural education, and as initiation programmes for teachers new to Catholic education.



### Building

The provision of new parish primary schools resumed in the 1970s in an effort to provide schools in new housing areas. For secondary schools a system was developed for the co-ordination of applications for Commonwealth capital grants by secondary schools, under which priority lists for building grants were developed regionally each year. From these regional priority lists the Catholic Education Commission of Victoria prepared a State priority list on the basis of educational need. A secondary education development plan was also prepared, for making better use of existing resources, and for guaranteeing to parents more places for their children in secondary schools. A number of new schools were built and a degree of rationalisation took place, for example, some amalgamations of boys and girls colleges. A special feature was the senior Year 11 and 12 college, fed by a number of Year 7 to 10 schools.

#### NON-GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS: NON-CATHOLIC\*

The era of the "great" heads of Victoria's non-government non-Catholic schools came to an end in the early 1930s; for example, Adamson of Wesley died in 1932, Littlejohn of Scotch in 1933. These headmasters and headmistresses had been commanding figures for over 30 years and had kept the field of secondary education very much to their own schools. However, this dominance of the non-government schools in secondary education was to end in the following two decades.

Although these non-government non-Catholic schools lost some of their numbers for a few years, those lost do not seem to have moved into the high schools. The loss was sufficient to create some alarm in even the most firmly established schools and to threaten extinction to the smaller ones and to some of the more recently established girls' schools. Country schools like Hamilton College only survived at all with the greatest difficulty, and some went out altogether. Even Melbourne Grammar School went down from 1,140 in 1930 to 967 in 1935, and other schools like Scotch College and Presbyterian Ladies College (PLC) suffered similarly, though not to the same extent. As fee-paying schools depend for development on a marginal surplus of fees, the loss of this surplus had an immediate and serious effect upon their finances.

By 1934 there were signs of revival in the schools but there was no great growth of numbers or expansion until the effects of the post-war population increase flowed through to the schools.

The hard times of the 1930s bore heavily upon the members of the teaching profession. In a day school salaries accounted for nearly 80 per cent of the expenses, and teachers suffered reduction in their already low salaries. The Headmasters Conference, founded in 1931, included some non-government non-Catholic schools from all States. Its policy of making the adequate payment of assistant masters a condition of membership later did a little towards improving the status and rewards of these people, and more slowly similar gains were made by the assistant mistresses.

Other improvements followed in the late 1930s. With the encouragement of G. S. Browne, both as Principal of the Melbourne Teachers College and as Professor of Education at the University of Melbourne, and with the advent of the New Education Fellowship, came a liberalising of what had for so many years passed for a good secondary education. Some younger headmasters and headmistresses, such as J. R. (later Sir James) Darling at Geelong Grammar School and Dorothy Ross at the Melbourne Church of England Girls Grammar School initiated far-reaching liberal developments which were also to influence the State system.

The Second World War affected boys' schools in a number of ways. With so many men leaving to join the Forces, all schools had great difficulty in staffing, those with a preponderance of young masters suffering most. Boys' numbers also fell or remained static. The premises of some schools, in particular Wesley College, Melbourne Grammar, and Ivanhoe Grammar, were taken over by the Armed Forces for some years. Most schools also planned evacuation programmes in case of invasion, and all schools had to defer necessary maintenance. Although inflation was negligible, price-fixing regulations prevented

\*Also sometimes referred to as "Independent schools". Some schools in the Catholic education system are members of the Headmasters Conference of Independent Schools, but most are not.

the raising of fees, and by mid-1945 many schools found themselves with little money and with much needing to be done.

For a few years after the war the schools appeared to consolidate. Returned ex-servicemen and women strengthened their staffs; moreover, although the schools were full and pressure for new accommodation had begun to grow, building materials and reasonably cheap capital were hard to get. The larger schools established waiting lists for pupils to enter ten or twelve years ahead. New schools were not being established: the total number of non-government schools in Victoria remained at or near 500 until the end of 1952. Total enrolments, however, rose perceptibly between 1945 and 1952 as the schools found ways of adding classrooms or redeploying existing space.

In 1948, at Geelong Grammar School, a meeting was held of the Headmasters Conference schools, together with an equivalent number of high school headmasters, to discuss post-war educational problems. Although no concrete results followed from the meeting, it did set the pattern for the future, marked to some extent the end of distrust between the systems, and laid the basis for the foundation ten years later of the Australian College of Education; but by the time that this took place, the balance of numbers between the systems had changed with the tremendous developments in the State secondary system.

Between 1953 and 1959, the number of non-government schools increased by 53, or about 10 per cent, and the net enrolments by about 60,000, or about 60 per cent. Almost all the new schools were within the Catholic system; all non-government schools, however, shared the increase in enrolments. One of the outstanding examples of growth was Carey Baptist Grammar School, whose enrolments grew from 400 in 1948 to 1,040 at the end of 1959. Increased enrolments sometimes necessitated finding capital to redevelop their existing sites, or to expand on other sites. Tintern Church of England Girls Grammar School, for example, moved from Hawthorn to East Ringwood in 1951; Presbyterian Ladies College from East Melbourne to Burwood in 1958; Methodist Ladies College redeveloped its original sites at Kew and Elsternwick; and Essendon Grammar expanded at Keilor East.

This period produced a group of notable heads of schools who entered into the relative freedom of the post-war years as educational innovators, experimenting with many forms of enrichment of a secondary curriculum that had been rather cramped and rigid, and finding ways of organising the energies of youth in community service. Thus came the move towards rural experience as part of secondary education (e.g., Yarra Junction, Timbertop, and Chum Creek) where boys spent a number of weeks in a simple country setting combining class work and rural pursuits.

There was still a strong demand for boarding places, although this was felt only in the schools that already had fairly large boarding houses, a few of the smaller ones finding it financially expedient to become entirely day schools. Geelong Grammar School and Clyde School were the only schools to have more than nine-tenths of their pupils boarding: most others had one-fifth or below.

The Association of Independent Schools of Victoria was formed during this period, which also saw several joint enterprises involving both government and non-government schools. Two of these stand out. The first is the Victorian Schools' Music Association. This arranged festivals of music in which school choirs, instrumental groups, and soloists performed. It also sponsored the Junior Symphony Orchestra whose annual concert in the Melbourne Town Hall enabled young players from as many as twenty schools to play symphonic works in public. A lasting effect of the Association was the rapid development of music in all schools.

The second joint enterprise has already been mentioned. On 6 June 1958, fourteen heads of Victorian non-government schools, fourteen heads of high schools, and three university professors met at Wesley College and decided to form some kind of professional institute for teachers. As an ultimate result, a widely representative group of educators from all States, met at Geelong Grammar School in May 1959 and founded the Australian College of Education. The College established a forum in which outstanding educators from many fields, without regard for the boundaries of systems, could discuss those standards and principles on which all professional teachers might agree.

During the 1960s the expansion of the non-government schools continued in an atmosphere of financial stability. Waiting lists of prospective students increased in number and parents and other supporters of the schools raised funds for new buildings and other facilities.

School councils added not only classrooms but assembly halls, science laboratories, libraries, and gymnasiums. Insurance companies and banks which now had faith in the ability of schools to fund their debts granted loans. As a result of the availability of more finance, schools were able to consider their needs and plan well ahead to meet them. More schools with limited sites bought adjoining properties, to extend their boundaries; others moved the whole or part of their establishments to new areas.

There were two important features of this expansion. The first was the increased involvement of parents and past students with school councils. Parent committees especially became involved in consultation and in giving advice. The second feature was the increasing scope of services provided for the students. Along with the new and improved facilities traditional pastoral care was extended and improved by more systematic organisation. Career information and guidance, as well as counselling, was better planned, as schools could afford to release appropriate staff from some of their teaching duties. Teacher education courses made available full-time qualified counsellors, librarians, library technicians and laboratory assistants. Such services became more widespread as schools grew and acquired more financial resources.

It was during this decade that teachers' salary structures, at least equivalent to those of the Education Department, were accepted in most non-government schools, and, more slowly, superannuation schemes were also improved.

The 1970s were a remarkable period in the educational history of Australia, remarkable in the first half of the decade for enthusiasm, backed up by rapidly increasing amounts of public funds, for the renewal of Australian schools, and equally remarkable in the second half of the decade for questioning the effectiveness of schools, backed up by a decline in funds. Nevertheless parents continued to show their faith in the education provided by non-government schools in spite of the opposition of some groups to the use of public funds to support such schools. The organisation for the Defence of Government Schools lost its constitutional challenge in the High Court to the legality of such use of public money. In spite of such opposition the number of non-government schools continued to increase as did their diversity, reflecting the wide range of approaches to education in the 1970s.

Increasing Commonwealth Government involvement in education encouraged non-government Independent schools to organise into a more unified structure. Thus the Association of Independent Schools of Victoria became increasingly important and a National Council of Independent Schools also emerged, both institutions having permanent staff.

After the publication of the report *Schools in Australia* in 1973, the amount of funding, the method of establishing needs, and the question whether needs referred to parents or to schools and whether all schools should receive some public money became issues that remain under debate.

Non-government schools continued to benefit from other Schools Commission programmes, including general building grants, libraries, special education, teacher development, and innovations; and all schools benefited from the Schools Commission's provision of joint programmes.

Victorian Government financial support of non-government schools continued to grow and included per capita grants, interest subsidies, and book grants to students. Schools undertook to increase their own resources input through higher fees, fund raising, and more efficient use of funds through better administration resulting from the appointment of bursars and, more recently, development managers.

In the classroom, schools had to adjust to school centred curriculum development, testing, and certification, and these trends continued when the Victorian Institute of Secondary Education, introduced its full Year 12 programme in 1981. The Institute supervised the structure of secondary school studies (including their certification) in the State. Staff workload and school responsibility increased, but there were more opportunities for school initiatives.

Students in non-government schools increased in number and in percentage of total school population. The number of boarders declined and the number of co-educational Independent schools increased fairly rapidly. Social strains, particularly as school leaver unemployment developed in the late 1970s, saw increasing provision of counsellor services

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year	Number of schools (a)	Number of pupils (b)			Number of teachers (c)			Number of schools (a)	Number of pupils (b)			Numbers of teachers (d)		
		Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons		Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
		GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS							NON-GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS					
1935	2,754	150,778	138,381	289,159	4,060	4,818	8,878	518	37,210	40,804	78,014	n.a.	n.a.	2,501
1940	2,724	137,327	124,803	262,130	4,398	4,702	9,100	518	38,565	42,812	81,377	n.a.	n.a.	2,733
1945	2,493	120,832	108,341	229,173	4,005	5,006	9,011	473	39,803	42,793	82,596	n.a.	n.a.	2,827
1950	2,183	123,112	112,679	235,791	4,665	4,962	9,627	476	46,810	49,818	96,628	n.a.	n.a.	3,147
1955	2,087	168,287	151,683	319,970	5,566	5,976	11,542	506	64,261	69,446	133,707	894	2,881	3,775
1960	2,208	223,285	199,110	422,395	7,237	7,744	14,981	546	78,876	81,699	160,575	1,125	3,564	4,689
1965	2,232	266,815	237,305	504,120	10,956	10,943	21,899	582	89,191	93,415	182,606	1,658	5,042	6,700
1970	2,215	308,199	277,241	585,440	13,428	15,492	28,920	581	93,451	97,577	191,028	2,323	6,393	8,716
1975	2,161	321,124	296,988	618,112	16,621	21,107	37,728	578	97,646	101,193	198,839	2,995	7,530	10,525
1980	2,158	311,702	294,445	606,147	18,391	23,810	42,201	633	106,159	109,966	216,125	4,293	8,741	13,034
1981	2,149	306,510	288,532	595,042	18,206	23,563	41,769	632	108,734	112,877	221,611	4,606	9,209	13,815
1982	2,140	301,469	283,312	584,781	18,362	23,494	41,856	641	111,732	115,471	227,203	4,877	9,561	14,438

(a) 1934 to 1947 government schools at 30 June. 1934 to 1953 non-government schools at 30 June. 1945 to 1982 non-government schools exclude registered commercial colleges.

1948 to 1979 government schools at 1 August or the first school day thereafter.

1954 to 1979 non-government schools at 1 August or the first school day thereafter.

From 1980 government and non-government schools at 1 July or the first school day thereafter.

Includes junior technical, correspondence, and special schools (see also non-government note above).

Excludes senior technical, coaching, and business schools.

(b) 1934 to 1947 government schools gross enrolments during calendar year.

1934 to 1953 non-government schools gross enrolments during final quarter of financial year.

1945 to 1982 non-government enrolments exclude those at registered commercial colleges.

1948 to 1979 government schools census enrolments at 1 August or on the first schoolday thereafter.

1954 to 1979 non-government schools census enrolments at 1 August or on the first schoolday thereafter.

From 1980 government and non-government schools census enrolments at 1 July or the first schoolday thereafter.

Note: In 1965 compulsory attendancy age raised from 14 to 15 years.

(c) 1934 to 1946 includes classified and temporary teachers, student teachers in schools, and secondary teachers in technical schools and excludes student instructors in technical schools, senior technical (teaching) scholarship holders, and senior technical school teachers.

1947 to 1962 comprises the primary and secondary divisions, excluding students in training, senior scholarship holders, and free place holders, but including student teachers in primary schools until 1957 and temporary and part-time teachers.

1963 to 1982 teachers at primary, secondary, junior technical, and ungraded schools.

1934 to 1946 at 30 June.

1947 to 1949 at 31 December.

1950 primary at 31 December 1950 and secondary at 30 June 1951.

1951 to 1959 primary at 31 December and secondary at 30 June.

1960 at 30 June; males and females primary estimated.

1961 and 1962 at 30 June.

1963 to 1979 at 1 August or the first school day thereafter.

From 1980 at 1 July or the first school day thereafter.

(d) 1934 to 1953 at 30 June.

1945 to 1982 teachers at non-government schools exclude those at registered commercial colleges.

1954 to 1979 at 1 August or the first school day thereafter.

1934 to 1982 teachers at non-government primary and secondary schools.

including vocational guidance and work experience programmes. In the early 1980s the number of non-government schools continued to increase as did also the number of pupils in them. Concern developed with the significant increase in Commonwealth money going to non-government schools relative to State controlled schools. The independence of the Schools' Commission was questioned as it was seen to be more and more subject to Government guidelines.

With restructuring of the Education Department, radical changes were implemented from 1982. Certainly the new statutory authority, the State Board of Education, on which the non-government schools are represented, influences all schools. The Board has a wide range of responsibilities, one of which is to advise the Victorian Government on the needs and funding of all schools.

A review of non-government schools from 1970 to 1982 reveals a period of growth and interesting development and, at the same time, increasing government influence and on-going debate on the basis of independence and the privileges and responsibilities that go with it.

### TECHNICAL AND FURTHER EDUCATION

Although the term TAFE was coined in 1973, activities covered by the technical and further education sector date back to the Schools of Mines and Working Men's Colleges of the 1870s. These provided a mixture of vocational training, basic education, and recreational education.

Despite advances, such as the *Apprenticeship Act 1927* and the granting in 1933 of day-release for apprentices, technical education was poorly supported until the demands of the Second World War and post-war training schemes increased the number of students, subsequently bringing improvements in staffing, finance, and equipment.

In 1961, a Victorian Advisory Council on Technical Education was formed to ensure that the total development of the technical education system was responsive to community needs. This Council became the State Council for Technical Education in 1971.

Following the Commonwealth Government's Martin Committee report in 1964 diploma studies, which had expanded since the war, were separated from technical education to be administered under the newly created Victoria Institute of Colleges (VIC) as the advanced education sector.

Provision of technical education continued in Education Department technical colleges, in schools administered by the Technical Schools Division, and in technical college sections of ten of the new colleges of advanced education.

At the centenary of technical education in Victoria in 1970 it was noted that, while over one-third of the 84,000 enrolments in vocational courses were in the apprenticeship trades, significant new developments were evident in certificate courses already dealing with engineering, business studies, and applied science. The centenary report noted the continuing importance of adult extension courses which met personal interests, though enrolments were not indicated.

The Commonwealth Government committee appointed in 1973 to report on the development of technical and further education in Australia identified this area as one of national importance. National recognition of TAFE has been reflected, since the report *TAFE in Australia*, in a rapid expansion in TAFE enrolments. In Victoria enrolments have risen from 90,000 in 1975 to nearly 240,000 in 1982, excluding Council of Adult Education enrolments.

Anyone above school leaving age may attend TAFE courses, for many of which no tuition fees apply. Courses may be studied full- or part-time, at evening classes, by correspondence, or by short duration programmes involving part-time attendance over a few weeks.

TAFE includes three broad types of programmes: vocational, preparatory, and recreational. Vocational courses are designed to equip people for pursuits normally followed in the employed or self-employed labour force, and to provide such people with opportunities to update their knowledge and skills, or to transfer to studies for a higher occupational level. Preparatory programmes aim at providing for the needs of people who have experienced particular barriers to achieving basic educational or vocational goals. These enable participants to cross educational barriers to employment or further studies, or to

increase their participation in the broader concerns of citizenship or community affairs through enhanced personal confidence and competence. Recreational programmes are intended to assist participants in expressing and enhancing creative, cultural, individual, social, or leisure interests by way of educational courses and experience.

Following the release of the Kangan Report in 1973, the role of the State Council for Technical Education was strengthened, culminating in 1980 in the presentation to the Minister of Education, of the TAFE Strategy, a major plan for the development of TAFE in Victoria up to 1996.

In 1980 the Victorian Government re-organised TAFE in Victoria by establishing the TAFE Board under the Victorian Post-Secondary Education Act. The Board is responsible for the administration of TAFE State wide, as well as advising State and Commonwealth Ministers and bodies. The Board operates through a central administration unit and Regional TAFE Boards.

With the separation of seventeen colleges from the Education Department's Technical Schools Division and the separation of three colleges from the advanced education sector, the main providers of TAFE are twenty-eight autonomous colleges of TAFE, the Council of Adult Education, the Department of Agriculture, and the Education Department.

### TERTIARY EDUCATION

The post-Depression years after 1934 saw the beginnings of a gradual expansion in tertiary education which was to increase markedly in the post-war years. By the late 1970s, however, the unbridled growth had ceased, as government economic constraints, an oversupply of graduates for most professions, a reduced birth rate, and some sense of disillusion in tertiary education had their effect. For the 54 per cent of the 2,969 students who in 1933 passed the Leaving Certificate the choice was easy, for the University of Melbourne, which had grown to just over 3,000 students, was the only degree granting institution. The other option was the Melbourne Technical College where over 3,000 students enrolled each year. Also in existence were the Pharmacy College, the Schools of Mines at Ballarat and Bendigo, the Gordon Institute of Technology at Geelong, and the "new" technical schools such as Swinburne, Caulfield, Footscray, and Prahran. But none of these had achieved full tertiary status, nor had the teachers' colleges achieved the status they later sought and obtained.

Prospective departmental teachers, after completion of their junior teacher apprenticeships had only one college to attend, that at Melbourne, for the colleges at Ballarat and Bendigo had closed in 1931. The Associated Teachers Training Institution provided for those moving to Independent schools, while the Kindergarten Training College had in 1925 introduced the first three-year teaching preparation course in the country.

Choice and selection have been subject to major changes. Until 1944 Matriculation (i.e. entrance to the University of Melbourne) was by passing the Leaving Certificate in a prescribed manner, but in 1944 a new Matriculation Certificate was introduced. This, later the Higher School Certificate, became the basis for entry to all tertiary institutions. The specific "hurdle" of successful completion of an external Matriculation examination has now been removed, and consequently the extent of influence by universities and colleges on the secondary school is significantly reduced. Alternative bases for entry have also been developed, and most institutions have special entry schemes for mature age students.

The University of Melbourne's enrolment increased to 4,656 by 1945, but in 1946 it swelled to 7,283 with the advent of 2,612 Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme students. The next year this group of students rose to 4,000. To cope with this increase the Mildura Branch opened in 1947, with 529 students mainly in first year medicine and science. However, this attempt at decentralisation was not successful because of its isolation from the academic life of Melbourne. People had become somewhat disillusioned and the Branch closed at the end of 1949.

Many factors contributed to the growth in numbers in the 1950s. The introduction of Commonwealth Scholarships and Victorian Education Department Studentships made it easier for many to attend university, the growth in the number of young people, including those who came as migrants, and the increasing prosperity of their parents, meant a higher demand for tertiary education, and the additional pressure for higher qualifications led many to enrol.

These higher enrolments, including enrolments of Asian students which reached 421 by 1960, led to the placing of quotas on most first year courses by 1959 and on all courses a few years later. Although in 1959 only a few students were excluded, many were not admitted to the faculty of their first choice. Restriction on undergraduate enrolments also allowed the university to develop higher degree studies. Regulations for the Ph.D degree had been drawn up in 1946 and by 1960 the number enrolled for such studies had increased to 425. The University's aim was to enrol 12.5 per cent of its students in postgraduate studies.

The establishment of Monash University in 1961, following the acceptance in 1957 of the Report of the Murray Committee on Australian Universities, provided some relief. The Act in 1958 provided that the Interim Council should have regard "to the urgent need for the establishment of courses in applied science and technology, and for the training of more engineers and scientists for industry and agriculture". However, it was soon found that there were major needs in Arts, Economics, and Politics and in the second year of studies, two-thirds of the 757 undergraduates were enrolled in these faculties.

The rapid growth of this new university can be seen in that by 1969, within eight years of opening, it had an enrolment of 9,542 and an establishment of 70 chairs. Melbourne in that same year, had 14,498 students and had established 58 chairs.

The existing universities could not meet the demand, for by 1963, 686 qualified students were not able to gain admission. The Ramsay Report, released that year, recommended the expansion of both Melbourne and Monash to each accommodate 18,000 and the establishment of a university college, affiliated with Melbourne, to be opened in Ballarat by 1966. Melbourne's growth to 18,000 was to be achieved by the establishment of an undergraduate institution of 6,000 on a new site. A minority report favoured the establishment of a new university to take its first students in 1969.

Despite the recommendations the Universities Commission provided funds for a new metropolitan university to enrol students in 1967 and in 1964 assent was given to the La Trobe University Act. The first 557 students at the 196 hectare site at Bundoora in 1967 found two approaches new to Victorian universities. All staff and students, whether resident or not, were to be members of one of the colleges, and all studies were based on four schools to encourage an interdisciplinary approach. To the four original schools of Biological Sciences, Humanities, Physical Sciences, and Social Sciences there were later added Agriculture and Education. Traditional divisions were also being broken down in other universities through the establishment of centres such as that in South East Asian Studies at Monash with cross disciplinary studies on an area basis.

Further expansion of facilities was still supported for either educational or political reasons. Some saw the existing teachers' colleges as a possible basis for a new multi-campus university, but the Government proposed a new regional university with centres at Geelong, Ballarat, and Bendigo. Commonwealth Government support was eventually obtained for a new university at Geelong, to incorporate the two existing colleges of advanced education. At the end of 1974 the Deakin University Act was passed and the new university commenced its teaching with approximately 2,500 students in 1977. It planned an enrolment of 9,000 by 1990.

The same optimistic view of the future was present in non-university education. By 1975 there were 46,982 enrolments in the various colleges, compared with 36,674 in the three universities.

The Martin Committee Report in 1964 had recommended increased funding for technical institutes and that they be brought together in an institute of colleges—the Victoria Institute of Colleges (VIC). The Victoria Institute of Colleges Act was passed in 1965, and within a few years there were thirteen affiliated colleges, each with an autonomous council, with the Institute as the co-ordinating, degree awarding authority. Some technical colleges had evolved into institutes of technology or Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs) at tertiary level. The older institutions, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT), Swinburne, Footscray, Caulfield, and the Pharmacy College were among the foundation members. Bendigo and Ballarat were also original members but were reconstituted after the Victorian Government had agreed in 1974 to merge them with the previous teachers' colleges in those cities. The other foundation college, the Gordon Institute at Geelong, became part of Deakin University when it was established in the next decade. The three original therapy

schools joined in the Lincoln Institute, to which was added the College of Nursing, and with the later admission of Prahran, Preston, and Yallourn (Gippsland) in 1968, and Warrnambool in 1969, and the establishment of the College of the Arts in 1973, the thirteen colleges were all constituted.

The first degree course approved was for the College of Pharmacy in 1968, followed by others in the traditional areas of Applied Science, Architecture, Business, and Engineering as well as degrees in new areas of Arts and Social Sciences. Undergraduate and postgraduate diplomas were also introduced, and the Victoria Institute of Colleges itself enrolled masters degree students in a number of disciplines.

The Institute had a close relationship to the agricultural colleges, particularly through the accreditation of advanced level courses, but unlike in the other States these colleges did not become part of the advanced education sector. Controlled by the Department of Agriculture through its Division of Agricultural Education, these tertiary colleges were financed mainly from Victorian Government funds, and they offered both advanced education courses and technical and further education (TAFE) courses. Six in number, the colleges comprised the following: Dookie Agricultural College (established 1886); Longerenong Agricultural College (1889); Burnley Horticultural College (1891); Glenormiston Agricultural College (1971); the McMillan Rural Studies Centre (1977); and the Gilbert Chandler College of Dairy Technology (1980).

A private agricultural college, the Marcus Oldham Farm Management College, functions at Geelong; and tertiary, middle level, and other courses are also available at the School of Forestry at Creswick, administered by the Forests Commission.

Teacher education was the last area to achieve autonomy within the advanced education sector. Primary courses had been extended from one year to two years and then to three years, secondary studentships for university study had been introduced in 1950, and a new system of recruiting technical teachers in 1951. By the time the Martin Committee recommended in 1964 that teacher training colleges should be grouped under a Board of Teacher Education and all students should have a Matriculation Certificate, most had already achieved this qualification. As well as the older departmental colleges at Melbourne, Ballarat, and Bendigo many new colleges were founded—Geelong, Secondary, and Domestic Arts (1950); Toorak (1951); Technical (1952); Burwood, and the Centre for Training Teachers of the Deaf (1954); Coburg, and Frankston (1959); Monash (1961); and La Trobe (1970).

The establishment of a division of teacher education within the Education Department in 1961 and the encouragement of an independent approach to course development hastened demands for autonomy. By 1972 the Victorian Government agreed to establish an independent teaching authority and in 1973 the State College of Victoria was founded. Ten former departmental colleges were joined by the Institute of Early Childhood Development and later by the Institute of Catholic Education in this new federation of colleges of higher education. Catholic teacher education had earlier been conducted by a number of orders and this new Institute brought together Mercy College at Ascot Vale, Aquinas College at Ballarat, the new diocesan Christ College at Clayton, and the Christian Brothers' College at Box Hill. With the amalgamation of Ballarat and Bendigo with VIC colleges, and the absorption of Geelong by Deakin, the constituent colleges were reduced to nine.

The State College's charter was to ensure "that knowledge of branches of learning of importance in the preparation of teachers, and especially of the arts, humanities and sciences, is made available for the benefit of all who might benefit therefrom", and although most of the new degree and postgraduate diploma courses related to teacher education, plans were developed for courses in social welfare and leadership training in fields related to teaching, as well as for courses of a general nature. By 1980 courses leading to a degree of the State College had been approved in all but one of the colleges.

Partly because of a smaller demand for teachers and partly because of decisions in the Ministerial statement, *Review of Commonwealth Functions*, 1981 and 1982 saw in Victoria, as in other states, a series of major amalgamations which transformed the advanced education scene. Prahran CAE and Toorak, Burwood, and Rusden State Colleges amalgamated to form Victoria College, which began operating in 1982.

Preston Institute of Technology and Coburg State College amalgamated to form the



Phillip Institute of Technology; the Caulfield Institute of Technology and Frankston State College amalgamated to form the Chisholm Institute of Technology; and the Melbourne State College and the Institute of Early Childhood Development amalgamated as the Melbourne College of Advanced Education.

The growth of tertiary institutions and the acceptance of responsibility for all tertiary funding by the Commonwealth necessitated the establishment of co-ordinating bodies at Federal and State level. The Universities Commission, established in 1959 to recommend block grants for universities and to ensure a systematic approach to new developments, gave way in June 1977 to the Universities Council as one of the three councils under the new Tertiary Education Commission. The Advanced Education Council took over the responsibility of the earlier Commission on Advanced Education for ensuring that resources available for colleges were used to the greatest possible advantage, so that with the Technical and Further Education Council the Tertiary Education Commission was responsible for the balanced, co-ordinated development of tertiary education throughout Australia.

Co-ordination at the State level was the task of the new Post-Secondary Education Commission of 1978. Both the Victoria Institute of Colleges and the State College of Victoria, the two co-ordinating bodies for advanced education, were dissolved in 1980, the Commission taking over many of their responsibilities including the approval and accreditation of courses and recommendations for funding for individual colleges. Although the Commission has a role in approving new university courses below the master's level seeking government funding, its degree of control over advanced education is far stronger and was a departure from the pattern of higher education which had obtained hitherto.

By 1982 Victoria's tertiary education scene had been transformed from the 1934 picture of one university, three colleges preparing students for teaching and a number of scattered technical colleges, to one of four universities and a large though contracting number of colleges of advanced education.

#### ADULT EDUCATION

Adult education in Victoria in 1934 was provided on a meagre scale by the University of Melbourne Extension Board (1891) and the Workers' Educational Association (1914). Both followed English models, but neither was well adapted to suit Victorian conditions. They provided some evening classes in Melbourne and suburbs, lectures in a few country centres, and occasional conferences or "open days" at the University. The grant for these activities was only \$11,800, expenditure totalling approximately \$14,000. At the time, Victoria had no publicly supported library system, and the Mechanics Institutes were sadly inadequate. The Education Department offered day and evening instruction for adults, but mainly in technical and semivocational topics and on a limited scale.

Changes began in 1939, after the appointment of a new Director of Extension. From 1940 the Extension Board assumed full responsibility for the work and, despite the outbreak of war, began an energetic campaign of demonstration and propaganda. It introduced a new discussion group service, expanded and altered the evening class programme, and actively participated in a successful campaign for free libraries (1947). The wartime experience of Services Education provided an inspirational example of a nationally supported, adequately financed and staffed adult education service. By 1944 the Board had begun to set out principles and policies as the basis for the vital next step, the passing of the Adult Education Act of December 1946, establishing the Council of Adult Education (from 1947) as a statutory body for adult education in Victoria. The Council was guaranteed an annual income of \$50,000 and the right to supplement its government appropriation by its own earnings. Thus from 1947, for the first time, adult education was recognised in its own right and not as an appendage to other forms of education.

Freed from many financial restrictions which inhibited the activities of other semi-government authorities, the Council took over and expanded the evening classes and discussion groups of the Extension Board and launched a scheme to provide services for the country. It began a travelling theatre, sent groups of musicians on tour, commenced a mobile Art Exhibition, and organised a series of Summer and Winter schools. By 1950 the Council was well known and support for it grew steadily. Its efforts were supplemented



Children of all ages join in to build a dome structure at Preshil School, Kew, 1982.  
*Preshil*



Emmaus College, a Catholic co-educational Regional College in Burwood.

(Left) Boys and girls participating in a woodwork class at Emmaus College.

*Emmaus College*



The restored Queen's Hall of the State Library of Victoria which is one of more than 480 government-owned buildings throughout Victoria being preserved for future generations by the Public Works Department.

*Public Works Department*



Opening of the "Dinosaurs from China" exhibition by the Museum of Victoria. Mr Hao Ting, leader of the official delegation from China, the Premier of Victoria, Hon. John Cain, and the Museum Director, Dr Barry Wilson, are shown standing beside *Tsintaosaurus*.

*Frank Coffa, Museum of Victoria*

The Sunshine Harvester, the world's first successful harvester, on display at the Museum of Victoria, Melbourne. It combined in one machine the stripping and winnowing of wheat.

*M. White*

*Reproduced by permission of the Museum of Victoria*





The Cancer Institute — Peter MacCallum Hospital, a comprehensive specialist oncology centre has six linear accelerators for radiotherapy treatment.

*Peter MacCallum Hospital*

The Royal Melbourne Hospital relocated from the city to its present site in 1942.

*The Royal Melbourne Hospital*



and encouraged by the work of voluntary societies in many country centres and by the Adult Education Association in Melbourne. In 1961 the Education Department supported adult education with the opening of a continuing education centre at Wangaratta, organised by the Advisory Council of the High School, directed by a seconded teacher and working in Education Department premises. This was followed by the foundation of a further 21 centres throughout country Victoria, offering a wide variety of classes and activities. However, it was not until 1972 that there was any significant increase in the Council's funds, at which time the Victorian Government backed adult education with funds designed to match its steady growth pattern. In 1971-72 the Government contribution was \$224,000 and in 1981-82 it was \$3,580,000.

During 1980 an important change in emphasis for the Council occurred when it began to develop a direct relationship with continuing education centres and similar agencies through the implementation of section 75 of the *Education Act 1958*. This allowed the Council to set up "local advisory committees" (LACs) enabling voluntary groups interested in local adult education to represent their districts. With the co-operation of the Education Department, the major funding agency for the centres, the Council was able to preserve the autonomy and independence of the LACs and to act as a more direct funding agency on their behalf. At an historic meeting in June 1980 at Wangaratta, the Council's policy regarding LACs was ratified, and by 1981 there were 26 LACs operating throughout country Victoria.

The Council gained further government recognition in 1981 when it was established as a body corporate by the *Council of Adult Education Act 1981*. The Council's policies are determined by a board consisting of not more than 27 members.

In 1982 the Council directly provided 2,835 courses, led by 1,054 part-time tutors to nearly 50,000 students. While the majority came to the City Centre, the Council also used over 150 different locations in 70 suburbs, and continued to tour country Victoria with an Arts Mobile, conduct educational tours and camps throughout Victoria and interstate, and further developed its work in "distance education" with self-directing programmes and a tele-tutorial network linking country centres. It also managed a network of 680 discussion groups with 7,000 members. The Council continued to develop opportunities for people to return to study with programmes in literacy, basic education, Higher School Certificate, and courses in English as a second language.

The three decades from 1950 to 1980 saw a remarkable expansion in all fields of post-secondary education. While adult education has traditionally been seen as leisure time non-vocational education, it is clear from the recognition of the Council as a major TAFE provider with regional status, that adult education has an important role to play in a changing society, and it is noteworthy that schools and community groups, together with TAFE Colleges, are expanding opportunities to include a broader spectrum of the adult population. Most tertiary institutions offer continuing education in a variety of ways and both Deakin University and the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology conduct off-campus programmes throughout Victoria.

At the informal level, the Council assists the development of adult education through other agencies in Victoria. With the growth of community and school-based enterprises in adult education, the role of the Council's staff as resource persons, facilitators, advisers, and promotional agents has increased rapidly and assumed a central role in the Council's contribution to adult education.

## HEALTH AND MEDICAL RESEARCH

### INTRODUCTION

The account of medical developments in Victoria covered by this Chapter is divided into two major segments: the first deals with government initiatives—Commonwealth and State, and institutional care; the second deals with the practice of medicine in the community and the major specialities deriving from this, as well as changes in medical research, pharmacy, substance addiction, dentistry, and nursing.

The perspective taken by this Chapter is influenced by the notion of “input”, namely, the various forms of effort that went into medical pursuits during the fifty years. This can be factually recorded. The other side of the coin—“output”—the results of such medical effort, is less easy to describe, let alone evaluate.

### MORTALITY AND MORBIDITY

In 1934, a man’s life expectancy was 64 years, while in the case of a woman, it was 67 years. Forty years later the male expectation had increased to 70 years while the female expectancy was 77 years. As in all developed countries, although the natural span of life did not increase greatly from the biblical “three score years and ten”, the chance of a child living out this natural span did increase.

#### LIFE EXPECTANCY: AUSTRALIA, 1932-1934 AND 1975-1977

Persons aged (years)	Expected years of life			
	At 1932-1934		At 1975-1977	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0	64	67	70	77
10	58	61	61	68
20	48	52	51	58
30	40	43	42	48
40	31	34	33	39
50	23	26	24	30
60	16	18	16	21
70	10	14	10	14

In persons aged 65 years and over, the major causes of death are heart disease, cancer, and stroke, in that order. This order has not changed since 1934, but there have been considerable changes within disease categories. In the 1930s, ischaemic heart disease had not assumed the importance it has today. Because of changing diagnostic fashions in this, as in virtually all other diseases, it is difficult to make precise comparisons, but it is considered that what has been termed “the modern epidemic” began its climb to prominence in the 1950s. During the early 1970s, ischaemic heart disease accounted for approximately 35 per cent of all male deaths over the age of 65, and 31 per cent of all corresponding female deaths. However, the steady rise in mortality from this disease over the previous two or three decades halted, and in 1982 accounted for about 31 per cent of all male deaths and 28 per cent of all female deaths in the 65 and over age group.

One of the disappointments in medical progress since 1934 has been a failure to make substantial inroads into cancer as a cause of death, although there have been advances in a number of areas. The latter include certain forms of leukaemia and lymphomas while, except for melanoma, death from skin cancer is now uncommon. Changes have occurred in the patterns of the different forms of cancer, most noticeably the marked rise in mortality from lung cancer in men and more recently in women. Although cause and effect relationships need to be made very cautiously, the fall in cervical cancer mortality has coincided with a period of active presymptomatic screening of women for this form of cancer.

In cardiovascular disease the outlook is more optimistic, because there has been a steady decline in deaths in the last fifty years and the incidence of new cases is also falling. An interpretation is that a natural decline has been accelerated by the development of safe, effective treatment for high blood pressure.

Progress with communicable diseases has been spectacular. As an example, pulmonary tuberculosis in 1934 was responsible for 753 deaths. By 1982, the number had reduced to 27. The numbers of accidental and violent deaths increased by 75 per cent between 1934 and 1982, largely due to deaths from road accidents.

The major gains in health as measured by mortality have been in the very young. The infant mortality rate, the number of deaths in children aged less than one year per 1,000 live births, fell from 47.2 in 1934 to 10.7 in 1982. Although much of this improvement may be attributed to control of the infectious diseases, it is worth noting that deaths in infants under one week fell from 22.3 per 1,000 live births to 5.6 over the period. This change is due to improved ante-natal, obstetric, and neonatal care. Diseases in which infection plays a major part accounted for some 12 or 13 per cent of deaths in infants under one year in the early 1980s. In the 1930s, if the term "wasting disease" [*sic*] is included, the proportion was 32 per cent. Better medical care and the availability of antibiotics are dominant factors in this improvement, but it is also important to note that infant welfare centres have played a major role in the prevention of the previously common diseases of infancy. In the older child, immunisation programmes have almost eliminated deaths from poliomyelitis, whooping cough and, predominantly, diphtheria. In 1934 diphtheria alone was responsible for the deaths of no fewer than 65 Victorian children.

Changing death rates are only one index of a changing health status, and prevention of death is only one part of the task of the helping professions. To assess properly advances in care, account must be taken of the great progress in analgesia and in anaesthesia, as well as the many developments in drug treatment, one of the most important of which has been the introduction of psychotropic drugs, enabling thousands of persons, who would previously have spent their lives in mental hospitals, to function in the community.



CAUSES OF DEATH: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982 (a)  
(number)

Year	Causes of death																	Total
	Infectious and parasitic diseases	Cerebro-vascular disease	Heart disease	Other circulatory disease	Malignant neoplasms	Diseases of the respiratory system	Diseases of the digestive system	Diseases of the genito-urinary system	Endocrine, nutritional, and metabolic diseases	Perinatal and congenital conditions	Complications of pregnancy, childbirth, and the puerperium	All other diseases	Motor vehicle accidents	Other accidents	Homicide	Suicide	All other external causes (b)	
									MALES									
1935	689	399	2,779		1,106	1,192	544	787	129	457	..	874	271	488	15	125	1	9,856
1940	728	698	3,251		1,270	1,186	543	951	175	494	..	758	370	387	10	109	—	10,930
1945	592	824	3,899		1,338	859	443	869	155	488	..	614	148	325	9	84	—	10,647
1950	455	1,028	3,968	554	1,563	912	454	603	142	476	..	633	481	364	14	134	—	11,781
1955	279	1,209	4,237	557	1,715	859	481	454	157	494	..	493	469	416	16	148	2	11,986
1960	160	1,281	5,051	673	1,989	1,107	436	361	174	600	..	409	537	402	22	171	3	13,376
1965	147	1,584	6,014	643	2,376	1,329	448	341	375	556	..	330	669	382	20	233	6	15,453
1970	142	1,670	6,201	656	2,786	1,570	400	270	339	531	..	337	808	485	25	252	—	16,472
1975	98	1,609	6,028	645	3,142	1,341	428	201	332	384	..	507	642	399	33	243	2	16,034
1980	74	1,525	5,713	557	3,756	1,270	539	183	274	269	..	495	607	414	51	320	—	16,047
1981	70	1,449	5,561	546	3,811	1,279	526	165	312	258	..	528	488	359	21	317	1	15,691
1982	74	1,403	5,660	524	3,879	1,647	595	151	273	295	..	602	583	414	58	325	10	16,493
									FEMALES									
1935	536	544	2,437		1,221	961	428	600	267	358	131	852	56	159	9	41	—	8,600
1940	498	1,021	2,691		1,338	823	448	734	284	349	129	760	101	150	2	35	—	9,363
1945	407	1,236	3,224		1,505	739	359	577	342	375	78	759	43	155	3	47	—	9,849
1950	215	1,749	3,178	719	1,646	689	376	320	275	377	43	658	82	174	7	52	—	10,560
1955	134	1,850	3,303	753	1,817	513	332	203	327	407	31	482	117	214	11	47	—	10,541
1960	83	1,942	3,652	708	1,912	570	354	183	274	478	16	471	205	225	12	86	—	11,171
1965	80	2,269	4,269	733	2,031	658	339	202	489	422	23	368	238	330	15	112	—	12,578
1970	94	2,576	4,662	830	2,390	707	330	206	421	396	18	451	289	348	23	122	—	13,863
1975	87	2,399	4,471	815	2,636	639	348	147	364	284	4	521	252	359	15	124	—	13,465
1980	75	2,157	4,455	663	2,896	701	432	162	335	216	6	519	246	315	31	118	—	13,327
1981	80	2,164	4,447	676	2,954	715	402	169	406	214	4	559	231	194	20	108	—	13,343
1982	85	2,191	4,686	671	3,060	902	473	171	355	249	8	664	202	243	21	136	1	14,118
									TOTAL									
1935	1,225	943	5,216		2,327	2,153	972	1,387	396	815	131	1,726	327	647	24	166	1	18,456
1940	1,226	1,719	5,942		2,608	2,009	991	1,685	459	843	129	1,518	471	537	12	144	—	20,293
1945	999	2,060	7,123		2,843	1,598	802	1,446	497	863	78	1,373	191	480	12	131	—	20,496
1950	670	2,777	7,146	1,273	3,209	1,601	830	923	417	853	43	1,291	563	538	21	186	—	22,341
1955	413	3,059	7,540	1,310	3,532	1,372	813	657	484	901	31	975	586	630	27	195	2	22,527
1960	243	3,223	8,703	1,381	3,901	1,677	790	544	448	1,078	16	880	742	627	34	257	3	24,547
1965	227	3,853	10,283	1,376	4,407	1,987	787	543	864	978	23	698	907	712	35	345	6	28,031
1970	236	4,246	10,863	1,486	5,176	2,277	730	476	760	927	18	788	1,097	833	48	374	—	30,335
1975	185	4,008	10,499	1,460	5,778	1,980	776	348	696	668	4	1,028	894	758	48	367	2	29,499
1980	149	3,682	10,168	1,220	6,652	1,971	971	345	609	485	6	1,014	853	729	82	438	—	29,374
1981	150	3,613	10,008	1,222	6,765	1,994	928	334	718	472	4	1,087	719	553	41	425	1	29,034
1982	159	3,594	10,346	1,195	6,939	2,549	1,068	322	628	544	8	1,266	785	657	79	461	11	30,611

(a) The grouping of diseases into the various categories may differ slightly due to the classification changes in successive International Classification of Diseases (ICD) manuals.  
(b) Includes cases where the injury was undetermined whether accidental or intentional.

CAUSES OF DEATH: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982 (a)  
(per cent)

Year	Causes of death																	Total
	Infectious and parasitic diseases	Cerebrovascular disease	Heart disease	Other circulatory disease	Malignant neoplasms	Diseases of the respiratory system	Diseases of the digestive system	Diseases of the genitourinary system	Endocrine, nutritional, and metabolic diseases	Perinatal and congenital conditions	Complications of pregnancy, childbirth, and the puerperium	All other diseases	Motor vehicle accidents	Other accidents	Homicide	Suicide	All other external causes (b)	
	MALES																	
1935	7.0	4.0	28.2		11.2	12.1	5.5	8.0	1.3	4.6	..	8.9	2.7	5.0	0.2	1.3	—	100
1940	6.7	6.4	29.7		11.6	10.9	5.0	8.7	1.6	4.5	..	6.9	3.4	3.5	0.1	1.0	—	100
1945	5.6	7.7	36.6		12.6	8.1	4.2	8.2	1.5	4.6	..	5.8	1.4	3.1	0.1	0.8	—	100
1950	3.9	8.7	33.7	4.7	13.3	7.7	3.9	5.1	1.2	4.0	..	5.4	4.1	3.1	0.1	1.1	—	100
1955	2.3	10.1	35.3	4.6	14.3	7.2	4.0	3.8	1.3	4.1	..	4.1	3.9	3.5	0.1	1.2	—	100
1960	1.2	9.6	37.8	5.0	14.9	8.3	3.3	2.7	1.3	4.5	..	3.1	4.0	3.0	0.2	1.3	—	100
1965	1.0	10.3	38.9	4.2	15.4	8.6	2.9	2.2	2.4	3.6	..	2.1	4.3	2.5	0.1	1.5	—	100
1970	0.9	10.1	37.6	4.0	16.9	9.5	2.4	1.6	2.1	3.2	..	2.0	4.9	2.9	0.2	1.5	—	100
1975	0.6	10.0	37.6	4.0	19.6	8.4	2.7	1.3	2.1	2.4	..	3.2	4.0	2.5	0.2	1.5	—	100
1980	0.5	9.5	35.6	3.5	23.4	7.9	3.4	1.1	1.7	1.7	..	3.1	3.8	2.6	0.3	2.0	—	100
1981	0.4	9.2	35.4	3.5	24.3	8.2	3.4	1.1	2.0	1.6	..	3.4	3.1	2.3	0.1	2.0	—	100
1982	0.4	8.5	34.3	3.2	23.5	10.0	3.6	0.9	1.7	1.8	..	3.7	3.5	2.5	0.4	2.0	0.1	100
	FEMALES																	
1935	6.2	6.3	28.3		14.2	11.2	5.0	7.0	3.1	4.2	1.5	9.9	0.7	1.8	0.1	0.5	—	100
1940	5.3	10.9	28.7		14.3	8.8	4.8	7.8	3.0	3.7	1.4	8.1	1.1	1.6	—	0.4	—	100
1945	4.1	12.5	32.7		15.3	7.5	3.6	5.9	3.5	3.8	0.8	7.7	0.4	1.6	—	0.5	—	100
1950	2.0	16.6	30.1	6.8	15.6	6.5	3.6	3.0	2.6	3.6	0.4	6.2	0.8	1.6	0.1	0.5	—	100
1955	1.3	17.6	31.3	7.1	17.2	4.9	3.1	1.9	3.1	3.9	0.3	4.6	1.1	2.0	0.1	0.4	—	100
1960	0.7	17.4	32.7	6.3	17.1	5.1	3.2	1.6	2.5	4.3	0.1	4.2	1.8	2.0	0.1	0.8	—	100
1965	0.6	18.0	33.9	5.8	16.1	5.2	2.7	1.6	3.9	3.4	0.2	2.9	1.9	2.6	0.1	0.9	—	100
1970	0.7	18.6	33.6	6.0	17.2	5.1	2.4	1.5	3.0	2.9	0.1	3.3	2.1	2.5	0.2	0.9	—	100
1975	0.6	17.8	33.2	6.1	19.6	4.7	2.6	1.1	2.7	2.1	—	3.9	1.9	2.7	0.1	0.9	—	100
1980	0.6	16.2	33.4	5.0	21.7	5.3	3.2	1.2	2.5	1.6	—	3.9	1.8	2.4	0.2	0.9	—	100
1981	0.6	16.2	33.3	5.1	22.1	5.4	3.0	1.3	3.0	1.6	—	4.2	1.7	1.5	0.2	0.8	—	100
1982	0.6	15.5	33.2	4.8	21.7	6.4	3.4	1.2	2.5	1.8	0.1	4.7	1.4	1.7	0.1	1.0	—	100
	TOTAL																	
1935	6.6	5.1	28.3		12.6	11.7	5.3	7.5	2.1	4.4	0.7	9.4	1.8	3.5	0.1	0.9	—	100
1940	6.0	8.5	29.3		12.9	9.9	4.9	8.3	2.3	4.2	0.6	7.5	2.3	2.6	0.1	0.7	—	100
1945	4.9	10.1	34.8		13.9	7.8	3.9	7.1	2.4	4.2	0.4	6.7	0.9	2.3	0.1	0.6	—	100
1950	3.0	12.4	32.0	5.7	14.4	7.2	3.7	4.1	1.9	3.8	0.2	5.8	2.5	2.4	0.1	0.8	—	100
1955	1.8	13.6	33.5	5.8	15.7	6.1	3.6	2.9	2.1	4.0	0.1	4.3	2.6	2.8	0.1	0.9	—	100
1960	1.0	13.1	35.5	5.6	15.9	6.8	3.2	2.2	1.8	4.4	0.1	3.6	3.0	2.6	0.1	1.0	—	100
1965	0.8	13.7	36.7	4.9	15.7	7.1	2.8	1.9	3.1	3.5	0.1	2.5	3.2	2.5	0.1	1.2	—	100
1970	0.8	14.0	35.8	4.9	17.1	7.5	2.4	1.6	2.5	3.3	0.1	2.6	3.6	2.7	0.2	1.2	—	100
1975	0.6	13.6	35.6	4.9	19.6	6.7	2.6	1.2	2.4	2.3	—	3.5	3.0	2.6	0.2	1.2	—	100
1980	0.5	12.5	34.6	4.2	22.6	6.7	3.3	1.2	2.1	1.7	—	3.5	2.9	2.5	0.3	1.5	—	100
1981	0.5	12.4	34.5	4.2	23.3	6.9	3.2	1.2	2.5	1.6	—	3.7	2.5	1.9	0.1	1.5	—	100
1982	0.5	11.7	33.8	3.9	22.7	8.3	3.5	1.1	2.1	1.8	—	4.1	2.6	2.1	0.3	1.5	—	100

(a) The groupings of diseases into the various categories may differ slightly due to the classification changes in successive International Classification of Diseases (ICD) manuals.  
(b) Includes cases where the injury was undetermined whether accidental or intentional.

## DEATH BY MAIN CAUSE BY AGE GROUPS: VICTORIA, 1982

Code (a)	Age group and cause of death	Deaths from specified cause			
		In age group		At all ages	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent (b)
<b>Under 1 year</b>					
S 48	Congenital anomalies	224	34.9	296	75.7
S 50	Hypoxia, birth asphyxia, and other respiratory conditions	159	24.8	159	100.0
S 52	Signs, symptoms, and ill-defined conditions (includes sudden death, cause unknown)	109	17.0	155	70.3
S 51	Other conditions originating in the perinatal period	83	12.9	83	100.0
<b>1-4 years</b>					
S 55-56	Accidental falls and all other accidents	38	34.9	523	7.3
S 54	Motor vehicle traffic accidents	18	16.5	769	2.3
S 48	Congenital anomalies	13	11.9	296	4.4
S 11-20	Malignant neoplasms	10	9.2	6,939	0.1
<b>5-9 years</b>					
S 54	Motor vehicle traffic accidents	27	27.6	769	3.5
S 11-20	Malignant neoplasms	19	19.4	6,939	0.3
S 55-56	Accidental falls and all other accidents	19	19.4	523	3.6
S 48	Congenital anomalies	5	5.1	296	1.7
<b>10-14 years</b>					
S 54	Motor vehicle traffic accidents	29	30.2	769	3.8
S 55-56	Accidental falls and all other accidents	18	18.8	523	3.4
S 11-20	Malignant neoplasms	12	12.5	6,939	0.2
S 48	Congenital anomalies	10	10.4	296	3.4
<b>15-19 years</b>					
S 54	Motor vehicle traffic accidents	127	52.5	769	16.5
S 55-56	Accidental falls and all other accidents	26	10.7	523	5.0
S 11-20	Malignant neoplasms	22	9.1	6,939	0.3
S 57	Suicide	14	5.8	461	3.0
<b>20-24 years</b>					
S 54	Motor vehicle traffic accidents	142	45.5	769	18.5
S 57	Suicide	54	17.3	461	11.7
S 11-20	Malignant neoplasms	32	10.3	6,939	0.5
S 55-56	Accidental falls and all other accidents	28	9.0	523	5.4
<b>25-29 years</b>					
S 54	Motor vehicle traffic accidents	73	24.9	769	9.5
S 57	Suicide	66	22.5	461	14.3
S 11-20	Malignant neoplasms	29	9.9	6,939	0.4
S 55-56	Accidental falls and all other accidents	27	9.2	523	5.2
<b>30-34 years</b>					
S 11-20	Malignant neoplasms	56	22.4	6,939	0.8
S 54	Motor vehicle traffic accidents	44	17.6	769	5.7
S 57	Suicide	37	14.8	461	8.0
S 55-56	Accidental falls and all other accidents	20	8.0	523	3.8
<b>35-39 years</b>					
S 11-20	Malignant neoplasms	80	25.8	6,939	1.2
S 57	Suicide	38	12.3	461	8.2
S 54	Motor vehicle traffic accidents	37	11.9	769	4.8
S 55-56	Accidental falls and all other accidents	32	10.3	523	6.1
<b>40-44 years</b>					
S 11-20	Malignant neoplasms	136	35.3	6,939	2.0
S 30-31	Ischaemic heart disease	68	17.7	8,284	0.8
S 57	Suicide	30	7.8	461	6.5
S 55-56	Accidental falls and all other accidents	26	6.8	523	5.0

DEATH BY MAIN CAUSE BY AGE GROUPS: VICTORIA, 1982—*continued*

Code (a)	Age group and cause of death	Deaths from specified cause			
		In age group		At all ages	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent (b)
<b>45-49 years</b>					
S 11-20	Malignant neoplasms	247	35.8	6,939	3.6
S 30-31	Ischaemic heart disease	156	22.6	8,284	1.9
S 33	Cerebrovascular disease	35	5.1	3,594	1.0
S 57	Suicide	34	4.9	461	7.4
<b>50-54 years</b>					
S 11-20	Malignant neoplasms	478	39.2	6,939	6.9
S 30-31	Ischaemic heart disease	308	25.3	8,284	3.7
S 33	Cerebrovascular disease	67	5.5	3,594	1.9
S 42	Chronic liver disease and cirrhosis	54	4.4	342	15.8
<b>55-59 years</b>					
S 11-20	Malignant neoplasms	709	37.1	6,939	10.2
S 30-31	Ischaemic heart disease	554	29.0	8,284	6.7
S 33	Cerebrovascular disease	121	6.3	3,594	3.4
S 42	Chronic liver disease and cirrhosis	58	3.0	342	17.0
<b>60-64 years</b>					
S 11-20	Malignant neoplasms	851	34.9	6,939	12.3
S 30-31	Ischaemic heart disease	747	30.6	8,284	9.0
S 33	Cerebrovascular disease	174	7.1	3,594	4.8
S 32	Other forms of heart disease	67	2.7	1,638	4.1
<b>65-69 years</b>					
S 30-31	Ischaemic heart disease	1,145	35.3	8,284	13.8
S 11-20	Malignant neoplasms	999	30.8	6,939	14.4
S 33	Cerebrovascular disease	203	6.3	3,594	5.6
S 38	Bronchitis, emphysema and asthma	92	2.8	725	12.7
<b>70-74 years</b>					
S 30-31	Ischaemic heart disease	1,311	32.3	8,284	15.8
S 11-20	Malignant neoplasms	1,066	26.3	6,939	15.4
S 33	Cerebrovascular disease	444	10.9	3,594	12.4
S 32	Other forms of heart disease	137	3.4	1,638	8.4
<b>75 years and over</b>					
S 30-31	Ischaemic heart disease	4,047	28.3	8,284	48.9
S 33	Cerebrovascular disease	2,399	16.8	3,594	66.8
S 11-20	Malignant neoplasms	2,191	15.3	6,939	31.6
S 32	Other forms of heart disease	1,175	8.2	1,638	71.7

(a) A short list of abbreviated causes of death as recommended by the World Health Organisation.

(b) Deaths in age groups from the stated cause expressed as a percentage of all deaths from that cause.

## INFANT DEATH RATES BY AGE: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year	Deaths under one year per 1,000 live births					Total
	Under one week	One week and under one month	One month and under three months	Three months and under six months	Six months and under twelve months	
1935	21.9	5.7	4.2	3.6	5.8	41.2
1940	20.9	5.6	4.6	3.5	4.9	39.5
1945	17.6	3.5	2.4	1.9	2.6	28.0
1950	12.6	2.1	1.6	1.8	2.0	20.1
1955	11.7	1.8	1.5	1.7	1.7	18.4
1960	12.0	1.7	1.5	1.6	1.6	18.5
1965	11.0	1.7	1.5	1.6	1.7	17.5
1970	9.5	1.1	1.6	1.2	1.0	14.5
1975	7.5	1.3	1.4	1.7	1.1	13.0
1980	5.3	1.3	1.1	1.4	1.1	10.2
1981	4.9	1.3	1.3	1.1	0.9	9.4
1982	5.6	1.5	1.2	1.4	1.1	10.7

INFANT DEATHS AT CERTAIN AGES AND RATES(a) BY SEX:  
VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year	Age at death										Total	
	Under one week		One week and under one month		One month and under three months		Three months and under six months		Six months and under twelve months			
	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate
	MALES											
1935	335	23.6	101	7.1	70	4.9	55	3.9	78	5.5	639	45.0
1940	386	23.5	105	6.4	89	5.4	65	4.0	91	5.6	736	44.9
1945	420	19.8	84	4.0	61	2.9	45	2.1	60	2.8	670	31.6
1950	361	14.1	53	2.1	37	1.4	52	2.0	57	2.2	560	21.9
1955	374	12.9	58	2.0	49	1.7	55	1.9	46	1.6	582	20.1
1960	432	13.2	64	1.9	61	1.9	60	1.8	64	1.9	681	20.7
1965	414	12.7	54	1.7	52	1.6	57	1.8	46	1.4	623	19.2
1970	405	10.8	42	1.1	58	1.6	61	1.6	39	1.0	605	16.2
1975	271	8.5	51	1.6	48	1.5	69	2.2	36	1.1	475	14.9
1980	176	5.9	37	1.2	34	1.1	50	1.7	29	1.0	326	10.9
1981	162	5.3	39	1.3	48	1.6	33	1.1	27	0.9	309	10.2
1982	188	6.1	48	1.6	39	1.3	54	1.8	33	1.1	362	11.8
	FEMALES											
1935	276	20.2	58	4.2	46	3.4	44	3.2	85	6.2	509	37.2
1940	283	18.2	72	4.6	58	3.7	48	3.1	64	4.1	525	33.7
1945	307	15.4	59	3.0	38	1.9	35	1.8	46	2.3	485	24.3
1950	267	11.0	52	2.1	42	1.7	35	1.4	45	1.9	441	18.2
1955	286	10.4	42	1.5	37	1.3	41	1.5	47	1.7	453	16.5
1960	338	10.8	44	1.4	37	1.2	41	1.3	41	1.3	501	16.1
1965	286	9.2	53	1.7	43	1.4	42	1.4	62	2.0	486	15.6
1970	292	8.2	39	1.1	58	1.6	30	0.8	36	1.0	455	12.8
1975	192	6.4	32	1.1	37	1.2	37	1.2	33	1.1	331	11.0
1980	130	4.6	38	1.3	30	1.1	32	1.1	36	1.3	266	9.4
1981	132	4.5	36	1.2	30	1.0	30	1.0	25	0.9	253	8.7
1982	146	5.0	42	1.4	33	1.1	28	1.0	30	1.0	279	9.5

(a) Number of deaths in each age group per 1,000 live births for each sex.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics conducted an Australian Health Survey during the period July 1977 to June 1978 on a random sample of approximately 15,000 private dwellings. Persons were interviewed about their illnesses and their use of health services. The survey indicated that 36 per cent of the Victorian population reported no illness in the two weeks prior to interview whilst 64 per cent had conditions ranging from ailments such as colds, headaches, and upset stomachs to more serious illnesses such as bronchitis, arthritis, and heart disease.

#### COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT HEALTH SERVICES

The last fifty years have been marked by a progressively increasing involvement of the Commonwealth Government in health services, particularly in the subsidy of direct costs. The Commonwealth Health Department, originally established in Melbourne, moved its central office to Canberra in 1934 and at that time divisional offices were established in all States.

Until 1961, the Health Department controlled the Commonwealth Serum Laboratories, which had been established in 1916. They were then vested in a separate commission responsible to the Minister for Health. Ten years after their formation, in 1926, the Federal Health Council was formed, to be enlarged in 1936 and its name changed to the National Health and Medical Research Council. The Commonwealth Radiation Laboratory was established in 1927, subsequently expanded and, after two changes of name, became the Australian Radiation Laboratory. In 1946, the Dental Research Laboratory was established in the University of Melbourne and later became the Australian Dental Standards Laboratory, situated at Abbotsford. In 1948, the Commonwealth Acoustic Laboratories were formed to provide a hearing conservation programme for deaf children.

A feature of the 1930s was the increasing interest displayed by the Commonwealth Government in providing some type of national health insurance scheme. In 1938 a controversial Act establishing such a scheme was passed but, because of intense opposition,

was abandoned prior to coming into operation. Subsequently, a total of nine reports by a Joint Parliamentary Committee formed the basis of the decision by the Commonwealth Government to introduce a National Health Service. However, consequential Pharmaceutical Benefits Acts foundered when challenged in the High Court by the Australian Branch of the British Medical Association, and were declared invalid during the 1940s.

With the change of Commonwealth Government in 1949, the principle of providing benefits was retained and carried a promise of establishing a comprehensive scheme for national health. Following agreement with the Australian Branch of the British Medical Association, the Pharmaceutical Guild, and the friendly societies, the National Health Act was passed in 1953 and pharmaceutical benefits were provided to the general population. Initially restricted to life saving and disease preventing drugs, the pharmaceutical list has steadily expanded over the ensuing years although, with the exception of eligible persons in receipt of a pension, a patient contribution has been mandatory since 1960.

The National Health Act also provided for hospital and medical benefits. At first the amount of Commonwealth Government assistance for hospital benefits was relatively small, but increased when additional coverage was made for those suffering from long-term illness. In respect of medical benefits the Commonwealth Government contribution, originally one-third of the medical fee, was altered in 1970 with the introduction of a plan based on lists of most common fees for the whole range of medical services. Where the common fee was charged, the patient contribution was not to exceed \$5, even for the most costly operation and the services associated with it.

Preceding the National Health Act, a Pensioner Medical Service was introduced in 1950 which, in addition to the provision of pharmaceuticals free of charge to pensioners and their dependants, provided a general practitioner service on a fee for voucher system.

In 1972, a temporary transfer of a number of Commonwealth Health Department activities to the new Department of Social Security (formerly Social Services) occurred. A Health Insurance Commission was introduced and "Medibank" offices were established throughout Victoria and commenced operation from July 1974, covering the payment of basic medical and hospital benefits. Reassessment of the Commonwealth Government role after 1975 resulted in a progressive return to voluntary health insurance. The "Medicare" system was introduced in February 1984.

In March of each year from 1979 on, Health Insurance Surveys were conducted throughout Australia by the Australian Bureau of Statistics to obtain information about levels of health insurance cover in the community.

The following table gives details of health insurance from March 1979 to March 1982:

#### HEALTH INSURANCE: VICTORIA, 1979 TO 1982

Year	Type of health insurance (a)					Total Insured	Uninsured	Total	
	Hospital and medical	Hospital only	Medical only	Ancillary only	Not known				
	CONTRIBUTOR UNITS ('000)								
1979	946.9	90.6	16.4	6.6	81.3	1,141.9	552.7	1,694.6	
1980(b)	905.5	88.4	28.6	8.3	70.3	1,101.1	637.6	1,738.6	
1980(c)	960.3	91.7	30.0	8.3	10.7	1,101.1	637.6	1,738.6	
1981	894.2	92.8	29.9	7.0	10.2	1,034.1	715.2	1,749.4	
1982	1,118.7	134.9	7.6	(d)	18.1	1,281.2	523.0	1,804.2	
	PER CENT OF CONTRIBUTOR UNITS								
1979	55.9	5.3	1.0	0.4	4.8	67.4	32.6	100.0	
1980(b)	52.1	5.1	1.6	0.5	4.0	63.3	36.7	100.0	
1980(c)	55.2	5.3	1.7	0.5	0.6	63.3	36.7	100.0	
1981	51.1	5.3	1.7	0.4	0.6	59.1	40.9	100.0	
1982	62.0	7.5	0.4	(d)	1.0	71.0	29.0	100.0	

(a) Estimates for various categories of insured in 1979 are not directly comparable with those in subsequent years, because of differences in the definition of the category type of insurance not known. For further details see section 2, *Health Insurance Survey, Australia, March 1981* [4335.0].

(b) Using 1979 definitions (see section 2, paragraph 3[d] *Health Insurance Survey, Australia, March 1981* [4335.0]).

(c) Using 1980-81 definitions (see section 2, paragraph 3[d], *Health Insurance Survey, Australia, March 1981* [4335.0]).

(d) Sampling variability too high for practical purposes.

The following table shows details of contributor units and contribution rates, together with type of health insurance:

**TYPE OF HEALTH INSURANCE BY CONTRIBUTION RATE:  
VICTORIA, MARCH 1982**

Type of health insurance	Contributor units (a)					
	Single rate		Family rate		Total	
	'000	Per cent	'000	Per cent	'000	Per cent
<b>Insured —</b>						
Hospital and medical	399.1	48.6	719.6	73.2	1,118.7	62.0
Hospital, no medical	81.2	9.9	53.7	5.5	134.9	7.5
Medical, no hospital	3.9	0.5	3.7	0.4	7.6	0.4
Ancillary only	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)
Type of insurance not known (c)	10.4	1.3	7.6	0.8	18.1	1.0
<b>Total insured</b>	<b>495.7</b>	<b>60.4</b>	<b>785.4</b>	<b>79.9</b>	<b>1,281.2</b>	<b>71.0</b>
<b>Uninsured</b>	<b>325.3</b>	<b>39.6</b>	<b>197.7</b>	<b>20.1</b>	<b>523.0</b>	<b>29.0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>821.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>983.1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1,804.2</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(a) The term *contributor unit* refers to: an individual or a family who has taken out health insurance, or uninsured persons who, for purposes of comparison with the insured, have been grouped into potential contributor units on the basis of household composition.

(b) Sampling variability to high for practical purposes.

(c) *Type of insurance not known*— this category was used to describe the health insurance of contributor units where it was not known which type of cover (i.e., medical, hospital, or ancillary) they held, or where the details of the insurance organisation were not known. Included under this category are contributor units insured with organisations not registered under the National Health Act.

The Department of Veterans' Affairs (formerly the Repatriation Department) continues to provide a full range of services for medical care and treatment of eligible ex-servicemen and their dependants.

## VICTORIAN GOVERNMENT HEALTH SERVICES

### Public health

The public health activities of the Victorian Government were concentrated on infectious diseases during the 1930s and 1940s. After the war, increasing concern was shown in public health engineering, industrial hygiene, and the effects of environmental pollution.

The worst epidemic of poliomyelitis occurred in 1937. With the introduction of the Salk vaccine in 1953, followed by the live virus Sabin vaccine in 1959 the disease was virtually eliminated. Milk pasteurisation became mandatory in 1943 and resulted in a reduction in the incidence of infant diarrhoea, while similar success was achieved with tuberculosis after the introduction, in 1947, of mass radiography for the whole population, and of new and more effective drugs which enabled active disease to be controlled more quickly, and thus reduced the infecting "pool" in the community. Vaccination against measles and selective vaccination against rubella since 1970 have resulted in a marked decrease in the incidence of those infectious diseases.

The formation of the Industrial Hygiene Division within the Department of Health in 1938 led to the control of lead poisoning and, to a lesser extent, dust problems in the work place where sampling surveys, particularly for silica, were initiated in industries posing a potential health problem. Asbestosis of the lungs, from inhalation of certain fibres, became better recognised with a progressively increasing public awareness in the 1970s. There was also growing understanding of many other health hazards such as toxic chemicals, radioactive substances used in industry and medicine, and the effects of industrial and other noise in precipitating hearing loss.

Major contributions of the public health engineer in the control of disease include the provision of adequate water supplies, sanitary disposal of human and solid wastes, sewerage, drains, and supervision of slaughter houses and various trades. Stream pollution regulations proclaimed in 1936 provided valuable legal powers to control pollution, while control of slaughter houses was extended to rural areas by the proclamation of "meat areas". At the same time an effort was made to improve living conditions in the slum areas and set up standards of hygiene for dwellings. However, the rapid increase in population following

the end of the Second World War accentuated existing problems and industrialisation created new ones.

Fluoridation of water supplies in Victoria was first recommended in the 1960s and has progressively been introduced, but only after much public controversy. It has been marked by a significant achievement in the prevention of dental caries. At June 1982, it was estimated that approximately 66 per cent of the population was using artificially fluoridated water.

The growing awareness of air pollution led to the formation of the Clean Air Section of the Department of Health in 1959. It became apparent that emission standards for a number of gaseous and particulate pollutants must be assured, and resulted in the introduction of the Clean Air Regulations in 1958. There was also a significant step forward in preventing air pollution, arising initially from industrial establishments, and severely aggravated by the steadily increasing concentration of motor vehicles in the post-war period.

The upsurge of public concern about pollution of the environment evidenced in the 1960s was expressed legislatively in 1972 with the establishment of the Environment Protection Authority, and this body has been responsible for the disposal of waste and the administration of the Clean Air Act.

## DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING OF HOSPITAL SERVICES

### Historical background

The development and planning of hospital services over the last 50 years has been characterised by a transformation from the generalised institutions of the 1930s to the specialised medical centres in the 1980s, designed specifically for the application of medical and general scientific techniques.

The key influences have been the proliferation of many new medical specialities, the introduction of technology in the treatment of disease, and the emergence of a wide range of new professions, whose members now work with medical practitioners as members of a 'health care team'. The cost of health care to government, and the community generally, has also emerged as a pressing problem and hospital costs are prominent.

In attempts to contain the rapidly escalating costs without denying the community the benefits of applied medical science and technology, various policies have been developed, aimed at rationalising the delivery of health care and hospital service. Other important developments such as the abolition of the honorary system of medical service, the introduction of the 40-hour working week for nurses, the restructuring of medical undergraduate teaching, the move towards greater centralisation of government direction and control of hospitals, and the development of community-based health services have taken place in this period.

### Public hospital beds

The spread of specialist services, coupled with the rapid growth in population during the post-war years, resulted in a demand for more hospital beds. In 1934, Victoria was served by about 6,800 public hospital beds in some 66 hospitals. In 1982, the number of acute beds in public hospitals had risen to approximately 13,800, with the number of hospitals rising to 161 over the same period. The additional beds provided in country areas were achieved by increasing capacities of the country 'base' hospitals (in the larger provincial cities) by 1,030 beds, other larger country hospitals by 3,050, and the small country hospitals by 1,170. It is significant that the number of base hospitals has remained at 10, while the country hospitals with bed capacities over 25 increased from 24 to 52 and the number of small hospitals (under 25 beds) rose from 15 to 45 by 1982.

In the Melbourne metropolitan area, developments were greatly influenced by planning decisions made in the 1940s and 1950s by the Charities Board of Victoria and its successor, the Hospitals and Charities Commission, to establish a ring of acute general hospitals on the periphery of Melbourne. Thus, since 1934, the number of acute special and general public hospital beds in the Melbourne metropolitan area has increased by approximately 4,500, of which some 2,100 were met by the peripheral group. At the same time attention was given to the rebuilding, or extensive remodelling, of the old and long established



central city hospitals. The Royal Melbourne Hospital was rebuilt and opened on a new site in 1942 as were the Royal Children's and the Royal Dental Hospitals, both in 1963, together with the rebuilding on existing sites of the Alfred and Royal Women's Hospitals. Extensive remodelling was also undertaken at the Prince Henry's, St Vincent's, and the Royal Victorian Eye and Ear Hospitals.

New central hospitals to be established during the period were the Peter MacCallum Clinic for the treatment of cancer patients (1950) and the Mercy Maternity Hospital (1971). In 1960, with the opening of casualty and outpatient services, the Austin Hospital commenced its historic transition from its 80 year old role as a hospital for cancer and chronic diseases to an acute, general teaching hospital. By 1965, it signed an agreement with the University of Melbourne and in 1967 the first medical students were received into the new clinical school. A major rebuilding programme was undertaken to meet the changed role. In 1982, the decision was made to proceed with the building of a teaching hospital in association with Monash University.

#### NUMBER OF MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS: VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1981-82

Year	Hospitals (a)			Bush nursing centres (b)	Mental institutions (c)	
	Public	Bush nursing	Private		Public	Private
1934-35	66	45	n.a.	13	11	n.a.
1939-40	68	55	n.a.	11	12	n.a.
1944-45	72	64	n.a.	10	9	n.a.
1949-50	96	60	243	13	12	5
1954-55	117	44	237	14	14	5
1959-60	142	46	245	15	20	5
1964-65	154	39	298	18	27	5
1969-70	156	40	303	18	30	5
1974-75	159	39	300	20	42	5
1979-80	161	39	349	18	47	5
1980-81	161	39	361	18	47	5
1981-82	161	39	362	18	47	8

(a) Includes general hospitals, special hospitals, the Cancer Institute (established in 1949), sanatoria, auxiliary hospitals, convalescent hospitals, and hospitals for the aged, as defined by the Health Commission.

(b) These centres provided outpatient services (patients attend the centres) or nurses care for patients in their own homes.

(c) At 30 November includes outpatient clinics, mental retardation training centres, and alcohol and drug dependency rehabilitation centres.

#### Rationalisation of hospital services

Planning authorities sought to prevent costly duplication, particularly of high technology services, and to concentrate available resources in institutions which had the highest standards of professional care. The outstanding example of rationalisation was in the provision of a special institute for the centralised treatment of cancer, by radiation and other methods. The Anti-Cancer Council was incorporated in 1936, and in 1949 an Act to establish the Cancer Institute Board was passed. In 1950, the site in William Street, Melbourne, vacated by the transfer of the Queen Victoria Hospital to the old Royal Melbourne Hospital building in Lonsdale Street, Melbourne, was reserved for the new Institute. The treatment facilities were named the Peter MacCallum Clinic and renamed the Peter MacCallum Hospital in 1978. The Institute is Australia's only comprehensive specialist centre for treatment, research, and education in cancer and allied diseases and it is one of the few of its kind in the world.

From its earliest years the Austin Hospital has had an interest in spinal injuries and this was recognised formally in 1955 when the Spinal Unit of that hospital became the central service for Victoria. In 1960, the Victorian Plastic Surgery Unit was established as part of the new development of the Preston and Northcote Community Hospital, and was the first complete surgical unit of its type in Australia. At this time also, open heart surgery emerged as an important extension of cardiac surgery, first at the Alfred Hospital and progressively at the other major teaching hospitals. The special skills, technology, and equipment required for this work demanded a rational approach to the delivery of the service. As a result, two open heart surgical units were recognised as central units, one at the Alfred Hospital and the other at St Vincent's Hospital. Attempts to develop a similar approach to the treatment of renal failure gave rise to the recognition of the Royal

Melbourne Hospital as the major centre for kidney transplantation, and of the Austin Hospital as having a special interest in the treatment of chronic renal failure by the use of home dialysis.

Other examples of rationalisation include a Cytology (gynaecological) Unit at Prince Henry's Hospital (1969), a Tissue Typing Laboratory at the Royal Melbourne Hospital (1974), Regional Electronic Equipment Servicing Departments based at the Austin Hospital (1977) and the Royal Melbourne Hospital (1979), and Regional Pathology Services. In 1979, work commenced on a service tunnel beneath Victoria Parade, Melbourne between the St Vincent's and the Royal Victorian Eye and Ear Hospitals, with a view to sharing consumer services. It was completed in 1983.

In the area of general services a large central laundry development, based at the Royal Melbourne Hospital, commenced operation in 1953. By 1983, the Royal Melbourne Hospital Central Linen Service and Group Laundry was processing 280 tonnes of linen weekly for 73 hospitals and institutions, and is recognised as one of the largest institutional laundries in the southern hemisphere. In country areas laundries have been located regionally under the management of base hospitals.

Since 1955, the boiler house of the Royal Melbourne Hospital has provided the steam requirements, not only for that hospital and its Central Linen Service, but also for the Royal Children's Hospital, the Royal Dental Hospital, the Medical and Veterinary Schools of the University of Melbourne, and the adjacent facilities conducted by the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization.

### **Management**

In 1934 State health services were divided between three authorities, the General Health Branch of the Department of Health, the Hospitals and Charities Board, and Mental Health Services. After the Second World War the latter two became the Hospitals and Charities Commission and the Mental Hygiene Authority, respectively, but responsibility remained divided between the three areas. By the 1970s, the need for greater control over the allocation of both Commonwealth and State Governmental funding became apparent. Although rationalisation of hospital services had been attempted with some success, a need became apparent to co-ordinate the previously separate areas of hospitals, mental health, and general (public) health.

As a result of this, the Victorian Government appointed Sir Colin Syme and the late Sir Lance Townsend in 1973 to conduct an inquiry into the health services of Victoria. As a result of the inquiry completed in 1975, the decision was made to establish one central authority for all aspects of health to replace the three authorities referred to above. This new authority, the Health Commission of Victoria, was proclaimed in December 1978, representing probably the most significant development in the administration of health services in the history of Victoria.

## **INSTITUTIONAL HEALTH CARE**

### **Geriatric institutions**

Until the beginning of the 1950s, health care for the elderly was provided mainly by general practitioners and at public hospitals. Many geriatric institutions which exist today are the successors of those which the State had provided for the custodial care of the indigent and underprivileged very early in the history of Victoria. For example, the Immigrants Aid Society established in 1854 later moved to Parkville and became known as the Mount Royal Special Hospital for the Aged, and benevolent asylums constructed in the mid-nineteenth century at Bendigo, Ballarat, Beechworth, and Bairnsdale, are now geriatric institutions.

Following the Second World War a geriatric centre was established at Caulfield (formerly a Repatriation Hospital), and the Greenvale Sanatorium, initially used for the treatment of tuberculosis, became the Greenvale Geriatric Centre in 1950. The Children's Orthopaedic Hospital at Mt Eliza was vacated in 1971 to become the Mt Eliza Geriatric Centre.

In the 1950s, geriatric institutions were concerned mainly with custodial care for the aged and physically disabled, and there was little medical or nursing care available. Most had long waiting lists, and selection for admission was based on the time the individual

had been waiting, rather than the actual need for long-term custodial care. However, towards the end of that decade a rehabilitation unit was started at the Mount Royal Special Hospital for the Aged, with the concept of making available rehabilitation services for elderly persons suffering from physical and mental disabilities, particularly those caused by stroke and arthritis.

There followed rapid development of rehabilitation services throughout most geriatric institutions and the establishment of day hospitals, initially within geriatric hospitals, and later outside in the community. Day centres were introduced as a method of supporting the community services of meals on wheels, home help, district nursing, and family relief. The implementation of a policy of encouraging elderly persons to remain at home, rather than admitting them to hospital, became effective after 1971.

Thus the role of the benevolent home has completely changed, with most geriatric institutions being involved in community care, particularly in the assessment, treatment, and support of the elderly in their own homes. Responsibility for long-term custodial care has been taken up by many private and church nursing homes.

#### POPULATION AGED 65 AND OVER: VICTORIA, 1971 TO 2021

Year	Males		Females		Persons	
	Number	Per cent (a)	Number	Per cent (a)	Number	Per cent (a)
1971	126,896	3.52	180,893	5.02	307,789	8.55
1981	162,874	4.12	230,244	5.83	393,118	9.96
1991	207,306	4.79	297,530	6.88	504,836	11.67
2001	232,251	4.99	340,511	7.32	572,762	12.31
2011	260,193	5.32	390,136	7.98	650,329	13.31
2021	329,810	6.48	498,899	9.81	828,709	16.29

(a) Percentage of total population.

(b) 1991 onwards based on Series A projections. For more information refer to *Projections of the Population of the States and Territories of Australia 1981 to 2021* (3214.0).

#### Mental health

The fifty year period has seen dramatic changes in the activities of mental health institutions from long-term custodial care to active psychological and physical rehabilitation and their involvement in community affairs.

During and after the Second World War the structural condition of the mental health buildings, and the staffing establishments, were grossly inadequate to meet needs. The Victorian Government established, in 1952, the Mental Hygiene Authority, with statutory powers to formulate, control, and direct general policy.

At this time there were only two receiving units, at Royal Park and Ballarat, ten long-term mental hospitals, six intellectual deficiency institutions, five day training centres for the mentally retarded, and four outpatient clinics. The Mental Hygiene (later to become Mental Health) Authority embarked on the development of several early treatment units, some of which were constructed in areas without previous psychiatric facilities, while others, more recently, have been built in close co-operation with the respective regional hospitals. In the mid-1970s, a community health programme was developed, with multi-disciplinary community mental health centres, located in shopping centres and residential areas.

Simultaneously, the overcrowded long-term mental hospitals were being upgraded, with new modern wards and a reduction in the number of beds, so that the custodial care, offered by the old asylum type institutions, has been replaced by a preventative and early treatment approach, bringing psychiatric care closer to the community.

The Mental Health Authority became the Mental Health Division of the Health Commission of Victoria in December 1978 and is responsible for psychiatric care of patients in the State. Services are organised on a regional basis, each region being served by an early treatment centre with attached long-term wards for the chronically ill and the psychogeriatric patients, by community mental health centres, and other community facilities.

MENTAL HEALTH: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year	Number of institutions	Patients admitted	Total cases treated (under care)	Patients		Number of beds	Staff	
				Daily average	At end of year		Medical	Nursing
1935	11	895	8,229	6,107	7,548	6,298	26	1,397
1940	12	898	8,588	6,342	7,888	6,591	n.a.	n.a.
1945	9	918	8,367	6,280	7,863	6,710	35	949
1950 (a)	12	1,203	8,344	6,751	8,431	6,773	68	1,308
1955 (b)	14	4,037	13,815	7,543	9,261	7,393	n.a.	n.a.
1960	20	7,459	20,397	9,279	10,804	9,326	116	2,402
1965	27	9,160	23,394	9,440	11,247	9,695	136	2,788
1970	30	9,922	23,107	8,986	10,374	9,127	166	3,029
1975 (c)	42	11,260	23,720	8,057	9,322	8,309	n.a.	n.a.
1980 (c)(d)	36	10,976	18,533	4,473	5,287	4,808	179	2,085
1981 (c)	37	11,540	18,941	n.a.	5,221	4,799	190	2,095
1982 (c)	37	12,857	18,074	n.a.	5,077	4,495	190	2,095

(a) Year ended 31 March.

(b) 15 months ended 30 June.

(c) Year ended 30 June.

(d) Figures for the Mental Retardation Division of the Health Commission are excluded from 1979 onwards.

Source: Health Commission

Survey of Handicapped Persons

During February to May 1981 a survey was conducted, throughout Australia, by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, to obtain information about the nature and extent of various disabilities and handicaps in the Australian community. For Victoria the survey indicated that there were 535,700 persons (14 per cent) of the Victorian population who were disabled, of whom 341,800 were handicapped.

A disabled person was a person who had one or more defined disabilities or impairments which had lasted or were likely to last for 6 months or more. A handicapped person was a disabled person aged 5 years or more who was further identified as being limited to some degree in his or her ability to perform certain activities or tasks in relation to one or more of: self care, mobility, communication, schooling, and employment.

The following table sets out the number of disabled persons by type of disabling condition:

DISABLED PERSONS (a) BY TYPE OF DISABLING CONDITION: VICTORIA, 1981 ('000)

Type of disabling condition (b)	Households			Health establishments			Total		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Mental disorders other than retardation, degeneration or slow at learning	31.4	47.6	79.0	3.6	8.3	11.9	35.1	55.9	90.9
Mental retardation, mental degeneration due to brain damage, slow at learning and specific delays in development	14.9	8.5	23.4	3.0	3.5	6.5	17.9	12.0	29.9
Total with mental health disorders	44.8	55.4	100.2	5.7	10.6	16.4	50.5	66.1	116.6
Sight loss	22.7	20.1	42.8	1.3	5.2	6.4	24.0	25.3	49.3
Hearing loss	78.1	57.9	136.0	1.5	5.2	6.7	79.6	63.1	142.7
Nervous system disease	19.4	22.8	42.2	2.2	3.4	5.6	21.6	26.2	47.8
Circulatory disease	42.1	46.1	88.3	2.0	6.4	8.0	44.2	52.1	96.3
Respiratory disease	24.7	16.5	41.2	1.0	(c)	1.3	25.7	16.8	42.5
Musculoskeletal disease	76.9	78.7	155.7	1.9	6.3	8.2	78.8	85.1	163.9
Other physical conditions	57.3	52.5	109.8	2.1	6.7	8.9	59.4	59.2	118.7
Total with physical conditions	240.8	218.4	459.2	6.3	16.3	22.6	247.1	234.7	481.8
Total	265.0	244.7	509.7	8.0	18.0	26.0	273.0	262.7	535.7

(a) Includes those determined as being handicapped.

(b) Persons are shown against a condition category when any of five disabling conditions was classified to that category. Persons are shown against each total once only.

(c) Data suppressed due to high relative standard error.

### Rehabilitation

In the 1930s, rehabilitation in institutional care was available at the Austin Hospital and the Children's Hospital at Mt Eliza for children suffering from orthopaedic disabilities. The Victorian Society for Crippled Children and Adults, established in 1935, and the Yooralla Hospital Society for Crippled Children (1917) were important organisations for the ongoing treatment of spastic and crippled young adults. In 1977, these two bodies merged to form the Yooralla Society of Victoria, a voluntary organisation providing services and facilities for the disabled in the State.

Adult rehabilitation services were mainly carried out in large teaching hospitals by masseurs, later to be called physiotherapists, in what are now known as units or departments of physical medicine. In 1957, the first special inpatient rehabilitation hospital was commenced at Hampton where, following surgical intervention, patients underwent intensive physical and psychological rehabilitation. Similar units were established at Caulfield and Mt Royal Special Hospital for the Aged. Later, the Royal Talbot Rehabilitation Centre commenced in 1968, while the Bolte Wing at St Vincent's Hospital was opened in 1974.

An important development has been the use of intensive therapy delivered and supervised by well organised teams, so that increasing numbers of impaired and disabled persons can be returned to participate actively in community activities.

### MEDICAL PRACTICE

Before the Second World War, medical practitioners regarded themselves as an integral part of the community and expected to remain for long periods, if not the whole of their working lives, in one practice. At this time most general practitioners and specialists worked alone, the former usually in a surgery attached to, or forming part of, a private home, while the latter traditionally divided their time between hospital visiting and their consulting rooms in the city. Most specialists held honorary appointments at the public hospitals, incorporated in which was a commitment, over and above their responsibility for patient care, to guide and teach resident medical officers and medical students.

In 1934, there were only eight specialities apart from general medicine, surgery, and obstetrics. These were ophthalmology, otolaryngology, dermatology, obstetrics and gynaecology, urology, psychiatry, orthopaedics, and radiotherapy, while radiology and pathology were the solitary representatives of established medical technology. The trend to specialisation gained its greatest emphasis during, and immediately after, the Second World War with the recognition of neurology/neurosurgery, thoracic surgery, and plastic surgery as separate specialities. The trend towards specialisation continued with cardiology, gastroenterology, nephrology, vascular surgery, cardiac surgery, respiratory medicine, rheumatology, oncology, and clinical pharmacology, to name only some. Furthermore, new technologies and developments in physics, chemistry, bio-engineering, and electronics have caused the broad practice of pathology to split into the set specialities of haematology, microbiology, biochemistry, and anatomical pathology, with immunology rapidly becoming established. Diagnostic imaging of the body, formerly the sole domain of traditional radiology, now incorporates the use of computerised axial tomography (CAT) scanners, radio-isotopes, echo-scanning, and ultra-sound, all of which are located in departments of radiology, nuclear medicine, and cardiac laboratories, and serviced by departments of electronic engineering.

The post-war era witnessed a trend for general practitioners to work in groups, usually in partnerships, thus enabling them to roster their leisure time and have the opportunity of discussing problems in diagnosis and treatment. Their colleagues in specialist practice tended to focus on narrower areas in a number of disciplines and this was an inevitable outcome of the advances in medical knowledge. This reached a peak in the 1960s and 1970s with rapidly increasing technology and sub-specialisation going hand in hand.

In country practice communications were poor at the beginning of this period and specialist consultation a major undertaking. Consequently each individual was required to have a wide range of skills, and frequently had to undertake difficult procedures outside this range in the absence of expert assistance. In this context a few especially talented medical practitioners stood out among their peers, particularly in the field of surgery, where treatable emergencies were more common.

Most small towns had their own doctor and the larger ones had three or four. Working hours were long and regular consulting was carried out on a six day week and evening basis. This situation was accentuated during the Second World War when many practitioners left the rural areas to enlist.

With accelerating post-war advances in medicine, surgery, and anaesthetics and opportunities for specialisation rapidly increasing, there was a marked reduction in the number of doctors entering country practice. At the same time there was a greater tendency to move from place to place, and to cease to regard any practice as involving lifelong commitment to one area. The result was that many moved from the country to the city, and smaller towns were often without a doctor while, in the larger ones, as in the Melbourne metropolitan area, there was a tendency to organise into group practices to allow some time free for recreation and study.

By the 1960s, advancing medical knowledge made it difficult for country practitioners to keep abreast of the wide ranging expertise necessary, and it was in this period that the first specialists in the fields of pathology and radiology were appointed to base hospitals. While better communications and ambulance services did facilitate referral to consultants in Melbourne, there was also a demand for specialists to join country group practices. Although difficult to obtain at first, more gradually became available through the 1960s as opportunities in the city were becoming more limited. Pathologists and radiologists were followed by surgeons, physicians, and obstetricians. However, the shortage of general practitioners continued and many of the smaller towns remained without doctors.

By the early 1970s there was a return to general practice. Hours of work tended to become more organised, with longer holiday and study leave periods. General practice itself began to take on a different role with more emphasis on psycho-social problems. Moreover, the increasing complexity of anaesthesia and obstetrics resulted in group practices seeking representation in the fields of anaesthesia and paediatrics, and this further restricted the field of general practice.

In spite of increasing numbers of specialists in all disciplines and in all areas, medical progress resulted in the management of some problems being outside their scope, and the growth of sub-specialisation made it necessary for certain patients to be referred to other specialist colleagues. Fortunately this was paralleled by a great advance in ambulance services, including the use of air ambulances, and the Neo-Natal Emergency Transport Service, which increased the emphasis on safe and early transport of patients.

In the early 1980s, despite the fact that many more doctors were available, some small country towns still had difficulty in attracting a resident practitioner. The trend has been towards more general practitioners, an increased number of specialists, with the high proportion of doctors in the larger towns, especially those which support a base hospital. These hospitals tend to become centres for emergency and specialist treatment and postgraduate training, of both established practitioners and resident medical officers.

Throughout Victoria there has been a substantial rise in medical practitioners as a result of the combined influence of immigration, the development of a new medical school (Monash University), and expansion in the output of the existing one (the University of Melbourne). At the same time governments have had to re-examine the cost of health care in the context of total expenditure and there has been an expanding interest in preventive medicine.

## COMMUNITY HEALTH PROGRAMME

The creation of the Hospital and Health Services Commission by the Commonwealth Government in 1974 resulted in new policies which determined the principles of promoting, modernising, and rationalising health services, including all classes of hospitals but, more particularly, of extending the development of community based services and community health programmes. The planning and development was to be undertaken in conjunction with the States.

In Victoria the beginning of the concept of community health services arose with a pilot community health facility at Queenscliff and the early support of the State to a number of long established organisations, namely, the Singleton Dispensary, renamed the Collingwood Community Health Centre, and the Richmond Dispensary, which became the

Richmond Community Health Centre. In addition, services for infants and children existed in a developed network of infant welfare centres and the School Medical Service.

Rapid growth occurred in 1974 and 1975 when, in the areas of general health, community mental health and early childhood services, 92 projects were initiated. Since 1978, the Health Commission has sought to integrate various types of community health services.

The requirements for community based services, which had been recognised prior to the expansion, had the following objectives: the establishment of comprehensive, updated services in medical, nursing, and welfare areas; an emphasis on services related to prevention of ill health; accessible primary medical care with supporting facilities and resources; an integrated and co-ordinated health system with continuity of care; and the general concept of health education.

These services were at all times intended to complement those already in existence. Many difficulties have been encountered and the provision of permanently funded community services has been seen by many medical practitioners to be competing with private practice. However, some progress towards community health care has been made since the mid-1970s.

In 1980, there was re-direction of emphasis through a rationalisation of services on a regional basis, with greater co-ordination between institutional and community care, continued development of health education and disease prevention programmes, and rehabilitation activities for the disabled.

At the end of 1982 the Community Health Programme had, in nine years, initiated projects varying in pattern from major centres to minor facilities, specialised nursing centres, special projects responding to the needs of vulnerable groups, and a variety of day hospitals, day centres, and services for the handicapped and disabled.

#### MEDICAL RESEARCH

In 1934, medical research in Victoria was at a relatively low ebb, although there was notable work at the Walter and Eliza Hall Institute on the nature of the toxic effects of snake venoms and the development, with the Commonwealth Serum Laboratories, of anti-venenes. The Bundaberg, Queensland, tragedy in 1928, in which twenty-one children died, was shown to be due to a staphylococcal contamination of anti-diphtheria toxoid. There were preliminary studies in immunology and the nature of virological action, while tissue injury studies revealed the importance of liberated agents such as histamine. In the 1930s, work at the Women's Hospital demonstrated the significance of anaerobic infections of the uterus, leading to great advances in treatment in pre-antibiotic times.

Following the Second World War there were significant advances in virology, a by-product of which was the postulate of immunological tolerance to non-self substances introduced early in life. There followed the clone selection theory of cellular immunological reaction, which stated that a cell of a type which produces antibodies, can produce only one antibody and this realisation was expanded by an understanding of the immunological parts played by the various lymphocytogenic sites and cell types, the investigation of the growth characteristics of malignant cells of these types, and autoimmunity disorders, respectively. These advances opened the way to the immunology of transplantation.

The 1940s were also marked by the studies in tuberculosis, the elucidation of the cause and characteristics of Murray Valley encephalitis, and the discovery of the source of the transmission of the indolent (i.e. slow in healing) Gippsland ulcer. This period also saw the beginning of a progressive study of the control of salts in the body which gave rise to a number of unique animal preparations to allow serial studies on the hormones in each animal over several years.

A study of metabolic processes, originated in the 1930s, has continued, and in 1957 a most memorable development in biochemistry occurred with the introduction of procedures for the automation of chemical sequential dissection of proteins and their synthesis. This has produced a world wide revolution in the study of protein structure and function.

A notable contribution in the clinical field occurred in 1957 with the discovery that high oxygen concentration in the crib was the cause of ocular opacities developing in premature infants, and that prevention was possible. The next decade saw the introduction of clinical research into high blood pressure and coronary artery disease, while experimental

programmes in the same field, along with the studies of analgesic nephropathy, were also very active.

Research into the blood supply of tumours in the 1930s pre-dated cancer research in Victoria, which developed particularly in the 1970s and related principally to blood cancers of all types, and the developing knowledge of their behaviour under treatment. At the same time the immunological characteristics of cancer were being assessed with a view to using such information for treatment purposes.

The 1970s witnessed work of world standard on the endocrinology of sexual function, important mineral studies, the factors controlling the growth of the foetus in utero, and the genetic abnormalities of the child.

In contrast to the 1930s, when medical research in Victoria was conducted on a very limited scale, the range and depth of research work by the 1980s had won Victoria a place in many areas of medicine.

## SURGERY

Although very few surgeons practising in the 1980s experienced the frustration and dismay of treating patients in a septic ward of a general hospital in the 1930s, the control of infection has been considered by some as the greatest single advance in surgery in the last 50 years.

The introduction of sulphonamide drugs (synthetic chemical compounds active as anti-bacterial agents) in 1930, followed by penicillin in the early 1940s, led to the abolition of septic wards. In those early days of chemotherapy the results were momentous but, in more recent times, a host of new products has been required to cope with organisms which have become resistant, while others have been developed as new treatments for a number of diseases.

The control of infection paved the way for unparalleled change in the period under review with fragmentation of surgery to specialities and sub-specialities and the emergence of academic university departments. Most advances have been based on technological discoveries such as the operating microscope, heart-lung machine, artificial joints, fibre-optic endoscopy, vascular prostheses, ultra-sound, computerised axial tomography (sectional radiography to constitute a three dimensional scan), and electronic monitors. Hand in hand with surgical progress and crucial to it have been advances in anaesthesia and resuscitation, including blood transfusion.

Although used between the wars, it was not until after the Second World War that blood transfusion became a routine procedure. During the 1930s, advances in the collection and storage of blood made transfusion less difficult and enabled the blood bank, as it is now known, to be established in 1937. The intensive care ward, for patients with medical and surgical emergencies, has been a more recent development of transfusion and resuscitation and it has become more "intensive" with the use of modern electronic equipment. This concept has been extended to the ambulance service.

So far as surgical technique is concerned, probably the most spectacular advance has been in the field of vascular and cardiac surgery culminating in open heart surgery. Until 1955 closed cardiac surgery was the only form practised, and there were between 20 and 30 operations per year in Victoria. Hypothermia (artificial reduction of body temperature to slow processes) was introduced in 1955 and, in 1957, the first operation under cardiopulmonary bypass in Australia was carried out at the Alfred Hospital. This opened the way for the treatment of congenital abnormalities and acquired valve disease. In the early 1970s the first satisfactory technique for the operation of coronary by-pass was developed. In 1970, twenty patients underwent surgery for coronary artery disease; in 1978 this figure was 600, and increased to 1,200 patients in 1981.

Associated with vascular surgery has been the development of plastic prostheses for replacement of blood vessels. An important factor in undertaking this form of surgery is the ability to visualise vessels and organs in the body by means of arteriography and/or catheterisation of the heart or major vessels. Progress in radiology has made this possible and, in the 1970s, the diagnosis and visualisation of arterial obstruction have been advanced by non-invasive methods through the use of ultra-sound and computerised axial tomography. In Victoria, in 1981, there were some 3,000 operations to restore the blood flow to the



legs, 600 carotid endarterectomies to prevent stroke, and 90 patients had an aortic aneurysm, previously a fatal condition, safely removed.

Great advances have been made in the transplantation of organs such as the kidney and, less commonly, the liver. Although the first two renal transplants were performed at the Royal Melbourne Hospital in 1956, the first successful one was in 1965. These have been made possible following research into immunological responses of the body to the introduction of heterogeneous tissues. The number of transplants in Victoria steadily increased, with a total of 136 performed in 1981. Mortality has been reduced by techniques in organ preservation and better post-operative management, particularly in avoiding excessive treatment of rejection episodes.

The 1930s witnessed the introduction of neurosurgery, in the main by general surgeons who had some training in intracranial work but, after the Second World War, neurosurgery became an established speciality with units in larger hospitals. The important advances have been in the field of localisation of intracranial lesions and the use of the operating microscope.

Microsurgery itself commenced in the 1950s with the operating microscope for middle ear surgery, and followed in the next decade in ophthalmology and plastic surgery. A microsurgery research unit developed at St Vincent's Hospital, concentrating on experimental work in the 1960s and on clinical progress in the 1970s, and becoming a referral centre for digit and limb transplantation. This sub-speciality has produced spectacular results in the treatment of mutilated or avulsed (i.e., forcibly separated) limbs and hands.

In orthopaedic surgery the early advances in the 1950s related to internal fixation of fractures, notably those of the neck of the femur in elderly patients. The next decade saw the introduction of the hip replacement operation which has given comfort to thousands of persons, and developments have made it possible for other joints such as the knee and ankle to be replaced. A further major development has been in the surgical care of children with spinal deformities. The period under review witnessed a rapid escalation in the number of motor vehicle accidents which reached a peak in 1974 before the introduction of compulsory seat belts which produced a marked effect on patterns of injury following road accidents. The use of blood and breath testing for alcohol also helped to reduce the number of accidents. In parallel with the effects of these measures, the standard of treatment of fractures of the long bones has improved, through the use of image intensified X-ray equipment, the technique of closed Kuntscher nailing of femoral shaft fractures, and the application of microsurgical techniques for orthopaedic trauma.

## OBSTETRICS

In the last fifty years the practice of obstetrics has been assisted by increasing medical knowledge. Most of the common complications can now be anticipated, conception can be controlled by family planning, and the obstetric team is endeavouring to produce a neonate of the highest quality. There has been a dramatic improvement in maternal and perinatal (stillbirth plus neonatal) mortality. The former has fallen from 61 in 1934 to 1.3 in 1982, per 10,000 live births, while in the same period perinatal mortality was reduced from 57 to 15 per 1,000 births.

The most important factors in achieving this reduction in mortality have been the control of puerperal fever and haemorrhage. In the period prior to 1934 at least one in every three maternal deaths was due to infection but, with the discovery of the sulphonamides in the 1930s and later of penicillin and other antibiotics, deaths from this condition have become quite rare.

Death from haemorrhage had always played a major part in maternal deaths. The establishment of blood banks during this period has been responsible for the saving of many lives. Control of antepartum haemorrhage has been achieved by the availability of blood, the frequent use of caesarian section, and of fibrinogen in the case of accidental haemorrhage; while post-partum haemorrhage has also been almost eliminated as a cause of death, again from the availability of blood and use of oxytocic (i.e., hastening) drugs in the third stage of labour.

Antenatal care is now given to all pregnant women and with its introduction the incidence of pre-eclampsia, a disease peculiar to pregnancy, has been remarkably reduced. This has

been achieved in spite of the fact that the aetiology of the condition is still not understood, although most authorities believe it is preventable.

The place of delivery has changed. Before the 1930s, the majority of women gave birth in their homes but by the 1980s most were confined in hospitals, although there are still deliveries at home. There has also been a move for a more domestic atmosphere in obstetric hospitals. The scene in the birthroom is quite different today. In the 1930s strict isolation was observed and it was common for labour to last two days with caesarian section occurring only rarely. In the 1980s the father is often present with the mother, the surroundings are quiet and labour usually lasts less than twelve hours, but there is a caesarian section rate of 15 to 20 per cent. Only easy forceps deliveries are taking place and general anaesthetics are not given for normal deliveries.

Solutions to two important problems faced by obstetricians were discovered. First, the Rh factor which produced erythroblastosis in the baby can be prevented by the administration to the Rh negative mother of an injection within 48 hours of delivery of her first baby. Second, the abnormalities resulting from a pregnant woman contracting rubella in the first three months of pregnancy can now be prevented by immunisation of young girls.

The development of ultrasound in obstetrics has facilitated the early diagnosis of pregnancy and the detection of congenital abnormalities and foetal growth retardation at a later stage. This has practically eliminated the need for x rays and the small risk to the foetus associated with their use.

Finally, the early 1980s have witnessed the successful outcome of the "test tube" baby project where human egg cells are fertilised by spermatozoa outside the human body, with subsequent culture of the fertilised egg and transference by artificial means to a uterine cavity which has been hormonally prepared to receive it.

Improvements in methods of obstetric practice and in mortality as well as the elimination of mental retardation have been continuing objectives of the obstetrician and the neonatal paediatrician, and the elucidation of the aetiology of pre-eclampsia and accidental haemorrhage has still to be achieved.

#### PERINATAL DEATHS AND DEATH RATES (a): VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year	Stillbirths (b)		Neonatal deaths				Total perinatal deaths (b)	
	Number	Rate	Under one week		One week but less than one month		Number	Rate
			Number	Rate	Number	Rate		
1935	849	29.5	611	21.9	159	5.7	1,619	56.3
1940	895	27.2	669	20.9	177	5.5	1,741	53.0
1945	981	23.3	727	17.7	143	3.5	1,851	43.9
1950	963	19.0	628	12.6	105	2.1	1,696	33.4
1955	788	13.8	660	11.7	100	1.8	1,548	27.1
1960	850	13.1	770	12.0	108	1.7	1,728	26.6
1965	747	11.6	700	11.0	107	1.7	1,554	24.2
1970	782	10.6	697	9.5	81	1.1	1,560	21.1
1975	636	10.2	439	7.1	83	1.3	1,158	18.5
1980	447	7.6	284	4.9	75	1.3	806	13.7
1981	443	7.4	280	4.7	75	1.3	798	13.3
1982	490	8.1	316	5.3	90	1.5	896	14.8

(a) Number of stillbirths and perinatal deaths per 1,000 births (live and still) and number of neonatal deaths per 1,000 live births.  
 (b) Until 1945, figures on stillbirths in this table were subject to notification being given to registrars under the Cemeteries Act and the (Commonwealth) Maternity Allowance Act. For the 1950 figures, the latter Act was replaced by the (Commonwealth) Social Services Consolidation Act. Since 1955, registration of stillbirths has been compulsory. Figures up to 1975 in this table relate to stillbirths of 28 weeks or more gestation. Figures from 1975 only include perinatal deaths where the birthweight was 500 grams or more, or if the birthweight was not known, a period of gestation of 22 weeks or more, and therefore are not strictly comparable with those for earlier years.

#### MATERNAL AND INFANT HEALTH SERVICES: VICTORIA, 1955 TO 1982

Year	Infant welfare services				Immunisations		
	Number of infant welfare sisters	Total attendances of children	Home visits to children	Attendances of expectant mothers	Triple antigen (a)	Poliomyelitis	Measles
1955	n.a.	1,128,292	103,649	13,274	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1960	296	1,335,455	158,902	16,038	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1965	345	1,383,407	(b)176,139	15,852	49,099	40,723	n.a.

MATERNAL AND INFANT HEALTH SERVICES: VICTORIA, 1955 TO 1982—*continued*

Year	Infant welfare services				Immunisations		
	Number of infant welfare sisters	Total attendances of children	Home visits to children	Attendances of expectant mothers	Triple antigen (a)	Polio-myelitis	Measles
1970	395	1,560,085	(b)184,042	21,572	59,130	45,932	n.a.
1975	443	1,399,310	153,575	18,192	56,762	43,777	33,801
1980	507	1,325,033	170,667	21,944	49,057	48,651	38,113
1981 (c)	507	662,797	81,147	11,858	33,294	33,294	18,769
1982 (d)	521	1,323,801	173,078	n.a.	52,068	51,977	40,094

(a) Number of full courses completed (whooping cough, tetanus, and diphtheria).

(b) Includes visits to children in hospitals.

(c) Figures are for six months (1 January to 30 June 1981).

(d) Year ended June 1982.

## ANAESTHESIA

The developments in surgery and obstetrics described could not have taken place without simultaneous notable advances in anaesthetic methods, as well as resuscitative procedures which were based on experience gained before and during the Second World War. At this time anaesthetic practice was almost totally concerned with the administration of anaesthesia during surgery. The mid-1940s saw great changes in techniques with the replacement of chloroform and later, ether anaesthesia, by modern methods of relaxation and intubation of the trachea. It was the introduction of relaxant drugs in particular which assisted dramatically the scope and technique of surgery.

In the years following, a wealth of discovery and research has extended the interests of specialist anaesthesia into several overlapping areas of medical care. As a natural development of their management of casualties requiring prolonged and repetitive surgery, wartime anaesthetists felt compelled to apply their skills to the treatment of coma from brain trauma or other causes, and to the care of patients paralysed by injury or disease. There emerged a new concept of intensive (critical) care medicine and a vast extension of anaesthetic practice into these and other clinical areas. One example was the parallel extension of interest in the management of pain, resulting in pain clinics and pain study groups. Thus, in addition to his or her traditional role, the present day anaesthetist has increasing commitments to medical care outside the operating theatre.

Anaesthetic practice developed early and rapidly in the post-war period, and it is of particular interest that the Melbourne teaching hospitals were the first in Australia (1950) to establish departments of anaesthetics under the direction of salaried full-time specialists—a trend which was later to be developed throughout the world. Whereas, in 1945, there were fewer than ten full-time anaesthetic specialists in Victoria (all in Melbourne), in 1983 there were over two hundred in practice throughout the State. It did, however, take thirty years from the establishment of the first training programme in Victoria to overcome the serious backlog of shortages inevitable to a new and rapidly expanding medical speciality.

## PHARMACY

Numerous changes in the practice of pharmacy since 1934 have been due to advances in pharmaceutical education, the introduction of the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme, the prescribing trends of medical practitioners, and to developments within the pharmaceutical industry, and within community and hospital practice as the two major areas of employment for pharmacists. Pharmacy practice was formerly subject to the Medical Act but control is vested in the *Pharmacists Act* 1974, the *Pharmacists Regulations* of 1976, and the *Poisons Act* of 1962.

The Victorian College of Pharmacy, founded in 1881, had some major additions in 1936, but was moved to new premises in Parkville in 1960. The latter, built originally as a war memorial by the Pharmaceutical Society of Victoria, was subsequently expanded when government finance provided for further land purchases in 1965 and the opening of a laboratory block in 1971.

Until 1960, pharmaceutical education had been conducted through a four year apprenticeship scheme which included specific study requirements at the College. In that year,

coinciding with the move to Parkville, a full-time, three year course in pharmacy was approved by the Pharmacy Board of Victoria to replace the apprenticeship system. Following affiliation with the Victoria Institute of Colleges in 1966, the College was granted permission to award the Bachelor of Pharmacy degree in 1967, thus becoming the first non-university school in Australia to offer a bachelor's degree. A Master of Pharmacy degree followed in 1970 and graduate diplomas were introduced in Hospital Pharmacy in 1978 and Community Pharmacy in 1983. The academic activities of the College are controlled under the *Post-Secondary Education Act 1978*, while at the same time there is a close liaison with the Pharmaceutical Society and the Pharmacy Board of Victoria.

The reform of pharmacy undergraduate education was fundamental to the development of research which has increased markedly since 1960 due to the activity of the College staff in many areas.

Until the post-war period, the major role of the community and the hospital pharmacist was to prepare medicines from basic ingredients through what is referred to as extemporaneous dispensing. With the development of synthetic drugs in the 1940s and 1950s and the rise of an extensive pharmaceutical industry, the art of the pharmacist gradually gave way to the distribution of pre-packed medication in the form of tablets, capsules, injections, and other modern dosage forms. The new drugs and techniques came from research centres throughout the world which had participated in the "therapeutic revolution". The practice of pharmacy changed from product orientation to one in which the pharmacist became an adviser and consultant on drugs and medicines. In Victoria, the number of approved pharmaceutical chemists was 1,038 in 1950 and 1,379 in 1982.

The Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme also had a great impact on the practice of pharmacy. A person receiving treatment from a medical practitioner or a participating dental practitioner registered in Australia is eligible for benefits on a wide range of drugs and medicines when they are supplied by an approved pharmacist upon presentation of a prescription or by an approved private hospital when that person is receiving treatment at the hospital. Special arrangements exist to cover the supply of pharmaceutical benefits in situations where the normal conditions of supply do not apply, e.g., in remote areas. The list of drugs controlled by the scheme has expanded to nearly 1,000, a patient contribution has been introduced, while drugs have remained free for pensioners and some special classifications of eligible persons. In 1981-82, the total cost to the Commonwealth Government of the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme was \$390m, with approximately one-quarter of this amount expended in Victoria.

Between 1950 and 1970 hospitals undertook the manufacture of a range of drugs, but ceased this practice as a result of changes in payment arrangements through the National Health Scheme. This allowed hospital pharmacists who, like their community counterparts, had moved from extemporaneous dispensing to the supply of drugs manufactured by the pharmaceutical industry, to introduce ward pharmacy in recent years.

Hospital pharmacy has been upgraded through the requirements of the National Health Act and the *Pharmacists Act 1974* with the latter Victorian Statute, in particular, creating more exacting standards of practice. The appointment of a consultant pharmacist to the Health Commission of Victoria in 1972 provided hospitals and the Commission with expert advice on staffing, equipment, and development roles for hospital pharmacy. These pharmacies also play a leading role in the training of pharmacy graduates. Following the completion of the Bachelor of Pharmacy degree, students must complete a year of practical training prior to registration. Seventy per cent of trainee positions are offered within hospitals.

Community pharmacists have become linked with hospital pharmacies through sessional practice whereby they service the smaller city and country hospitals where the employment of a full-time pharmacist cannot be justified.

#### SUBSTANCE ADDICTION AND ABUSE

The history of drug use in Victoria reveals inconsistencies of opinion and action. Against a background of enduring permissiveness towards the consumption of alcohol and tobacco, a number of other mind altering drugs have been accepted or rejected in no logical fashion. In the 1930s, the only government institution which accepted alcoholics and drug addicts,

based at Lara, was closed. After that, no sustained treatment programme was provided until a special ward at the Royal Park Psychiatric Hospital was opened for alcoholics in 1954.

Between 1933-34 and 1947-48, the per capita consumption of beer rose from 36.5 litres to 70.3 litres, an increase of 92.6 per cent. The relevance of 1947 is that the first meeting of Alcoholics Anonymous in Melbourne took place on 13 October. It attracted a strong core of membership because it offered hope to thousands who were being treated as either criminal or insane. The hope was combined with friendship, support, and concern. This was a major change from depersonalised and stigmatised institutional care.

Three events occurred in 1959 which ultimately proved to have a powerful impact. First was the foundation of an Alcoholics Anonymous group in Oakleigh, resulting in its firm establishment in 1961, and thriving as a major self-help group for persons whose lives were affected by the alcohol problem of a family member. Second, a survey at St Vincent's Hospital indicated that some 14 per cent of the medical inpatients were suffering from illnesses directly caused by the excessive use of alcohol. This resulted in 1964 in the formation of the Alcoholism Clinic within that hospital. The third was the formation of the Alcoholism Foundation of Victoria, created because a group of people in the community was very concerned at the magnitude and extent of what was described as Victoria's "greatest unsolved public health problem".

Existing legislation concerning the treatment of alcohol and drug dependent persons was amended from time to time. Nevertheless the original pattern of compulsory committal of alcoholics and drug addicts to institutions had been adhered to, and these provisions were re-enacted in the *Inebriates Act* 1958. In 1963-64, the Royal Commission into the Sale, Supply, Consumption and Disposal of Liquor received a clear demonstration of the relationship between alcohol consumption and social and health trauma. The Report recommended the introduction of 0.05 per cent blood alcohol legislation and dramatic changes in trading hours and conditions of supply.

The most significant change then to occur was the passing of the Alcohol and Drug Dependent Persons Act in 1968, although it was not proclaimed until 1974. It allowed for the creation of a range of treatment services under the care and control of the Victorian Government so that, by the time the Act was proclaimed, many of the much needed treatment services were already in existence, and many more were developed in the second half of the 1970s.

The Alcoholism Foundation of Victoria was renamed the Victorian Foundation on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (VFADD), and was responsible for drawing together persons from an extremely wide range of expertise derived from such fields as medicine, psychiatry, social and preventive medicine, pharmacology, pharmacy, social work, the law, police, judiciary, penal institutions, treatment services, counselling services, research centres, church groups, media representatives, and legislators. As a result, in 1969, VFADD published a very significant report devoted to the care and treatment of alcoholics in Victoria, followed by a second report entitled *Drug Dependence: The Scene in Victoria*.

An immediate aim of the Alcoholism Foundation of Victoria, formed in 1959, was to develop programmes in the work force. By 1979, these programmes were able to make use of an intervention technique, aimed at providing maximum helping resources to persons with alcohol and drug problems at the earliest possible stage, when the chances of successful recovery are at their greatest. The Foundation was also able to enlist the support of many employers and unions. These industry programmes were developed together with, and at the same time as, other intervention strategies, such as those designed to identify and assist drinking drivers.

Hence for the last 50 years, the overall community preoccupation has been with the question of how the community copes with persons who are alcohol and drug dependent. Until the 1970s, persons involved in the field of drug addiction and abuse worked in such a way as to reflect the belief of the community that medical treatment and the implementation of the law were the most effective ways of coping with addiction. More recently, the major area of attention moved from the treatment area to that of the early identification of drug problems. Increasingly there is concern with primary prevention in order to reduce the demand for the excessive use of mind altering drugs. These strategies are emerging together with systematic intervention processes and a range of suitable treatment provisions.

## DENTISTRY

In the 1930s and 1940s, the Australian College of Dentistry and the Dental Hospital of Melbourne were responsible, respectively, for dental education and service in Victoria. The former implemented the curriculum as determined by the Faculty of Dental Science of the University of Melbourne until 1963, when the staff of the College was formally taken over by the University. In 1947, the Faculty was strengthened by the creation of two additional Chairs, one in Conservative Dentistry and the other in Dental Prosthetics.

Both the College and the Dental Hospital occupied a building in Spring Street, Melbourne, and attempts to improve the overall service met with little success until 1935, when the Royal Melbourne Hospital Act allocated land for the purpose of a dental school and hospital on what was known as the "Haymarket Site". Planning was interrupted by lack of finance and the occurrence of the Second World War.

The accommodation at Spring Street had always been inadequate for both the service and educational needs of the College and the hospital, which was pushed beyond limits during the post-war influx of students. However, in spite of frequent submissions for extra staff to meet present and future needs, little was done in this regard, so that on entry to the new building in 1963, the first intake of 72 new students was met by a totally inadequate number of staff. To maintain standards and to develop research projects, the quota was reduced to 45, an action which caused political repercussions and the formation by the Minister of Health of the Dental Advisory Committee in 1965.

The research accommodation at Spring Street consisted of one small room, which was also known as the "Pathology Laboratory", the Professor being responsible for any hospital specimens. In 1934, a special dental materials laboratory was set up to study amalgams used in dental fillings. With its establishment, interest moved from the study of pathological aspects to that of materials used in dentistry. The laboratory did considerable work in relation to the quality of dental materials, which was of particular value during the war. In 1947, it was reconstituted as the Commonwealth Bureau of Dental Standards and taken over by the Commonwealth Government—it has since been known as the Australian Dental Standards Laboratory.

The Laboratory was separated from the College, and with it went the personnel, and most of the equipment. However, with the introduction of new Chairs to which reference has been made, research interest was redeveloped in the Dental School and appropriate accommodation planned for the new building. By the 1980s, the various laboratories were well equipped by international standards, and the members of Faculty share such large pieces of equipment as electron microscopes and modern testing machines. Since 1934, the most significant contributions have been in the field of dental materials and fluoridation.

Since 1963, the Dental Hospital has extended and raised the level of its services, so that now it recognises a number of specialist areas. Included in its activities are the supervision of peripheral clinics at country base hospitals and the establishment of clinics in educational institutions. Since the hospital is the only one in Victoria, its staff has felt that more peripheral clinics will be required in order to make available treatment in the areas where it is needed, so that the Dental Hospital can develop as a centre of specialised excellence.

In 1943, the Health Act incorporated the independent School Dental Service of the Education Department as a division of the Health Department.

There were proposals for specially trained dental nurses and with the passing of the Dentists Act in 1972, provision was made for the training and registration of school dental therapists, now undertaken by the Dental Health Branch of the Health Commission. Similarly, the Dental Technicians Act of 1972 allowed certain technicians who passed a stringent series of examinations, to deal directly with the public for the supply of dentures.

By the end of the 1970s, community dental health requirements needed to be examined and a service designed to meet these changing needs and train appropriate personnel. For economic and other reasons, there was a demand for more therapists whose activities could cover all age groups and most forms of restorative treatment. This would require fewer dentists, whose training and experience would be different from that of the last 50 years.

The most outstanding controversy in dental practice during this period was undoubtedly the question of fluoridation of domestic water supplies. Although there were some prominent academic dentists who were in opposition, the professional advice to State and local governments was that such a procedure would be beneficial to the population in

reducing the incidence of cavities. After many years of debate the Melbourne water supply was fluoridated in the early 1970s and local government water catchment areas were similarly treated. Opposition still remained intense in many community groups which variously claimed that such a procedure was an infringement of civil liberties or that fluoride would have serious toxic effects. This culminated in an inquiry being commissioned by the Victorian Government in 1979, the findings of which did not support the contention that there were harmful effects from fluoride in the quantities used in treatment of the water.

In the 1930s, orthodontic treatment was essentially of an empirical nature and consisted of moving teeth by mechanical means to give either a more pleasing appearance or a better occlusion. The subsequent development of stainless steel alloys, in a variety of forms and produced to strict tolerances, considerably widened the field of appliance therapy. The replacement of the very difficult gold soldering technique by spot welding which could be carried out at the chairside brought treatment to a much wider range of patients. Technical improvements have continued with the application of advances in the field of plastics research to specific dental problems, so that today orthodontic attachments may be cemented directly to the teeth. More recently the philosophy of treatment has changed with the development and application of special radiographic techniques in the study of the growth of the skull. Measurements can now be made and forecasts of growth predicted, and as a result the optimum time and best method of treatment may be determined.

In the late 1930s, the old treadle powered "foot engine" was replaced by an electric motor to drive the dental burr, but a true revolution in tooth preparation occurred in the mid-1940s with the application of precision engineering techniques to the production of miniature air driven turbines, by which burr speeds of up to 250,000 revolutions per minute could be obtained. The modern handpiece contains its own power source, operating light and cooling water spray and its efficient use requires the continuous presence of an assistant to manipulate the oral evacuator and retractor. The necessity for cooling the tooth during preparation resulted in oral evacuation units to supplement the familiar saliva ejector.

Physical strain on both patient and dentist directed attention to their comfort so that now the former is fully supported at a horizontal level with the dentist and nurse seated at a convenient operating height. The once familiar dental unit as a monolithic structure has now been replaced by low mobile trolleys with retractable hoses.

#### DENTISTS REGISTERED WITH THE DENTAL BOARD: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year	Total names on register	Year	Total names on register
1935	740	1970(a)	1,169
1940	686	1975 (a)	1,415
1945	634	1978(a)	1,745
1950	845	1979(a)	1,848
1955	982	1980	1,869
1960(a)	1,021	1981	1,881
1965(a)	1,060	1982	1,914

(a) At 30 September.

#### NURSING

Developments in nursing in Victoria since 1934 have been dominated by a trend towards independence, which in the 1930s had been typified by an increasing awareness by the community of the needs in certain areas of health and welfare. Concern about infant mortality and maternal welfare resulted in a longer training period for midwives and a new training programme for infant welfare services. Furthermore, the increasing interest in psychiatry led to the recognition of mental health as an important area of nursing

practice, although this did tend to be regarded by general nurses as of somewhat lower status, due probably to the deplorable conditions in mental hospitals prior to this period.

The next decade was characterised by increasing shortages of nurses, particularly in country hospitals, as large numbers joined the Armed Forces. This resulted in the acceptance of males as nursing trainees, and nursing aides were trained and registered—developments which were to continue to influence nursing practice in later years. There was also an increased demand for nurses brought about by medical advances, which not only increased the work load, but led to the delegation of more complex tasks, resulting in a demand for new technical skills and specialisation in nursing. However, it took some thirty years for Victorian nurses to question seriously whether increased knowledge about a medical speciality and technical competence would necessarily lead to improved nursing care and it is only in recent years that a satisfactory theoretical model, on which to form a sound basis for postgraduate programmes, has been established.

It was in 1956 that the Royal Victorian College of Nursing succeeded in persuading the Victorian Government to establish, by Act of Parliament, the Victorian Nursing Council. The Council was given wide powers to cover all aspects of nursing education, including conditions of training. Some years earlier, in 1949, some nurses were convinced that nurse teachers, hospital matrons, theatre supervisors, and ward sisters needed additional preparation for their responsibilities, and this led to the establishment of the College of Nursing, Australia, in St Kilda Road, Melbourne, purchased as a memorial to nurses who had been killed in two world wars. The first full-time postgraduate courses were commenced in 1950, followed in 1966 by the incorporation of nursing education into the Colleges of Advanced Education system.

The first new development in basic, or undergraduate, nursing education occurred in 1951 with the formation of the Melbourne School of Nursing. Using a programme of rotating study blocks, the education was at the forefront of other nursing courses in the State. However, the course terminated in 1963, although a similar school based in Bendigo continued. Nevertheless, both schools have had an important influence on the future of nursing in Victoria and a number of graduates are in leadership positions in the profession today.

A major pre-occupation in the 1960s was the development by the Victorian Nursing Council of a new curriculum for basic training. A proposal was presented in 1965, with 1970 as the tentative date for implementation. It was delayed by recommendations of a Committee of Inquiry into Nursing established by the Minister of Health, which ran counter to the thrust of the proposals. However, the Council stood firm; the new curriculum was introduced in 1972 and was mandatory by 30 June 1974. This event was of importance, not only because it enabled much needed and long delayed improvements in nursing education to be introduced, but also because it indicated the increasing aggression of the profession in the interests of its members.

During the 1970s, it was recognised that truly professional nursing practice could not be achieved if nurses continued to gain their basic preparation as employees of acute medical and surgical hospitals and that there was a need to provide more co-ordinated community nursing services and establish courses more appropriate to nursing practice outside hospitals. With the development of community health centres, the College of Nursing revised its Public Health Nursing Diploma Course, extending it to a year long programme. The College was concerned, not only that the course should prepare nurses for the centres who could foster integrated service, but also recognised that specialised services, such as maternal and child health, should continue. A four month infant welfare course conducted by the babies' homes was integrated into the diploma course in 1979.

In the 1970s, the conviction of the professional bodies was that all programmes leading to general nursing registration should prepare nurses for practice in all health care settings, including psychiatric and community health services, and should be conducted by colleges or universities at least at the level of a three year tertiary diploma. It was maintained that programmes for registered nurses should continue to be upgraded, at first to undergraduate degree level and later to postgraduate degree level. This policy was formulated subsequent to an important development in 1974 when the College of Nursing, affiliated since 1971 with the Victoria Institute of Colleges as an autonomous College, commenced the first College three year basic course leading to registration as a general nurse. Three similar



courses were established in other States in the following year and, in 1976, a second Victorian College, the Preston Institute of Technology, commenced a basic diploma programme in conjunction with a major teaching hospital.

There has been a steady progress in nursing education from hospital conducted apprentice-type preparation to the professional College conducted programme, comparable with courses preparing other practitioners in the health services. In 1930 there were 4,368 nurses with General Nursing Certificate qualifications registered in Victoria; the number in 1981 had increased to 38,813.

## SOCIAL WELFARE

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### INTRODUCTION

This Chapter describes the changing approach to aspects of community welfare in Victoria since 1934. It includes a review of income security services, the government and non-government welfare services available in Victoria for family, community, ethnic, and special needs groups, and also examines statutory services for young persons, correctional services, and the training of social welfare personnel.

Social welfare attitudes and the resultant programmes have developed in Victoria since 1934 largely through increased co-operation by Commonwealth, State, and local governments, voluntary welfare organisations, self help groups and community welfare services organised by local, regional, or State based special interest groups.

Years of economic hardship during the Depression made substantial relief programmes necessary, because at that time, there was no adequate income security in Australia. By the end of the 1930s some economic recovery had occurred, although the Second World War changed social life and brought rationing and disruption to families. The great demand for labour, especially in the growing manufacturing industries, also began to change the role of women in the labour force. The return to peace ushered in the period of Australia's sustained economic growth from the 1950s to the 1970s. This was accompanied by a rapid growth in population due to expanding immigration and natural increase, and also brought about great social changes.

Numerous Commonwealth, State, and regional studies were undertaken during the period, covering many aspects of community welfare, the rights and responsibilities of citizens in the community, and the problems and needs of groups regarded as being at risk. Studies conducted include those in the early 1940s of the Commonwealth Joint Parliamentary Committee on Social Security; Comprehensive Health Schemes (1943 and 1945); Commonwealth Hospital Scheme and Hospitalisation (1944); Care of the Aged (1974) (Commonwealth Social Welfare Commission); Commonwealth Committee of Inquiry into Rehabilitation and Compensation (1974); Inquiry into Poverty in Australia (1975); Inquiry into National Superannuation (1976); Report of the Victorian Committee on Mental Retardation (1977); Royal Commission on Human Relationships (1977); Report of the Review of Post Arrival Programmes and Services for Migrants (1978); The Future of Social Welfare in Victoria (1978); The Board of Review into Local Government (1980); Community Welfare Priorities (1982); and Income Security for Victorians (1982).

In 1981-82, Commonwealth welfare programmes absorbed 26.6 per cent of Commonwealth Government outlays, while expenditure by the Victorian Government and by Victorian local government on welfare functions was 1.9 per cent and 5.8 per cent, respectively, of State and local government expenditure.

Both the Commonwealth and Victorian Governments, particularly in the latter part of the period under review, have tended to direct welfare programmes selectively to those most in need of government support. In addition, there has been a greater involvement by voluntary organisations and local community groups in the distribution of financial and other resources.

As welfare concessions give expression to community concern, they provide discriminatory advantages to those who can establish a greater need for assistance. Income maintenance systems, which originally began in 1908, gradually increased in scope over the years and were supplemented by financial support programmes, assistance in kind, or concessions to

meet the extra demands and needs of specific disadvantaged groups such as the handicapped, the chronically ill, the homeless, and others. Of particular importance have been the concessions granted to certain social security pensioners and beneficiaries and their dependants, who could meet eligibility criteria. The original major concession was the provision, in 1951, of free medical service by a general practitioner and free pharmaceutical services, but concessions were also given by Commonwealth, State, and local governments, voluntary organisations (including a continuance of the emergency relief practices of the past), and by places of entertainment, among other agencies.

The Commonwealth Government instituted an inquiry into social welfare in 1976, because no adequate information seemed to be readily available on the effectiveness of Australian health and welfare services in meeting community needs. The Report from the Senate Standing Committee on Social Welfare, *Through a Glass, Darkly*, concluded that the health and welfare system in Australia was neither rational nor planned in any comprehensive manner. Specifically, there was insufficient knowledge of needs, very few stated goals or objectives, few standards of performance or provision, and a lack of adequate data which would enable evaluation to take place.

### CONCEPTS OF SOCIAL WELFARE

Debates about social welfare concepts since the 1930s have included differences of opinion about the nature of social welfare; differences between beliefs held by welfare agencies and recipients; and differing conclusions about the way resources should be allocated. There have also been differences between concepts of individual freedom and collective responsibility, including the extent of State intervention that is desirable in the private lives of citizens. There have also been differences of opinion between advocates of social welfare (which is heavily emphasised in current thinking with its focus on family counselling and support and localised services) and social control (which is strongly reflected in past practice and tends to rely on punishment).

In the early history of welfare in Victoria, most relief for the poor came from voluntary and charitable organisations. This relief was offered to the "deserving" poor; charity was selective and recipients were expected to manifest a sense of responsibility. The Victorian Government intervened mainly on behalf of the children of the "undeserving" poor. Such judgemental attitudes persisted well into the twentieth century. Then, shortly after Federation, the Commonwealth Government took over payment of invalid and age pensions. However, it was not until the Depression years that the inadequacies of private charitable assistance became fully evident and the Commonwealth Government began to take an increasing responsibility for income security. For a long time this kind of assistance was seen as charity and an affront to self-esteem, but it came to be almost universally accepted as a right when needed.

The Commonwealth Government first exercised its constitutional welfare powers in 1908 by passing the Commonwealth Invalid and Old Age Pension Act (which introduced an age pension from July 1909 and an invalid pension from December 1910). At that time the Commonwealth Government had the power to make "welfare" laws only in relation to invalid and old age pensions. In 1945, legislation to provide pharmaceutical benefits free of charge was declared unconstitutional and doubts were raised about the validity of other measures for which there appeared to be no specific constitutional provision. In 1946, following a successful referendum to rectify this situation, the constitutional powers of the Commonwealth Government were widened to encompass the provision of maternity allowances, widows pensions, child endowment, unemployment, pharmaceutical, sickness and hospital benefits, medical and dental services, and benefits to students and family allowances (initially known as child endowment). As the Commonwealth Government entered a specific field, corresponding State Government programmes were discontinued.

Although the Victorian Government originally assumed responsibility for supplementing the income of indigent mothers, income security came to be regarded as a Commonwealth responsibility and delivery of most welfare services as a State responsibility. The State attempted to achieve this delivery largely by funding, supporting, and monitoring the services of voluntary organisations concerned with the well-being of citizens.

Although approaches have changed significantly since 1934, such change has usually

reflected an altered focus for intervention rather than an about-face in practice. Under the approach adopted by the former Children's Welfare Department, parents were advised and subsidised, or deprived of their children so that the children would not suffer. The well-being of the individual child was seen as a sufficient reason for intervention. The parents' rights tended to be ignored (which often meant that the child's right to parental relationships was also ignored). For example, up to the early 1970s, parents were often discouraged from maintaining contact with their children who then remained wards of the State until they reached 18 years of age. This pattern reflected the belief, which was current in the 1930s, that the way to break children out of hereditary poverty, was to remove them from their environment as infants and raise them through a succession of babies homes, children's homes, hostels, or training farms.

In the late 1950s, increased emphasis was placed on family welfare. However, individuals rather than the family remained the prime centre for intervention until the 1970s, when family functioning became increasingly emphasised, coinciding with the growing belief that services should be available to families by right to meet needs as they arose, and should not merely be provided after major problems had already developed. This approach has led to efforts which reinforce community participation in the family's welfare. Thus, needs were identified at an earlier stage and appropriate locally based and locally supported services developed. The focus has moved away from services for the problematic child towards the development of community responses to the needs of families as a whole. Localised family counselling, as part of the regionalisation programme, dealt with such matters as children's behaviour, marital difficulties, neglect or maltreatment of children, financial difficulties, accommodation problems, and problems related to the aged, the unemployed, and the sick.

One of the strongest forces behind the thrust towards community acceptance of social welfare responsibilities has been the development of the self help movement. Special interest groups which were often the victims of various forms of inequality, have banded together for mutual support and greater political effectiveness. Self help is a component of the broader movement of "voluntarism", which denotes voluntary effort by many individuals on behalf of welfare programmes including those of self help organisations. Volunteers are an essential element in the provision of welfare services, and the early statutory programmes, including probation, made extensive use of them. As welfare services made more use of qualified social workers in the 1960s, less use was made of voluntary workers, but the 1970s and early 1980s have witnessed a reassessment of their contribution to the welfare system.

## COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT WELFARE SERVICES

### **Development of income security services**

Recognition of Commonwealth involvement in income security dates from the Federal Convention of 1897-98. The Commonwealth Constitution included specific powers to enact legislation for provision of "old age and invalid pensions", which was subsequently introduced in 1908 and superseded existing State provisions. This followed recognition during the 1890s (a period of severe economic depression) that the aged and infirm constituted the most vulnerable and needy group in a population which was ageing, as the rate of immigration declined following the end of the gold rush era.

Response to the needs of specific groups, rather than the establishment of a universal system, is a significant feature of the history of income security in Australia. Despite attempts to introduce national insurance schemes and debate about universal income maintenance systems, the non-contributory selective fixed payment system has been retained and expanded, including the development since 1914 of a parallel repatriation system for ex-service personnel. The introduction of maternity allowances in 1912 constituted a rare exception to the selective system, since it was payable to all mothers without a means test.

By 1934, as Australia was recovering from the Depression, only a small proportion of the population was eligible for Commonwealth income maintenance benefits. Together with strict means tests and residency requirements, a feature of the early pensions legislation was the exclusion of "aliens", Asiatics, Aborigines, certain criminals, inmates of institutions, and those who had deserted a spouse. Applications for an old age pension

were submitted to magistrates for recommendation and successful applicants had to be "of good character" (a provision that was removed in 1974). If applicants for the invalid pension were "adequately maintained" by "near relatives", their contribution would be counted as income (a provision repealed in 1952). Most of these judgemental provisions were allowed to fall into practical disuse long before their repeal, but they illustrate the attitudes prevailing at the time of their introduction. The maximum pension rate in 1934 was \$1.75, having been reduced under the *Financial Emergency Act* 1931, but the rate was restored to \$2 in 1938. From 1933, pensions were adjusted with cost of living index changes. This was repealed in 1937, when application of this adjustment meant a reduction in pension rates. Apart from re-introduction for a short time in 1940, this practice was not resumed until 1976.

The repatriation system developed as a result of public opinion which accepted that ex-service personnel were entitled to compensation. It provided war pensions to veterans or their dependants for incapacity or death. This was extended in 1935 to provide service pensions at 60 years of age (55 for females) to ex-service personnel who had served in a theatre of war.

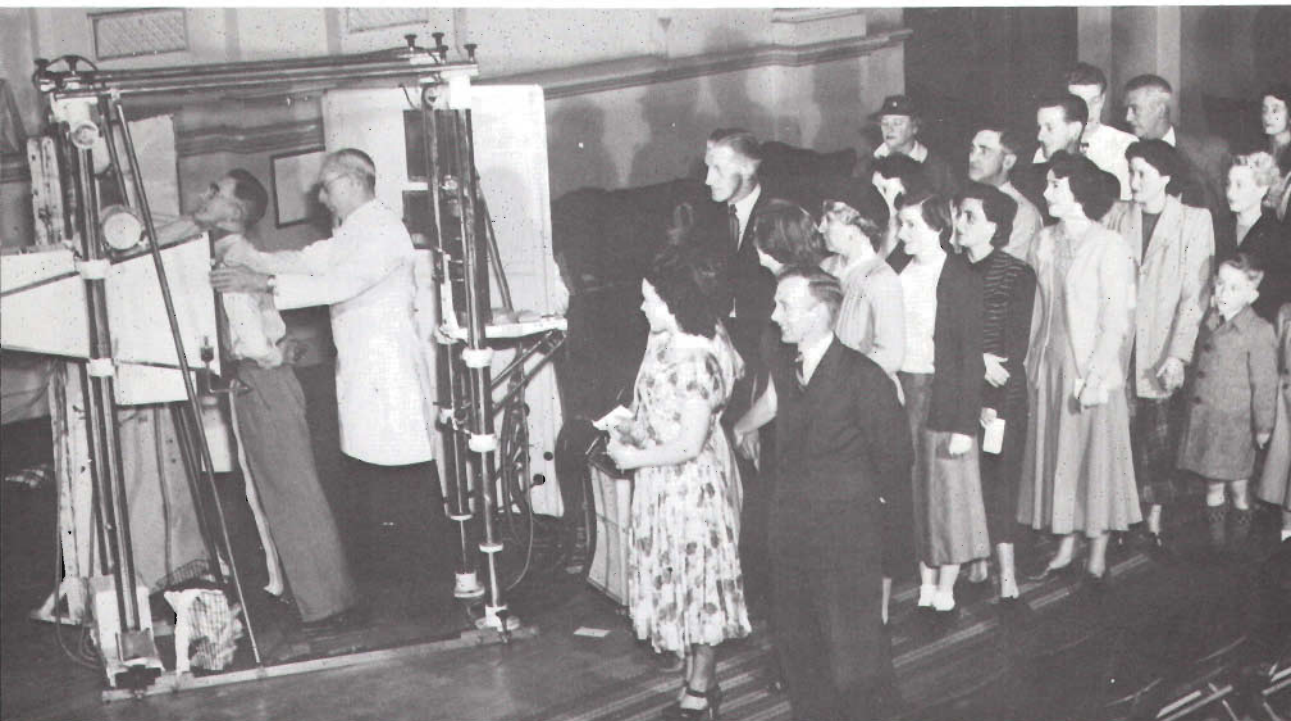
Further expansion of income security was hindered by financial restraints arising from the Depression. The National Health and Pensions Insurance Act was passed in 1938, its notable features being the omission of unemployment insurance (largely because of administrative difficulties) and the inclusion of widows' pensions and sickness and medical benefits. However, this scheme was never implemented.

Uniform taxation legislation, introduced in 1942 during the war, increased the Commonwealth Government's capacity to fund a wide range of measures. The referendum and subsequent constitutional amendment in 1946 allotted new powers to the Commonwealth Government, recognising current developments in income security provisions. Administrative responsibility had been transferred from the Treasury to the new Department of Social Services in 1941 and a Joint Parliamentary Committee on Social Security was established. In the nine reports produced by this Committee between 1941 and 1946 there was a recurring recommendation that a consolidated Act, giving scope for future developments, be introduced.

Before consolidation in 1947, three Acts were passed which extended income security provisions. The Commonwealth *Child Endowment Act* 1941 initiated a universal scheme for flat-rate payments for all dependent children except the first (endowment of the first child was subsequently introduced in 1950). Such payments were seen as being more equitable than tax concessions for dependants, which generally benefited to a greater extent those on higher incomes. Amending taxation legislation in 1941 abolished such concessions for endowed children, but these were partially reintroduced in 1942. Child endowment in 1941 was set at 50 cents per week for each eligible child. This was increased to 75 cents in 1945 and to \$1 per week in 1948. The amount for the first child was 50 cents per week when introduced in 1950, i.e., at a lower rate than for other children and this distinction still continues. In 1964, family responsibilities for student children above the age of 16 years were recognised within the income security framework and child endowment was extended. Child endowment was replaced by family allowances in 1975 at substantially increased rates, and tax deductions for dependent children were abolished for the same reason as was given in 1941. For many families the resultant income shift from father to mother was a significant side-effect.

The Commonwealth *Widows' Pension Act* 1942 provided for the payment of three classes of pension, depending on the woman's circumstances. The term "widows" included divorcees, deserted wives, and the wives of men in prison or in hospitals for the insane. Widows without children were eligible for the new pension at 50 years of age, i.e., ten years earlier than the qualifying age for the age pension.

During the Depression, unemployment assistance in Victoria consisted of relief funded by the Victorian Government from special taxation and administered through local government. It was provided not in cash but in the form of sustenance orders or rations and usually in return for work, and was sometimes supplemented by food, clothing, and other items distributed by charitable organisations. Proposed legislation to establish a national unemployment insurance system in the late 1930s was not passed by the Commonwealth Parliament because of problems of cost and administration. However,



Free chest x rays being taken in the Melbourne Town Hall as part of the campaign against tuberculosis in 1962.

*Health Commission*

The new premises of the Sunbury Community Health Centre, opened on 18 June 1974.

*Health Commission*

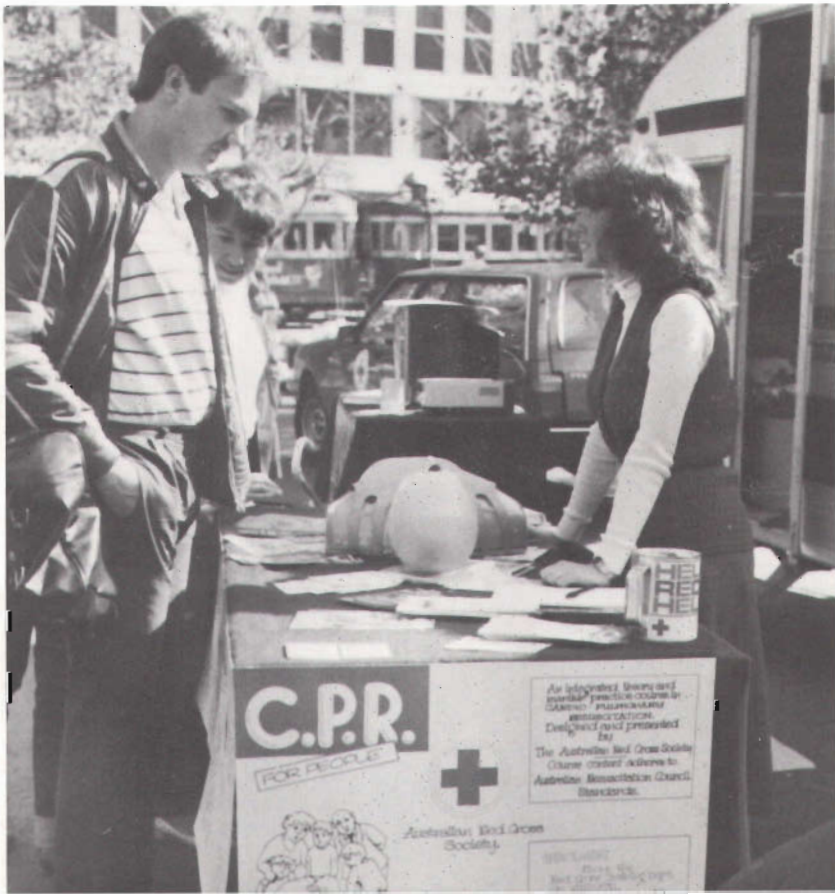




Trainees at work at the sheltered workshop of Ozanam Industries, Mornington.  
*Society of St Vincent de Paul*

The Red Cross promotes the knowledge of first aid, including Cardio Pulmonary Resuscitation, in order to save lives and minimise injury. In May 1983, the Red Cross mounted a display in the Melbourne City Square to celebrate World Red Cross Day.

*Australian Red Cross Society*





The Sharing Centre was established at Mission House, Fitzroy, in 1981. Apart from distributing clothing and furniture, this community centre operates a credit union and various co-operative shops to assist low income people and families.

*Brotherhood of St Laurence*

Odyssey House was established in June 1980 to help people suffering from drug addiction. This involves the administration of a therapeutic, drug-free programme of approximately two years duration, and patients live at the centre to encourage a community spirit.

*Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*







The Morwell River Reforestation Prison produces eucalypt seedlings in tubes for reforestation, mainly in the Strzelecki Ranges.

*Forests Commission, Victoria*

Handicapped children playing basketball in front of an adapted goal at the Marathon Spastic Children's Centre, 1972.

*Education Department of Victoria*



when the control of manpower became a Commonwealth responsibility as a result of the outbreak of the Second World War, the National Service offices thus established provided the administrative framework for the implementation of a national scheme, for which the later need to be able to deal with large numbers of ex-service personnel added the political impetus.

The Commonwealth *Unemployment and Sickness Benefit Act 1944* introduced benefits for the unemployed who were willing and able to work and for those temporarily unfit for work. The provisions departed from those followed by other countries which usually required a three party contributory scheme in that the Australian scheme was financed through the National Welfare Fund. Under this legislation all eligible unemployed persons and the temporarily sick, aged between 16 and 65 years for males (60 for females) received financial support. A special benefit was also included for those ineligible for other pension or benefit but "unable to earn a sufficient livelihood". This was interpreted for particular cases, but in practice a number of specific categories of recipients developed over time, for example, persons caring for sick relations, single pregnant women in the last six weeks of pregnancy, aged migrants without residential qualifications for the pension, and unemployed persons suffering hardship but not qualifying for unemployment benefit.

Additional benefits granted in the 1940s included Funeral Benefits (1943) and Wife's Allowance (1943). Finally, the Social Services Consolidation Act was passed in 1947, repealing all previous Acts relating to social security, apart from repatriation.

A new approach to financing social security came through the National Welfare Fund, whereby a specific levy from income tax (a social services contribution tax) was used exclusively for financing social services. This operated from 1945 until 1950, when income tax again became a single levy on income.

The Commonwealth *Social Services Consolidation Act 1947* allowed for further benefits by including the words "and for other purposes" in its coverage. The first significant amendment was the establishment of the Commonwealth Rehabilitation Service in 1948, providing for the treatment and vocational training of invalid pensioners and unemployment or sickness beneficiaries. In 1977, eligibility was extended to cover any person, between the ages of 14 and 65 years for males (60 for females), who would be likely to derive substantial benefit from treatment or training. Thus the programme has not been limited to assisting persons to re-enter the labour force, but has also sought to help persons perform household duties or lead a more independent life at home.

The year 1951 saw the beginning of free medical practitioner services and the supply of medicines to pensioners and their dependants, the cost of which was met by the Commonwealth Government. Blind pensioners had received special concessions since 1912, and from 1952, a minimum pension was paid to a blind person free of any means test. Additional pension, however, remained subject to a means test until 1954, when total exemption from the means test came into effect. Also, at that time, invalids between the ages of 16 and 21 years were able to receive an invalid pension in their own right, without regard to the capacity of their parents to support them.

Supplementary assistance for age, invalid, and widow pensioners who paid rent, or who paid for their board and lodging, and who had limited means, was introduced in 1958. This recognised that some pensioners were in greater financial need than others. In 1970 supplementary assistance was extended to persons who had been in receipt of sickness benefit for more than six weeks.

A major change took place in the pension means test in 1961. The separate property and income tests which had previously formed the means test were combined to form the "Merged Means Test" under which means were calculated by adding personal earnings to 10 per cent of the value of property. In 1969, the "Tapered Means Test" was introduced. This extended the upper limits of means at which pensions ceased to be payable. A major development occurred in 1976 when the value of property (assets) for pension assessment purposes was disregarded altogether and a new "Income Test" was applied.

In 1963, a fundamental change in the structure of Australian pensions took place. Since Commonwealth pensions were first introduced in 1909, the maximum rate of pension had always been the same for all age and invalid pensioners, with the result that a married pensioner couple received twice the amount payable to a single pensioner. The new procedure provided that a sole pensioner should receive a maximum pension at a higher

rate than that of each of a pensioner couple, leading to the introduction of the "standard" and "married" rates of pension.

The Mother's Allowance was introduced for widow pensioners with children in 1963, and in 1965, the Guardian's Allowance came into operation for single, widowed, or divorced age or invalid pensioners with children in their care and control.

Other significant extensions of social service payments have included the introduction of the Sheltered Employment Allowance (1967), the Double Orphan's Pension (1973), and the Handicapped Child's Allowance (1975). The needs of single mothers, who were ineligible for the Widow's Pension, were recognised by introducing the Supporting Mother's Benefit (1973), which was subsequently replaced by the Supporting Parent's Benefit (1977), offering assistance for the first time to lone fathers. This benefit was paid after the parent had received assistance for up to six months through State Government welfare departments under the Commonwealth *States Grants (Deserted Wives) Act* 1968. However, in 1980 the Social Services Act was amended to extend payment of Special Benefits to cover the initial period and the Victorian Government ceased these family assistance payments.

Initially there were no "fringe benefits" for pensioners, but these have come to be regarded as a significant component of pension schemes. Services include: medical, public hospital treatment and accommodation, optometrical, hearing, pharmaceutical, and nursing home benefits. Other benefits include: concessions for travel, council and water rates, telephone rental, and third party insurance. Eligibility for Pensioner Health Benefit (PHB) and Concession Cards has become dependent on an income test and was extended to cover supporting parent beneficiaries in Victoria, from 1 July 1983.

The following tables show the distribution of income in Victoria for the years 1968-69, 1973-74, and 1978-79, and information relating to pensions, allowances, and benefits for the period 1934-35 to 1981-82.

ALL INCOME RECIPIENTS, TOTAL INCOME: VICTORIA,  
1968-69, 1973-74, AND 1978-79  
(per cent)

Total income \$	Males			Females			Total		
	1968-69	1973-74	1978-79	1968-69	1973-74	1978-79	1968-69	1973-74	1978-79
1 and under 1,000	12.2	5.9	2.1	56.0	33.6	20.2	33.5	19.6	11.2
1,000 and under 2,000	10.9	9.7	2.5	24.3	24.2	8.2	17.5	16.9	5.4
2,000 and under 3,000	24.2	6.1	8.6	13.1	11.0	16.3	18.8	8.5	12.5
3,000 and under 4,000	23.8	7.7	5.6	3.5	11.4	10.7	13.9	9.5	8.2
4,000 and under 5,000	13.6	12.2	3.8	1.4	8.0	6.6	7.7	10.1	5.2
5,000 and under 6,000	6.4	15.3	4.3	0.7	5.3	4.8	3.6	10.4	4.5
6,000 and under 7,000	3.3	13.9	4.3	0.4	2.6	5.7	1.9	8.3	5.0
7,000 and under 8,000	1.7	9.0	5.4	0.2	1.3	5.3	1.0	5.2	5.4
8,000 and under 10,000	1.6	9.5	14.5	0.1	1.4	10.5	0.9	5.5	12.5
10,000 and under 12,000	1.1	4.7	14.5	0.1	0.6	5.7	0.6	2.7	10.1
12,000 and under 15,000	—	2.7	15.9	—	0.3	4.1	—	1.5	10.0
15,000 and under 20,000	—	—	12.5	—	—	—	—	—	6.9
20,000 and under 25,000	1.3	3.5	3.3	0.1	0.3	1.8	0.7	1.9	1.8
25,000 and over	—	—	2.5	—	—	—	—	—	1.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Number ('000)</b>	<b>1,107.8</b>	<b>1,202.9</b>	<b>1,273.7</b>	<b>1,052.2</b>	<b>1,183.8</b>	<b>1,296.2</b>	<b>2,160.0</b>	<b>2,386.7</b>	<b>2,569.9</b>
<b>Median income (\$)</b>	<b>3,070</b>	<b>5,510</b>	<b>9,840</b>	<b>780</b>	<b>1,420</b>	<b>3,380</b>	<b>1,940</b>	<b>3,530</b>	<b>6,530</b>
<b>Mean income (\$)</b>	<b>3,420</b>	<b>5,910</b>	<b>10,280</b>	<b>1,190</b>	<b>2,260</b>	<b>4,760</b>	<b>2,340</b>	<b>4,100</b>	<b>7,490</b>

## COMMONWEALTH PENSIONS AND BENEFITS: VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1981-82

Year	Age and invalid pensions (a)			Widows' pensions (b)		Supporting parents' benefits (c)		States Grants (Deserted Wives) Act (d)	Sickness benefits (e)		Special benefits (e)		Unemployment benefits (e)		Pensions/benefits (f) per 1,000 estimated mean population Victoria
	Number of age pensions	Number of invalid pensions	Total amount paid (g)	Number granted	Amount paid (g)	Number granted	Amount paid (g)	Amount paid (g)	Number granted	Amount paid (g)	Number granted	Amount paid (g)	Number granted	Amount paid (g)	
			\$'000		\$'000		\$'000	\$'000		\$'000		\$'000		\$'000	
1934-35	58,059	17,253	6,427	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	41.0
1939-40	76,081	12,739	8,827	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	46.7
1944-45	67,240	12,598	11,209	12,614	1,599	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	46.1
1949-50	84,831	14,328	21,568	11,060	2,198	..	..	..	15,120	436	21,642	283	1,037	13	67.0
1954-55	106,406	17,074	43,054	9,801	3,244	..	..	..	13,095	775	988	161	2,398	199	59.5
1959-60	(h)136,098	(h)17,546	71,870	12,547	5,832	..	..	..	13,672	1,092	1,141	296	17,635	1,871	69.5
1964-65	162,108	26,794	107,408	16,426	11,764	..	..	..	15,682	1,644	2,029	537	11,394	1,160	74.1
1969-70(i)	206,608	29,753	163,349	23,318	21,671	..	..	101	15,682	(j)1,956	4,326	1,017	20,038	1,795	87.0
1974-75	(k)306,412	(k)45,259	(k)500,745	34,056	66,471	7,511	15,786	1,256	31,569	(l)18,193	3,470	(l)2,560	175,596	(l)66,361	162.4
1979-80(m)	363,863	73,958	1,124,384	45,327	149,630	14,004	51,666	(n)4,967	30,600	31,206	(n)15,250	(n)14,416	178,900	204,665	185.7
1980-81	369,767	73,080	1,259,512	(n)45,663	172,138	(n)20,660	(n)80,499	(n)194	30,900	40,544	(n)15,100	(n)17,854	177,900	234,169	191.3
1981-82	367,345	72,989	1,429,898	45,824	196,675	23,347	114,766	..	33,075	54,928	12,772	16,761	186,205	281,599	186.7

(a) Up to and including 1954-55, excludes pensions to persons in benevolent homes.

(b) Became payable from June 1942. The term "widow" may include in certain cases, a deserted wife, a divorcee, a woman whose husband has been imprisoned for at least six months, and a woman whose husband is in a mental hospital.

(c) Became payable on 3 June 1973. From November 1977, provision was made to include supporting fathers. Supporting parent's benefit was then paid in lieu of Supporting mother's benefit.

(d) Came into operation on 1 January 1968 in other States (Victoria April 1970). Under the Act the Commonwealth subsidised the States in respect of income for families ineligible for benefits under the Social Services Act, including deserted/separated wives in their first six months of desertion/separation.

(e) Sickness, special and unemployment benefits were commenced from 1 July 1945. An income test and residency qualification were applied. Rates of benefits, other than additional benefit for a child, were doubled from 1952. Special benefit statistics exclude special benefits to migrants in Reception and Training Centres.

(f) Total number of pensions and benefits exclude sheltered workshop allowances and war and service pensions. Population is estimated at 31 December (mid-point).

(g) Amount includes wife's allowance (from 1943) later replaced by wife's pension (from 1972); additional benefits for a child under 16 years (from 1945); subsequent children (from 1956); supplementary assistance (from 1958); guardian's allowance/mother's allowance (from 1963); and dependent students (from 1964), where applicable.

(h) In 1960, statistical adjustments were made to correct invalid pensions to age pensions, where applicable.

(i) Liberalisation of the means test resulted in a higher number of grants of pensions.

(j) Long-term rate of sickness benefit introduced, payable after six weeks on benefit (from September 1970).

(k) Liberalisation of the means test in October 1972. Eligibility of pensioners aged 75 years and over to payment of part pensions free of the means test (from 1973), extended to pensioners aged 70 years and over (from 1975), resulted in a higher number of pensions granted.

(l) Rates of pensions raised considerably. Rates of sickness, special, and unemployment benefits brought into parity with pensions. Abolition of the long-term sickness benefit rate.

(m) A higher number of pensions were granted as a result of the new Income Test (excluded value of property and assets).

(n) State "Family assistance" to deserted/separated wives (first six months) phased out. State assistance ceased 1 January 1980. Special benefits were payable in the interim period until the six months qualifying period was met.

Source: Department of Social Security, Annual Reports.

## COMMONWEALTH ALLOWANCES AND BENEFITS: VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1981-82

Year	Maternity allowances (a)		Child endowment/Family allowances (b)				Double orphans' pensions (c)			Handicapped child's allowances (d) amount paid	Sheltered employment allowances (e)		Funeral benefits (f)		
	Number granted	Amount paid	Number of families	Number of children/dependent students in —		Amount paid	Number of guardians	Number of institutions	Number of orphans		Amount paid	Number of allowances	Amount paid	Number of claims granted	Amount paid
				families	institutions					\$'000					
1934-35	19,940	172	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
1939-40	19,660	210	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
1944-45	40,582	1,296	131,526	224,146	(g)4,995	5,970	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,157	100	
1949-50	49,035	1,556	168,904	452,333	4,422	(h)15,327	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,370	143	
1954-55	55,720	1,784	350,395	729,399	4,709	27,470	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,262	187	
1959-60	62,853	2,016	403,934	874,014	5,365	33,926	..	..	..	..	..	..	n.a.	n.a.	
1964-65	64,424	2,058	482,327	1,018,685	4,976	48,018	..	..	..	..	..	..	n.a.	(i)224	
1969-70	72,259	2,297	553,168	1,142,296	5,657	(h)62,419	..	..	..	..	..	—	12,759	382	
1974-75	62,955	1,978	600,507	1,186,411	4,755	62,885	368	15	687	291	248	—	14,184	417	
1979-80	..	..	560,636	1,149,859	2,580	(j)283,162	767	21	1,076	503	5,805	1,514	4,507	12,623	379
1980-81	..	..	561,524	1,141,803	2,541	258,358	807	21	1,106	628	5,759	1,612	5,442	12,876	392
1981-82	..	..	564,184	1,142,101	2,389	282,958	808	21	1,072	858	6,379	1,744	6,579	12,290	379

(a) Lump sum cash grants payable to mother on birth of a child, commenced from 10 October 1912, abolished 1 November 1978.

(b) A flat-rate payment to parents (usually the mother), for children after the first (from 1 July 1941), extended to include first child (from 20 June 1950). Child endowment was extended to include dependent student children aged 16 to 21 years from 14 January 1964. From 15 June 1976, new rates and conditions applied for a combined scheme known as "Family allowances", which covers children aged under 16 years and students aged 16 to 24 years, inclusive.

(c) Paid to a guardian of, or institution caring for, an orphan under 16 years or dependent full-time student under 25 years, from 9 October 1973 (free of means test and taxation).

(d) Paid to parents or guardians caring for a seriously handicapped child in their own home, commenced 1 January 1975 (free of means test and taxation).

(e) Payment made to persons who worked in approved sheltered workshops as an alternative to, and at the same rate and condition as, invalid pensions (from 1967).

(f) Lump sum payment to cover the cost of the funeral of a deceased pensioner, payable from 1 July 1943. Extended to pensioners liable to pay the cost of the funeral of another pensioner, a spouse or dependent child, from 1 October 1965.

(g) Children maintained in institutions, eligible for endowment from 1942.

(h) Five 12 weekly payments in year. Includes payment for first child.

(i) Includes higher rates.

(j) Rates of family allowances raised. Tax deduction for dependent children/students abolished.

Source: Department of Social Security, Annual Reports.

## MAXIMUM WEEKLY RATES OF PENSIONS AND ALLOWANCES: VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1981-82

(\$)

Year	Average weekly earnings (a) employed male unit	Age and invalid pensions (b)			Widow's pension (c)/ supporting parent's benefit (d)		Unemployment, special, and sickness benefits (e)					Additional allowances																																																																			
		Standard/ single rate	Married rate (each)	Wife's pension/allowance (f)	Class A widow (g)	Class B and C widows	Single person		Adult/married minor	Dependent spouse	Married rate (each)	Guardian's/ single parent's allowance (h)	First child/ student (i)	Second and subsequent child/ student (i)	Supplementary assistance (j)																																																																
							16 to 17 years	18 to 20 years																																																																							
1934-35	..	(k)1.75	1.75	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..																																																																
1939-40	..	(k)2.00	2.00	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..																																																																
1944-45	13.42	(k)3.25	3.25	1.50	3.20	2.70	..	..	..	..	..	0.50	..	..	..																																																																
1949-50	20.16	4.25	4.25	2.40	4.75	(l)3.70	1.50	2.00	2.50	2.00	..	0.90	..	..	..																																																																
1954-55	35.30	7.00	7.00	3.50	7.50	5.75	3.00	4.00	5.00	4.00	..	1.15	..	..	..																																																																
1959-60	45.50	9.50	9.50	3.50	10.00	8.25	3.50	4.75	6.50	4.75	..	1.15	1.00	1.00	1.00																																																																
1964-65	56.40	(m)12.00	(m)11.00	6.00	12.00	10.75	3.50	4.75	8.25	6.00	..	4.00	1.50	1.50	1.00																																																																
1969-70	78.40	15.00	13.25	7.00	15.00	13.25	4.50	6.00	10.00	7.00	..	4.00	2.50	3.50	2.00																																																																
1974-75	147.80	36.00	30.00	30.00	36.00	36.00	36.00	36.00	(m)36.00	(m)..	30.00	4.00	7.00	7.00	5.00																																																																
Single adult 18 years and over (n)																																																																															
<table border="1" style="width:100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th colspan="2"></th> <th colspan="2">Without dependant/s</th> <th colspan="2">With dependant/s</th> <th colspan="2"></th> <th colspan="2"></th> <th colspan="2"></th> <th colspan="2"></th> <th colspan="2"></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>1979-80(k)</td> <td>248.80</td> <td>61.05</td> <td>50.85</td> <td>50.85</td> <td>61.05</td> <td>61.05</td> <td>36.00</td> <td>51.45</td> <td>61.05</td> <td>50.85</td> <td>4.00</td> <td>7.50</td> <td>7.50</td> <td>5.00</td> <td>5.00</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1980-81</td> <td>280.60</td> <td>66.65</td> <td>55.05</td> <td>55.05</td> <td>66.65</td> <td>66.65</td> <td>36.00</td> <td>53.45</td> <td>66.65</td> <td>55.05</td> <td>6.00</td> <td>10.00</td> <td>10.00</td> <td>5.00</td> <td>5.00</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1981-82</td> <td>328.70</td> <td>74.15</td> <td>61.80</td> <td>61.80</td> <td>74.15</td> <td>74.15</td> <td>36.00</td> <td>58.10</td> <td>74.15</td> <td>61.80</td> <td>6.00</td> <td>10.00</td> <td>10.00</td> <td>8.00</td> <td>8.00</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>																		Without dependant/s		With dependant/s												1979-80(k)	248.80	61.05	50.85	50.85	61.05	61.05	36.00	51.45	61.05	50.85	4.00	7.50	7.50	5.00	5.00	1980-81	280.60	66.65	55.05	55.05	66.65	66.65	36.00	53.45	66.65	55.05	6.00	10.00	10.00	5.00	5.00	1981-82	328.70	74.15	61.80	61.80	74.15	74.15	36.00	58.10	74.15	61.80	6.00	10.00	10.00	8.00	8.00
		Without dependant/s		With dependant/s																																																																											
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(a) Commenced in 1941. Latest series taken for appropriate year.

(b) The "means test" was applied for the full rate of pension and additional allowances to become payable. From 1973, age pensioners 75 years and over became eligible for a lower rate of pension regardless of "other income". From 1975, the qualifying age was reduced to 70 years and over.

(c) Became payable from June 1942. The term "widow" may include in certain cases, a deserted wife, a divorcee, a woman whose husband has been imprisoned for at least six months, and a woman whose husband is in a mental hospital.

(d) Supporting mother's benefit, payable from 3 June 1973, was replaced by supporting parent's benefit, when eligibility was extended to sole fathers on 10 November 1977. Rates as for widow's pension.

(e) Benefits introduced 1 July 1945. Beneficiaries eligible for additional allowances, from 1962. From 27 September 1969, the adult rate of benefit became payable to a minor (aged 16 to 20 years), with no parent living in Australia. Between 28 September 1970 and 15 March 1973, a higher rate of sickness benefit was payable after the benefit had been paid for six consecutive weeks, except in cases where the beneficiary was in hospital and had no dependants. Benefits, prior to 16 March 1973, comprised a single rate plus an allowance for a dependent spouse. A married rate was then introduced. Special benefits are available to provide income support for persons who are ineligible for a pension or benefit and are unable to provide for themselves and their dependants.

(f) Wife's allowance, introduced 8 July 1943 was abolished 5 October 1972. Wife's pension, equal to the married rate of pension, was introduced for an age or invalid pensioner's wife/housekeeper, not qualified for an age, invalid, or repatriation service pension in her own right.

(g) Class A widows and supporting parent beneficiaries eligible for a single parent's allowance, equal to the guardian's allowance and additional allowances for children.

(h) There is a \$2 increase to the basic rate of guardian's/single parent's allowance where a child is under six years of age or an invalid.

(i) Additional benefit for first child, payable from 1943, was extended to include second and subsequent children, from 11 October 1956. At the beginning of 1970, additional pension was also payable in respect of students under 21 years. From March 1973, it became payable without age limit, but from 26 October 1978, it was limited to students under 25 years. These changes coincided with similar alterations in the definitions of a qualifying child for Class A widow's pension and supporting parent's benefit purposes.

(j) From 23 October 1958, payable to single pensioners paying rent, under certain circumstances. Extended to married pensioner couples, from 5 October 1972. The combined rate is equal to the rate payable to a single pensioner.

(k) Provision for automatic variation in pension rates on the basis of cost of living, introduced in 1933, repealed in 1937 with reduced rate; re-introduced in 1940, repealed again 1943; re-introduced in 1976. The first six monthly adjustment effected, May 1977 (unemployment and sickness benefits for single persons aged under 18 years excluded from automatic adjustments).

(l) Class C Widow's pension \$4.25.

(m) Standard and married rate of pension introduced from 14 November 1963.

(n) Category changes for unemployment and sickness benefits introduced. Category "single person 18 to 20 years" abolished. "Single adult 18 years and over with/without dependant/s" introduced for unemployment beneficiaries. Sickness benefits payable at rates for single adult 18 years and over with dependants.

Source: Department of Social Security, Annual Reports.

### **Commonwealth Department of Social Security**

The Commonwealth Department of Social Services (renamed the Department of Social Security in 1972) was established in April 1939 but did not commence to operate as a separate organisation (originally it was part of the Commonwealth Treasury) until April 1941. Its earliest involvement related to invalid and old age pensions, maternity allowances, child endowment (which commenced in July 1941), widows pensions (which accrued from June 1942, although in Victoria widows with children had been granted some assistance under the Child Welfare Act at the time this programme was implemented), and payments to displaced persons, i.e., those in needy circumstances who lost their employment through government restrictions on non essential production during the Second World War. The appointment for the first time of trained social workers in 1944 reflected the changing attitude towards income maintenance programmes and to the rights and obligations of individuals.

The Department has grown substantially since 1941, particularly in the 1970s when its workload expanded significantly following the introduction of wide ranging welfare programmes, combined with rapid increases in unemployment. Decentralisation of personnel, which increased in the late 1970s, involved a major administrative re-organisation of the Department. From a static number of six regional offices for many years until the late 1960s, numbers increased to 35 regional offices throughout Victoria by 1982. The prime function of the Department is to make payments to individuals by means of pensions, benefits, and allowances under the Social Services Act. Welfare casework, information, research and liaison services, as well as consultation processes, have been developed in order to improve accessibility and responsiveness to community needs.

The Department's subsidy programmes, first introduced in 1954, have been expanded as has the rehabilitation of the civilian disabled programme since its commencement in 1948. The introduction of the Aged Persons Homes Act in 1954 marked the beginning of a subsidy programme whereby the Commonwealth Government, through the Department of Social Security, made capital grants to assist non-profit community organisations to provide special accommodation for elderly persons. This programme has been expanded in scope from time to time, for example, to include personal care services and delivery of meals. A significant function of the Department is to administer the Commonwealth Rehabilitation Service, which has four rehabilitation centres in Victoria. Two more are planned, one in collaboration with the Victorian Government.

In 1975, Social Security Appeals Tribunals were established in each State. They do not have the power to reverse departmental decisions, but may make recommendations to the Director General of Social Security. Departmental decisions are subject to external review by the Commonwealth Ombudsman and also, since 1980, by the Administrative Appeals Tribunal (in those cases where the Department does not accept a recommendation of a Social Security Appeals Tribunal).

### **Commonwealth Department of Veterans' Affairs**

The Commonwealth Repatriation Department (renamed the Department of Veterans' Affairs in 1976) was created following the end of the First World War to administer a wide range of benefits and services, including medical care, pensions, vocational and professional training, and loans to establish a business. All these services fell within the three essential elements of medical treatment for war caused disabilities, compensatory pensions, and re-establishment measures. The range of persons covered has increased markedly since the 1930s to embrace those who served in the South African War, the First World War, the Second World War, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, prescribed areas with the British Commonwealth Far East Strategic Reserve and the Special Overseas Forces, and in special circumstances, with the Regular Defence Forces. The concept of disability (previously known as war) pensions was introduced in 1914 with extensively widened eligibility provisions implemented in 1943, mainly to benefit members of the Citizen Military Forces who had not served outside Australia during the Second World War.

The original Repatriation Commission was established in Melbourne and remained there until the central administration of the Department transferred its operations to Canberra

in 1970. At the outbreak of the Second World War there was a major repatriation hospital at Caulfield which was then doubled in capacity. A new military hospital was built at Heidelberg in 1940 and taken over by the Department in 1947. The Caulfield hospital later became a public hospital.

Service pensions, which were considered more appropriate for certain veterans than the invalid pension, commenced in 1935. They have been paid, subject to an income test (except for blind veterans), to various categories of ex-servicemen and women. The income test eligibility criteria are largely the same as for social security pensions, except that for the service pension income test only half of a disability (war) pension is taken into account. A service pensioner is entitled, with certain exceptions, to free medical benefits for disabilities which are not service related.

The principal functions of the Department of Veterans' Affairs in the early 1980s were the payment of disability and dependants' pensions (previously known as war pensions), service pensions, and allowances to eligible veterans and their dependants; the provision of medical treatment to veterans for injuries and illnesses caused or aggravated by their service; the provision of medical treatment in certain circumstances for veterans who are suffering from injuries and illnesses not caused or aggravated by service (including pulmonary tuberculosis and cancer not related to war service); the provision of medical treatment for widows and dependants of deceased veterans whose deaths were service related; and a wide range of other benefits for eligible persons.

Nursing home care has been provided for persons with service related disabilities, and for some other persons, who require long-term care. Since 1973, artificial limbs have been provided free of charge to all members of the community who need them, either through the Department's Artificial Limb and Appliance Centre or by an order through commercial limb makers.

The Services Canteens Trust Fund was established in 1947 and is administered by seven honorary trustees appointed by the Governor-General. The funds are derived from the assets and profits of war time services canteens, mess and regimental funds of disbanded units, and several other sources. Its functions include the provision of educational facilities for the children of eligible veterans who served between September 1939 and June 1947, and the relief of such veterans and their dependants in necessitous circumstances.

#### DISABILITY AND SERVICE PENSIONS: VICTORIA, 1934-35 TO 1981-82

Year	Disability pensions (a)					Service pensions (b)				
	Veterans	Dependants of incapacitated veterans	Dependants of deceased veterans	Total pensions in effect	Amount paid during year	Veterans	Dependants of incapacitated veterans	Dependants of deceased veterans	Total pensions in effect	Amount paid during year
					\$'000					\$'000
1934-35	25,455	54,938	9,174	89,567	4,477	..	..	..	..	..
1939-40	25,334	44,720	8,058	78,112	4,635	2,080	1,084	305	3,469	237
1944-45	30,138	37,334	10,755	78,227	6,490	2,145	770	378	3,293	339
1949-50	46,553	61,297	13,743	121,593	11,715	2,784	735	364	3,883	695
1954-55	56,011	92,344	13,988	162,343	23,950	3,614	925	426	4,965	1,369
1959-60	61,057	112,763	14,688	188,508	32,202	7,636	2,906	516	11,058	3,036
1964-65	63,084	106,936	16,543	186,563	45,064	12,412	3,008	591	16,011	5,974
1969-70	59,546	82,671	17,051	159,268	51,297	14,158	3,538	611	18,307	9,767
1974-75	52,113	67,251	15,865	135,229	83,837	21,593	9,244	738	31,575	40,181
1979-80	43,838	51,287	14,355	109,480	109,824	36,204	23,048	(c)	59,252	128,768
1980-81	42,390	49,075	14,111	105,576	124,808	40,114	26,655	(c)	66,769	167,025
1981-82	41,005	46,904	13,948	101,857	125,846	43,784	29,875	(c)	73,659	195,250

(a) Disability pensions, introduced as war pensions, under the *War Pensions Act 1914*, are intended to provide compensation for ex-servicemen and women who have suffered incapacity as a result of their war service, for their eligible dependants, and also for the dependants of those who have died as a result of war service.

(b) In addition to compensatory payments for war-caused incapacity and death, the Repatriation Department introduced service pensions in 1935. This type of pension is paid, subject to a means test, to an ex-serviceman or woman who has served in a theatre of war, and who either has attained the age of 60 years (55 years in the case of an ex-servicewoman) or who is permanently unemployable.

(c) Included in figures for dependants of incapacitated veterans.

Source: Department of Veterans' Affairs.



### Direct Social Services

Following the end of the Second World War in 1945, the Commonwealth Government assumed responsibility for the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen and women by establishing the Commonwealth Rehabilitation Service. Rehabilitation included medical and remedial treatment, physiotherapy, occupational therapy, and vocational training and guidance. In 1948 rehabilitation was extended to social service pensioners and beneficiaries. In 1957, the Australian Council of Trade Unions agreed to an arrangement whereby certain severely disabled persons or persons who had little or no work experience, but for whom vocational training was essential, could be given "work therapy" in industry or commerce for periods of up to three months. A vocational training scheme for widow pensioners was introduced in 1968 for those who would derive substantial benefit from the training. Since 1971, rehabilitation assistance has been available not only to those likely to rejoin the labour force but also free of charge to persons who may be unlikely to return to the labour force.

Rehabilitation centres have been established at several locations around Melbourne. A Commonwealth rehabilitation centre opened at Glen Waverley in 1973, providing residential accommodation for 100 handicapped persons and day attendance for a further 50 persons. It replaced the Maryport centre at Mount Martha which had become inappropriate for use by the handicapped. A Day Attendance Centre "Coonac" at Toorak continued. In 1969, a new concept was developed resulting in the first Work Adjustment Centre in Australia being set up at Fairfield to help selected handicapped persons to work as closely as possible to normal industrial situations. In 1974, a pilot Work Preparation Centre, the first of its type in Australia, was established at South Yarra to provide rehabilitation assistance for mildly retarded school leavers in need of special preparation for life and work.

A Commonwealth Committee of Inquiry into Rehabilitation and Compensation submitted its first report during 1974. Following the tabling of the second report, a National Advisory Council for the Handicapped was established at the end of 1974.

Provision was made in late 1963 for Commonwealth Government assistance towards the capital cost of residential accommodation for disabled persons employed, or seeking employment, in a sheltered workshop. The Sheltered Employment (Assistance) Act provided subsidies to eligible organisations towards the payment of capital costs from 1967. This Act incorporated and repealed the Disabled Persons Accommodation Act which had operated since 1963. In 1970 the sheltered workshop scheme was expanded to provide staff salary subsidies for certain staff. To assist the handicapped, provision was made in 1967 for a Sheltered Employment Allowance to be paid to a person qualified to receive an invalid pension, or likely to be permanently incapacitated for work if not engaged in sheltered employment.

In 1970 the Handicapped Children (Assistance) Act came into effect, involving the provision of subsidies to eligible organisations towards the capital cost of premises to be used for the training of handicapped children. The Handicapped Persons Assistance Act in 1974 replaced the Sheltered Employment (Assistance) Act and the Handicapped Children (Assistance) Act, but continued and considerably expanded the main provisions of the former Acts.

The *Aged Persons Homes Act 1954* marked the introduction of an important new social service by the Commonwealth Government and sought to alleviate a major cause of anxiety and hardship among the aged—inadequate and inappropriate housing. The Act made possible a grant to an eligible organisation towards the cost of an approved home for aged persons. Local governing bodies became eligible in 1967 for grants under the *Aged Persons Homes Act*, and for their donations to churches and charitable organisations (except where the money was originally received from a State Government source) to attract a Commonwealth subsidy. A personal care subsidy was introduced in 1969 to assist approved homes where residents are provided with all meals and staff is employed to assist those who need help with bathing, dressing, personal laundry, and the cleaning of their room. The subsidy was based on the number of residents aged 80 years and over. In 1974 the personal care subsidy scheme was extended to persons under 80 years of age who require and receive specified personal care services. In 1972, the *Aged Persons Hostels Act*, subsequently amended in 1974, provided financial assistance to stimulate the production of more hostel type accommodation for needy aged persons.

The Childrens Services Program, introduced in 1972, centred around the Child Care Act. The programme became the responsibility of the Department of Social Security in 1976. Subsidies are disbursed directly to eligible community organisations and indirectly by way of block grants to State Governments, which then distribute them to organisations in accordance with agreed programmes. A wide range of child care activities is eligible for assistance. The *Homeless Persons (Assistance) Act 1974* permits subsidies to be paid to non-profit organisations providing accommodation and services to homeless persons.

## VICTORIAN WELFARE SERVICES

### Victorian Government welfare administration

The administration and structure of the government departments dealing with issues of social welfare in Victoria has reflected changing social conditions during the period. In 1934, the Children's Welfare Department (known until 1926 as the Department for Neglected Children) and the Department for Reformatory Schools were concerned with the welfare of children and young persons. The *Children's Welfare Act 1954* abolished the Department for Reformatory Schools and assigned the responsibility for young offenders to the Children's Welfare Department.

The Children's Welfare Department although styled a "department", actually operated as a branch within the Chief Secretary's Department, as did the Penal and Gaols Branch (earlier known as the Department of Penal Establishments, Gaols and Reformatory Prisons). The *Social Welfare Act 1960* amalgamated these bodies to form the Social Welfare Branch of the Chief Secretary's Department. The Social Welfare Branch also took over the functions of the Children's Court Probation Service, which had been administered by the Law Department. Ten years later, the *Social Welfare Act 1970* created a Minister for Social Welfare and established the Social Welfare Department. Subsequently, following the presentation to the Victorian Parliament of a White Paper on the future of social welfare in Victoria, the *Community Welfare Services Act 1978* changed the Department's name to Department of Community Welfare Services.

Behind these legislative developments lay far reaching changes in thinking about the nature of social welfare since 1934 (see the earlier section in this Chapter on concepts of social welfare). The role of the Victorian Government in specific aspects of welfare is examined where appropriate in the remaining sections of this Chapter.

### Family and community services

To a large extent family oriented services developed in response to changes in income maintenance provisions and patterns of child welfare. These changes took place in the years immediately before the Second World War and during the first years of the war. Until 1941 there was no significant financial assistance for families in need. Consequently, emergency relief and children's allowances were provided by voluntary agencies and the Victorian Government. However, with the introduction of child endowment in 1941, the widow's pension in 1942, and the unemployment and sickness benefit in 1944, State welfare organisations were able to adopt a broader approach that placed the emphasis on the family as a unit rather than on individual children.

It became apparent that the expanded family oriented services provided at local level, including infant welfare clinics, school based services and health programmes, were not reaching those families whose children were labelled "dependent", "underprivileged", "delinquent", or the like. Both statutory and voluntary agencies began to explore other ways of helping such families with the Victorian Government increasing its financial assistance to agencies and its direct aid to families.

In 1959, the Victorian Family Council was established to safeguard and strengthen family life. It proposed to study the factors affecting family life, i.e., those conducive to sound family life and those that cause its breakdown, and to promote family welfare in co-operation with other organisations, whether statutory, municipal or non-governmental, and with individuals. These endeavours resulted in the professional concern about the family coming to be shared more and more by the community at large, thereby influencing

the involvement of governments in this sphere. When a Social Welfare Branch was established within the Chief Secretary's Department by the Victorian *Social Welfare Act 1960*, it included a Family Welfare Division to promote family welfare in the community. The Act also recognised the change in emphasis by reconstituting the Council as the Family Welfare Advisory Council (this latter council was later replaced by the Child Development and Family Services Council which was established in 1980).

The Social Welfare Department's Family Welfare Division introduced localised family counselling services. These dealt with matters such as children's behaviour, marital difficulties, neglect or maltreatment of children, financial difficulties, accommodation problems, and problems related to the aged, the unemployed, and the sick. Financial assistance had initially been directed chiefly to families which had been deserted, or where the father was in prison or in a mental hospital; but later assistance has been increasingly provided to prevent children from coming into institutional care.

STATE FAMILY ASSISTANCE (a): VICTORIA, 1939-40 TO 1979-80 (b)

Year	Number of children receiving assistance at end of period	Cost of assistance	Year	Number of children receiving assistance at end of period	Cost of assistance
		\$'000			\$'000
1939-40	6,933	328.3	1964-65(c)	6,131	1,192.0
1944-45	2,881	153.2	1969-70(c)(d)	7,337	1,081.0
1949-50	2,119	124.9	1974-75	10,281	2,074.3
1954-55	2,759	248.6	1979-80	6,723	4,794.8
1959-60	4,881	484.0			

(a) Includes cases where the Commonwealth Government reimburses half of the expenditure plus cases not subject to Commonwealth re-imburement.

(b) From 1 January 1980, the Department of Community Welfare Services ceased to take applications for financial assistance. Assistance became available through Commonwealth Government Special Benefits.

(c) Excludes medical and school payments.

(d) From 2 April 1970, the family assistance system was altered and statistics from 1969-70 are not comparable with previous years.

Source: Department of Community Welfare Services.

At the end of the 1960s, the move to decentralised access to family support services was gaining momentum and the Victorian Government opened suburban offices at Ringwood, Glenroy, and Footscray, and offices in country centres such as Hamilton, Bairnsdale, Ballarat, and Mildura.

In 1976, the Report of the Norgard Committee of Inquiry into Child Care Services in Victoria caused a re-examination of family support policies. This was reinforced by a study undertaken by the Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research at the University of Melbourne published under the title *Who Cares?*, and by the report *Families and Social Services in Australia* from the Family Services Committee of the Commonwealth Social Welfare Commission. Subsequently, in 1977, the Commonwealth Minister for Social Security and the Victorian Minister for Social Welfare agreed to initiate a Family Support Services Programme through the Children's Services Programme of the Commonwealth Office of Child Care. This new programme was open to local government and non-government agencies, enabling them to extend or improve existing family support services or to develop new programmes or demonstration projects. These new services expanded very rapidly and, because they were local initiatives and provided a basic family and community service, gained widespread community support. Their primary aim is to fill gaps in the basic services available, where these fail to relate to the special needs of particular families and individuals.

The development of local health and welfare services was enhanced by, and in turn had an influence on, Victorian Government services. The Social Welfare Department had grown rapidly as the demand for its services had increased, and the process of keeping families together in the community had gained impetus. The decision to develop a regional programme in 1971, in essence to approach the development of services on a geographic as well as a financial basis, constituted a marked break with approaches adopted over the previous one hundred years. In 1971, only 50 of the Department's 2,300 officers were based in suburban or country areas and not located at Head Office or in institutions; a decade later, more than 800 officers (out of 3,000) were working in regional, non-

institutional programmes. New programmes have been developed at the regional level, directed towards child maltreatment, family support, foster care, family and community services, and community development.

The development of community based services in Victoria was attributed to local government and voluntary initiatives in the 1960s, and led to the adoption in 1973 of the Australian Assistance Plan to fund regional and local community initiatives and social development. When this scheme was discarded in 1975, the Victorian Government developed a programme—the Family and Community Services (FACS) Programme—that would retain elements of the former plan. FACS has been based on eighteen regional consultative councils, which aim to promote ongoing consultation, facilitate funding of regional and local family and community programmes, assist community development and social planning, and develop the capacity of local government to provide information, co-ordination, and local services.

The FACS Programme acted as a catalyst for the re-examination of overall social welfare functions in Victoria, leading to the preparation of a detailed White Paper on the future of social welfare in Victoria (1978) and drafting of the *Community Welfare Services Act* 1978, which created the Department of Community Welfare Services to replace the former Social Welfare Department. It expanded the role of the Department so that, where previously it had the limited role of providing services of social protection and social control, its functions now include a range of services designed to positively strengthen and enhance individual, family, and community life. The FACS Programme has provided support to more than 780 local projects, which also enjoy local community support. Social administration and community development support staff assist the regional consultative councils to act as a source of advice to the Minister for Community Welfare Services on local and regional needs.

Local government authorities, whose concern for family and child welfare through State funded infant welfare services, home help services, and local welfare services dates back to the First World War, also responded to the demands for more localised services. Throughout the 1960s, individual councils explored the appointment of municipal welfare officers. This idea had been promoted by the Social Studies Department at the University of Melbourne and by the Victorian Council of Social Service (VCOSS). By 1969, approximately twenty councils had adopted a local welfare service programme and formed committees of councillors and community representatives to expand these services.

VCOSS played a significant role in convening regular meetings of Victorian municipal welfare officers, which led to the foundation of the Municipal Welfare Officers Association. This Association successfully sought amendments to the Local Government Act in 1972 to enable local authorities to provide specified services from rates and government subsidies rather than as a fringe activity of councils. More and more councils have come to provide support services which are not merely remedial and therapeutic, but practically promote the capacity of local citizens to function in the community.

In the 1980s, the emphasis has shifted towards the development of service networks, co-ordination of local programmes, and sponsorship of the citizens' advice bureaux, neighbourhood movements, self-help groups, and social development initiatives that developed in the previous decade. Personal services now provided by local government authorities include counselling, material aid, emergency accommodation, child care programmes, meals on wheels, mini-bus transport, care of the elderly, recreation services, home help, handyman assistance, relief and support for the parents of handicapped children, youth and outreach services, and citizens' information services.

#### **Voluntary agencies**

Historically, the bulk of Victoria's welfare services have been provided by voluntary agencies. While many of these received encouragement and a measure of financial support from the Victorian Government, they remained chiefly reliant on voluntary contributions. The voluntary agencies, especially those under Church auspices, played a major role in providing a range of services for the aged, handicapped, dependent children, married couples, and multi-problem families. Since 1934, organisations concerned with community welfare, education, and the marshalling of volunteer resources have often drawn attention to the overall rights, responsibilities, and needs of the community as a whole, with local,

regional, or State wide emphasis as appropriate. Organisations such as VCOSS (established in 1946), the Brotherhood of St Laurence (1933), the Victorian Family Council (1959), the Victorian Council on the Ageing (1968), Lifeline (1971), Citizens' Advice Bureaux (1967), the Victorian Association of Benevolent Societies (1938), Red Cross (1914), the Victorian Branch of the Australian Council for the Rehabilitation of the Disabled (1974), and others, have developed philosophies and recommendations on broad welfare issues to aid government. More recently, they have shown welfare initiatives in such areas as family counselling, youth programmes, and anti-poverty programmes and, although frequently helped by the Victorian Government, retain their autonomy of function. Voluntary welfare agencies have become more important as the Victorian Government has encouraged the development of community welfare services. VCOSS and the Australian Association of Social Workers (Vic.) began to campaign for localised family service agencies and for an expanded role for local government in providing services to the general community. This demand reflected a shift away from the traditional institutional response to welfare problems. New services developed in the 1960s also indicated a move away from imposing social controls through punishment, towards family counselling and localised health and welfare services.

The principle that the community should participate in welfare services (a principle central to the FACS Programme) led the Brotherhood of St Laurence to initiate its Family Centre Project, later known as the Action Resource Centre, in 1972. This programme replaced conventional forms of social work for multi-problem families with a self help programme which sought to give low income families power over resources, relationships, information, and decision making.

In 1976, VCOSS sought to promote greater understanding in the community of the role of self-help groups and of the factors which have given them their motivation and impetus. Since then a large number of self help groups have been able to share information, viewpoints, and experiences and to provide the opportunity for mutual development of self help programmes throughout Victoria. Self help groups are significant providers of welfare services for their members and others in similar situations. They also gained impetus from the Pilot Welfare Rights Program conducted by the Commonwealth Department of Social Security, which assisted groups like the Council for the Single Mother and Her Child, and migrant organisations to develop services for special sections of the community. A further influence was the emergence of the Women's Movement and Community Child Care, both of which sought to develop a new range of family services for non-traditional families. Through the self help approach many former welfare recipients have found a satisfying alternative to the professional worker-client relationship—that dichotomy between “helper” and “helped” with its suggestion of distance and patronage that has often acted as a barrier to service.

In its 1966 survey of poverty in Melbourne, the Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research at the University of Melbourne found that, although there were a great number of social and welfare agencies offering a wide variety of services, there was also a great deal of human need “and it is often a matter of chance if the two meet”. The Citizens' Advice Bureaux (CABs) were started in many parts of Victoria as a community effort to attempt to bridge the communication gap, and have since expanded rapidly. By 1972, there were 16 CABs in Victoria and, by the mid-1970s, twice that number. By 1982, the number had risen to 66 involving approximately 1,850 volunteers. Premises and support generally have come through local government, and advice has been available from local social workers, lawyers, and other relevant personnel. CABs aim to direct persons needing help to the most appropriate resources in the community, co-operate closely with social and community welfare organisations to promote family welfare, and engage in community education programmes to develop local information and advice services.

#### ETHNIC WELFARE SERVICES

Despite the fact that Australia embarked upon a large-scale immigration programme in 1947, the specific welfare needs of immigrants received little attention until well into the 1960s. Up to this point, a few agencies existed to serve either particular ethnic groups or immigrants generally, but, on the whole, immigrants were expected to integrate into the

community and to make use of existing facilities. However, the difficulties faced by southern Europeans, a growing understanding of the nature of integration, and the emergence of leadership in many ethnic groups, combined to bring about a significant change in the late 1960s, which was consolidated during the 1970s. In the late 1960s, more ethnic agencies emerged, Commonwealth Government funding of migrant welfare workers began, more individuals started to articulate a multicultural approach to welfare, and the specific needs of migrant women, migrant youth, migrant disabled, and migrant elderly began to attract attention.

In the area of welfare policy, the most significant event in recent years has been the recommendations of the Galbally Committee (1978) which reviewed post-arrival programmes and services for migrants, their complete acceptance by the Commonwealth Government, and their gradual implementation. Most of the developments have occurred within the growing network of ethnic agencies. However, a few refugee agencies have become established and the Commonwealth Government has initiated a far more comprehensive settlement programme than existed previously, involving settlement officers, orientation programmes, and settlement grants. Community orientated welfare services have also been widened in response to the increasingly multicultural nature of Australian society. Developments in some of the community health services, the establishment of an interpreter team in the Mental Health Division of the Victorian Health Commission, and the projected ethnic unit within the Department of Community Welfare Services are all examples of this trend.

## SERVICES FOR GROUPS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS

### Background

In 1934, legislation did not recognise the special needs of the disabled, apart from the invalid pension which was introduced in 1910. The voluntary organisations in existence were very few and their efforts were directed mainly to assisting the deaf and the blind and to providing educational services to physically disabled children.

There were no facilities for the education, training, employment, or occupation of persons who had undergone long-term hospitalisation, nor were there services for the homebound. Concerned at this situation, a group of professionals and hospital board members formed the Victorian Society for Crippled Children in 1935. At that time the disabilities on which attention focused were chiefly the after effects of bone tuberculosis, osteomyelitis, and poliomyelitis. Over the last fifty years, however, many other diagnostic groupings have emerged as a result of advances in medical science and technology and led to the formation of organisations addressing the social needs of particular disability groups. Organisations of this kind have included the Spastic Children's Society of Victoria (established in 1938), the Haemophilia Society of Victoria (1953), the Multiple Sclerosis Society of Victoria (1956), the Paraplegic and Quadriplegic Association of Victoria (1957), the Muscular Dystrophy Association of Victoria (Division of Yooralla Society of Victoria) (1960), the Epilepsy Social Welfare Foundation (1964), the Rheumatism and Arthritis Association of Victoria (1968), the Spina Bifida Association of Victoria (Division of Yooralla Society of Victoria) (1969), and the STAR Victorian Association for Retarded Citizens (1970).

As organisations developed, the need arose for professional staff. Many of the voluntary organisations started to provide services of a remedial nature. There was a shifting away from the "sickness" model towards the "development" model, i.e., a movement away from attempting to solve people's problems towards the goal of providing the opportunity for persons to meet their needs, improve the quality of their lives, and achieve their full potential. Thus, an amendment made to the Invalid Persons Act in 1941 embodied a vital principle—invalid pensioners were encouraged to rehabilitate themselves for crafts or callings suited to their abilities, with pensions being paid during training. It fell to the voluntary agencies to provide the required facilities until the special facilities of the Commonwealth Employment Offices were established in response to the needs of ex-servicemen and women. These facilities were later extended to eligible civilians.

The principle of focusing on income security for families rather than on subsidies to institutions resulted from the introduction in 1975 of the handicapped child's allowance.

Another initiative was the *Commonwealth Assistance for Isolated Children Act 1973*, which provided for financial assistance to a disabled child who had to live away from home in order to have daily access to an appropriate school. Since 1975, the Children's Services Programme administered by the Office of Child Care in the Commonwealth Department of Social Security has been funding alternatives to residential care for children as well as pre-school and child care services. The programme currently finances early intervention services, which for the disabled include assessment, diagnosis, and treatment and thereby contributes significantly to prevention. Parent guidance provides an early intervention programme assisting parents of deaf children, deaf/blind children, and children with multiple handicaps. The home services provided in Victoria enable the parents (and other family members) of handicapped children to avail themselves of some respite from the continuous care involved with these children.

A Special Services Division was formed within the Victorian Education Department in 1968, concerned both with the education of children with special needs and with the provision of special services to schools. An amendment to the Education Act, entitled the *Victorian Education (Handicapped Children) Act 1973*, created a Special Education Authority to establish special schools, provide assessment facilities, and make recommendations concerning the need for special alternatives. In Victoria, there are five special day schools and three hospital schools for physically disabled children, four special day schools for deaf children, and a visiting teacher service for the physically disabled, the visually handicapped, and those with impaired hearing. The Education Department is responsible for the educational aspect of special education for physically and intellectually disabled children, including psychological and social work services and remedial speech training through its Counselling, Guidance, and Clinical Services Division. The Division provided a supportive programme of management in normal schools as well as special schools; transport to special schools is funded by the Victorian Government.

Other health and therapeutic services are provided by voluntary organisations with subsidies from the Commonwealth Department of Social Security or with maintenance grants from the Victorian Health Commission. Also, because rehabilitation services developed on a gradual and piecemeal basis leading to duplication and overlap of services, there was a clear need for co-operation and co-ordination of planning. In an attempt to meet this need, the Handicapped Persons Co-ordinating Committee was established in 1965.

Services for groups with special needs were also recognised in the Australian Assistance Plan, which commenced in 1973 as a mechanism for regional social planning and better co-ordination of service delivery. This Plan was succeeded in Victoria by the Family and Community Services (FACS) Programme, which provided funding for locally initiated schemes and offered support to the growing movement of self help groups.

The social and economic consequences of ill health and disability for the individual and family have been well documented in a number of major reports tabled in the Commonwealth and Victorian Parliaments during recent years. These have included reports from the Australian Government Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, the Senate Standing Committee on Health and Welfare, the Domiciliary Care Services Working Party and Committee on Mental Retardation, and the Board of Review of the Role, Structure and Administration of Local Government in Victoria. These reports have all emphasised the need for a decreasing dependence on institutional care, the attempt to make lifestyles and services as normal as possible, the development of domiciliary and community support services, and the encouragement of families and the disabled to participate in the planning for services. They also highlight the need for research, planning, and co-ordination by voluntary organisations and government departments at Commonwealth, State, and local levels.

In 1981, a survey was conducted throughout Australia to obtain information about the nature and extent of various disabilities and handicaps in the Australian community. This was the first major national survey in Australia to specifically examine issues about the handicapped. A report on this survey was issued entitled *Handicapped Persons Australia 1981*.

DISABLED AND HANDICAPPED PERSONS, TYPE OF RESIDENCE BY AREA OF  
HANDICAP: AUSTRALIA AND VICTORIA, 1981  
(<sup>'000</sup>)

Area of handicap	Persons resident in households		Persons resident in institutions		Total persons	
	Australia	Victoria	Australia	Victoria	Australia	Victoria
Self care (a)	448.3	112.7	95.9	22.3	544.2	135.0
Mobility (a)	812.8	217.7	108.8	24.9	921.6	242.6
Communication (a)	204.9	53.7	55.5	13.4	260.4	67.1
Schooling (b)	90.7	23.2	5.0	0.5	95.7	24.4
Employment (c)	498.3	143.2	..	..	498.3	143.2
Handicapped persons aged less than 5 years	39.2	10.6	(d)	(d)	39.5	10.7
Total handicapped (e)	1,153.6	316.4	111.1	25.4	1,264.7	341.8
Total impaired or disabled	1,827.4	509.8	114.8	26.0	1,942.2	535.7

(a) Excludes persons aged less than 5 years.

(b) Persons aged 5-14 years or 15-20 years still attending school.

(c) Persons aged 21-64 years, and 15-20 years not attending school.

(d) Subject to sampling variability too high for most practical purposes.

(e) Total is less than the sum of components because persons may have more than one type of handicap or limitation.

### Specific services for particular disabilities

The following four representative examples illustrate the services which have been developed to help those afflicted with particular disabilities—the care of the deaf, the blind, the intellectually handicapped, and the aged.

A review of medical, educational, and welfare aspects of deafness and hearing impairment over the last fifty years provides remarkable contrasts. In the 1930s, hearing aids were cumbersome and ineffective. Education for deaf children was limited to one special school, the Victorian School for Deaf and Dumb Children (now known as the Victorian School for Deaf Children), which principally served profound and congenitally deaf children. Medical treatment of hearing impairments and relevant medical research were practically unknown. For deaf adults, the only source of assistance was provided by one charitable society, the Adult Deafness Society of Victoria, which offered interpreting services.

One of the most significant changes has been in public awareness of deafness. Fifty years ago, deafness was viewed as a handicap experienced by only a small minority of the community. However, a Survey of Hearing and the Use of Hearing Aids in 1978, indicated that some 768,000 Australians over the age of fifteen years considered themselves to have some sort of a hearing problem. In the intervening period the medical and paramedical professions have expanded their knowledge of complex human hearing and speech systems and surgery is now able to restore hearing in certain cases. Through the National Acoustic Laboratories, the Commonwealth Government provides free hearing aids to persons under 21 years of age and to pensioners. Of the 1,475 children with a hearing impairment in 1983, 67 per cent attended normal schools while the remaining 33 per cent were in special schools for the deaf located in metropolitan Melbourne, Portsea, Ballarat, and Bendigo.

Community attitudes, education, and advanced technology have dramatically changed the lives of blind persons during the last fifty years. Through training and education, blind persons now have the opportunity to be employed in a far wider range of occupations than in the past. Previously, if they could find work at all, they had to work in a factory for the blind which was engaged in a limited number of traditional trades. Developments in communication have assisted blind people in their educational, vocational, and cultural pursuits. Thus, radio has given access to news, music, and entertainment; taped material is available through talking book libraries; and the Optacon enables some blind persons to read in print without sighted aid. Recently developed reading machines will eventually give more blind persons access to the printed word. The means test on the pension for the blind was gradually relaxed until its abolition in 1952. The social and educational needs of the blind child are now met as far as possible within the community. The specialised instruction and services that were once regarded as the sole means of development are now supplementary to the provisions made for all children.



Intellectually disabled persons are no longer totally segregated from the rest of the community, as most of them were in the past, but are gradually being accorded a place in local communities. There were virtually no support services that would offer retarded persons alternative living situations. The development of such support services was recommended in the report of the Victorian Committee on Mental Retardation in 1977. The primary objective since has been to enable the maximum number of mentally retarded persons to live within the community with the greatest degree of independence and dignity possible.

Until the late 1940s, the care of the aged was seen very much in terms of institutional care, mostly in large benevolent homes. Then in 1948, the Greenvale Sanatorium was acquired for the aged by the Hospitals and Charities Commission and plans for Greenvale Village began to take shape. In 1949, the Commission's Annual Report announced the establishment of a geriatric unit at Mt Royal at Parkville, "for the study of social, medical and nursing needs for old people". This unit was the first of its kind in Australia. Gradually, other benevolent homes were phased out to become geriatric centres. The first geriatric conference was organised by the Hospitals and Charities Commission in 1956. The first Chair of Gerontology was established in 1977 at the University of Melbourne, based on the National Research Institute of Gerontology and Geriatric Medicine at Mt Royal.

The orthopaedic hospital at Mt Eliza was converted to a geriatric centre, the first ward becoming fully operative in 1972. This centre led the way in geriatric care with its policy of keeping aged persons in their own homes for as long as possible with the support of a home-care hospital team, while providing short-stay beds for family relief, short-term nursing, or assessment.

The Old Peoples' Welfare Council was established in 1951, becoming the Victorian Council on the Ageing in 1968. In 1975, the Council established the Early Planning for Retirement Association.

The Aged Persons Homes Act proclaimed by the Commonwealth Government in 1954 (which became the *Aged and Disabled Persons Homes and Hostels Act* 1976) led to a proliferation of organisations providing accommodation for the aged.

## STATUTORY SERVICES FOR YOUNG PERSONS

### Introduction

The period before 1950 was one of relatively stable legislative and administrative functioning with regard to statutory welfare services for children and youth, following the introduction in 1928 of the Adoption Act and the consolidation of the Children's Welfare Act, Children's Court Act, Maintenance Act, and Crimes Act. The services provided were orientated towards social control. It is significant that, until 1954, children were "charged" with being neglected and could be "committed" to the care of the Children's Welfare Department, a provision which was repealed and such children made the subject of an "application for (their) care and protection".

A new era for child and youth welfare services emerged in the late 1950s. Under the *Social Welfare Act* 1960, penal and welfare services were combined and the Social Welfare Department entrusted with a broader, more preventative mandate. Nevertheless, from the mid-1950s, services such as probation and parole, residential care, and planning and after-care for wards continued to expand so that the Report of the Norgard Committee of Inquiry into Child Care Services in Victoria was still able to state in 1976 that the Social Welfare Department was mainly an agent of social control. Following the release of the White Paper on the future of welfare services in Victoria, and the passing of the *Community Welfare Services Act* 1978, the target for the 1980s was to be an integrated system of community orientated and needs based welfare services, as outlined in the earlier section on family and community services.

### Children

The *Infant Life Protection Act 1915* provided that infants under five years of age placed for payment with persons other than their parents had to be under the supervision of Departmental inspectors. The caretakers had to be registered with the Department and received payment for their services. The legislation sought to control "baby farming" and reduce the number of infant deaths.

The inspectors referred to were generally nurses and were the "face" of the Children's Welfare Department for many persons in the community. The role of the inspectors (or field officers, as they were later known) began to be assumed by social workers during the 1970s. In the 1980s, the social worker or welfare officer is located in a regional centre and undertakes a variety of tasks, ranging from counselling on family problems to supervising probationers and working on community committees. At least until 1948, Departmental inspectors were assisted by "local honorary visiting committees". In 1956, this role was fulfilled by 24 honorary welfare officers.

While the use of foster care has continued, placements declined during the Depression and the Second World War to 381 placements at the end of 1953. Despite an increase up to and during the 1960s (at 31 December 1960 there were 1,044 placements in foster care), there was another decline in the 1970s and foster care accounted for only 290 ward placements at 30 June 1982. Nevertheless, the current emphasis on community based services has again led to a significant use of foster care for both wards and non-wards. The decline in foster care caused a large increase in the number of children placed with charitable organisations. The 1930s, 1940s, and early 1950s were a time of institutional child care. For many years it has been the policy of the welfare community to transform the network of large institutions into small, locally based, family-style facilities, retaining smaller congregate care units for children who find it difficult to relate closely.

The "Depot" at Royal Park, now known as Turana, was established in 1876. Since the Department lacked its own residential care facilities, it was here that children ranging from infants to 18 year olds were received and placements arranged for them. In the late 1950s, as Victoria's population under 18 years of age increased markedly and the demand for placements exceeded the number available, the Department opened its own children's homes and family group homes and established separate reception centres for particular groups. Winlton at Nunawading was set up in 1956, and the Allambie Reception Centre at Burwood opened in 1961. Allambie came to care for girls up to 14 years of age and boys up to 10 years of age, and Turana assumed responsibility for boys between 11 and 16 years of age. Turana is now a youth training centre, but Baltara Reception Centre, which became fully operational on part of the Turana site in 1968, caters for boys between 10 and 14 years of age. There are also two regional reception centres—Warrawee at Ballarat (established in 1961) and Miralee, formerly Mia Mia, at Mildura (1963). The establishment of regional reception centres parallels the establishment of regional offices of the Department in the early 1960s.

The Victorian *Adoption Act 1928* was a major reform which for the first time provided for a legal transfer of parental rights. The initial role of the Children's Welfare Department was to assist in legalising *de facto* adoption relationships which had stemmed from the "boarding out" system. However, the Victorian *Adoption Act 1964* gave the Social Welfare Department the power to approve private adoption agencies and to set the qualifications required for their principal officers. The setting of these requirements (in general, social worker qualifications) led to the closure of a number of adoption agencies so that the Department had to assume responsibility for many adoption placements. Despite regionalisation of the Department's activities, adoption has remained a centralised service. With the decline in the availability of babies for adoption, staff resources in the latter half of the 1970s were able to be focused on "difficult to place" adoptees. Overall, adoption has moved from being a service to single mothers and childless couples to becoming a service for children who are in need of family security but who are older or have some disability.

## ADOPTIONS: VICTORIA, 1969-70 TO 1981-82 (a)

Year	Department of Community Welfare Services		Private adoption agencies		Solicitor adoptions, legally finalised adoptions	Total legally finalised adoptions (b)
	Children placed during year	Legally finalised adoptions	Children placed during year	Legally finalised adoptions		
1969-70	279	368	1,294	1,259	404	2,031
1974-75	211	209	523	537	422	1,168
1979-80	106	141	205	230	543	914
1980-81	118	133	214	198	380	711
1981-82	130	131	141	164	625	920

(a) Legal adoptions registered under the provisions of the Commonwealth *Adoption of Children Acts* 1928, 1958 and 1964. The first registration was effected on 14 October 1929.

(b) Total legally finalised adoptions for the period 1935 to 1965 were as follows: 1935—374; 1940—581; 1945—1,020; 1950—1,042; 1955—958; 1960—1,282; 1965—1,951.

Source: Department of Community Welfare Services.

### Young offenders

Before the Victorian *Children's Court Act* 1906 was enacted, children were dealt with in adult courts, regardless of whether they were charged with offences or charged with being neglected or uncontrolled. The Act provided for separate, non-public sittings of the Court of Petty Sessions for children under 17 years of age. While this was a major advance and the Court tried to act with benevolence and as little formality as possible, the emphasis continued to be placed on child behaviour rather than parental neglect. Although amendments made in 1933 to the Victorian *Children's Welfare Act* 1928 placed more emphasis than did the original Act on parental incapacity and failure to provide, it was not until the Victorian *Community Welfare Services Act* 1978 was introduced that new conditions were implemented for assessing neglect. The 1978 Act took into account the dynamics of parent/child interaction. For example, it enabled either parent or child to apply for an Order because of "substantial and presently irreconcilable differences".

Changing emphases over the years are evident in the successive titles given to legislation embracing child welfare—from Neglected Children's Act to Children's Welfare Act to Social Welfare Act to Community Welfare Services Act. There is further evidence of progress in the changes made to the Children's Court Act, for example, the abolition of whipping, the restriction of imprisonment to children of 16 years of age or over, and the introduction of Supervision Orders as an additional disposition for children in need of care and protection. Moreover, in its policy and practice the Department of Community Welfare Services has moved in the direction of supporting the functioning of individuals in their families and communities, and is attempting to provide services that will reduce as far as possible the need for wardship and institutional care.

Following the passing of the Victorian *Children's Court Act* 1906, young offenders between 11 and 14 years of age were generally placed in industrial schools where they could gain employable skills. Reformatory schools catered for offenders between 15 and 18 years of age. By 1938, however, there were only two industrial schools remaining and their importance had begun to diminish. At that time, there were four non-government reformatory schools (run by the Catholic Church and the Salvation Army) and one departmental reformatory school (the "Depot" at Royal Park).

In 1954, the reformatory schools became juvenile schools, which in turn became youth training centres in 1961. The Department now operates five youth training centres (Turana, Winlaton, Langi Kal Kal, Malmsbury, and Acheron, which operates as a holiday camp) and subsidises the only remaining private youth training centre (Bayswater), which is administered by the Salvation Army. It was intended that these youth training centres would cater for most offenders under 21 years of age, but this has not proved to be the case. While they provide remand, classification, and sentence facilities for offenders between the ages of 15 and 17 years, prisons still cater for most of those from 18 to 20 years. Although youth services have changed in emphasis over the last fifty years, one constant aim has been to anticipate the accommodation and employment needs of youths in care and to reduce the likelihood of offenders returning to institutions.

### Youth welfare

In the 1930s, young persons were placed, where possible, in employment when they reached school leaving age, preferably with an employer licensed by the Department and able to provide accommodation. The aim of this arrangement was to protect the young persons from exploitation by way of overwork and underpay. The work was usually of an agricultural or domestic nature. In the 1960s, youth training centres initiated industrial and trade training programmes and, since 1969, a number of youth welfare services have been established. Initially, these youth welfare services provided placement outlets for wards in youth training centres and an alternative to institutional care for probationers. Their present clients are mainly young persons in the community who are experiencing adjustment problems at school or work and who otherwise appear likely to end up in institutions as a result of offences. These and other youth services, for example, youth support units and youth accommodation services, are matched to the needs of young persons who cannot be provided for by the more general network of services.

By 1945, at least six private child care organisations had set up hostels for working youths who had grown up through their institutions. In that year, the Victorian Government introduced a substantial subsidy for the establishment costs of new hostels and a board subsidy to supplement board paid by youths. By 1982, there were 29 hostels in this programme, providing accommodation for more than 160 persons. Three of these are administered directly by the Department of Community Welfare Services.

The need for professional training courses in youth work was recognised and, by 1973, the Institute of Social Welfare and the YMCA were each offering a three year full-time diploma course. In general, the graduates have not been employed by the Department, but tend to work in youth clubs and other community settings. These courses were taken over by the State College of Victoria at Coburg.

## CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

### Introduction

In 1934, correctional activities in Victoria had changed little over a period of 25 years. Victoria's goals were already very old and in need of extensive renovation and modernisation. The Depression years had considerably reduced the amount of money available, and the subsequent outbreak of the Second World War resulted in a further diversion of scarce resources. A system of parole and probation, established under the *Indeterminate Sentences Act 1907*, continued to operate until 1957 when the *Penal Reform Act 1956* was proclaimed. The Indeterminate Sentences Board was responsible for all reformatory prisoners and, in addition, was required to select and recommend the appointment of honorary probation officers.

The reformatory prisons contained those persons declared habitual criminals or persons ordered by a court to "be detained during the Governor's pleasure". Such prisoners could be released on parole from six to twelve months, during which time they could be returned to custody by an Order from the Board. A period of probation usually followed parole. Supervision of released prisoners was undertaken by honorary probation officers, who also undertook the supervision of those released on recognisance with the condition that they be supervised by a probation officer. There were 270 reformatory prisoners in June 1935 and 419 on parole or probation. In June 1956, there were 155 reformatory prisoners in custody and 177 under supervision in the community.

### Penal reform

The beginnings of change in the penal system became evident following the appointment to the position of Inspector-General of Penal Establishments in 1947 of A. R. Whatmore, who saw the need for a drastic review of corrections in Victoria. Aided by others, notably Sir John Barry of the Supreme Court, and by knowledge gained from study visits to New Zealand, Europe, and the United States, he attempted to bring about reform. However, reform was difficult as during this period there were nine changes of State Government. With the appointment of A. G. (later Sir) Arthur Rylah as Chief Secretary in 1955, the cause of social welfare and penal reform gained substantial encouragement. In 1956, he introduced and gained Parliamentary approval for the *Penal Reform Act 1956*.

The new legislation, which was later incorporated in the *Crimes Act 1958*, abolished indeterminate sentences and introduced sentences which set minimum terms and allowed for parole. The Adult Parole Board was established and probation for adults as an Order was introduced. While providing for a probation service staffed by full-time officers, the legislation allowed for the continued use of honorary probation officers. Initially, honoraries were used mainly for the supervision of probationers from the Children's Court, but by the mid-1960s they were supervising approximately 2,500 child and adult probationers.

The *Social Welfare Act 1960* introduced a concept that had not been tried elsewhere in Australia, by bringing together penal and welfare services in one Branch of the Chief Secretary's Department. The new Branch also assumed responsibility for Children's Court probation, which had been administered since 1906 by the Law Department. This Act introduced a new custodial concept for the treatment and, more particularly, the training of young offenders. Those who were 14 years of age and over (later changed to 15 years and over) but under 21 years could be sentenced to detention for up to three years. Those under 21 years who were sentenced to imprisonment could be transferred to a youth training centre, if this was considered appropriate. The Youth Parole Board created under the new Act could consider any detainee for release on parole.

The *Social Welfare Act 1970* established the former Branch as a separate Department with its own Minister for Social Welfare. During 1973, the Act was amended and three new measures relating to adult offenders were introduced—periodic detention centres (which later became attendance centres), weekend prisons, and work release hostels. The first attendance centres were opened at Geelong and Thornbury during 1976, and further centres were established at Prahran and Spotswood during 1978. The provisions for week-end imprisonment were never proclaimed and were deleted from the Act during 1980-81.

### Prisons

In the 1930s, gaols (as they were then called) were located at Coburg (Pentridge), Ballarat, Bendigo, Geelong, and Sale, and there were reformatory prisons at Beechworth, Castlemaine, and French Island.

The Depression years did not influence the imprisonment rate unduly. In 1935, the daily average number of prisoners was 1,264. The prison population declined immediately preceding the start of the Second World War. From 1949 there was a steady increase and in 1970, there was a record daily average prison population, i.e., 2,389, but despite this Victoria still had the lowest number of prisoners per head of population of any State or Territory apart from the Australian Capital Territory. Moreover, in 1972, numbers began to fall. Since then, however, numbers have gradually increased and in 1982 there was a daily average of 1,780.

Prison accommodation had been unsatisfactory for many years and, although a start was made on a new prison at Corriemungle in 1940, no further new prisons were constructed until 1956. Morwell River Reforestation Prison, which is similar in many ways to Corriemungle, was established in 1961. During 1964, a small group of officers and prisoners began construction of Won Wron Reforestation Prison, which was completed in 1971.

In 1948, a homestead and surrounding land were purchased at Langi Kal Kal with a view to establishing a training centre for young delinquents. The first young offenders were moved there during 1951. The Training Centre ceased to house prisoners in 1965, when it was designated a youth training centre. In 1951, Castlemaine and Beechworth, and in 1956 French Island, ceased to be reformatory prisons. In 1956, all female prisoners were accommodated in Fairlea Prison at Fairfield. Nine years later, the old Dhurringile mansion and surrounding property were acquired for prison purposes and by the end of the year 31 prisoners were accommodated there. The antiquated Ballarat Prison was formally closed in 1965, and in 1967 the Ararat Prison, which now houses 200 prisoners and is Victoria's second largest prison, was opened.

During the 1970s the prison population declined by about one-third. This was due primarily to changes in the attitudes of judges and magistrates concerning the imposition of prison sentences and to their making greater use of the probation and parole provisions. There was a large decline in the numbers of drunk and disorderly, vagrancy, and other

summary offences for which prison sentences had formerly been imposed. Although the prison population was decreasing, the problems of prison administration actually increased because the composition of the prison population evolved to one consisting of a larger proportion of younger prisoners convicted of violent offences and serving longer sentences. Prisoners at Pentridge, particularly those in the maximum security "H" Division, continued from time to time to demonstrate their objection to conditions, but their actions did not reach the proportions experienced elsewhere.

In 1974, Pentridge was divided into three prisons—Central, Northern, and Southern—each with its own Governor, who was responsible to the Superintendent. "C" Division, the subject of widespread criticism for many years, was demolished. "J" Division, which accommodated young offenders in dormitories, was reconstructed and is now one of the showpieces of Pentridge. The Remand Section at Pentridge was universally acknowledged to be totally unsatisfactory and plans to build a new Remand Section at Russell Street were announced in 1973. These aroused opposition and were subsequently delayed and a decision was taken in 1981 to construct a new section in West Melbourne. With the decline in prison population during the 1970s, McLeod Prison (French Island) was closed in 1975 and Corriemungle Prison in 1977. However, these closures made for increased difficulties in classifying prisoners. As well as needing to be classified for purposes of appropriate work and training, an increasing number of prisoners required classification to ensure protection from other prisoners.

The prison administration recognised that "H" Division at Pentridge was unsatisfactory and this, together with the need for improved security, led to the building of the Jika Jika security complex at Pentridge, which accommodates 52 prisoners. The first prisoners were moved to this facility during 1980.

The absence of suitable hospital facilities at Pentridge meant that prisoners requiring hospitalisation had to be sent under guard to various public hospitals in Melbourne. Provision of guards was costly and rosters difficult to arrange, and appointments for prisoners were often delayed for long periods. However, construction during 1978 of an 11 bed security ward at St Vincent's Hospital, adequate for the needs of prisoners, transformed the system. A 20 bed hospital within Pentridge was officially opened in 1980 and this, together with the security ward, has provided efficient hospitalisation services for prisoners.

In 1972, the Department began to regionalise its field services, including the supervision of probationers and parolees. Regionalisation was completed in 1978, with the establishment of the eighteenth regional centre, and the Probation and Parole Division, which had been created under the *Social Welfare Act* 1960, ceased during 1978.

#### NUMBER OF PRISONERS IN PRISON ESTABLISHMENTS: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year (c)	Prisons (a)				Attendance centres (b)				
	Receptions during year (d)	Discharges during year	Prison population, daily average (e)	Number of prisons	Receptions during year	Discharges during year	In attend- ance at end of year	Attendance centre popu- lation, daily average	Number of atten- dance centres
1935	6,582	6,656	1,264	10	..	..	..	..	..
1940	7,040	7,150	1,181	10	..	..	..	..	..
1945	6,059	6,203	1,111	8	..	..	..	..	..
1950	8,085	8,112	1,081	9	..	..	..	..	..
1955	9,997	9,966	1,335	10	..	..	..	..	..
1960	12,457	12,275	1,875	11	..	..	..	..	..
1965	12,975	13,104	1,949	13	..	..	..	..	..
1970	14,161	14,164	2,389	13	..	..	..	..	..
1975	(f)9,857	10,047	1,604	13	..	..	..	..	..
1980	8,424	8,302	1,727	11	298	300	147	143	4
1981	8,428	8,371	1,788	11	337	321	163	151	5
1982	8,182	8,214	1,780	11	549	444	268	238	6

(a) Exclusive of police lock-ups. Includes persons awaiting trial.

(b) Established in Victoria 6 June 1976 as an alternative to full-time imprisonment.

(c) Year ended 31 December (1935 to 1955). Year ended 30 June (1960 to 1982).

(d) Includes transfers. Some prisoners are received more than once a year.

(e) Excluding periodic/weekend detainees and prisoners serving sentences at attendance centres.

(f) Changes in police practices, law reform, and a shift in community attitude, resulted in an increased proportion of less serious offenders being diverted away from the prisons. Prisons retained a high proportion of more serious violent offenders.

Sources: Department of Community Welfare Services, Australian Institute of Criminology.

## PERSONS ON PROBATION AND PAROLE: VICTORIA, 1935 TO 1982

Year (a)	Placed on probation or supervision during year (b)		On probation or supervision at end of year	Released on parole during year (c)		Completed parole during year		Parole cancelled during year		On parole at end of year	
	Adult Courts	Children's Courts		Adult Parole Board	Youth Parole Board	Adult Parole Board	Youth Parole Board	Adult Parole Board	Youth Parole Board	Adult Parole Board	Youth Parole Board
1935	n.a.	710	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1940	n.a.	836	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1945	n.a.	484	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1950	n.a.	486	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1955	n.a.	1,486	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1960	n.a.	2,927	4,077	686	..	416	..	174	..	550	..
1965	1,573	1,788	2,258	956	138	634	141	250	33	832	62
1970	1,514	2,375	5,202	704	358	413	252	212	100	748	182
1975	1,507	2,771	6,239	710	361	532	298	153	80	917	210
1980	1,542	1,838	5,190	553	243	403	188	165	51	681	144
1981	1,513	2,186	5,993	571	247	396	199	151	59	705	146
1982	1,910	2,243	5,394	681	252	443	194	154	56	789	144

(a) Year ended 31 December (1935 to 1960). Year ended 30 June (1965 to 1982).

(b) Number of persons placed on probation during the year (1935 to 1950) and (1965 to 1970). Number of cases resulting in probation during year (1955 to 1960). Children's Court probation has operated since 1906, but figures are only available from 1935.

(c) The Adult Parole Board has governed the parole of prisoners since its inception on 1 July 1957; parole was available before that date under a different system and conditions, for which statistics are not available. The Youth Parole Board has operated since 1 July 1961.

Source: Adult and Youth Parole Boards, Annual Reports.

## SOCIAL WELFARE PERSONNEL

In Victoria, interest in a training scheme for social workers ("almoners") resulted in the first training scheme for almoners being established in 1930. It was associated with three key bodies—the Victorian Institute of Hospital Almoners, the University of Melbourne, and the Melbourne Hospital. In 1932, the Victorian Association of Hospital Almoners was established. By the end of the 1930s, the demand for almoners had outstripped supply. Although the Second World War halted the development of services, together with the Depression and the poliomyelitis epidemic of 1937, it highlighted the numerous social problems which needed attention. In 1946, the Australian Association of Social Workers was formed. During the 1960s and 1970s, many social work courses were available at tertiary institutions, in both universities and colleges of advanced education. In Victoria, social work courses, which were already in existence at the University of Melbourne, were established at the Preston Institute of Technology (in 1973), Monash University (1974), and La Trobe University (1976).

It was in this period, too, that a range of other educational training courses were established, essentially in response to the significant demand for personnel which the rapidly expanding services were making. This expansion peaked around 1974, and it was then that colleges of advanced education and colleges of technical and further education began developing courses for welfare workers. During this period, the Associate Diploma in Welfare Studies at Caulfield Institute of Technology (1975) and the Associate Diploma in Welfare Studies at the Preston Institute of Technology (1979) were developed. In general, the range of courses available to welfare workers included two-year associate diploma courses in welfare, three-year degree courses in social sciences, in-service government training schemes for government workers, child care and pre-school courses (in the technical and further education sector), and training schemes for volunteers.

Together with the service demands, a characteristic of this period in the 1970s was the creation of newly designated groups of social welfare personnel, some by legislation (e.g., family court counsellors) and others through new programmes such as the Australian Assistance Plan (e.g., community development officers). However, State Government welfare departments had mainly employed personnel with no specific welfare qualifications.

The Victorian Council of Social Service (VCOSS), established in 1946, was concerned for many years with the training of non-professional welfare personnel. Between 1952 and 1962 it conducted a training course for the staff of child care organisations. This was subsequently taken over by the Institute of Social Welfare (renamed the Community Welfare Training Institute) operated by the Social Welfare Department which became the

Department of Community Welfare Services. In the same period, the Victorian Council of Social Service held lecture courses for members of welfare agencies and other volunteer groups. The Institute of Social Welfare became operative as the training division of the Social Welfare Department in 1961, following the passing of the Social Welfare Act in 1960. The Institute was to cater for a wide range of non-social work personnel as well as developing short courses for volunteers. Courses for workers in the areas of residential child care and probation were devised.

In 1967, when the Melbourne Citizens' Advice Bureaux (CABs) were launched, the need for specialised training was realised. The volunteer training course for the Personal Emergency Advisory Service conducted by the Mental Health Authority became the joint responsibility of VCOSS and the Mental Health Authority, and the CABs used this for training.

The probation service is an example of the many occupational groups that have developed within the welfare system. Before the Second World War it appointed its first full-time stipendiary officers. Since then, stipendiary officers have worked together with honorary probationers. When the Parole Board was established in 1956 by the Penal Reform Act, nine stipendiary probation and parole officers were appointed. These were university graduates, including some graduates in social work. Over the years, the training of honorary probation officers was essentially provided by the Community Welfare Training Institute at the request of the Probation Officers Association. Probation services were provided for both children and adults from the central office of the Department of Community Welfare Services, but since 1972 they have been administered by the Department's regional offices.

An important aspect of volunteer services is the philosophy underlying the use of volunteers, i.e., the recognition of their specific role and special contribution. Concurrent with the revived interest in voluntarism has been the emergence of the self help movement, which was consolidated in 1975 by the establishment of the Committee on Self Help Groups with the support of the Victorian Council of Social Service.



## JUSTICE AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF LAW

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### INTRODUCTION

This Chapter seeks to give an overview of developments in Victoria's laws and legal system since 1934. Following the general introduction, specific sections outline the major trends in legal control, legal reform, and the criminal law. The Chapter then outlines the changes in the courts and their jurisdictions, and these are followed by specific sections on the Bar and the legal profession generally, the Victoria Police Force, the Law Department, legal aid and legal education.

The course of legal development since 1934 has reflected major social, economic, and technological changes in Victoria. The Depression was followed by war, which in turn brought the State to the most significant era of economic development since the 1880s. This development was matched by governments which had stable majorities after 1955, population growth, the expansion of Melbourne, and the rise in ownership of the motor car. Since the mid-1970s, there has been a discernible increase in crimes against property, trust fund defalcations, and company failures (with their associated offences), and new forms of "white collar" crime.

In the actual administration of law, the most striking developments common to the Supreme Court and County Court have been the increase in the number of judges, the change in the nature of cases coming before the Courts, the increase in the duration of civil and criminal proceedings, and (in the latter part of the period) the availability of legal aid to litigants.

Comparisons over the period show the increase in legal activity. In the Supreme Court 634 writs were issued in 1934 and 9,589 in 1981. Civil cases heard in 1934 numbered 86; there were over 2,100 in 1981. The type of case altered too, partly because of the commencement of the Family Court. In 1934, most of the civil cases heard related to divorce. Closely related to the increase in the number of cases has been the increase in the number of Court's personnel from 150 in 1934 to over 900 in 1981.

Besides the Supreme and County Courts, there has also been an increase in cases heard in Magistrates' Courts from 55,539 in 1934 to 643,926 in 1981, and in the Children's Court from 3,061 in 1934 to 27,013 in 1981. Changing social conditions have given rise to new courts and tribunals such as the Small Claims Tribunal, the Motor Accidents Tribunal, Crimes Compensation Tribunal, the Market Court, the Equal Opportunity Board, the Credit Tribunal, and planning and environmental tribunals.

### CHANGING PATTERNS OF LEGAL CONTROL

Since 1934, there has been a significant development of legislative initiatives in relation to the regulation and control of a range of activities, side by side with a more conservative and restrained reaction from the courts in interpreting those developments, both at the State and Federal level. Many of the initiatives reflect changes in society and its reaction to developments that have occurred at home, as well as the influence of developments overseas. In response to these changes, the legal profession has altered the nature of many of its practices and approaches. Some examples of this trend in legislation are given below.

### Family law

An area in which there has been remarkable change is that of family law and related fields. Family law is a good example of strong intervention by the legislature resulting in changes not only in the manner in which this area of the law is administered and practised by the profession but also in patterns of control. Legislative changes would seem to reflect significant changes in communal attitudes to marriage and divorce.

Major reform in family law by way of Commonwealth legislation began in the early 1960s. Then, in 1975, the *Family Law Act 1975* removed family disputes from the regular courts of the State when the family is based on a marriage. Questions relating to marriage, custody of children, maintenance, and distribution of property on the break-up of the marriage were vested in the new Family Court. Disputes concerning unmarried parents and their children continue to come before the State courts. The divorce laws under the 1975 Act operate on the basis that the only ground for divorce is irretrievable breakdown of the marriage, established by showing that the parties have lived separately and apart for not less than twelve months and that there is no reasonable likelihood of cohabitation being resumed. While important questions of law arising out of the interpretation of the legislation may still finish up in the High Court of Australia (the final appeal body from this Court), a very large percentage of cases are finally determined in the Family Court. When compared to practices in the regular courts, those of the Family Court are relatively informal; thus, the judges and barristers participating in the Court do not appear in traditional robes. Speedy and efficient determination of disputes is the central aim of the Court's operation, but this cannot always be achieved because the complexity of litigation coming before the Court can cause severe delays in disputed matters (for example, the division of property and the custody of children).

The nature of the work undertaken by the Court has resulted in a significant change in the patterns of legal work carried out by both practising branches of the profession. Whereas in the past, the area of family law was regarded as highly legalistic, the new Court relies on the ability of counsel and solicitors to act not only as advocates and negotiators for, but also as counsellors to, their parties. In conjunction with the judicial system within which disputes are settled, there has been built up (under the Act) an important body of social workers and marriage guidance counsellors, whom parties are usually required to consult prior to a dispute going to court.

### Consumer protection

The emergence of consumer protection in the United States of America in the late 1950s and early 1960s also reached Australia and Victoria. Greater "legislative" protection was introduced for the consuming public. At the Federal level consumer protection legislation was introduced in the form of the *Trade Practices Act 1974* (Part V). In addition, there were important new regulations in relation to labelling and marking of goods. These were being extended gradually to cover a wider range of goods.

Victoria has also followed this pattern in consumer protection. The Victorian consumer protection legislation pre-dates the Federal legislation, although it is not as far reaching in many respects as the Federal legislation. The Victorian Consumer Affairs Council and Consumer Affairs Bureau were the first bodies to attempt the control of practices which may be regarded as damaging to the consuming public. The range of activities has grown from year to year (reflecting the sophistication and variety of business activities that exist in the State and the demands of the consuming public), and the initial strong reaction to consumer protection legislation has been tempered by a clearer public understanding of the aims of the legislation.

At the Federal level, the Trade Practices Act has widened the range of protection that is available to the consumer in relation to interstate transactions or transactions carried out by trading corporations whether they be located in Victoria or not—especially in relation to warranties and conditions that apply to goods. The Trade Practices Act makes it invalid for a supplier or manufacturer of goods to contract out of certain conditions that relate to the merchantability of goods, the fitness of purpose of goods, and similar statutory warranties. Under existing Victorian and other State laws, it is possible for the supplier or the manufacturer to contract out of these obligations in specific cases.

In the early 1980s, new legislation regarding consumer credit was enacted in Victoria. With a growing number of Australians purchasing goods and services on credit, some of the existing legislative mechanisms (the hire purchase legislation, the money lending legislation, and related Acts of Parliament) are no longer relevant to the sophisticated problems raised by the growth in consumer credit. These include difficulties in relation to regulating the use of information that must be supplied to the consumer, the advertising of financial terms, and in the cost of financial terms to the consumer. Problems have arisen because many consumers, without knowing that they are doing so, overcommit themselves, and it has been found that the regular courts are not always the best places for settling many of the disputes that arise out of the use of consumer credit.

Another development of significance in Victoria has been the establishment of the Small Claims Tribunal where disputes of less than \$1,000 may be settled without the need to litigate through the regular courts. Since the Tribunal came into operation on 4 February 1974, a total of 17,300 claims had been lodged for determination as at 30 June 1981. In 1978 Victoria established the Market Court. This Court, which is also aimed at settling disputes involving persons engaged in trade, has to date been used infrequently. All these pieces of legislation seek to reduce the cost and the time involved in litigation arising from the sale to consumers of either goods or services. Lawyers are not permitted to appear in the Small Claims Tribunal as such, although in the Market Court they are permitted to represent parties in certain circumstances.

#### **Environmental protection**

Social concern has been influential in requiring greater attention by legislatures, the community, and the courts to be paid to issues involving environmental protection. Victoria, like other States, has legislated in this area. The Environment Protection Authority (established in 1970) monitors all development and controls certain kinds of pollution. The Environment Protection Authority has prosecuted a number of companies from time to time for breaching regulations promulgated pursuant to the legislation. These cover unlawful discharge of waste material as well as the discharge of smoke and other noxious substances into the air.

In Australia there is little opportunity for interested "by-standers" to intervene in the decision making or litigation process involving environmental matters. In 1980, the High Court of Australia held that the Australian Conservation Foundation did not have a right to intervene in the inquiry into the environmental effects of the development of a tourist resort at Farnborough in Queensland. However, in 1981 the High Court allowed members of an Aboriginal tribe to have access to the Courts to attempt to prevent the construction of the Alcoa aluminium smelter at Portland because they were, by tribal custom, the custodians of relics of cultural and spiritual significance on the site.

#### **Restrictive trade practices**

At the Federal level, new legislation was introduced to control anti-competitive restrictive trade practices under the *Trade Practices Act* 1974. Victoria, however, has not followed suit in introducing complementary State legislation in this area. In 1971, legislation was introduced to protect Victorian companies from takeover. The *Parliamentary Committee's (Takeover-offers) Act* 1972, established a joint committee of the Legislative Council and Assembly (known as the "Company Takeovers Committee") with the power to examine any takeover of a Victorian company, and to prevent takeovers where this might be damaging to the Victorian economy. Only two takeovers have been referred to that Committee, both in 1975.

Some professions and companies have re-arranged their business activities in such a way as to take advantage of the limited Federal power to regulate anti-competitive conduct at a Federal level, although at the Federal level there has been a significant amount of litigation in this area.

#### **Accident compensation legislation**

There has been little change over the period in relation to accident compensation. An attempt by the Commonwealth Parliament to introduce a system of no fault liability

legislation in relation to all accidents (based on the New Zealand legislation) lapsed in 1975. In Victoria, the Motor Accidents Compensation Board (established in 1973 under the *Motor Accidents Act 1973*) provides monetary compensation in many situations where either the cost or delays associated with normal civil litigation might have been prohibitive to the injured parties or where no remedy lay at all. The Act provides, however, that common law rights may still be exercised.

#### **Administrative law**

Victoria has introduced new legislation to enforce, under relatively simple procedures, the common law principles in relation to administrative law and the review of decisions of administrative bodies. The *Administrative Law Act 1978* has been interpreted by the Courts as being, in effect, a codification of the existing common law. This Act, together with similar Federal legislation and the establishment of the Federal Administrative Review Tribunal, have created a greater awareness in the general community of the important remedies available in this area.

Hitherto, uncertainty as to the remedies, the non-availability of special courts, the problems associated with legal costs in challenging decisions, and other matters have been largely instrumental in constraining suits in relation to administrative tribunals and government departments and agencies.

The Federal legislation has removed the jurisdiction of State Courts to make orders in respect of Commonwealth officers and vested it exclusively in the Commonwealth Government.

#### **Recent developments**

The Supreme Court itself has seen the need to streamline and improve the efficiency of its system. Thus, for example, new lists such as the Building Causes List, the Industrial Property List, and the Commercial Causes List have led to more efficient litigation in areas involving commercial disputes. The Court has also undertaken the redrafting of the Supreme Court rules, often based on new principles, and it encourages the trend away from undue technicality in litigation. In the area of town and country planning new appeal bodies have been established. The growth in the number of administrative and semi-administrative bodies has meant the increase in decision making and the increase in the number of challenges brought against these bodies. Consumer protection and trade practices are two other important areas. The creation of the Family Court has changed the family law practice of the legal profession.

### **LAW REFORM**

#### **Background**

Before 1934, there had been substantial achievements in law reform in Victoria. In the main, however, these had consisted of the enactment here, sometimes with some modifications, of the provisions of English reforming statutes, such as the Judicature Act, the Acts which introduced judicial divorce, workers compensation, and criminal appeals, and those which reformed the law in special areas, e.g., offences against the person, married women's property, settled land, and adoption of children.

There had been some notable local innovations before 1934. Examples were the secret ballot (1855), the periodic consolidations of the statutes (1865, 1890, 1915, and 1928), the wages board system (1905), and the *Imperial Acts Application Act 1922*. But there was no authority or organisation, outside the Executive Government and Parliament, whose functions included the initiating of proposals for law reform. The Statute Law Revision Committee was, indeed, established in 1916 by resolutions of the two Houses. But its authority was limited to matters referred to it by one of the Houses; and until 1934 the only matters upon which it had made reports were the 1928 Consolidation, the Imperial Acts Application Bill, and a Statute Law Revision Bill.

### Statute Law Revision Committee

For fifteen years after reporting on the 1928 Consolidation this Committee made no reports; but in 1945 it resumed reporting. In 1948, by Act No. 5285, it was given a statutory constitution, extending its functions to examining and reporting upon proposed consolidations, upon anomalies in the statute law, and upon such Bills, involving technical changes, as might be referred to it by either House. It was to consist, as previously, of six members from each House, and at all times both sides of each House have been represented upon it. In 1962, by Act No. 6960, its functions were extended to examining any law reform proposals referred to it by the Attorney-General. The Committee ceased to operate in February 1982 when the Legislative Assembly was prorogued; its functions were taken over by the newly formed Legal and Constitutional Committee. In exercising its statutory functions the Statute Law Revision Committee's procedure was to invite submissions from persons and organisations concerned, and from experts, and to hear unsworn evidence and discuss points of difficulty with witnesses.

Between 1945 and February 1982 the Committee presented 216 Reports. These covered the Bills for Statute Law Revision Acts, ten special consolidating Acts, and the Bills for the 1958 Consolidation of Statutes. They also covered the Bills for a large proportion of the important law reforms of the period. For some of these reforms major credit belongs to the Committee. Examples are the *Crimes (Powers of Arrest) Act 1972*, the *Ombudsman Act 1973*, and the *Adoption of Children (Information) Act 1980*.

### Legal and Constitutional Committee

The role of the Statute Law Revision Committee was taken over by the Legal and Constitutional Committee, part of the newly created committee system set up by the *Parliamentary Committees (Joint Investigatory Committees) Act 1982*. The new Committee is also representative of both Houses of Parliament, having twelve members, up to six of whom may be from the Legislative Council and up to ten of whom may be from the Legislative Assembly.

The Act provides for inquiries to be referred to this Committee either by joint resolution of both Houses of Parliament or by Order of the Governor in Council. Soon after it commenced operation, in August 1982, the Committee received a reference by Order of the Governor in Council to investigate delays in the hearing of cases in Victorian courts.

The Committee also carries out the function of reviewing subordinate legislation and by November 1982 had drafted a Statute Law Revision Bill and the Statute Law Revision (Repeals) Bill, the latter having the effect of repealing a large number of outdated and now anachronistic pieces of legislation.

### Chief Justice's Law Reform Committee

During the Depression and the Second World War, there was little law reform activity in Victoria. In 1944, however, the Chief Justice Sir Edmund Herring established a Chief Justice's Law Reform Committee, modelled broadly on the English Law Reform Committee of 1934 (created by the Lord Chancellor), to formulate proposals for law reforms in areas not politically contentious. This body has at all times been a representative committee of judges, barristers, solicitors, and academic lawyers, membership being by invitation of the Chief Justice.

The principal sources of law reform proposals brought before the Committee have been references by the Attorney-General or his Department, suggestions by Judges or by the Bar, the Law Institute or their members, and invitations by the Statute Law Revision Committee to submit views upon matters before the body. The Committee relies largely on the use of sub-committees to study specific subjects for reform and report back.

By November 1982 more than 200 reports had been made by the Committee. There had, however, been a break of two years in the Committee's work—covering 1952 and 1953—due to its concern at the absence of action upon its reports relating to Crown Immunity, Limitation of Actions, Trusts, and Transfer of Land. It received official reassurances, however, and resumed its work in 1954; and those four reports were all implemented (Acts Nos. 5770, 5802, 5874, and 5914).

Most of the Committee's Reports recommended some legislative change and by November

1982 approximately half of these recommendations had been implemented, wholly or in part. Of the implementing statutes a substantial percentage, particularly in more recent years, have been local innovations. Some examples are the *Sale of Land Act 1962*, *Wills (Formal Validity) Act 1964*, *Evidence (Documents) Act 1971*, *Wills (Interested Witnesses) Act 1977*, *Domicile Act 1978*, *Administrative Law Act 1978*, and the *Associations Incorporation Act 1981*.

### Law Reform Commissioner

During the late 1960s public interest in law reform increased greatly throughout Australia; and within a few years all States and the Commonwealth had created Law Reform Commissions. In Victoria the office of Commissioner was created by the *Law Reform Act 1973* and the first appointment to the office took effect on 1 January 1974. The functions of the Commissioner, as laid down in the Act, are to advise the Attorney-General on the reform of the law, and to investigate and report upon any matter relating to law reform which is referred to him by the Attorney-General. The Commissioner is assisted by a small full-time staff and by an Advisory Council consisting of himself, as chairman, the president of the Law Institute or his nominee, the chairman of the Bar Council or his nominee, and three persons appointed by the Attorney-General.

By November 1982, the Commissioners had furnished a number of advices to the Attorney-General, including one recommending legislation on hi-jacking demands, siege situations, and bomb hoaxes, and another concerning the testator's Family Maintenance Provisions. They had circulated seven Working Papers and submitted twelve Reports to the Attorney-General on the following topics: No. 1. The Law of Murder; No. 2. Criminal Procedure; No. 3. Criminal Liability of Married Persons; No. 4. Delays in Supreme Court Actions; No. 5. Rape Prosecutions; No. 6. Spouse Witnesses; No. 7. Innocent Misrepresentation; No. 8. Pre-incorporation Contracts; No. 9. Duress, Necessity and Coercion; No. 10. Delivery of Deeds; No. 11. Unsworn statements; and No. 12. Provocation and Diminished Responsibility as Defences to Murder. By November 1982 there had been substantial implementation of Reports Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, and 10 and of the advice on hi-jacking demands, siege situations, and bomb hoaxes, and work was in progress on corporate crime, intoxication and criminal responsibility, and the law of homicide.

### Victoria Law Foundation

The Foundation was established in 1967 by Act No. 7539 and is now governed by the *Victoria Law Foundation Act 1978*. It is a corporation consisting of the Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, the Law Reform Commissioner, representatives of the legal profession, and some laymen.

The income of the Foundation is provided, primarily, from the Solicitors' Guarantee Fund established under the *Legal Profession Practice Act 1958* (as amended). Its objects include promoting or undertaking legal research in the reform of the law, and projects directed towards improvement of the administration of the law.

Further to its law reform objects the Foundation has made grants in aid of a number of research projects which formed the basis of subsequent reform. Thus, for example, in 1975 it provided the funds to the Attorney-General for a six months' study by management consultants of delays in bringing accused persons to trial in the County Court at Melbourne; the report led to substantial administrative changes. Funds were provided also to enable the making of a review of the *Imperial Acts Application Act 1922* which has resulted in important legislation in Acts Nos. 9407, 9408, and 9426 (all of 1980).

In 1976-77, the Foundation, in order to obtain factual information about the legal profession, carried out a comprehensive survey of the legal profession in Victoria, covering its education, composition, and organisation, and the views of its members on matters which might bear upon proposals for reforms. The report has been published in two volumes—*Victoria's Lawyers* (1978) and *Victoria's Lawyers II* (1981).

In 1983, the Foundation was completing major studies on administrative tribunals in Victoria, the Administration of civil justice in Victoria (in conjunction with the Victorian Government), and the revision of the Rules of the Supreme Court (the latter project being under the formal direction of the Rules Committee of the Supreme Court).

Pursuant to statute (No. 8483) the Foundation has, since the beginning of 1974, made available to the Law Reform Commissioner the funds for carrying out his statutory functions. It also provides funds to the Chief Justice's Law Reform Committee.

### Conclusion

The main source of law reform since 1934 has been by the Executive Government. From it have come major reforms in such areas as consumer protection, small claims enforcement, town planning, environmental protection, clean air, equal opportunity, status of children, seat belt legislation, uniform company law, and criminal damage to property. Moreover, where topics have been reported upon by one of the bodies above mentioned, the initiative for the report has often been a reference on request by the Attorney-General.

In 1977 the Attorney-General established the Criminal Law Working Group to carry out an ongoing review of aspects of the criminal law. The Working Group has examined a number of matters and provided draft legislation for the Attorney-General's consideration. Implementing statutes include the *Crime (Criminal Damage) Act 1978*, amending the law relating to criminal damage to property, and the *Crimes (Classification of Offences) Act 1981*, which abolished the division of crimes into felonies and misdemeanours.

Contributions have also been made by professional and community organisations and by individuals. Examples in this area are: (1) the setting up, at the instance of the Law Institute, of the trust account investment procedures to support the Solicitors' Guarantee Fund (Act No. 7226); (2) the reforms in residential tenancy laws resulting from the report in 1978 of the Community Committee on Tenancy Reform; (3) the work of the Hon. John Galbally in promoting the abolition of capital punishment and the reform of the vagrancy laws; and (4) the Chattel Securities Act, Goods (Sales and Leases) Act, and Credit Act of 1981, substantially implementing the recommendations of the Report on Fair Consumer Credit Laws (1972) of the Molomby Committee, a committee of the Law Council of Australia made up of practising and academic lawyers in Victoria.

## CRIMINAL LAW

### Introduction

In 1934, the criminal law in Victoria was almost entirely the common law, fashioned by English courts and judges, set firm by the great institutional writers, and imported into Australia as part of its legal heritage. Its criminal law, while still uncodified, is substantially embodied in a statute, the *Crimes Act 1958*, as amended in the last 25 years. Most of its substantive provisions have been enacted since 1970: many of them are modelled upon or at least suggested by, English enactments. But there are some important provisions which originated in Victoria.

### Homicide

The law of homicide still remains substantially embodied in judicial decisions. Since 1934, the Victorian Court of Criminal Appeal has decided a number of landmark cases in this branch of the law, notably on self defence, the intent required in murder, and involuntary manslaughter. In 1969, Mr Justice Menhennitt gave a ruling, during the trial of a doctor charged with unlawful abortion, that if the defendant believed that the procedure was necessary for the health of the woman he was not criminally responsible. This ruling commanded immediate, widespread attention and has become accepted doctrine.

The major legislative provisions on homicide were the introduction of the new crimes of infanticide and child destruction in 1949, of causing death by culpable driving in 1967, and the abolition of the crimes of suicide and attempted suicide, also in 1967. The last enactment, modelled on the English statute of 1961, provided that the survivor of a suicide pact shall be liable to be convicted of manslaughter, not murder, and created a new offence of inciting or assisting another to commit suicide.

In 1974, the Victorian Law Reform Commissioner recommended the enactment of legislation to provide that constructive murder, of which felony-murder is the best known instance, should be abolished and that murder should be defined as killing with an actual intention to kill. In 1982, the Commissioner recommended in relation to the defence of

provocation, that the objective test be abolished, and further recommended that a defence of diminished responsibility be adopted for murder. These various recommendations have yet to gain the approval of the Government of Victoria.

### **Theft**

In 1973 the Crimes (Theft) Act abolished the common law felonies of larceny, robbery and burglary, and the related statutory offences of embezzlement, obtaining by false pretences, fraudulent conversion, and obtaining by menaces, together with the congeries of specific larceny provisions in the Crimes Act. In place of this mixture of common law and statute, the legislation provided new crimes of theft, obtaining property or financial advantage by deception, robbery, burglary, aggravated burglary, blackmail, and handling stolen property. The statute is substantially a copy of the English *Theft Act 1968*. In 1977, the offence of armed robbery was added to the theft provisions.

### **Criminal damage**

The common law felony of arson, and the statutory provisions modelled on the English *Malicious Damage Act 1861*, were abolished by the *Crimes (Criminal Damage) Act 1978*. In place of them four offences—intentionally causing damage or destroying property; intentionally causing such destruction or damage which endangers life; threatening such acts; and possessing material intending to use it to cause such damage—have been created by the new legislation.

### **Sexual offences**

The most far-reaching changes to the substance of the criminal law were made by the *Crimes (Sexual Offences) Act 1980*. This statute abolished common law felonies such as rape. In their place a reformulated indictable offence of rape was created, where the victim may be a man or a woman, and where the offender may also be a man or a woman. The Act abolished criminal responsibility in respect of any consenting sexual activities between adults in private. Bestiality was preserved as an indictable offence. Several related common law rules characterised as obsolete were abrogated; boys under 14 years may now be convicted of offences involving sexual penetration, and married persons "living separately and apart" from their spouse may be convicted of a rape offence.

### **Criminal penalties**

#### *Death penalty*

Twelve felonies carried the death penalty in Victoria in 1934. In 1949, capital punishment was abolished except for treason and murder. It was abolished in respect of these remaining crimes in 1975. The most severe punishment now provided in Victoria is imprisonment for a term of the convicted person's natural life, the mandatory sentence for treason or murder. Between 1949 and 1975, of the 209 persons convicted for murder or treason, only four persons were executed; the last execution was in February 1967. All other sentences of death were commuted, and sentences of imprisonment of varying terms were substituted.

#### *Imprisonment*

In 1934, less than half of those persons convicted of indictable offences in the superior courts were sentenced to imprisonment. In 1981, of 1,194 persons convicted in the Supreme Court and the County Court, 605 were sentenced to terms of imprisonment, while the remainder received non-custodial sentences. Probation for adult offenders, introduced as part of substantial legislative changes to the system of criminal punishment in 1956, was employed in 142 instances, while in 251 cases convicted persons entered into bonds. Fines were imposed on 111 offenders, forty-three persons were directed to Attendance Centres, and two were the subject of orders made under the *Alcoholics and Drug Dependent Persons Act 1968*.



The *Penal Reform Act 1956* established a parole system. It provided that where a judge or magistrate imposes a term of imprisonment of not less than 2 years, he shall fix a minimum term during which the offender is ineligible to be released on parole. (Where a sentence of not less than 12 months is imposed, the court may fix a minimum term.) When the minimum term has been served, the offender may be released on parole.

The parole system is administered by a Parole Board. Both an Adult Parole Board and a Youth Parole Board have been established; a judge of the Supreme Court is chairman of the first, and a judge of the County Court of the second. While an offender is on parole, he is under the supervision of a Parole Officer.

More recently, legislative provisions for periodic imprisonment, or attendance at an Attendance Centre, or Community Service Orders, have been made. Special arrangements for the detention of mentally ill or alcoholic or drug dependent persons have also been created by the *Mental Health Act 1959* and the *Alcoholics and Drug Dependent Persons Act 1968*. Although the latter provides for detention centres for persons whose offences involved drunkenness or drug addiction, no such detention centres have so far been created.

### Compensation for victims of crime

Victoria followed the example of New Zealand and Great Britain in introducing a scheme of compensation for personal injuries suffered by victims of crime. The *Criminal Injuries Compensation Act 1972* established the Crimes Compensation Tribunal, constituted by an experienced member of the Victorian Bar. The Tribunal may make awards to persons who have suffered physical injuries (including nervous shock or pregnancy) as a result of a criminal act, up to an amount (in 1981) of \$10,000.

## THE COURTS

### Background

At 31 December 1934, the estimated population of Victoria was 1,836,660. There were seven Supreme Court judges and seven County Court judges. On 31 December 1981, the estimated population was 3,948,600 and there were twenty-one Supreme Court judges and thirty-four County Court judges.

In recent years, however, the number of Supreme Court judges has not been significantly increased. The banking up of cases was regarded as a temporary phenomenon, and for a time it was sought to overcome this by the appointment of acting judges. The same remedy was applied when judges were unavailable because of illness. Between 1969 and 1972, there were frequent short-term appointments of County Court judges as acting judges of the Supreme Court. There have been no acting appointments since 1972.

Two consequences of the economic development since the Second World War have been an increase in industrial accidents causing death and personal injuries, and, with a great increase in the number of motor vehicles, an increase in motor car accidents causing death, personal injuries, and damage to property.

The growth of consequential litigation based on negligence and breach of statutory duty was compounded by a series of statutes. Compulsory third party insurance against claims for damages arising out of the use of a motor car was introduced in 1939. In 1945, the doctrine of common employment was abolished; this doctrine, though already limited in its application by statute, had prevented an employee engaged in common employment with another employee recovering damages against the employer for injuries caused by the latter employee's negligence. In 1949, the law was altered so that any person liable to pay damages to an injured plaintiff could recover contribution in respect of those damages from any other person who was also liable to the plaintiff for the injuries. In the same year, instead of the plaintiff's contributory negligence being the complete answer to a claim against a negligent defendant, it was provided in effect that the plaintiff's damages should be reduced by such percentage as he was found to be responsible for his own damage. Thus a plaintiff whose damages were assessed at \$100,000, who was held to be 25 per cent responsible for his own injuries, would recover \$75,000.

With compulsory third party insurance in motor car cases providing payment, there was a large increase of motor car accident claims. Notwithstanding workers compensation legislation, claims for personal injuries arising out of industrial accidents also multiplied.

From 1954, employers were required to insure against liability in damages to employees injured at work. Most frequently the plaintiff sought and obtained trial by jury. It always was true that, of writs and summonses issued, a high proportion, largely consisting of debt claims, never came to trial, judgements being obtained in default of defence or by summary proceedings, or the action being settled. Most running down cases and industrial accident cases were also settled, usually after setting down and often after being placed in a daily list for trial. Few cases went to verdict: those that did, set (as it were) the measure by which the others were settled. It became a common feature of proceedings that judges waited in their chambers while Counsel settled most of the cases in the day's list.

The provision by statute in 1973 of limited compensation in motor car cases irrespective of fault has resulted in many persons whose disabilities from injury is not great, accepting the compensation and not commencing proceedings in the courts. Nevertheless, there has not been a significant reduction in the number of proceedings instituted in the courts. One noticeable change towards the end of the period was the tendency of defendants or their insurance companies, in cases where a proper award of damages might be large, to seek trial by jury where plaintiffs had sought trial before a judge alone.

The great extension of legal aid in the post-war years has been a major factor affecting criminal trials in two respects. First, trials take longer to complete, the accused's lack of means being no longer an argument in favour of avoiding unnecessary prolixity, and second, the availability of legal aid has meant that in criminal trials there are practically no prisoners who are undefended.

In the criminal, as in the civil jurisdiction, though not to the same extent, the motor vehicle has had its effect. The alleged reluctance of juries to convict for manslaughter in cases arising out of car accidents led to the introduction in 1967 of the statutory offence of causing death by culpable driving. Higher penalties imposed in 1955 for driving under the influence of alcohol and for dangerous driving and like offences led to these offences being classified as misdemeanours with a right to trial by jury, though with the accused's consent they could be dealt with summarily. Experience showed that juries were reluctant to convict, and in 1967 the offences were left to be tried by Magistrates only.

In 1923, in a memorandum to the Attorney-General, the Chief Justice, Sir William Irvine, had stated that, as a general rule, it is inappropriate for judges of the Supreme Court to act as Royal Commissioners. While, in general, the judges have adhered to that position, there have been some exceptional occasions in which judges have accepted such appointments. Thus, Mr Justice Lowe acted as Royal Commissioner, appointed by the Commonwealth Government, to inquire into the bombing of Darwin in 1942, and into certain allegations regarding the so-called Brisbane Line in 1944. He was also Royal Commissioner to inquire into communism in 1952. On the other hand, County Court judges on many occasions have acted at Royal Commissions and Boards of Inquiry. Judge Stretton, as Royal Commissioner inquiring into the disastrous bushfires of 1939, produced a report the literary style of which received high acclaim. Judge Barber acted as Royal Commissioner into the collapse of the King Street Bridge in 1962, and when, because of the experience he had gained, he was asked in 1970 to act in a like capacity regarding the collapse of the West Gate Bridge, he agreed to do so, although by that time he was a judge of the Supreme Court.

#### COURT PROCEEDINGS: VICTORIA, 1934 TO 1980

Year	Magistrates' Courts (a)		Children's Courts (b)		Higher courts (c)			Total offenders convicted
	Convictions	Dismissals, etc. (d)	Convictions	Dismissals, etc. (d)	Number of persons convicted for —			
					Offences against the person	Offences against property	Other offences	
1934	45,748	9,791	2,543	518	80	434	36	550
1935	54,666	9,720	3,541	708	80	484	32	596
1936	70,752	9,884	4,003	954	105	389	39	533
1937	64,772	7,905	4,212	966	88	436	41	565
1938	68,841	8,199	5,394	851	103	498	41	642
1939	72,186	8,895	4,585	905	72	577	41	690
1940	75,712	9,032	4,232	852	112	506	33	651
1941	62,963	7,125	4,557	958	146	518	41	705

## COURT PROCEEDINGS: VICTORIA, 1934 TO 1980—continued

Year	Magistrates' Courts (a)		Children's Courts (b)		Higher courts (c)			Total offenders convicted
	Convictions	Dismissals, etc. (d)	Convictions	Dismissals, etc. (d)	Number of persons convicted for —			
					Offences against the person	Offences against property	Other offences	
1942	61,097	5,705	5,414	860	167	531	23	721
1943	57,205	6,210	5,156	878	180	597	49	826
1944	52,517	5,186	4,422	547	166	586	40	792
1945	49,270	5,322	3,831	726	156	492	44	692
1946	53,616	5,738	3,007	589	150	495	65	710
1947	63,488	5,694	2,598	427	172	566	47	785
1948	65,906	5,852	2,337	425	185	572	49	806
1949	70,034	5,841	2,382	503	132	494	43	669
1950	85,568	6,966	2,305	724	190	495	37	722
1951	95,294	8,269	3,075	778	212	515	34	761
1952	112,077	11,166	3,457	720	202	631	50	883
1953	117,901	10,699	3,596	646	185	670	63	918
1954	117,458	10,544	4,461	864	266	594	52	912
1955	129,141	12,697	4,434	826	288	672	83	1,043
1956	153,393	13,370	5,476	1,036	247	901	101	1,249
1957	201,539	11,750	6,586	1,433	376	1,098	169	1,643
1958	242,897	13,237	8,168	1,488	481	1,143	155	1,779
1959	258,078	16,590	8,235	1,521	449	1,187	163	1,799
1960	237,338	15,530	9,688	1,787	549	1,250	197	1,996
1961	199,880	17,224	10,036	1,885	569	1,512	226	2,307
1962	207,405	17,196	12,082	2,008	636	1,420	331	2,387
1963	227,211	16,926	7,855	545	565	689	525	1,779
1964	244,045	18,731	9,787	664	629	589	575	1,793
1965	262,249	21,289	9,555	533	539	561	518	1,618
1966	246,539	21,537	8,786	490	454	714	557	1,725
1967	253,191	25,162	9,270	552	430	818	538	1,786
1968	258,370	27,398	9,113	537	477	793	520	1,790
1969	261,019	37,252	10,973	684	445	797	447	1,689
1970	256,556	36,819	12,944	947	499	839	414	1,752
1971	249,880	37,488	13,061	780	491	916	303	1,710
1972	269,237	38,672	14,720	1,025	523	882	362	1,767
1973	289,614	40,380	14,181	1,073	571	851	427	1,849
1974	304,064	40,929	15,875	1,303	515	724	332	1,571
1975	293,532	38,656	13,915	1,149	448	548	396	1,392
1976	296,482	38,435	11,182	757	527	405	299	1,231
1977	307,831	38,561	11,633	651	456	361	343	1,160
1978	323,105	39,757	14,229	838	439	355	376	1,170
1979	305,323	40,044	15,918	1,143	386	411	427	1,224
1980	310,105	50,165	17,927	1,018	386	455	449	1,290

(a) Known as Courts of Petty Sessions prior to 1970.

Offences dealt with: 1934 to 1980 arrest and summons cases.

1934 to 1940 includes Children's Courts summons cases (also included in Children's Courts figures).

1934 to 1935 first offence cases of drunkenness were not included as convictions and are excluded.

1961 to 1980 excludes drunkenness cases.

(b) 1934 to 1962 includes prosecutions by police and by other authorities, e.g., Victorian Railways.

1963 to 1980 police prosecutions only and excludes children brought before the courts as being in need of care and protection.

1965 to 1980 excludes drunkenness cases.

(c) 1934 to 1980 number of persons convicted.

1938 to 1980 arrest and summons cases.

In February 1963 amendment to the Justices Act empowered Courts of Petty Sessions (Magistrates' Courts) to deal summarily with certain offences previously dealt with by higher courts.

(d) Dismissed, withdrawn, struck out.

NOTE: An amendment to the Justices Act, operative since February 1963, enables Magistrates' Courts to deal summarily with certain offences previously dealt with by higher courts. Also, improved methods of statistical collection were commenced in 1963. Accordingly, figures since 1963 are not comparable with those of previous years. All tables from 1971 have been revised to accord with the Draft Australian National Classification of Offences developed by the ABS, and will differ slightly from those previously published for these years.

### Supreme Court

The great increase in this Court in civil jury actions over the last fifty and in particular over the last thirty years has been accompanied by some decrease in other jurisdictions. In particular, the once common applications for judicial aid and protection by way of originating summons in the construction of wills and other documents have markedly diminished. This is partly due to an abandonment by solicitors of prolixity in drafting, and by clients of their efforts to control the destination of their property long after death.

It is also due to the increasing use of the power in the Supreme Court to alter a will so that adequate provision is made for the proper maintenance of the family of the deceased person.

Another feature peculiar to the Supreme Court has been the expansion of the function and number of Masters. (Masters are officers of the Court, junior to the judges, with partly judicial and partly administrative responsibilities.) In 1934, there was a Master in Equity and a Taxing Master. Six Masters now have an extensive jurisdiction in interlocutory matters preliminary to trials, doing much of the work which once was done by the judge sitting in chambers.

Divorce and matrimonial causes in the post-war years occupied a steadily growing proportion of the Supreme Court's time. The (Commonwealth) *Matrimonial Causes Act* 1959, enacting a uniform divorce law, which came into force on February 1961, left the jurisdiction under the Act to the Supreme Courts of the States. A more liberal judicial approach and changed social attitudes contributed to the increase in divorce. The (Commonwealth) *Family Law Act* 1975, which came into operation in 1977, substituted for the several grounds of divorce, based mainly on fault, the one ground of the irretrievable breakdown of the marriage. This led initially to a flood of work for the Supreme Court. However, the taking over of the jurisdiction by the Family Court relieved the Supreme Court of this burden.

#### **State and Federal jurisdictions**

The institution of a system of Commonwealth Courts including the Family Court and the Federal Court of Australia has brought about a situation in which upon occasion no one Court is able to administer the whole of the law of the land in the one case between the litigants who are in dispute.

This is particularly so in the area of Family law. As a result of the provisions of the Commonwealth Constitution, the Family Court has (in effect) exclusive jurisdiction in all matters arising out of a matrimonial relationship, but not otherwise, while State Supreme Courts retain jurisdiction where the matters do not arise out of a matrimonial relationship. This had led to painful problems in relation to the custody of children.

It has been held that the Federal Court of Australia has jurisdiction in circumstances in which a ground of claim does not attract Federal jurisdiction but seeks substantially the same remedy and is based on substantially the same facts as a claim which does attract Federal jurisdiction. This remains so even where the claim within Federal jurisdiction has failed. The jurisdictional situation resulting from this decision may have significant ramifications for the work of State Supreme Courts.

#### **Appeals to the Privy Council**

In 1934, there were appeals to the Privy Council from the High Court and from State Supreme Courts. By 1975, there was no appeal to the Privy Council from the High Court (in practice) or from a State Supreme Court exercising Federal jurisdiction. In cases in a State Supreme Court involving only State law it was possible to appeal direct to the Privy Council. The Privy Council in 1980 decided that in appeals from Australia it would follow decisions of the High Court unless convinced beyond a doubt that they were wrong. This meant that there was seldom potential advantage for an appellant to take an appeal from a State Supreme Court to the Privy Council instead of the High Court.

#### **County Court**

The County Court has been subject to substantial changes since 1934. First, for a series of County Courts established in various places in the State, there was substituted in 1957 one County Court of Victoria. Second was the abolition in 1969, of the Courts of General Sessions in and for various Bailiwicks in the State, which had an extensive criminal jurisdiction and a jurisdiction on appeal from Magistrates' Courts in criminal, maintenance, and affiliation proceedings; their jurisdiction was transferred to the County Court of Victoria. The County Court judges had been the judges who sat as Chairmen of General Sessions. In 1969, the County Court also absorbed the Court of Mines.

In the absence or unavailability of a judge of the (Federal) Court of Bankruptcy, County

Court judges were able, as judges of the (Victorian) Court of Insolvency, to exercise the Federal bankruptcy jurisdiction from time to time during the period.

The administration of the Court with the growth of the number of judges led to the formal institution of the office of Chairman of County Court Judges in 1957. In 1975, statutory provision was made for a Chief Judge of the County Court.

The financial limits of the general County Court jurisdiction have risen steadily since the first increase from \$1,000 as it had been in 1934 to \$2,000 in 1952. At that time, the limit in motor car accident cases was raised to \$5,000. In 1966, there were further increases to \$4,000 and \$8,000, respectively; in 1972, to \$6,000 and \$12,000, respectively; and in 1979, to \$12,000 and \$25,000, respectively. There were at the end of 1983 extensive increases in the common law and equity jurisdiction of the County Court.

The extensive criminal jurisdiction of the County Court, embracing for practical purposes all indictable offences except murder and attempts to murder, has resulted in the Court undertaking the great bulk of the criminal work of the State. In recent years the original criminal jurisdiction of the Supreme Court has rarely been exercised except in cases of murder, attempted murder, and armed robbery. County Court judges are also required to act as Chairmen of Workers Compensation Boards, the Youth Parole Board, the Police Services Board, the Industrial Appeals Court, the Market Court, and the Credit Tribunal.

## LEGAL PROFESSION

### The Bar

#### *From 1934 to 1939*

In 1934, Victoria had a Bar of about 100 practitioners in active private practice. The number doubled in the next 25 years. By 1979, there were 651 and as well 16 Crown Prosecutors and 9 Parliamentary Counsel. In 1982, the numbers reached 785, 19, and 11, respectively.

Barristers in 1934 practised from Selborne, Equity, and Brougham Chambers. Each barrister engaged one of the three barristers' clerks. None had secretaries. Opinions and pleadings were returned handwritten to solicitors. The Bar then provided a precarious living and almost all the legal work available was before the traditional law courts.

The Bar was a loose association of individuals. The Bar Council, called the Committee of Counsel until 1954, ruled on questions of ethics and practice and spoke on behalf of the Bar. In this period the strengthening of the association began. Rules were altered requiring an annual subscription, the election of a chairman, and the creation of sanctions for disreputable conduct.

#### *War years, 1939 to 1945*

When war began in 1939 there was immediate concern to supplement the earnings and preserve the practices of barristers on war service. Initially those accepting a brief in place of a barrister on war service, paid him one-third of the fee. That did not work well. In 1940, all those in practice signed a deed by which sixpence of every guinea received went to supplement the earnings of barristers who were servicemen. A total of \$16,270 was eventually paid to 29 servicemen.

As a result of enlistments and war work, the number in practice fell to 40, too small a number to handle the work to be done. Judges recognised the difficulties and had regard to the availability of counsel in fixing hearing dates.

#### *After 1945*

Returning servicemen soon regained their practices. Continuing wartime regulations, particularly those requiring a court order for the recovery of tenanted premises, provided a lot of work. Compulsory insurance of drivers and employers greatly increased the number of claims brought before civil juries for damages for injuries on the road or at work.

Accommodation was the pressing problem of the growing Bar. Traditionally a barrister was one of a group who took chambers together. There was little suitable accommodation available in Melbourne. After six months spent reading in the chambers of a senior barrister, many newcomers practised without chambers. They had their conferences in

borrowed chambers, the corridors of Selborne Chambers, or outside the Court. By 1952, thirty-seven needed chambers. There were petitions to the Bar Council for assistance. A number of possibilities were explored but no solution was found.

In 1952, a substantially new Bar Council was elected, which accepted that it was the responsibility of the Bar itself to provide chambers for its members. This policy was continued by later Bar Councils. A company controlled by the Bar Council was formed which leased floors of suitable city buildings and provided chambers for junior barristers.

The Bar Councils of that time set the direction of the later developments of the Bar. Since then, the Bar has accepted that, through the Bar Council, it will take collective responsibility and action in areas where modern conditions show that to be necessary. Inevitably this has increased the regulation of the Bar. The Bar Council now takes responsibility for the provision of chambers, the operation of the clerking system, the level and payment of fees, a superannuation scheme, and lectures to newcomers on barristers' practical skills. Much of the work involved in this is done by committees, directors, or trustees which the Bar Council appoints, or by its salaried staff. The Bar Council itself carries an increasing workload.

#### *Owen Dixon Chambers*

In 1958, a general meeting decided that the Bar should be in one building. A new Bar company, Barristers' Chambers Ltd, with capital supplied by barristers, purchased land in William Street. Barristers sold their shares in Selborne Chambers Ltd, and Owen Dixon Chambers was built with money contributed by barristers and loans from financial institutions. In July 1961 all but twenty-five of the barristers moved into the nine storey building. Most of the twenty-five continued in Equity Chambers. There had been no barristers in Brougham Chambers since 1937 but two had their chambers in that building from 1958 to 1967.

After that, barristers were no longer prepared to practise from inadequate chambers as many had done before. The new building and chambers gave the Bar a central location which it felt made for permanence and confidence. The common room brought some of the atmosphere of the English Inns of Court.

Another four floors were added to Owen Dixon Chambers in 1965. Since then, Barristers' Chambers Ltd, as necessary, has leased space in nearby buildings, converted it to chambers, and let them to barristers. By 1983, it had 723 barristers as tenants and purchased adjoining land for future use.

The wartime shortage of barristers often led solicitors to delegate to a barristers' clerk the selection of a barrister who would be available. This approach and the influence it gave the clerks, continued after the war. Since 1960, the Bar has continually supervised and regulated the clerking system. By 1983, there were nine clerks.

#### *General developments*

After six lean years and the war years, barristers' practices took on a prosperity which, with some fluctuations, continued. At the end of the period, besides the traditional courts, barristers practised extensively before administrative tribunals. Throughout, there was a trend to specialisation. Originally barristers regarded their practices as fragile, likely to be broken by prolonged absence from practice. By the 1970s, barristers spending time at overseas universities or in other employment were resuming their practices with little loss of ground. Fees which at the beginning of the period came mainly from private sources were at the end coming increasingly from public sources—legal aid schemes, Crown Solicitors, and the Insurance Commissioner.

In 1934, although the Bar had continued as an unincorporated association since 1900, many barristers were not certain of its durability as a practical means of by-passing the legislation of 1891 which amalgamated the functions of barristers and solicitors. Many Acts of the Victorian Parliament from 1903 recognised the existence of the separate Bar. By 1978, the *Legal Profession Practice Act 1958* had been amended to provide statutory disciplinary machinery for members of the Bar separate from that provided for solicitors.

During the 1970s, some barristers took chambers outside Melbourne. By 1982, there were small local Bars in Ballarat, Bendigo, and Geelong. No women practised at the Bar

in 1934; however, since 1949 there have always been women at the Bar; by 1979 there were thirty-one, and by 1982 there were over fifty. In the early 1980s, many barristers were quite junior; in 1976, three out of four were aged less than 45 years; in 1979, 343 had been members for less than 6 years, and the trend in that direction was clearly to continue for some time.

It was largely the influence of the Bar which retained juries to try claims for damages for personal injuries in Victoria. In 1938, the Bar's criticisms of the Supreme Court judges' alteration of the rules to limit jury trials caused a temporary rift between Bench and Bar, but the rules were annulled by the Legislative Assembly. In 1959, the Bar briefed counsel to argue before a Royal Commission for the retention of civil juries. In 1967, when the Victorian Government contemplated abolishing juries for personal injuries claims, the Bar published a book making the case for their retention. This was a significant consideration in the Government's decision not to make the change.

### Solicitors

In 1934, Victoria's 917 solicitors faced times of anxiety and uncertainty. Their incomes were suffering from the Depression, a situation that changed little until the Second World War. There were 51 practising solicitors per 100,000 of population in 1933, the same as in 1870; but the community was by then far less litigious. In 1870, when the population was 723,925, the number of Supreme Court writs issued was 5,583 compared with 634 writs in 1934 when the population was 1,836,660. Corresponding figures for County Court hearings were 11,866 writs in 1870 and 503 in 1934.

The decline was attributed to the cost of litigation and the tendency by Victorian solicitors, which still continues, to encourage clients to settle their differences out of court. The decline in litigation had for a time been offset by growth in conveyancing work and probate work (wills and estates). But both these areas of work had been seriously affected by the Depression. The value of new mortgages had declined from \$40m in 1925 to \$13m in 1933. Finance for housing was difficult to obtain.

There were also many tasks now carried out by non-legal specialists and institutions, which had once been the exclusive domain of lawyers. These included functions now carried out by accountants, patent agents and attorneys, trustee companies, managers and valuers of landed estates, estate agents, company secretaries, company solicitors, and security clerks in banks. The Law Institute of Victoria (the governing body of solicitors which had been founded in 1859) instigated an amendment to the Legal Profession Practice Act in 1936 in order to make separate trust accounts compulsory for solicitors, and in 1942, to make it a criminal offence for a solicitor to have a deficiency in his trust account. The role of the Institute was extended considerably by the amending Act of 1946, which gave it the right to control the professional conduct of every solicitor in Victoria and to issue solicitors with practising certificates. All practising solicitors were thus eligible automatically to be members of the Institute. The Act also provided for compulsory audits of solicitors' trust accounts and established a Guarantee Fund to compensate clients for any defalcations by solicitors or their employees. All solicitors were required to contribute to it.

A period of expansion both for the profession and its Institute began after 1947. Repatriation of the Armed Forces, housing, rent control, the transition from wartime regulations, the rising incidence of taxation, industrial expansion, and the growing economy all increased the demand for legal services. Solicitors had to enlarge staffs, instal more office equipment, and improve accommodation and facilities.

In the early 1950s, the Guarantee Fund became inadequate for all exigencies, and it was proposed that interest could be obtained from the very large amounts deposited with banks in solicitors' trust accounts to provide adequate amounts of money for this purpose, especially as uninvestable money flowing in and out of solicitors' trust accounts from day to day never fell below a certain level. The Institute thus instigated legislation in 1964 by which a portion of all solicitors' trust money was deposited for investment by the Institute. The interest, amounting to some millions of dollars, was paid to the Fund. Income not required for the purposes of the Fund was allocated to finance legal aid and to the Victoria Law Foundation for legal research and education. This legislation was eventually followed in all other States, New Zealand, and other countries.

Meanwhile, the Institute had expanded so much that new premises had to be found. A two storey building with a comprehensive library was built opposite the Supreme Court in 1962. This was adequate for the growth of the profession and the Institute's activities in professional conduct, law reform, legal aid, legal education, and the general standing of solicitors.

By 1975, there were new problems, mainly arising from changing economic circumstances. With 3,227 practising solicitors (87 per 100,000 of population), there were fewer professional openings; unemployment was increasing; and the price squeeze caused by rising overheads and fixed fees was more pronounced. There was also some competition from marketed conveyancing "kits" and divorce "kits" (the latter being no longer required when the Family Law Act simplified divorce procedures). The profession generally needed to master new techniques in office management, electronic equipment, word processing, and microfilming. New services to the profession after 1977 also included management advice, continuing legal education (particularly in relation to the efficient and profitable conduct of a practice), advice for and referral of people with legal problems, and an expanded costs advisory service. Office inspectors were appointed by the Institute to make spot checks on trust accounts; this gave advice and helped simplify accountancy procedures in legal offices. Compulsory indemnity insurance was introduced in 1978 to cover claims for mistakes or negligence.

The Legal Profession Practice Act was amended in 1979 to enforce an even stricter code of ethical conduct. A new disciplinary tribunal was established with lay representation, and a lay observer was appointed to deal with complaints by the public about the Institute's handling of any matters referred to it.

The Institute experienced its greatest misfortune on 22 June 1978 when its building in Little Bourke Street was razed by fire. The library with many valuable artefacts and documents was destroyed. Records fortunately were preserved in their metal filing cabinets, and two days later the Institute was again operative in rented premises in Queen Street. Eighteen months later it had acquired, redesigned, and refurbished the building in which it is now housed at 470 Bourke Street, Melbourne, the site where Victoria's first Parliament sat in 1851.

The placement of qualified solicitors was the Institute's most serious problem in 1980. The number of practising solicitors per 100,000 of population had risen to 116, and it was estimated that 20 per cent of qualified lawyers could not be placed in the profession.

## VICTORIA POLICE

### Introduction

During the past 50 years many profound changes have occurred in the organisation, structure, and operating philosophy of the Victoria Police Force. In general, major changes have been concerned with the progressive introduction of new technological advances to police operations together with organisational changes necessary to administer a numerically large Force effectively and the expansion of training programmes to better equip police at all levels for the demands of their role. The Police Force has sought to become increasingly sensitive to the community environment in which it functions. Developments over the period have largely been in response to pressures and demands generated by the community. These pressures led to various internal administrative problems. Since 1934, there have been three inquiries into major aspects of policing: the first in 1936, the second in 1971, and the third in 1975. The first was occasioned by various problems of administration, the second by its handling of abortion matters, and the third by allegations into police probity.

### Police role

Traditionally the role of the police has been described as "the prevention of crime and the detection and apprehension of offenders". However, this has progressively given way to a wider definition based upon a growing realisation on the part of police administrators that the police function is extremely complex and embraces more than merely enforcing the criminal law. The Victoria Police provides a broad service to the community and the non-crime related duties of the police have been estimated to be as high as 80 per cent of



all police duties. These include providing assistance in times of natural disaster, traffic regulation, and meeting a variety of requests for help and assistance. The Force has come to be regarded as a multi-purpose assistance providing organisation. This is due largely to the police being a 24 hour service with its personnel being widely distributed throughout the State.

The welfare role of the Force can best be seen where juveniles are concerned. Since the early seventies, police have placed a greater emphasis on formally "cautioning" juvenile first offenders in the presence of their parents without recourse to the courts. The cautioning programme has been evaluated and in terms of subsequent offences has been regarded as successful. The police have also come to realise that a good deal of discretion is required when dealing with adult offenders involved with only minor offences.

### Operational concepts

In the late 1930s, the police developed the notion that their efficiency could be improved by lowering the response time for calls for police service. This was to be done by increasing the strength of the motorised Wireless Patrol Fleet and upgrading the communications network. It was assumed that this would increase the chances of an offender being apprehended at the crime scene, thereby lowering the crime rate through deterrence based on certainty of apprehension; and as a result citizen satisfaction with police service would be enhanced.

However, the Victoria Police later responded to American research which questioned these assumptions and from 1965 initiated a number of local evaluative projects. As a result of projects such as the Prahran Preventative Patrol Experiment and the assessment of beat police operations known as "Crime Beat", it was found that police service can be made more effective by developing regular and planned foot patrol operations designed to improve the quality of police contacts with the public. It is now known that the majority of crimes are resolved through the co-operation of citizens who are able to provide information to the police. The isolation of police from the community in motor cars and police stations is progressively being replaced by a re-integration of the police into the community. This is being supported by public relations programmes and providing advice to the community about ways to minimise the risk of criminal attacks on persons and property.

### POLICE STRENGTH: VICTORIA, 1934 TO 1982

Year	Number of police			Per 100,000 mean population
	Males	Females	Total	
1934	2,162	8	2,170	118.6
1935	2,239	8	2,247	122.2
1940	2,311	8	2,319	122.0
1945	2,094	12	2,106	105.0
1950	2,730	21	2,751	124.5
1955	3,075	34	3,109	123.3
1960	3,868	55	3,923	137.3
1965	4,313	56	4,369	138.0
1970	4,701	69	4,770	138.2
1975	5,878	278	6,156	162.5
1980	7,274	540	7,814	199.6
1981	7,447	603	8,050	203.8
1982	7,626	676	8,302	207.9

### Objectives

In the 1970s, managerial objectives of the police service were clarified and this, in turn, has had an impact on the style of policing. For many years the crime clear-up rate was regarded as the primary determinant of police efficiency, with the margin for success being the successful clearance of 50 per cent of all reported crimes. This was found to be unrealistic and has given way to an assessment of efficiency based on the general level of security felt by people within the community. It was found in the Prahran Preventative

Patrol Experiment that a police strategy based on a visible police presence in the sense of "Crime Beat" operations is positively correlated with increased feelings of security.

### **Criminal investigation**

Since 1934, detective operations have changed from a situation more or less based upon *ex post facto* inquiry to one involving specific criminal investigations supported by increasingly sophisticated intelligence resources. More use is made of the "Task Force" approach, whereby special teams are made up of members of various branches of the Force concentrating on specific types of crime. This strategy has been found to be highly successful. These developments have occurred as a result of criminals becoming more resourceful and better organised and, consequently, more difficult to apprehend.

Interstate and international mobility of criminals has added to problems encountered by police in organised crime, and various interstate and international co-operative arrangements have been established. These have included the creation of the Australian Bureau of Criminal Intelligence as a joint State and Federal Police unit, and an increased use of Interpol and other overseas police resources.

### **Women police**

One of the most significant changes in the past 50 years has concerned the status of women police. In 1934, there were only eight policewomen and they were concerned mainly with neglected children and escorting female prisoners. In December 1982, the policewomen strength was 676. As a result of the Equal Opportunities Act of 1978, they have been fully integrated into the Force.

## **LAW DEPARTMENT**

The various social and economic changes outlined elsewhere in this Chapter have influenced the activities of the Law Department since 1934. Not only have the existing operations of the Department been altered, but a number of new operations have been introduced. The Law Department has always consisted of a number of diverse operations, and in recent times this situation has been highlighted by the dissolution of the original "umbrella" Department, the Chief Secretary's Office, in 1979.

The workload within the Corporate Affairs Office has increased during the fifty year period and this trend can be in part attributed to the economic prosperity of the 1950s and 1960s. The increased workload has also been accompanied by a change in the nature of the work performed. In 1934, the Office was a part of the Registrar General's Office and performed a registration function only. By 1983, the Corporate Affairs Office was part of the National Companies and Securities Commission and played an important role in the regulation of the business community. The Titles Office also experienced an increased workload. In order to deal with this, it introduced a computerised record system.

The nature of the work performed by the courts, which is probably the best known of the Law Department's activities, has also altered since 1934. The workload has increased quite significantly, resulting in greater complexity in the administration of the courts system. This has been reflected at all levels from judges to clerks. Stipendiary magistrates, who were previously known as police magistrates and wardens, have trebled in number; judges of the Supreme and County Courts have increased in number from 13 to over 54. The method of appointment of both categories has not, however, changed. Stipendiary magistrates are still almost exclusively chosen from the Clerks of Courts who have worked within the Department for a number of years and satisfied a number of criteria as to age, experience as a Clerk, and the completion of certain subjects in Law; in 1981, however, by an important amendment, it was provided that appointees should all eventually have degrees in Law, and that the experience in Court work required need not necessarily be as a Clerk of Courts. Judges are selected from experienced barristers and are appointed by the Governor in Council on the recommendation of the Attorney-General.

The County Court workload has also changed, and the reduction in the number of County Court locations from 26 in 1934 to 18 in 1980 has been largely caused by the greater ease of communications with the greater use of the motor car. This reduction has been more than compensated for by the opening of the new County Court building in

William Street, Melbourne, in 1969, which includes 21 Courts. The new building has been a great improvement upon the previous arrangement whereby all Supreme and County Courts were located in the Supreme Court building. In recent times, a new problem has arisen regarding the security of both court buildings, and this has culminated in the passing of the Court Security Act in 1980.

Another area which has been affected by the increased popularity of the motor car has been the Magistrates' Courts. Like the County Court, this Court has seen a reduction in the number of country locations visited on a weekly basis from 226 in 1934 to less than 170 in 1980, with about 30 locations visited once or twice monthly. This reduction has in recent times been due to the development of a policy of creating regionalised courts at key centres throughout the State. The Preston Court complex was the first stage in this process, followed by the Prahran and Broadmeadows Courts. One major implication of the Department's building policy has been that, instead of opening several Courts each year, the Department now opens fewer but larger court complexes on a less regular basis. Clearly, this practice has only been possible with the advent of greater mobility of the population.

The motor car has had several other effects upon the operations of the Law Department. Not surprisingly, it has led to the general increase of Court cases heard at all levels. It has also led to the introduction of the Motor Accidents Tribunal in 1974 to hear appeals from the Motor Accidents Board in relation to questions as to whether compensation should be paid to victims of such accidents.

The collective effect of various social trends upon the number of cases heard has also affected a number of activities closely related to the operations of the Courts, including the Sheriff's Office, bailiffs, Criminal Law Branch of the Crown Solicitor's Office, Crown Prosecutors, and the Legal Aid Commission. Each of these activities has seen an increased workload and some have benefited from the introduction of new technology. For example, the selection of possible jurors, a function of the Sheriff's Office, is now done by computer.

Two other closely related branches, the Court Reporting Branch and the Government Shorthand Writers' Office, have also benefited from new technology. Many shorthand writers now use stenotype machines for the recording of Court or Tribunal hearings, and computer-aided transcription is now a possibility.

The burden caused by the growth of the Courts' workload has to some extent been eased by the activities of justices of the peace. No records of their numbers were kept until their registration commenced in 1967. Since then, their numbers have remained constant at 4,500. Their method of appointment has remained unchanged, requiring an initial recommendation from a Member of Parliament, and the qualification that the applicant is a British subject over the age of 35 years, of good character and reputation. The Department has, however, introduced a programme to provide better training for justices of the peace.

Attempts to reduce the effects of the increased workload have included the creation of new organisations and the relocation of existing functions out of the Court buildings. In 1940, the Office of Public Trustee was established to handle the affairs of protected persons and some deceased estates. Formerly, both were the responsibility of the Master in Equity within the Supreme Court.

Many social and economic changes since 1934 have led to a change in community expectations concerning the role of government. The result of these changes has been the introduction of many new and expanded activities within the Law Department. These have included the following bodies:

- (1) The Patriotic Funds Council established in 1939 to oversee the fund raising efforts during the war has, since then, co-ordinated appeals, including Legacy and Poppy Day, and directed funds to worthy causes;
- (2) the Metropolitan Fair Rents Board established in 1940 has dealt with the shortage of rental accommodation during and after the war;
- (3) the Discharged Servicemen's Employment Board was established after the war to assist ex-servicemen to find and maintain employment and in recent years to set up small businesses;
- (4) the Raffles and Bingo Permits Board was established to administer the conduct of raffles (1950) and Bingo (1977) within the State;

- (5) the Registry of Estate Agents was established in 1956 to administer the licensing of estate agents and sub-agents;
- (6) the Crimes Compensation Tribunal was established in 1972 to compensate innocent victims of crime; and
- (7) the State Classification of Publications Board was established in 1958 to assess the suitability of publications.

Collectively, the activities of these bodies have reflected the tendency of government to set, and attempt to maintain, standards; each can be seen as a response to social and economic problems that have arisen.

### Legislative changes

Since 1934, many of the longer established branches of the Department, such as the Crown Solicitor's Office, which represents the Crown in Court and provides advice to the Crown, and the Chief Parliamentary Counsel's Office, which drafts legislation, have been influenced by political developments and the stability of governments. Prior to and during the war, no major initiatives were taken by government, and the political instability between 1945 and 1952 maintained this pattern. Since 1952, there have been many changes in legislation. The Chief Parliamentary Counsel's Office has been responsible for the translation into legislation of the changed expectations concerning the Victorian Government's role.

Other political considerations, including changes in Commonwealth legislation, have also altered the nature of departmental activities. The effect upon the Corporate Affairs Office has already been noted. The advent of Family Law legislation, while significant to the Supreme Court, has also affected the work of the Prothonotary's Office, which is the administrative office of that Court.

Another significant political development was the change in the status of the Solicitor-General in 1951. Prior to this, the Solicitor-General was a Minister of the Crown. Often, the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General were in fact one person. However, when the positions were held by two persons, it was accepted that the Solicitor-General was "constitutionally subordinate" and the Attorney-General was able to delegate responsibilities as required. The Solicitor-General was thus made responsible for stipendiary magistrates, Clerks of Courts, County Court judges, and officers of the Technical and General (Third) Division of the Victorian Public Service.

The Victorian Government decided to create a statutory position in lieu of the Ministerial post for two reasons; first, because the Solicitor-General could advise the Government and provide continuity of advice (a consideration of importance during the political instability of the 1940s and early 1950s), and second, because the Solicitor-General could appear in Court on behalf of the Government. A further compelling factor was that other States and the Commonwealth Government had statutory Solicitors-General. Thus, the Solicitor-General Act was passed in 1951 to make the office-holder a statutory appointee, with political responsibility for this action being transferred to the Attorney-General. The Solicitor-General is appointed by the Governor in Council on the recommendation of Cabinet. The first appointee, H. E. (later Sir Henry) Winneke, was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1965 and became Governor of Victoria in 1974.

The very diversity of the Law Department's activities has been further compounded by the dissolution of the Chief Secretary's Office in 1979 and the relocation of its functions to other departments. Between 1934 and 1979, the Office was responsible for such wide ranging activities as, for example, the Victoria Police, museums and libraries, fisheries and wildlife services, and prisons. Functions formerly undertaken by the Chief Secretary's Office were distributed to several departments in 1980, including the Law Department, the Ministry for Police and Emergency Services, the Treasury, and the Ministry of Property and Services.

During these decades of economic, social, and political change, the composition of Departmental staff also changed. The proportion of staff with tertiary qualifications grew significantly, reflecting the increasing complexity of the Department's activities and the range of Acts it administers. The complete list of Acts appears in each edition of the *Law Calendar* published annually by the Department. The range is always changing as new community expectations arise and are translated into government policy and legislation.

## LEGAL AID

During the last fifty years almost every aspect of legal aid has altered radically, from its purpose to the means of providing and financing it. In 1934 it was designed, as it has been for at least the previous fifty years, to provide legal assistance to poor prisoners and paupers. Today's legal aid is far less selective. While inability to pay is still a major consideration, it is seen as only one of many barriers to the law.

The changes have been reflected, although only partly, in legislation. In 1935, legal aid was provided formally under the Poor Persons Legal Assistance Act. That Act extended and gave legislative recognition to the Rules of the Supreme Court enabling paupers to sue or defend legal proceedings, and it established the Office of the Public Solicitor. The Supreme Court Rules had been relied on by poor persons only twice in the previous twenty years. The Victorian Government thought that this was mainly because the poor did not know about the rules, and hoped that the availability of a Public Solicitor would overcome this. A person was eligible for legal aid if he proved to the Public Solicitor and the Court that he did not have property exceeding \$100 in value.

The Act referred to legal aid and legal assistance but did not define them. The present legislation, the *Legal Aid Commission Act 1978*, defines both in such a way as to indicate changed perceptions of legal aid. There, legal aid includes education, advice, and information in or about the law as well as any legal services provided by a legal practitioner, duty lawyer service, legal advice, and legal assistance. (A "duty lawyer", on duty at a particular court, is available immediately to eligible persons requiring legal assistance before that court.)

The two Acts also highlight different understandings of the means of providing legal aid. The Public Solicitor was a government officer. The 1978 Act abolished the office and established a Legal Aid Commission as a statutory corporation independent of government. This process began imperceptibly with the Legal Aid Acts of 1961 and 1969, initiated and supported by both branches of the legal profession to give it a more significant role in the provision of legal aid through a Legal Aid Committee. The 1969 Act also introduced a unique method of funding for legal aid by making available portion of the interest earned on the investment of solicitors' trust funds.

The Commonwealth Government entered the legal aid area in 1974, first by providing money, then by establishing the Australian Legal Aid Office as a division within the Commonwealth Attorney-General's Department. Controversy surrounded this move, prompting increased discussion of the role and function of legal aid and the suggestion for the establishment of independent bodies to provide it. Out of this has come the Legal Aid Commission of Victoria, thirteen community legal centres, and an Aboriginal Legal Service, all with a much broader view of legal aid than existed fifty years ago.

## LEGAL EDUCATION

Although some people study law as part of a general education and perhaps use what they learn in business, government or teaching, most people who study law plan to follow it as their profession. That profession is only open to a person who has been admitted to practise as a barrister and solicitor of the Supreme Court of Victoria.

The qualifications for admission are set out in Rules made by the Council of Legal Education, a body established by Act of Parliament in 1903. The Council now consists of the judges of the Supreme Court, the law officers of the Crown, two representatives each of the University of Melbourne and Monash University, and three representatives each of the Law Institute and the Victorian Bar. By convention, only eight of the judges, nominated by the Chief Justice, now attend meetings of the Council.

The ordinary qualification for Victorian candidates was for many years the degree of Bachelor of Laws at the University of Melbourne, followed by twelve months service as a clerk articulated to a practising solicitor. Admission was also available to those passing prescribed law subjects at that university and serving articles for four years and, in some circumstances, to managing law clerks with long experience.

While university teaching naturally took account of important changes in the law, what was required of the student in 1945 was not very different from what had been required in 1934. However, the increase in student numbers following the end of the war in 1945

led to an increase in academic staff: the two professors of 1934 and the senior lecturer appointed in 1940 were joined by two other full-time teachers; and the number of part-time "independent lecturers", whose teaching was fitted into the intervals of busy legal practice in the city, grew from five in 1934 to fourteen in 1949.

Between 1945 and 1959, an average of sixty persons were admitted to practise each year. It became apparent in the late 1950s and early 1960s that the number of students seeking to study law was increasing rapidly. In 1961, the University of Melbourne for the first time decided to place a limit on the number of undergraduate students entering its law school. A quota of 330 was imposed, with the result that 30 suitable applicants were rejected in that year and 182 in the following year.

Monash University had opened in March 1961 and planned to establish a law school in 1964. The Council of Legal Education decided to establish its own course of instruction for those excluded by the quota. Classes were held at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, with members of the practising profession teaching subjects similar to those taught at the University of Melbourne. Students attending this course were required to serve four years' articles. About 433 students completed the course between 1966 and 1979. The course was controlled by the Legal Education Committee appointed by the Council of Legal Education.

The Monash Law School opened in 1964 with 144 first year students; by 1970 it had a total undergraduate enrolment of 910, the corresponding figure at Melbourne being 1,027. The demand for legal education continued to increase and entry quotas remained at both Melbourne and Monash. Consequently, although it had been expected that the Council of Legal Education course would become unnecessary once the Monash school was established, entry to the course was not terminated until 1978. To continue the funding of the course, the Commonwealth authorities required control of the course to be transferred from the Legal Education Committee to the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology or another tertiary institution. The Council of Legal Education terminated the course, when satisfactory arrangements along these lines could not be made.

In 1973, the number of law students enrolling at Monash exceeded the number enrolling at Melbourne and since 1977 the number graduating at Monash has been greater than the number graduating at the University of Melbourne. Thus there were 213 LL.B. degrees conferred at Melbourne in the year ending 30 June 1982, whereas 239 were conferred at Monash in the calendar year 1981.

Although at both universities half a dozen "core subjects" are compulsory, the striking change in curriculum during the 1970s was the introduction of a wide variety of optional subjects from which each student must choose. Some of these are in traditional areas of legal study, while others concern areas of law which have only developed recently or are seen as having increasing social importance. This change is in part a reflection of the other striking change of the period; the increase in the number of full-time academics, and the almost complete disappearance of teaching by part-time practitioners, on which Victorian legal education relied for so long. In 1983, Melbourne had a full-time staff of about 37, Monash of about 63.

Both universities offer a Master's degree by "course work" and minor thesis, Melbourne's dating from 1974 and that at Monash from 1973. In addition to the longer established graduate degrees by thesis and on the basis of published works (LL.M., Ph.D., LL.D.), the "course work" Master's degree is an increasingly popular form of "continuing legal education" for legal practitioners.

Difficulties encountered by students in arranging articles of clerkship and a growing belief that better methods of practical training could be devised, led to the establishment by statute in 1972 of the Leo Cussen Institute for Continuing Legal Education. This Institute is constituted by representatives of the Victorian Bar, the Law Institute, and the two universities with law schools. Since 1975, it has conducted in each year a six months course of practical training which, under the Rules of the Council of Legal Education, is an alternative to twelve months articles as a qualification for admission to practise.

The Leo Cussen Institute also conducts courses of continuing legal education for those already admitted to practise, as do the University of Melbourne and Monash University and the Law Institute. Some of these courses deal with existing areas of law and legal practice; others with changes in the law.

## FINE ARTS, LIBRARIES, AND MEDIA

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### INTRODUCTION

This Chapter begins with a survey of visual and performing arts since 1934, and looks in some detail at music, drama, ballet, opera, cinema, radio, and television. The developments during the period of the National Gallery of Victoria, the National Trust of Australia (Victoria), and other important institutions in several fields of art are recorded. Literary aspects are examined through a study of writers, libraries, book publishing, and the press. The individual sections were contributed by experts in their fields and considerable assistance was given by government departments and cultural organisations. In particular the survey is indebted to the following contributors. Lady Lindsay and Mr C. Caldwell wrote the background to the visual arts; Mr R. Lawler and the research staff of the Victorian Arts Centre on the performing arts, drama, ballet and dance, and opera; Dr A. Galbally on visual arts, Sir Joseph Burke on the National Gallery, the Victorian Arts Centre, and the teaching of art history; Mr L. Parr on sculpture and the training of artists; Mr P. Fiddian on music; Mr W. McKay on the Victorian Arts Council, Mr J. McLaren and Mr J. Curtain on writing and publishing, respectively; Mr R. Coleman and Mr E. Sinclair on the press, and Mr M. Wright on radio and television. The Department of the Premier and Cabinet, the Ministry for the Arts, the Public Records Office, the Victorian College of the Arts, the National Trust of Australia (Victoria), and the Library Council of Victoria were among institutional contributors.

### BACKGROUND TO THE VISUAL ARTS

#### From 1934 to 1939

In the history of art there come certain major turning points, the decade of the 1930s providing a clear example. Although Sir Arthur Streeton was still producing his landscapes, painting in general appeared to have lost the original impetus of Australian impressionism. The established artists were all set in their ways, painting pictures of the sort which their public was accustomed to and indeed demanded. Yet, before the decade was out, many things were to change the artistic outlook, and several young men, among others Arthur Boyd and Sidney (later Sir Sidney) Nolan, were to start a whole new stream of Australian painting.

The 1930s were not a favourable time for artists since depression lay heavily over the land and so few people could afford to buy pictures that painters suffered very badly. It was not a world particularly devoted to the arts in any form and to the visual arts least of all. The National Gallery of Victoria had a fine collection, but the provincial galleries, founded in the opulent optimism of the late Victorian age mostly displayed 19th century paintings. Artists could exhibit their work at the Victorian Artists Society, the Athenaeum Gallery, or the Fine Art Society Gallery. One of the very few commercial galleries was conducted by W.R. Sedon who did much to maintain interest; however, prices had to be low as buyers were infrequent.

This was a time also when Australians were very much cut off from Europe and local artists were hardly aware of what was happening abroad. Travel was both slow and

expensive. A young artist had to win a travelling scholarship in order to venture beyond Australia into the wider world of Europe. Good coloured prints of pictures were rare in the 1930s and especially reproductions of modern work. Some bookshops, however, did sell them, notably that of Gino Nibbi, enthusiast for the avant-garde movement, and Helen Ogilvie of Seward's bookshop.

Although art was far from profitable during these lean years, changes were already happening. George Bell had started in conjunction with Arnold Shore a teaching school, and being imbued with modern European ideas was instructing his students in ways far from the accepted norm. During these years, too, Rupert Bunny came back to Melbourne after living and painting for many years in France. A little later Danila Vassilieff returned after much travelling.

Something else which influenced the visual arts was the visit of de Basil's Monte Carlo Ballet. Not only did its repertoire excite a public largely unused to ballet, but the decor and costumes were of a kind which most audiences had never seen before. The ballet's tour aroused such enthusiasm that the company came a second time just before the war. In the field of domestic architecture, although the established styles of reproduction Olde English and Toorak Georgian continued to flourish, several houses in the overseas contemporary manner hinted at changes in the future.

Times were indeed changing when so advanced a body as the Contemporary Art Society came into existence in 1938, with George Bell as president and Rupert Bunny as vice president. Shortly before this *The Herald* appointed a new art critic in Basil Burdett, one of the founders of the Sydney Macquarie Gallery and a man widely experienced in European painting.

Sir Keith Murdoch of *The Herald* was an eager patron and collector as well as being a trustee of the National Gallery of Victoria. It was due to his enthusiasm that Basil Burdett was sent abroad to collect pictures for an exhibition of modern British and French painting. The task took a considerable time but, despite the gathering clouds of approaching war, the collection reached Australia in 1939. After an initial display in Adelaide, the show made its Melbourne debut at the Town Hall in October when this large collection of over 200 works created a very great impression on the public as well as on artists.

### Second World War

The early phase of the war came as a shock and brought such restrictions as petrol rationing, clothes rationing, and even a shortage of beer. As far as young artists were concerned, they either joined the Armed Services or were involved in doing something for what was called "the war effort". Some painters became official war artists and their work recorded the Australian campaigns in various parts of the world. Although most artists were involved in the war in some way, they did find brief stretches of time for painting. A large part of their work was expressionist or concerned with social realism. Also the winning of the Archibald Prize by William Dobell's Portrait of Joshua Smith in 1943 had a favourable effect in encouraging younger artists to break away from established conventions.

With Japan's entry into the war in December 1941, the situation changed again and quite dramatically. Government restrictions became even more severe—a factor which together with the blackout, contributed to a general atmosphere of gloom and boredom in the cities, somewhat alleviated by the arrival of thousands of American soldiers. During these years Daryl (later Sir Daryl) Lindsay became director of the National Gallery of Victoria. Because of a shortage of both staff and funds it was a formidable task to keep the gallery going and little beyond that could be attempted. But once the war was over Lindsay, supported by Murdoch as chairman, was able to achieve a great deal for the gallery and its collections.

### After 1945

The return to a more normal way of life after the war seemed slow. Although men were discharged from the Army and returned to their pre-war occupations, there was for some time yet an air of uncertainty and even stagnation.



A major step in the interests of the arts was taken by Murdoch in 1947 when he established *The Herald* Chair of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne with the intention that the professor should reach out to the public as well as teaching students. The first incumbent was Professor J.T.A. (later Sir Joseph) Burke who during his tenure until 1979 had considerable influence, not only in academic teaching, but also in bringing an appreciation of the arts to a much wider public.

About the same time another important event was the visit to Australia, in 1949, of Sir Kenneth (later Lord) Clark since, for one thing, his appreciation of the work of Nolan gave a great impetus to that group of young painters who were not then generally recognised.

Already some few discerning buyers were aware of the merits of the new artists as well as of the older ones and were forming major collections in the immediate post-war years. In addition to Murdoch who had been collecting for a long time, there were other patrons and collectors, notably Aubrey Gibson in Melbourne and William Ritchie in Ballarat, as well as John and Sunday Reed who greatly encouraged the whole modern movement. They were buying pictures by the then unknown artists before the war and contributed greatly to the modern movement: twice president of the Contemporary Art Society, John Reed also founded the short-lived Museum of Modern Art (1958 to 1965), making his own large collection available to it.

During the 1950s the economy began to expand and the stagnant years of the Depression receded. It was at some time in this decade, although it is impossible to pinpoint a year, that the great renaissance of the arts began. Suddenly the public began to realise the quality of the younger artists. Prices of pictures began to rise and many people who had never looked at a picture all their lives started buying at ever higher prices. The merits of painters became a subject of wide discussion. This did not imply that these new buyers were all connoisseurs with a vision; it merely signified that art had become fashionable, in fact many buyers came to regard pictures as a field for speculation.

These post-war years also produced a strong feeling of nationalism similar to that following Federation. The outback subjects of Drysdale as well as Nolan's Ned Kelly pictures contributed to creating the mystique of a new Australian legend and it so happened that the English recognition and success of certain Australian artists gave great impetus to this new cult of national identity. Along with this there was an awakening of interest in Australia's history. The work of the National Trust of Australia (Victoria) has largely contributed to this new awareness.

The introduction of relatively cheap air services in the 1960s made travel available to many who would never have gone abroad in earlier years. During these post-war years a marked difference had appeared between painting in Melbourne and Sydney. Melbourne artists have generally remained figurative painters (e.g., The Antipodean Group), while the Sydney practitioners have tended more strongly towards abstraction. But in the work of most painters of each kind, the influence of that neo-puritanism which shows in modern architecture and design had made itself manifest.

It was natural that in response to the art boom a large number of commercial galleries should appear. Among the early ones were Peter Bray's Gallery in Bourke Street and the Australian Galleries in Collingwood. Many other well known galleries have been established since, all of them holding exhibitions of work by contemporary artists; also, Joseph Brown as a dealer has had considerable influence on collectors. So great has been the public interest, however, that galleries now proliferate in many suburbs and country towns.

In the public aspects of art since the renaissance of the 1950s two features should be mentioned. First, there has been a great increase in the number of art prizes, which have aroused public interest. The other aspect has been the rejuvenation of the old provincial galleries, an example being the revival of the Ballarat Gallery. New provincial galleries have been established in many districts, such as those at Hamilton, Mildura, and Benalla, all of them contributing to artistic awareness and having a wide influence.

The impressive building for the National Gallery of Victoria, opened in 1968, is a symbol of the renaissance. It attracts far more visitors than did the old premises in Swanston Street and its fine and extensive collections not only give pleasure to many but also attract the interest of scholars.



Robert Garrard (English 1793-1881)

*Melbourne Centrepiece*, 1839-40

Silver-gilt, 123.2 x 56.0cm.

Purchased by the Government of Victoria to mark the official opening of the new National Gallery of Victoria at the Victorian Arts Centre, 1968

*National Gallery of Victoria*

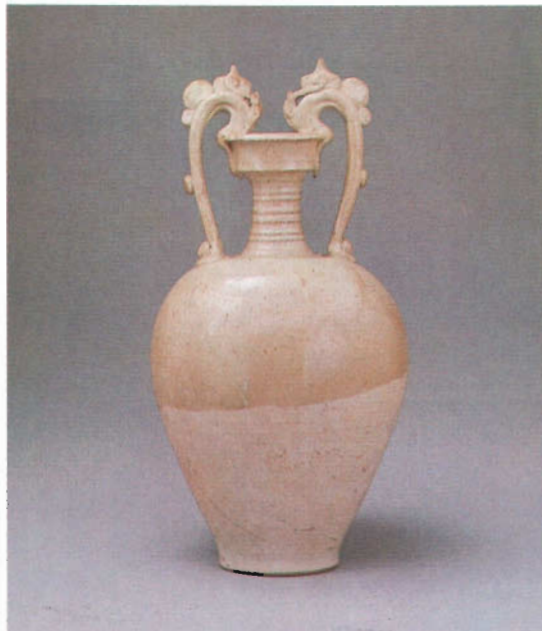
Tang dynasty, 7th-8th Century AD

Amphora

High-fired earthenware, colourless glaze, height 37cm.

Presented by Mrs M.E. Cutten in memory of her brother George Ewing, 1979

*National Gallery of Victoria*





George Romney (English 1734-1802)  
*The Leigh Family*, 1768  
Oil on canvas, 185.8 x 202cm.  
Felton Bequest 1959

*National Gallery of Victoria*

J.M.W. Turner (English 1775-1851)  
*Red Rigi*, 1842  
Watercolour, 45.7 x 29.9cm.  
Felton Bequest 1947

*National Gallery of Victoria*





Sir Sidney Nolan (Australian b.1917)  
*Luna Park in the Moonlight*  
Oil on hardboard  
Presented by Mrs D. Carnegie 1968  
*National Gallery of Victoria*

Tom Roberts (Australian 1856-1931)  
*Mentone*, 1887  
Oil on canvas 50.2 x 75cm.  
Purchased with the assistance of a Special Grant from the Government of Victoria, 1979-80  
*National Gallery of Victoria*





Henry Moore (English b.1898)  
Large Seated Draped Figure, 1958  
Bronze, H.186cm. W.219cm. D.142.8cm.  
Felton Bequest 1960

*National Gallery of Victoria*

Auguste Rodin (French 1840-1917)  
Monument to Balzac, c.1898  
Bronze, H.282.1cm.  
Felton Bequest 1968

*National Gallery of Victoria*



## BACKGROUND TO THE PERFORMING ARTS

On 28 July 1934, J.C. Williamson Ltd raised the curtain on their new His Majesty's Theatre, built to replace the venerable old Exhibition Street house, which had been destroyed by fire in 1929. The new theatre opened with the musical *White Horse Inn*.

Courage and confidence did indeed appear to have returned to commercial theatre by 1934. Managements that had ceased production when the Depression came, and had converted their theatres for sound films, were now reverting to live theatre. Sir Benjamin Fuller presented a grand opera season; Francis W. Thring mounted two Australian musicals: *Collits' Inn* and *The Cedar Tree*; and Williamson's offered similar fare with *Blue Mountain Melody*, as well as the Dandre-Levitoff Russian Ballet. The Tivoli, which had somehow maintained its basic vaudeville format through a series of managerial upheavals, presented a mix of variety and revue that would endure for over three decades.

Commercial theatre's chief competition was cinema, which offered popular "talkie" entertainment at prices with which live theatre could not hope to compete. There were 106 cinemas in Melbourne and suburbs in 1934, ranging from the city "palaces" like the Regent, State, and Capitol, with their orchestras, Wurlitzer organs, and supporting stage shows, to the suburban houses, where audiences attended loyally, week after week. A small but interesting fraction of the films exhibited was Australian, some emanating from Francis Thring's Efftee Studios in St Kilda. By 1934 radio was also well established as a medium of popular entertainment, providing a diverse diet of variety, serials, drama, quiz, and news broadcasts, interspersed with live and recorded music.

The commercial theatre competed with varied entertainment. The fare at the King's Theatre in 1935, for example, included a revival of the musical *High Jinks*, a new musical called *Nice Goings On*, the Vienna Boys' Choir, the Danish-American illusionist Dante, the mindreading Dr Raymond, a season of Wirths' Circus, rounded off with the pantomime *The Babes in the Wood*.

In general, serious drama fared badly with commercial managements. In 1935, however, J.C. Williamson Ltd arranged for Gregan McMahon to present his Players in eight productions a year in their Melbourne theatres, the King's and the Comedy. McMahon's efforts had previously been centred on the little Garrick Theatre in South Melbourne, and this agreement, which continued until his death in 1941, provided him with a strong city base and greatly increased audiences.

Before and during the Second World War, drama was largely left to the "little" theatres: the church and literary groups, the amateur dramatic societies, the politically based movements, and the school, college, and university dramatic clubs. Several of these "little" theatres made significant contributions to drama in the community. The Melbourne Little Theatre, founded by Brett Randall and Hal Percy in 1931, produced a steady stream of American and English works, supplemented by occasional Australian plays. Gertrude Johnson's National Theatre Movement presented a similar repertoire, mostly in student productions. The politically "left" New Theatre League began in Melbourne in 1936; its Sydney sister was four years senior.

The war brought special problems for the performing arts. Difficulties in mounting new productions forced commercial managements into revivals; imported stars became rarities, creating greater opportunities for Australians; and the war led to a severe shortage of young males both on stage and behind the scenes. The theatre played its part in the war effort with many troop shows and special fund raising performances. Outdoor concerts became popular, most notably Hector Crawford's "Music for the People" series, which has been a feature of Melbourne's summer Sundays for many years, and the annual Christmas Eve "Carols by Candlelight" concert, created by radio personality Norman Banks in 1938 and now spread around the world.

In 1947 the English critic Neville (later Sir Neville) Cardus and the Australian Alan Aldous wrote pessimistically about the theatre. Yet, very soon, the performing arts in Australia were experiencing an unprecedented regeneration. This was encouraged by the visits of several important overseas companies, notably the Ballet Rambert (1947), the J.C. Williamson Italian Grand Opera Company (1948), the Old Vic Company led by Laurence (later Lord) Olivier and Vivien Leigh (1948), and Anthony Quayle and Diana Wynyard with the Stratford-upon-Avon Company (1949). Much of this activity was sponsored by

the British Council, and supported by the Education in Music and Dramatic Arts Society, established to remove the burden of Entertainment Tax.

Sumner Locke Elliott's *Rusty Bugles* was presented in Melbourne in 1948 by its original Sydney cast. The success of this production indicated that there was a new audience for Australian drama; and the wide acceptance of the continuing work of the Borovansky Ballet and the National Theatre Movement confirmed the renewed vitality in the performing arts at the end of the 1940s. This was complemented by the emergence of a new force in commercial management, Carroll-Fuller Theatres Ltd. Australia's three major entrepreneurs — J.C. Williamson's, the Tivoli, and the Carroll organisation—were all based in Melbourne.

The early 1950s saw the establishment by John Sumner of the Union Theatre Repertory Company (UTRC) (now the Melbourne Theatre Company) under the aegis of the University of Melbourne. Australian drama entered a new era with the UTRC's production of Ray Lawler's *Summer of the Seventeenth Doll*—first at the Union Theatre (1955), then on a national tour sponsored by the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust, and later in London. In the mid-1950s, Barry Humphries' alter ego, Edna Everage, the archetypal Melbourne "mum", was introduced to an unsuspecting audience in a UTRC revue. Later as a self-styled Dame and housewife-superstar, Edna continued to evoke the idiosyncracies of Melbourne life.

Theatre attendances suffered from the introduction of television in 1956, and radio drama production was all but abandoned. Local television drama was sparse, but Channel 9's "Shell Presents" series of the early 1960s did succeed in bringing drama to a wide audience. Crawford Productions, previously well known for their quality radio programmes, moved to television. In fact the coming of television paralleled the decline of commercial theatre. The Tivoli Circuit and the Carroll organisation ceased production in the mid-1960s; colour television helped close J.C. Williamson's in 1976, although the name survives in a new entrepreneurial consortium. Williamson's Melbourne theatres, Her Majesty's and the Comedy, were sold and later housed the touring productions of independent promoters. The venerable 1886 Princess Theatre is under the control of the Australian Elizabethan Trust and is the Melbourne home for both the Australian and Victoria State Opera companies, pending completion of the Victorian Arts Centre.

The late 1960s were notable for the efforts of theatre to challenge the strictures of official censorship. The vice squad's interest in productions such as New Theatre's *America Hurrah*, MTC's *Hotel in Amsterdam*, and La Mama's *Norm and Ahmed* culminated with the conviction on obscenity charges of members of the cast of *The Boys in the Band*. In February 1970, action was taken to prohibit the production of the revue *Oh! Calcutta!* at the Lido Theatre in Melbourne. Since then, however, attitudes have changed.

Melbourne's "fringe" theatre, largely centred in the Carlton area, had as its starting point Betty Burstall's tiny La Mama Theatre in 1967. From here emerged the Australian Performing Group, which fostered new performers and playwrights, as well as the exuberantly athletic Circus Oz, until its demise in 1978. From Carlton, too, came a different style of entertainment, the theatre-restaurant.

Theatre for children, pioneered in the 1940s by Joan and Betty Rayner with their travelling Australian Children's Theatre, has been represented by a number of groups, such as the Children's Arena Theatre. The St Martins Youth Theatre is a training ground for young people, and several of its productions have toured interstate. The School of Drama at the Victorian College of the Arts provides its students with the skills needed for theatre, film, and television, and comprehensive drama in education courses are conducted at a number of teacher training institutions.

In the late 1970s there were diverse community-based performing arts activities, many encouraged and supported by the Victorian Government. The Free Entertainment in Parks programme, jointly sponsored by the Victorian Government and the Melbourne City Council, is the largest of its kind in the world. Regional groups such as the West Community Theatre and the Mill Community Theatre of Geelong introduce new audiences to the performing arts.

## ARTISTIC DEVELOPMENTS

**Painting**

The development of art in Victoria in the period 1934 to 1984 encompassed many stylistic changes, the growth of public patronage of the arts, the expansion and contraction of private art galleries, and the wide dissemination of art education. To a large extent the charting of stylistic change over these fifty years is an investigation of Australia's cultural relationship with two dominant overseas centres, Europe and the United States of America. In 1934, the dominant artistic style favoured by most Melbourne painters was either a high-keyed romanticised depiction of Australian landscape derived ultimately from the Heidelberg school or a lush, low-toned painting of portraits, still life and sometimes landscape by the followers of Max Meldrum. There was not a great deal of interest in what was happening to art overseas and when visiting exhibitions were brought to Melbourne they tended to favour representation of the English art of the Slade School and Camden Town Group followers.

The National Gallery Art School remained the most prestigious for students but its methods under L. Bernard Hall had been challenged two years earlier when in 1932 an ex-pupil of the National Gallery, George Bell, with Arnold Shore opened an art school to teach the principles of modern art. They later formed the Contemporary Art Group specifically to encourage and exhibit modern art. As the 1930s drew to a close, modern art began to excite greater passions in the community partly because of the influx of European refugees from nazism and partly because the possibilities of making use of art politically came to be seen by certain politicians. The attempt by Robert (later Sir Robert) Menzies to establish an Australian Academy of Art to uphold certain values in art, however, ultimately collapsed in 1937 through lack of support of the artists.

The founding of the Contemporary Art Society (CAS) in 1938 had as its paramount object the encouragement of contemporary art. The exhibition it mounted the following year showed a great diversity of art and artistic attitudes which had come together under this one umbrella—but which were soon to diverge on a number of issues. In 1939 the Exhibition of Modern Art, sponsored by *The Herald*, took Melbourne by storm. It provided the first opportunity for Australians to see at first hand the work of major Post-Impressionist artists including Picasso, Braque, Matisse, Cezanne, Leger, and Salvador Dali.

The outbreak of war saw two major influences operating on Victorian artists: Surrealism, which appealed to the young Albert Tucker, Arthur Boyd, John Perceval, and Sidney Nolan, and social realism which was taken up by Noel Counihan and Vic O'Connor and encouraged by the young expatriate painter, Josl Bergner. The acceptance of these new styles and attitudes by the younger artists was evident in the 1942 Anti-Fascist Exhibition staged in Melbourne to help the war effort where all the painters were either surrealists, expressionists, or social realists. The war years were an especially creative period in the visual arts in the output of the Boyds, Perceval, Nolan, and Tucker. But the aftermath of the war saw a general cultural slackening. The Contemporary Art Society ended in 1947, Sidney Nolan went to live in Queensland (although his first Ned Kelly series was exhibited in Melbourne in 1948); and Tucker, Bergner, and others left Melbourne for Europe as soon as they could raise the fare.

The Victorian Artists Society which had been in existence in Melbourne since the late 1880s now became the exhibiting venue for a number of young artists including Donald Friend, Francis Lyburner, Kenneth Jack, Jeffrey Smart, and Eric Thake. Other private galleries which had been founded well before the war and which were to continue their activities into the 1950s, were the Athenaeum Gallery and the Sedon Galleries. There was little money available at this time of post-war austerity but the National Gallery under the directorship of Sir Daryl Lindsay was still able to buy internationally thanks to the Felton Bequest. Public patronage of the arts entered a further dimension with the establishment in 1947 of *The Herald* Chair of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne.

The first exhibition to tour post-war Melbourne—in 1953—was "French Painting Today", a joint venture between the French and Australian Governments. This was the first contact the art world had had with modern European masters since 1939. Artists represented in the exhibition included Leger, Matisse, Braque, Picasso, and Hans Hartung.



That same year, the Contemporary Art Society was revived and its first annual exhibition was held at Tye's Gallery in Bourke Street in April 1954. Critics commenting on the exhibition were critical of the "French influence" upon the artists and called upon them to formulate instead a "national identity". This theme continued to be taken up and expounded.

The 1950s witnessed a polarisation in attitudes towards new and specifically towards abstract art in Melbourne. While abstraction was taken up and experimented with, an opposition group led by Dr Bernard Smith, declared itself for figurative art and vowed that abstraction in all its forms was the enemy of any indigenous or national Australian art. This group who called themselves the "Antipodeans" held an exhibition in the Victorian Artists' Society Gallery in August 1959. They comprised Arthur and David Boyd, John Perceval, Clifton Pugh, John Brack, Robert Dickerson, and Charles Blackman. The Preface in their Exhibition Catalogue was written by Bernard Smith and claimed that "As Antipodeans we accept the image as representing some form of acceptance of an involvement in life".

By now Australia's cultural orientation had begun its significant shift away from the old European centres of London and Paris and was re-orientating towards the USA and particularly, for the art world, towards New York. In 1958 the CAS Broadsheet announced the birth of the Museum of Modern Art in Australia. Its collection was donated by John and Sunday Reed, but it was forced to close through lack of public support in 1965.

The early 1960s saw another exodus for Europe of local artists who had been the avant-garde of the 1950s. At the same time local interest in art began to grow and a number of new private galleries opened their doors. The middle and later years of the 1960s saw an unprecedented boom in interest in Australian art. Young artists found a ready market and exhibiting space at various private galleries such as Gallery A, the Australian Galleries, South Yarra Gallery, Strines Gallery, and Tolarno Galleries. Towards the end of the decade these were joined by Pinacotheca and Powell Street Gallery. In 1970 Christie's of London began holding biennial auctions of Australian art in Melbourne and Sydney. These in themselves promoted the local art market particularly for nineteenth century Australian art, and became the most prestigious local auctions until their withdrawal from Australia, which coincided with a decline in the Australian art market in the mid-1970s.

Stylistically the 1960s was a decade which saw the increasing influence on young Victorian artists of the New York School of colour field painting. In 1967 the National Gallery of Victoria hosted a visiting exhibition from the Museum of Modern Art, New York, entitled "Two Decades of American Painting". The exhibition included all the major names of post-Second World War American painting and was accompanied in Melbourne by lectures which interpreted the new art to an excited and interested local audience. "Two Decades of American Painting", however, probably had a greater influence upon young Melbourne artists who for the first time saw physical examples by the New York School.

The following year the National Gallery of Victoria celebrated moving from its old premises in Swanston Street to the newly completed Arts Centre in St Kilda Road, designed by Sir Roy Grounds, with an inaugural exhibition of contemporary art held in the Australian galleries, and the critics commented upon the striking similarity of style and artistic concerns between this group of Australian artists and the New York School. The exhibition, called "The Field", set the seal on the acceptance of New York as the centre of art for Australians and colour field painting as the dominant style. The early 1970s subsequently saw many of "The Field" artists leave Australia to study and exhibit in the USA.

The University of Melbourne which had for so long been the sole university with a Department of Fine Arts was joined in the early 1970s by Departments of Visual Arts and Art History at the newly established Monash and La Trobe Universities. Courses in art history and appreciation by now had also become an obligatory part of all art teaching at Victoria's burgeoning tertiary institutes and colleges. Thus the 1970s saw much growth in art education and art appreciation in the community. But during the economic recession of the 1970s much private patronage in the visual arts came to an end, particularly support for young artists. Thus, the decade saw the demise of many of Melbourne's best known private galleries.

At the same time the involvement of the State as a patron of the visual arts grew. The

Ministry of the Arts was established in 1972, and the new Premier (Hon. R.J., later Sir Rupert, Hamer) held the portfolio for many years. The Ministry directed funds to those areas most in need of public assistance including the Victorian Arts Centre Trust, the National Gallery of Victoria, and the sixteen regional galleries (as well as regional performing arts centres), community art projects, and public art works such as the commissioning of a number of local artists to decorate Melbourne's trams.

The end of the 1970s and early 1980s saw a general waning of the influence of the New York School and an interest among the avant-garde in experimental and performing art, emanating from England and Europe, as well as the USA. The collaboration of the Visual Arts Board of the Australia Council and the Australian Gallery Directors' Council enabled large-scale travelling exhibitions from America, China, Russia, and Italy to be shown at the National Gallery of Victoria in this period, where they were seen by vast crowds.

### Sculpture

Before 1934 sculpture in Victoria was set firmly in the tradition of public celebratory art bred in the academies of Europe during the age of colonial expansion. Civic monuments, heroic portraiture (such as Charles Summer's Burke and Wills Monument, Melbourne, or Sir Bertram Mackennal's statue of Queen Victoria at Ballarat), and architectural decoration alike reinforced a system of values and beliefs shared equally by the artists, the public, and its leaders. But in Europe, except in those countries whose expansionary ambitions revived after the First World War, the academic style declined rapidly as the values it represented fell from favour. In Victoria, too, it did not long survive the disillusionment and anxieties of the Depression and its last significant manifestation appeared in 1934 in Paul Montford's buttress sculptures of the new Shrine of Remembrance, Melbourne. Thereafter commissions virtually ceased and the profession of sculpture declined. Some sculptors barely earned a living by decorating cinemas, seemingly the only new buildings erected in the 1930s.

Almost completely missing was a new generation of sculptors who might have made the transition to a more modern conception of sculpture as an independent and self-motivated art form. The older artists, who were also the teachers, were not unaware that elsewhere in the world sculpture had assumed radically new forms and associations, but public hostility to those developments seemed to confirm their own distrust of modernism and to provide good evidence that the old academic tradition would eventually be restored. In this they were mistaken. Victoria was not ready for new forms of sculpture but neither was it concerned to revive the old. Ola Cohn returning from England in the 1930s found little encouragement for even the gentle version of modernism that her sculptures displayed. She received commissions in other States, but her most popular work in Melbourne was the Fairies' Tree in the Fitzroy Gardens.

So it happened that during the time that Victorian painters were experimenting with surrealism and expressionism and in the process creating a new and vigorous local style, sculpture gained no stimulation and became increasingly an art practised by the survivors of an older generation, one or two brave newcomers, and a handful of amateurs. These clung together in small societies of which the Sculptors Society of Australia, founded in the 1930s and revived after the war as the Victorian Sculptors Society, has remained the most significant.

Sculptors continued to think in terms of bronze and stone even when they could afford neither, persisting in the belief that sculpture's revival must follow a revival of architecture and building when the bad times ended. Even the more progressive sculptors concentrated their energies on attempts to persuade architects and public bodies to resume their roles as major patrons. But post-war buildings were designed in a style that allowed sculpture only a token presence and such efforts generally brought little response. Nevertheless sculpture did begin slowly to revive during the 1950s and some new works began to be commissioned. The first commission of importance occurred in 1952 when George Allen was given the task of carving the Second World War memorial in the Shrine of Remembrance forecourt, Melbourne.

Significantly, two of Allen's assistant sculptors were immigrants from Europe and indeed it would be difficult to overestimate the contribution made by sculptors from abroad who settled in Melbourne during the post-war period. Other important factors that re-invigorated

and transformed sculpture in Victoria during the 1960s were the development of several lively and well attended sculpture schools and an awakening interest of a section of the public in contemporary forms of the art stimulated by visiting exhibitions from abroad and larger and more frequent exhibitions by local sculptors.

Centre Five, formed in 1960, was a significant group of sculptors in Melbourne, who did a great deal to stimulate interest in contemporary Australian sculpture. The members were Julius Kane, Lenton Parr, Vincas Jomantas, Teisutis Zikaras, Inge King, and Clifford Last. Norma Redpath was associated with these sculptors in the 1950s, but by 1956 she had gone to Italy, first for a series of visits but eventually to live in Milan. Clement Meadmore is another expatriate, who left Australia in 1963 and now lives in New York.

In 1961 Ernst van Hattum instigated the Mildura Triennial Exhibition of Sculpture. Later, under Thomas McCullough, Mildura became a focal point for contemporary sculpture, which was transferred to Melbourne in 1981, when the First Australian Sculpture Triennial was held, also under Thomas McCullough's direction.

The new generations of the 1960s and 1970s created sculptures primarily as a means of personal expression, exploring new materials with new techniques as evidenced by the sculpture in Melbourne's City Square designed by Ron Robertson-Swann which was erected in 1980 and subsequently removed. Public reactions to these innovations varied between the extremes of enthusiasm and hostility and both reactions were evoked by the occasional work that happened to claim public attention. But on the whole, Victorian sculptors no longer hoped nor sought to be sustained by a tide of general approval. By the 1980s they were recognisably part of an international mainstream.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF VICTORIA AND THE VICTORIAN ARTS CENTRE

##### **National Gallery of Victoria**

In 1934 the death of Bernard Hall, who for forty years had combined the offices of Director, Head of the Art School, and Instructor in Painting, marked the end of an era in which the reputation and influence of the National Gallery were based on the works of art acquired under the terms of the Felton Bequest and the artists trained in its School.

In 1939 Sir Keith Murdoch was appointed President of the Public Library Board, then responsible for the Gallery. A man of great vision and strength of purpose, he was determined to modernise the Gallery's policy and expand its activities. Unfortunately the outbreak of war limited both the funds and the opportunities for new developments. Foreseeing the favourable climate for expansion at the end of the war, he devoted his energies initially to planning, especially for a new gallery on the Wirth Park site, and to filling key vacancies. He supported the appointment of Daryl (later Sir Daryl) Lindsay, first as Curator of the Art Museum and of Prints in 1940, and then as Director in 1941. This opened the way to some significant appointments made on Lindsay's advice, including Sir Kenneth (later Lord) Clark as London Adviser to the Felton Bequest, his successor A.J. McDonnell, and Dr Ursula Hoff as Curator of Prints. Murdoch also sponsored *The Herald* Chair of Fine Arts in the University of Melbourne, the first Chair in the British Commonwealth to be founded in association with an art gallery.

One of Lindsay's many innovations was to appoint honorary curators. As a result of the success of this policy it was decided to build up major collections in primitive and oriental art, including the art of the Pacific, India, and China.

Lindsay believed that the Gallery should not only be a treasure house but supply artistic leadership in the community at large. Among the many causes initiated or supported during his period of office three stand out: the National Trust of Australia (Victoria), country art galleries, and the National Gallery Society, which from the first brought together representatives from the worlds of music, theatre, ballet, and opera, and thus furthered the ideals later realised in the Victorian Arts Centre.

Much of Lindsay's later energies were devoted to obtaining gifts and funds from private individuals, for government support remained relatively meagre until Eric Westbrook was appointed his successor in 1955. Up to this date the history of the Gallery was very largely the history of the Felton Bequest, that is, the search for a collection. Westbrook was deeply committed to extending the Gallery's appeal to the people, and his success in public

relations was a considerable factor in enlisting government support. His directorship bore fruit in a period of unprecedented expansion, in which the new Gallery on the Wirth's Park site (opened in 1968) and the Victorian Arts Centre captured the public imagination and became to Melbourne what the Opera House was to Sydney, a symbol of international ambition in the arts as well as civic pride.

Westbrook's successors contributed to the educational services of the Gallery, the delegation of greater responsibility to the curatorial staffs, both in their scholarly and public roles, and an overhaul of the Gallery's administration. At a time when government funds were increasingly restricted by the recession of the late 1970s support was being secured from the private sector, and the Great Hall frequently used for State and civic receptions as well as a wide variety of cultural activities, became a powerful factor in securing community identification with the Gallery.

### Victorian Arts Centre

The history of the Victorian Arts Centre goes back to the war years when the almost complete drying-up of funds had the paradoxical effect of stimulating visionary planning. The decisive steps were taken by a group of private citizens, none of whom had any official connection with the National Gallery, for the early records show that both Murdoch and Lindsay argued that the Wirth's Park site of 1.8 hectares should only accommodate the Art Gallery and some limited provision for ancillary activities. Among those who fought for the wider use were some notable figures in Melbourne's musical and literary circles; another remarkable feature at the time was the part played by women. CACM, as the group came to be known, proclaimed by its title, Combined Arts Centre Movement, both the idea ultimately realised by the Centre and its origins in a popular petition.

The post-war delays benefited CACM, for while the movement came to a climax with the petition, one of the largest in the history of the State, many of its members later became prominent in the National Gallery Society. Its cause was assisted by the appointment of Mr Kenneth Myer as Chairman of the Building Committee for the Gallery and Arts Centre in 1958. Insisting on administrative co-operation with outside bodies, he built up a strong executive on which the performing arts were well represented, and his personal relations with the architect, Sir Roy Grounds, were close.

The progress of the buildings, the technical difficulties and the controversies about their cost belong to the history of architecture. The development from a treasure house to a cultural centre embracing all the arts continued with the completion of the Spire and the opening of the Melbourne Concert Hall in November 1982. Among the many private benefactions attracted by the Centre has been the munificent William Angliss Art Fund, which has commissioned and bought modern Australian sculpture for both the Gallery precinct and gardens and the Arts Centre.

### TEACHING OF ART HISTORY AND APPRECIATION

A decisive factor in the formation of public taste was the teaching of art in the schools of the 1930s by those who had been trained in the academic traditions of the nineteenth century. Only in kindergarten and primary schools was art non-examinable and given free play as a creative activity. The movement that led to the teaching of art history and appreciation in the schools had its origins in the dissatisfaction of a group of teachers strongly opposed to the educational conservatism of the 1930s. The leader of this group was Frances Derham, an artist and independent teacher who had studied under George Bell and was in contact with Arthur Lismer in Toronto, Marion Richardson in England, and Professor Cizek in Vienna.

Shortly after Professor J.T.A. (later Sir Joseph) Burke arrived in 1947 to take up *The Herald* Chair of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne, Frances Derham suggested that the university should set up a committee of inquiry into art education in the schools. Copies of school curricula and syllabuses were sent overseas and it was as a result of a letter from Sir Herbert Read, whose ideas on art education Gordon Thomson (the Honorary Secretary) particularly admired, that Victoria became the first educational authority in the British Commonwealth to abolish set examinations in art, apart from tests in manual skills required for technical qualifications.

Official action was taken through the Arts and Crafts Standing Committee of the Schools Board, which successfully recommended to the University the recognition of art as a matriculation subject and the appreciation of art as a paper separate from the assessment of portfolios of creative work. Through these papers it was possible to "expose" the young to contemporary industrial design and architecture as well as painting and sculpture by providing rich illustrative material for classroom discussion, and arranging visits to buildings and displays of industrial design as well as art galleries.

An important influence both on the Schools Board and through the Council of Adult Education was Ludwig Hirschfeld-Mack, who devoted his life in Australia to carrying out the ideals of the Bauhaus in education. His belief in the role of the crafts in education was helped by a strong tradition of Swedish Sloyd in Australia.

*The Herald* Chair of Fine Arts, founded in 1946, was modelled on the Slade Chairs at Oxford and Cambridge, but with stronger emphasis on community services, which included initiating or supporting the Australian Council for Industrial Design, the Australian Society of Collectors, the Australian Society of Industrial Designers, the National Trust of Australia (Victoria) (with Sir Daryl Lindsay), the National Gallery Society of Victoria, the Victorian Association of Art Teachers, and the Australian Society for Education through Art, of which Professor Burke was foundation President. Regular courses of instruction and the establishment of a discipline in art history were expressly prohibited under the terms of the appointment. Professor Burke successfully negotiated with the donors permission to found a Department of Art History, as long as all funds were provided by the university and his own involvement confined to the launching period. In 1948 he invited Franz Philipp to become the architect of the Department. Philipp first secured the assistance of Dr Hoff and in 1955 recommended Dr Bernard Smith, who built up a strong school in Australian art history in Melbourne before being appointed to the first Chair of Art History and Directorship of the Power Institute in Sydney in 1967. This was followed by the Chair of Art History at La Trobe University (1972) and the Chair of Visual Arts at Monash University in 1975. The subject is now also taught at Flinders University in South Australia, the University of Queensland, and the Australian National University. The most remarkable of all the developments in Victoria has been the national influence of the University of Melbourne Department of Art History, which was a by-product not foreseen or intended by the founders of *The Herald* Chair. Only at Monash University have aims as wide as those of *The Herald* Chair been incorporated, although it may be fairly said that all the Departments of Art History so far established have carried on a tradition of community involvement.

#### TRAINING OF ARTISTS

Among the States, Victoria is exceptional in the number of its art schools and their wide distribution. This is a legacy of the State's early commitment to technical education within which, on the example of the English Schools of Design, art training was expected to raise the standards of manufactures.

In the 1930s the system remained one in which a curriculum, strictly supervised by the Education Department, demanded the laborious acquisition of various manual skills, required little imagination, and actively discouraged originality. In general the arts fared badly. Sculpture, for example, was taught only in the technical institutions and did not greatly prosper. Painters could elect the alternative of study outside the technical education system at the National Gallery Art School which followed the tradition of European Academy schools. Although strongly conservative in outlook, the Gallery School preserved an ideal of artistic professionalism that attracted talented students and encouraged them to aspire to high levels of competence. On the other hand, it firmly discouraged interest in the forms of twentieth century art and, dissatisfied, many of the more original spirits sought inspiration elsewhere. Some found it in the progressive school founded by George Bell and Arnold Shore, especially after Bell's European visit in 1934 from which he returned an enthusiastic advocate of post-impressionism. In the pre-war years little could be learned of art movements abroad except by travel. Books, prints, and art journals were few and reproductions inadequate.

Art education, with other peaceful activities, diminished during the Second World War but the late 1940s brought into art schools a wave of ex-servicemen undertaking rehabilitation

training. Schools expanded and added to their teaching staffs artists who were themselves veterans whose wartime contacts and travel had widened their perspectives. Increasingly during the years following they were joined by European artist-teachers making new homes in Victoria.

An urge to reform art education developed. A new system of diploma courses for artists based on contemporary theories of design was introduced at Melbourne Technical College (now the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology) in 1949 and soon after the Education Department adopted a similar system in senior technical institutions throughout the State. The effect of these changes was to produce in the 1950s the first generation of Victorian painters and sculptors which could truly be said to have been educated in the theory and practice of twentieth century art. At the same time art journals, books, prints, and visiting exhibitions all increased in quantity, quality, and variety. Colour photography, especially in the form of 35mm transparencies, revolutionised the range of visual information available to teachers and students. As students began again to find their way abroad they could be confident that they and their peers in the art capitals of the world shared a common visual language.

The 1960s brought further advances. After 1965 the senior technical schools and colleges were transformed into self-governing colleges of advanced education. Increased funding provided better resources, enhanced teaching capability and in some cases, greatly improved accommodation. Greater independence allowed colleges to experiment with a variety of course structures and teaching styles. Postgraduate study became possible and during the 1970s some colleges began to offer degree level courses for artists.

At the same time the nature of art education was changing in response to a restless flux of styles and techniques occurring throughout the international art world. Old definitions dissolved and there was a movement away from formal design-based teaching and towards a freely ranging exploration of events, images, and structures. Increasingly teaching depended upon an active collaboration in imagination between the artist-teacher and each artist-student; a process assisted by the introduction of visiting and resident artist schemes. Such developments led naturally back to the studio-centred mode of instruction preserved by the National Gallery School. In 1973, that school became the foundation school of a new college of advanced education, the Victoria College of the Arts, founded by the Victorian Government to train students in the visual arts, drama, dance, and music.

Reductions in effective funding affected art education in the later 1970s and curtailed re-building programmes and limited enrolments. The same factors denied many students the means of support, principally part-time work, upon which they depended.

#### MINISTRY FOR THE ARTS

In 1972 legislation was passed through the Victorian Parliament setting up a Ministry for the Arts, the first of its kind in Australia. Under the Act, the Ministry is principally required to: (1) develop the appreciation and practice of the arts; (2) increase availability and accessibility of the arts; (3) assist in the provision of arts facilities; and (4) continue assessing the state of the arts.

The Ministry has been responsible for administering support to Victoria's sixteen regional art galleries and thirteen regional performing arts centres, and has assisted in the creation of the Melbourne Meat Market Craft Centre, the St Martins Youth Art Centre, the Victorian Tapestry Workshop, the Victorian Arts Centre, and Film Victoria. It is also responsible for the State Library, the National Gallery of Victoria, the National Museum, the Science Museum, the State Film Centre, Heide Park and Art Gallery, and the Royal Exhibition Building.

#### VICTORIAN ARTS COUNCIL

Arts Councils were established in New South Wales and Queensland shortly after the Second World War with the aim of making the arts available to Australians wherever they lived, but especially outside the capital cities. The movement grew to a point where there were Arts Councils in every State and Territory and the movement had more than 300 branches around Australia and professional staff in every State. The Victorian Arts Council was established in 1969, and had a network of 50 branches throughout the State in 1982.

Branches were set up in response to local initiative and in some cases grew out of arts groups which had been established for a long time.

Each branch first aims to serve its own community as well as supporting visiting professional attractions. In addition to this, the Council arranges a large programme for school children, presenting more than 1,000 performances a year in schools and theatres for both primary and secondary students. Since 1974 the Department of Education has provided a seconded member of its staff to fulfil the role of Education Officer for the Victorian Arts Council.

In 1978 a new initiative titled *Arts Roundabout* was launched. This project gives individual Arts Council branches the opportunity of presenting single music performances subsidised by the Melbourne Board. The *Arts Roundabout* scheme has flourished and accounts for about 125 single music performances each year. The Victorian Arts Council's Adult Touring Programme regularly includes performances by the Victoria State Opera, the Australian Dance Theatre, and a wide variety of Australian and international artists and companies.

#### NATIONAL TRUST OF AUSTRALIA (VICTORIA)

Although the National Trust of Australia (Victoria) did not come into existence until 1956, the organisation had its genesis much earlier and, in fact, grew from ideas which had been developing for many years prior to this. Thus Sir Daryl Lindsay in June 1970, recalled that:

"Some time, I think in the 1930s, I saw what to me seemed a fine building in Collins Street being demolished by the wreckers. Later, in the 1940s and 1950s more buildings in Melbourne that seemed to me to have some historic significance were being demolished under the unholy name of progress, which set me thinking about what might be done to save a few of our best early buildings. I discussed this with some of my architect friends and others interested in our early history. This led to a few of us getting together to discuss what might be done to preserve a few of our best examples of early Melbourne architecture ... This led to further meetings in my rooms. A National Trust had been formed in N.S.W. and we decided to get a few more interested men together with the idea of forming a similar Trust for Victoria."

The Lady Casey and Lady Lindsay had also been working, with other associates (notably the Freeman brothers) to make an urgent assessment of some of Melbourne's buildings which were obviously notable, and this work *Early Melbourne Architecture* was published in 1953. Largely pictorial in nature, it did provide an early definitive, identification work which could be readily understood and appreciated. Although many of the buildings featured have since been lost, many have been saved, and the book itself has been the means of drawing attention to their preservation. However, not until the publication of the Trust's own book *Historic Buildings of Victoria* in 1966 did the problem attract substantial attention.

At the same time that Sir Daryl Lindsay and his friends were considering the problems, the Town and Country Planning Association was debating how best "to take action to interest organisations in the preservation of historic buildings and large unsubdivided land in the metropolis", and a sub-committee was formed to consider the preservation of historic buildings. The reference to "large unsubdivided land" with its connotation of landscape interest became an early Trust objective.

Together, the Town and Country Planning Association and Sir Daryl and his supporters worked out a way to form a "Trust" organisation. The preservation of "Como" in South Yarra was seen as a possible key, and with the willing co-operation of the Armytage family, this was achieved, and so the National Trust of Australia (Victoria) was born.

The subsequent growth of the Trust as a significant organisation in Victoria's subsequent cultural development is detailed in Chapter 11 of this *Year Book*.

#### WERRIBEE PARK

The earliest reference to the purchase of Werribee Park, which once covered 35,000 hectares, by the Victorian Government is in a letter from a group of Werribee High School

students to the Premier of Victoria in November 1972 suggesting that the Government acquire the property. Subsequently, the State Accommodation Committee recommended the purchase of the estate from the Catholic Trusts Corporation at a cost of \$1.6m, although no immediate use for the property was suggested.

In April 1973 a working party was established to inquire into and report on the future use and management of the estate. Later an Interim Committee of Management was established by the Victorian Government to implement its development plans and to ensure that the historical character of the estate was preserved. The 60 room Italianate mansion has been partly restored, as have many of the outbuildings, with the aim of recreating the living conditions of the Chirnside family who built the mansion in the 1870s.

The formal gardens have been restored and an eighteen hole golf course, tennis courts, and picnic facilities have been developed. The new State Equestrian Centre providing the full range of equestrian activities is now operating and the beginnings of an open range zoological park (established by the Zoological Board) is another new facility.

The Park is managed by a committee appointed under the provisions of the *Crown Land (Reserves) Act 1978*.

### CRAFTS

Before the 1970s craft activities had been limited to interested groups and had little impact on the community. By a combination of recent circumstances, public involvement and participation in the crafts have become more widely spread and popular.

In general, two events have encouraged this interest. First, the Arts Victoria 1978 Festival, which was devoted to the crafts, covered the whole State, helping to consolidate existing groups, develop new areas of activity, and heighten the level of skill. In particular this was achieved by means of visiting craftsmen, seminars and workshops, documentary films, and special exhibitions. Of particular importance was the first exhibition of Colonial Craft shown at the National Gallery of Victoria. This helped to extend a knowledge of Australian and particularly Victorian craft traditions. The second factor, and in some part stemming from this successful event, was the acquisition by the Victorian Government of the Metropolitan Meat Market in North Melbourne for conversion and use as a Crafts Centre. This has provided facilities for professional craftsmen to operate with good quality equipment, given assistance to students, and made available to the public advice and exhibitions and demonstrations. The establishment of the Victorian Tapestry Workshop has also been encouraging to the development of quality in crafts.

The Crafts Centre is associated with the Victorian Craft Council which co-ordinates groups throughout the State and provides a resource centre for professional and amateur craftsmen.

## DEVELOPMENTS IN PERFORMING ARTS

### Music

In 1934 Melbourne's, and Victoria's, music other than theatre music was provided almost entirely by the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra, the Melbourne (from 1946 Royal Melbourne) Philharmonic Society, the Melbourne University Conservatorium of Music, the Australian Broadcasting Commission (yet in its infancy, having been created only two years earlier), and J. and N. Tait, managers of many of the world's leading musical figures until the decline of concert business in the late 1930s with the development of broadcasting. The Sidney Myer Free Concerts were begun in 1934.

The University Symphony Orchestra was merged with the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra in 1932 and retained the name of the latter. It was under the control of the University of Melbourne and under the joint artistic direction of Professor Bernard (later Sir Bernard) Heinze and Fritz Hart. It established regular subscription concerts, which the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) was ready to subsidise. In its ultimate financial responsibility for the Orchestra, the University was assisted by The Lady Northcote Permanent Orchestra Trust Fund, founded in 1908 to help Professor G.W.L. Marshall-Hall establish a permanent orchestra. For some years the ABC presented a nucleus of the orchestra as the ABC (Melbourne) Orchestra or ABC Studio Orchestra, but the subscription concerts were always given by the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra. It became fully



professional in 1935, and the concerts were organised by the University until 1940. Some members of the old Melbourne Symphony Orchestra perpetuated the name of the Orchestra's founder in 1906, Alberto Zelman, by forming themselves into the Zelman Memorial Symphony Orchestra under the conductorship of Herbert Davis.

Also in 1934, the ABC engaged Sir Hamilton Harty as a guest conductor, and by 1937 Melbourne had had visits from Sir Malcolm Sargent, Australia's Essie Ackland, Lotte Lehmann, and the Budapest String Quartet, all presented by the ABC. In the 1930s the survival of choral music and orchestral concerts encouraged the ABC to enter into an agreement with the Melbourne Philharmonic Society which stood for nearly 40 years and ensured choral and orchestral concerts of a high standard.

The visit in 1940 of Sir Thomas Beecham was a great success and led to the duplication and eventual re-doubling of the subscription series. In that year the ABC assumed formal control of the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra, and only in 1964 was the Orchestra's name transferred to the ABC as one term of an agreement designed to give stability to the Sidney Myer Free Concerts. By 1940 not only had broadcasting caused great public interest in serious music, but in the stress of wartime conditions, people found spiritual comfort in symphonic and choral music, the latter popularised and enriched by singers like Thea Phillips, Hedde Nash, Harold Williams, Stanley Clarkson, William Herbert, and Horace Stevens who, like another Melburnian, Florence Austral, had retired from England and Europe to settle here. In 1949 the Orchestra's name was changed to Victorian Symphony Orchestra, but later the orchestra again became identified with its home city.

All this time Melbourne's, Victoria's, and indeed much of Australia's music was dominated by Professor Bernard (later Sir Bernard) Heinze, who held the Ormond Chair of Music in the University of Melbourne as Director of the University Conservatorium from 1925 to 1956. He had begun the successful concerts of the University Symphony Orchestra in 1927 and won the support of Sidney Myer in effecting the orchestral merger mentioned above. He also recognised the importance of combining the financial and administrative resources of the ABC with those of the University.

Heinze also assisted the ABC from its inception as musical adviser, inspiring the Commission to build a nation wide orchestral structure. The many facets of this included children's orchestral concerts, which he began in 1924, the choral and orchestral concerts from 1930 to 1960, the Youth Concerts, the adult subscription concerts, and the annual concerto festival, begun by the Conservatorium in 1939 as a war funds effort and later presented by the ABC as the annual ABC Instrumental and Vocal Competitions. The ABC also developed these activities in other States.

During the war years to the end of the 1940s there was considerable activity in the Conservatorium. Dr Margaret Sutherland, Dr Clive Douglas, Robert Hughes, and Dorian Le Gallienne had all had success as composers, but an influx of returned servicemen as students added even more vitality to the institution. Among the graduates of the Conservatorium were the composers who were to make their mark in the 1960s and beyond, and several directors of institutions and university departments around Australia.

Over the years many attempts had been made to establish chamber music in Melbourne, but nothing permanent was achieved before the arrival of Russian-born violist Mischa Kogan in 1930. After playing with several chamber music groups he founded the Soirees Musicales Chamber Music Society in 1949, which established an unbroken record of regular concert-giving of 35 years, and provided a platform for local artists.

An original development undreamed of in 1934 was the Australian Youth Orchestra, which had its origin in a music camp at Pt Lonsdale in 1948, organised by Mr (later Professor) John Bishop and a committee with the assistance of the National Fitness Council. Out of this camp developed the National Music Camp Association, originally Victorian but now an Australia wide body, and its offspring, the Australian Youth Orchestra, open to young people of all States. The Orchestra has performed in all capital cities and has travelled extensively overseas.

A Lithuanian migrant to Victoria in 1939, Asta Flack, founded a women's string orchestra which in 1951 became the Astra Chamber Orchestra. In 1958 Asta Flack was succeeded as conductor by George Logie-Smith who had previously formed choirs and orchestras in Ballarat and Geelong and who now introduced into the Astra group men players and a choir, giving regular concerts for more than 20 years. In 1954 Musica Viva

Australia, a Sydney-based group came to Victoria and subsequently encouraged the touring of chamber ensembles in Australian capital and provincial cities.

After Sir Bernard Heinze's retirement from the University of Melbourne Conservatorium in 1956, a shift of emphasis away from the field of practical music eventually led to the foundation of the Victorian College of the Arts School of Music in 1974 for the purpose of concentrating on producing performers.

Percy Aldridge Grainger is probably the Australian composer best known outside his own country. Born in Brighton, Victoria, in 1882, he wrote in a variety of musical forms and had a world-wide reputation as a pianist. Although he took United States citizenship, his abiding interest in Melbourne influenced him to build and largely equip a music museum bearing his name at the University of Melbourne. He died in 1961. The Museum had been completed in 1938 but could not be staffed or opened to public viewing until 1966.

Although most of Victoria's competition choirs disbanded during the war and were affected by the development of radio, and later television, there has nevertheless been an awakening of interest among young people in a more serious choral and orchestral repertoire. Founded by Val J. Pyers in 1965, The Melbourne Chorale quickly developed and became the first choir in Australia to have a full-time musical director and administrator; it grew from an original choir of 18 voices to more than 80, maintaining three choirs.

Two notable musicians influenced Victorian music since 1934. Sir William McKie was educated in Melbourne, at the Royal College of Music, London, and at Oxford, and became Melbourne's City Organist from 1930 to 1938. He later became organist and Master of the Chorists at Westminster Abbey. Dr Alfred Ernest Floyd came from the post of assistant organist at Winchester Cathedral in 1915 to become organist and choir director at St Paul's Cathedral until 1947. His influence was great as lecturer, adjudicator, writer, and broadcaster. His regular Sunday evening broadcast programmes were a popular feature of Melbourne's musical and social life for more than 30 years, from about 1940 until the early 1970s.

The most important stimulus to the enlarged interest in, and informed appreciation of, serious music since 1934 has been the influence of broadcasting throughout that period and the introduction, in the 1950s, of the long-playing gramophone record. Television, launched in 1956 in Australia, has not made the same impact with music, because the essentially aural appeal of music has created a problem of visual presentation on television. There were many overseas conductors and other artists whom the ABC brought to Victoria since 1934 whose artistic gifts have brought music into the lives of many Victorians.

In November 1982, the second stage of the Victorian Arts Centre—the Melbourne Concert Hall—was officially opened, and music in Victoria entered a new era.

### Drama

In 1934, commercial drama, although suffering from the effects of the Depression and the advent of talking pictures, was championed most strongly by the theatrical firm of J.C. Williamson Ltd, whose productions for that year included *The Sacred Flame* and *Ten Minute Alibi*. Non-commercial theatre had been encouraged in the previous decade by the work of the Pioneer Players' Movement, founded by Louis Esson, Vance Palmer, and Stewart Mackay in 1921; and was best represented during the early 1930s by the productions of The Gregan McMahon Players, founded by Gregan McMahon in 1929, and by the work of the Melbourne Little Theatre (later St Martins Theatre), founded in 1931.

Public interest in professional drama continued on a subdued level during the 1930s, despite the occasional visit of a star such as Fay Compton, who appeared here in 1938 with a touring production of *Victoria Regina*. However, the outbreak of the Second World War engendered a general need for entertainment, and during the ensuing years Melbourne saw long and successful seasons of overseas hit plays. Representative of these were *Kiss and Tell*, *Watch on the Rhine*, *Bliethe Spirit*, and *Arsenic and Old Lace*.

Undoubtedly the most exciting professional drama event of the immediate post-war era was the visit to Australia in 1948 of the Old Vic Company under the auspices of the British Council. Headed by Laurence (later Lord) Olivier and Vivien Leigh, this company aroused great enthusiasm, and provided a stimulating challenge to the local theatrical standards of the time. A subsequent attempt to foster a classical drama company within

the commercial framework was made by the actor John Alden, who visited Melbourne in 1951-52 with an Australian recruited company bearing his name and playing a Shakespearean repertoire. This venture showed interesting developments in the fields of acting and directing.

However, the general policy of the commercial theatre during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s continued to be one of reliance on overseas importations of company, star, or play—to provide their main attraction. This was a splendid boon when it resulted in the presentation of an acclaimed ensemble such as the Royal Shakespeare Company, but of less certain worth when the import has been the mere mechanical reproduction of an overseas hit. Commercial managements faced a time of evolving and changing trends in the theatre, and rising costs made the financial success of overseas importations much more difficult to achieve. On the other hand, the occasional backing by a commercial management of a purely local venture did not prove sufficiently rewarding as yet to change the overall pattern inherited from the past.

The growth in standards and popularity of non-commercial drama is closely linked to the growth of subsidised theatre. Before the advent of such a subsidy in Victoria, non-commercial drama was dependent on public revenue for support, and of necessity its offerings were frequently no more than a pale shadow of the fare being offered by commercial managements. But subsidy meant that non-commercial drama could concentrate on what was always its basic aim—the encouragement of Australian talent in all fields of dramatic endeavour.

In 1935 Miss Gertrude Johnson established in Melbourne the National Theatre Movement, primarily as a teaching school for the three theatre arts of opera, ballet, and drama. This organisation eventually became the recipient of a Victorian Government theatre grant in 1948. Before then, however, all existing non-commercial companies had to weather the rigorous circumstances of the Second World War. This was a time of great shortages, particularly of manpower and equipment, and the death of Gregan McMahon in 1941 meant the loss of a fine artistic leader. The Victorian Government's post-war annual grant to the National Theatre Movement was \$10,000 for the development of opera, ballet, and drama in Victoria. This resulted in the presentation of several theatre festivals at the Princess Theatre, Melbourne, but at length the National Theatre Movement decided to concentrate entirely on its work as a teaching organisation.

A move specifically connected with the development of drama alone came in 1953, when John Sumner, with the sponsorship and blessing of the University of Melbourne, founded the Union Theatre Repertory Company (UTRC). This was the first professional group of its kind in Australia for many years. The Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust came into association with the company in 1959 as a subsidising agent, and in 1966 the company left the Union Theatre at the University of Melbourne and set up headquarters at the Russell Street Theatre. Its official title was changed in 1968 to the Melbourne Theatre Company. After occupying St Martins Theatre as an additional playhouse from 1973 to 1977, a move was made to the theatre areas contained in the historic Athenaeum building. The company's repertoire has been fairly evenly divided between classical and contemporary plays, and its general aim is the development of all aspects of drama.

The St Martins Theatre Company evolved from the distinguished amateur status it had maintained since its foundation as the Melbourne Little Theatre in 1931, and became a fully professional drama company in the early 1960s. After some excellent seasons, the company ceased presenting plays in 1973, and following its four years' occupancy by the Melbourne Theatre Company, the St Martins Theatre complex was bought by the Victorian Government as a home for youth activities.

The Australian Performing Group grew from a series of actors' workshops held at the La Mama Theatre in 1968. The Group was granted its first subsidy in 1970, and in that year gave its first performance at the Pram Factory—the Carlton premises it was to occupy throughout the 1970s. The encouragement of Australian playwriting is one of the main aims of the Group, and it has presented many of the early works of such writers as Jack Hibberd, Barry Oakley, John Romeril, and David Williamson. La Mama Theatre is an intimate playing space providing a platform for new writing and experimental theatre. The sponsorship of the Australian Performing Group has been La Mama's most successful venture so far.

The first production at the Grant Street Theatre of the Hoopla Foundation took place in 1976. Victorian Government sponsorship enabled the organisation to occupy the Playbox Theatre in 1977, and in 1980 the name was changed to the Playbox Theatre Company.

### Ballet and dance

The highlight of the Australian theatrical calendar for 1934 was the visit of the Dandre-Levitoff Russian Ballet Company. This tour marked the real beginnings of a tradition of ballet in Australia, which saw for the first time a fully integrated company with an exciting repertoire, in the tradition of Diaghilev. When the Dandre-Levitoff company sailed for London, dancer Jan Kowsky remained behind to become, as Leon Kellaway, ballet master to the Borovansky, National, and Australian Ballets.

The first of the three visits to Australia by companies directed by Colonel de Basil took place in 1936. The Monte Carlo Russian Ballet introduced ballets by Nijinsky (*L'Après-midi d'un Faune*), Fokine (*The Firebird*, *Scheherazade* and *Petrouchka*), Massine (*Le Beau Danube*, *La Boutique Fantasque*, and *Les Presages*), and Balanchine (*Cotillon*—the first work of his to be seen in this country). De Basil's company toured in 1938 as the Covent Garden Russian Ballet and in 1940 as the Original Ballet Russe, with works including Fokine's *Le Coq d'Or* and Lichine's *Graduation Ball*, which had its world premiere in Australia. For Lifar's *Icare*, decor and costumes were designed by Sidney Nolan. The overseas companies established a public for ballet in Australia, but the war precluded further importations. It was left to local enterprise to meet the challenge.

On 29 February 1940, the Melbourne Ballet Club was formed. The Club provided material support for Edouard Borovansky, a Czechoslovakian character dancer who had visited this country first with Pavlova and later with the Covent Garden Company, and who had remained to establish a school in Melbourne. With the support of the Ballet Club, "Boro" determined to form his own Australian ballet company. In November 1940, his first major ballet, *Autumn Leaves*, was presented in conjunction with the National Theatre. In November 1942, he presented the Australian premiere of Ashton's *Facade* at the Ballet Club's studio theatre, and received major support when his enterprise came under the auspices of J.C. Williamson Ltd, who presented the Borovansky Australian Ballet at His Majesty's in April 1943. The success of this week-long season justified a three-week return at the Comedy Theatre soon after.

Williamson's confidence in the fledgling organisation grew, and the company and repertoire were expanded for an eight month Australia-wide tour in 1944, and a similar tour in 1945. In 1946-47, the Borovansky Ballet was dancing in Williamson's musicals as well as presenting its regular repertoire, which by now included original Australian works such as Dorothy Stevenson's *Sea Legend* and Borovansky's *Terra Australis*. But just when it seemed that Australia had a permanent professional company of which it could be proud, Williamson's and Borovansky temporarily parted company, the former to concentrate on post-war imported musical comedies, and the latter to devote himself for the next four years to the development of his studio in Melbourne.

In 1946, however, the Melbourne Ballet Club had invited Laurel Martyn, who had been the first Australian ballerina to dance with Sadler's Wells, to found the Victorian Ballet Guild. The inaugural season took place in November 1946, and a school was formed soon after. The Guild steadily developed over the next thirty years, encouraging local composers, designers, and choreographers. Many interesting works resulted, most notably Martyn's *The Sentimental Bloke* and *Voyageur*.

The British Ballet Rambert toured Australia in 1947-48, and several members of this company remained to foster the ballet wing of Gertrude Johnson's National Theatre Movement. The Council of Adult Education took the National Theatre Ballet Company on a pioneering country tour, bringing ballet to many Victorian towns for the first time. The National's greatest success was Rex Reid's *Corroboree* (1950), to music by John Antill. No previous Australian ballet had achieved the distinction of *Corroboree*, and it was performed for H.M. The Queen during the Royal Visit of 1954.

However, the great days of the National Theatre Ballet were short lived. It was quickly surpassed by the re-emerging Borovansky company, again under the patronage of J.C. Williamson's. The repertoire now included *The Outlaw*, Borovansky's re-telling of the Ned Kelly saga to music by Verdon Williams; and Cranko's own re-staging of his popular

*Pineapple Poll*. In 1957 Dame Margot Fonteyn and other distinguished ballet dancers visited Melbourne. Borovansky died in 1959. As a tribute to him, Paul Grinwis devised *Journey to the Moon*, the first full-length ballet created in Australia. Williamson's then brought Peggy van Praagh from England to head the company, but it came to an end in 1961.

Several important overseas companies visited Victoria between 1956 and 1960, while local choreographers made significant contributions to the dance elements of popular musical theatre. In the early 1960s, many imaginative short ballets were created for the GTV9 Ballet, which danced five nights a week in the television variety programme *In Melbourne Tonight*.

The Australian Ballet, destined to become Australia's national company, was established in 1962 as a joint enterprise between J.C. Williamson's and the Elizabethan Theatre Trust. Peggy van Praagh became artistic director. The company aimed to provide full-time employment for its dancers, with a balanced repertoire, and encouragement for local choreographers, composers, and designers. A school for professional students was established, and an education programme implemented.

The Australian Ballet made its debut in November 1962. From the beginning it travelled widely, introducing important new overseas ballets (notably Cranko's *The Lady and the Fool*), and local innovative work by choreographers such as Rex Reid (*Melbourne Cup*), Betty Pounder (*Jazz Spectrum*), and Ray Powell (*One in Five, Just for Fun, and Roundelay*). Robert Helpmann's *The Display*, with music by Malcolm Williamson, decor by Sidney Nolan, and lighting by William Akers was staged in 1964. The leading roles were danced by Kathleen Gorham, Garth Welch, and Bryan Lawrence. Margot Fonteyn and Rudolf Nureyev joined the company as guest stars for the 1964 season. With Robert Helpmann as joint artistic director, the company embarked on its first major overseas tour in 1965. The success of this tour has made international visits an almost annual event for the Australian Ballet, while many imported companies also played to local audiences in the 1970s.

The increasing interest in ethnic cultures was reflected by the founding in 1970 of the Kolobok troupe, which changed its name to the National Folk Dance Company of Australia in 1980. Other small innovative groups flourished in the 1960s and 1970s, notably the Modern Dance Ensemble (founded in 1953 as the Modern Ballet Group), the Contemporary Dance Theatre, and the Australian Contemporary Dance Company which incorporates the Melbourne State Dance Company.

Ballet Victoria, as Laurel Martyn's Victorian Ballet Guild was known from 1967, continued to build a comprehensive repertoire, and imported the Russian stars Mikhail Barishnikov and Natalia Makarova to head their successful 1975 national tour. However the 1976 tour of *Petrouchka* was a financial failure to the extent that Ballet Victoria was forced to cease operations soon after. Its place as the State's dance company has been taken by the Australian Dance Theatre, formed in late 1976 under the joint auspices of the Victorian and South Australian Governments and the Australia Council. The company's full-length production *Wildstars*, conceived and designed by Nigel Triffitt and choreographed by Jonathan Taylor, has been well received, and was the highlight of the company's season at the 1980 Edinburgh Festival.

### Opera

On 29 September 1934, Sir Benjamin Fuller's Royal Grand Opera Company made its Melbourne debut at the Apollo (Palace) Theatre in Bourke street. The principals, many of whom had been prominent in Beecham's British National Opera Company, included a number of noted Australians. However the season suffered a loss. This suggested that Australia was not likely to see another major fully professional opera season without some form of private or governmental subsidy. J.C. Williamson's plans to import a Russian company lapsed for want of support, and in 1939 Australia's Marjorie Lawrence made a plea for a permanent Australian opera company, to be backed by Commonwealth, State, and municipal governments.

In fact, the groundwork for what could have become a national opera company had already been laid. Towards the end of 1935, Gertrude Johnson had founded The National Theatre Movement, Victoria, but it was in opera that Miss Johnson's enterprise was to

make its most significant contribution. The National's first operatic production was *The Flying Dutchman*, presented at the Princess Theatre on 25 October 1938.

The war provided encouragement for the National Theatre, because of the lack of imported attractions and audiences' enthusiasm for productions which assisted charitable causes: the National raised some \$32,000 for the Red Cross, and provided much troop entertainment. As well as a steady stream of drama and ballet, it presented fifteen operas at its East Melbourne theatre and at the Princess during the war years and immediately after. Notable among these were Gluck's *Orpheus* and *Iphigenia in Aulis*, *The Beggar's Opera*, and Messenger's *Monsieur Beaucaire*. Edith Harrhy's Australian opera *Alaya* was produced in 1941. As the National's reputation grew, its productions played twelve or more performances each. This was, in fact, the only live opera available to Melbourne audiences from 1935 to 1948.

The ABC produced occasional operas for radio, even through the war years, but it was the commercial Major Network, represented in Melbourne by 3DB, that realised the full potential of opera as popular radio entertainment. The serialised biography, *Melba*, produced in Melbourne in 1944, was followed by *Opera for the People* three years later. This series used double casts of singers and actors to present specially adapted versions of popular operas, as well as pieces such as *Romeo and Juliet*, *Maritana*, *The Daughter of the Regiment*, and *The Bohemian Girl*. Many of the singers were alumni of *The Sun Aria*, which the Melbourne newspaper had sponsored annually since 1924, and of the equally prestigious Mobil Quest.

Towards the end of the war, the Prime Minister, Rt Hon. John Curtin, advocated the development of a national opera company for Australia. Support came through a series of letters to *The Age* from Margaret Sutherland, Gustav Slapoffski, and Edouard Borovansky. Frank Tait also supported the idea on behalf of J.C. Williamson's. The Chifley Government agreed to the establishment of the Education in Music and Dramatic Arts Society, and to facilitate the remission of Entertainment Tax for productions of opera and ballet. Williamson's 1948 Italian Grand Opera Season was presented in conjunction with the Society, and returned a small profit. Fifteen popular operas were then presented by a large company of Italian soloists, supported by locally recruited Australians in minor roles; Williamson's mounted a second Italian Opera Season in 1955.

Meanwhile, Gertrude Johnson's enterprise, now called the National Theatre Movement of Australia, had presented its first major post-war season. This opened at the Princess on 20 February 1948, with a week's run of *Aida*, followed by *Faust*, *Rigoletto*, and *The Marriage of Figaro*. The success of the initial season justified several extensions and a return season later in the year, during which the National gave *The Magic Flute* its first Australian production.

The National presented two seasons at the Princess in 1949, the first as part of an extensive Three Arts Festival, to which the Victorian Government contributed \$20,000. The next major season was not until 1951, when the National presented an arts festival to celebrate the centenary of responsible government in Victoria and the Jubilee of the Commonwealth. The highlight was *Aida*, in which Marjorie Lawrence sang Amneris — her only appearance in an opera production in her native land. Another centenary and jubilee highlight was the Victorian premiere of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, presented for a short season at the Princess by the Melbourne Conservatorium of Music (Albert Street). The Conservatorium, which later became the Melba Memorial Conservatorium, had conducted an opera school since 1898, and had produced several notable artists.

The National's 1952 season was presented as a co-production with the New South Wales National Opera (Inc.). It was notable for the debut of soprano Marie Collier, and for the production of *Don Giovanni* with Australian baritone John Brownlee in the title role. Brownlee also appeared as Scarpia in *Tosca*. The combined Victorian and New South Wales companies repeated their Melbourne success in Sydney, and it appeared that, at last, Australia had a truly national opera company. But it was not to be. The two companies went their separate ways after the joint season.

The following year the highlight of the National's season was the Australian premiere of Menotti's *The Consul*, with Marie Collier. *The Consul's* impact was heightened by the growing awareness of Australians of the plight of refugees from eastern Europe, many of whom were finding new homes here. The company scored high praise for this production,

and later took *The Consul* and two other operas to Sydney, while the Sydney Company, now re-christened "The National Opera of Australia", moved into the Melbourne Tivoli. The Sydney group's repertoire included an Australian double-bill: Arthur Benjamin's *The Devil Take Her* and John Antill's *Endymion*.

The National's 1954 season at the Princess was incorporated in an Arts Festival coinciding with the visit of H.M. The Queen and The Duke of Edinburgh. The repertoire included three Australian premieres: Britten's *Albert Herring*, Menotti's *Amahl and the Night Visitors*, and Offenbach's *La Belle Helene*. *The Tales of Hoffmann* was chosen for the gala Royal Performance on 1 March. The enthusiasm generated by this historic occasion hid the truth: like its Sydney-based rival, the National was in debt and the 1954 season was to be its last. The Melbourne and Sydney companies did not work together; neither did they co-operate with the newly formed Elizabethan Theatre Trust, which was initially designed to support existing companies. So they faded; soon all that remained of Miss Johnson's operatic enterprise was her school.

Two significant operatic events occurred in 1956. The first was the visit of the Classical Theatre of China, with a repertoire of traditional Peking opera. The second was the presentation at Her Majesty's of a season of four Mozart operas—the first productions of the Australian Opera Company, founded by the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust. The company had made its debut in Adelaide, and included many names formerly familiar in the National's programmes. "Australia's Mozart Opera Season" was a success artistically, but a financial disappointment. The Trust continued to present its opera tours on an almost annual basis and in 1965 co-operated with J.C. Williamson's for the Sutherland-Williamson season. In Melbourne, Joan Sutherland sang in five operas: *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *La Sonnambula*, *Faust*, *La Traviata*, and *Semiramide*.

In 1967, the Trust established its opera company on a permanent basis, with Sydney as its headquarters. For the first time, seasons were marketed on a subscription basis, encouraging continuing audience support from year to year. The company maintained its schedule of annual visits to Melbourne.

However, parallel with the development of the Australian Opera has been the emergence of the Victoria State Opera. Commencing in the early 1960s as an amateur group performing in church halls and small auditoriums such as the Russell Street Theatre, the Victorian Opera Company, as it was first known, specialised in the lesser known repertoire. By 1968 it was able to mount a season of four operas at the Union Theatre: *Der Freischutz*, *Albert Herring*, *Cinderella*, and *Nabucco*. In 1971, with Dame Joan Hammond as artistic consultant, the Victorian Opera Company announced itself as "Victoria's regional company". By this time the Victorian Government and the Australian Council for the Arts were providing financial support. Four years later, the company became fully professional, and changed its name to the Victoria State Opera. It has played successfully in Sydney and Adelaide, and regularly undertakes tours of major Victorian provincial centres in co-operation with the Victorian Arts Council. The Council has also supported the Victoria State Opera's specially commissioned children's operas, which have broadened the musical horizons of many children.

## CINEMA

### Introduction

The history of the cinema in Victoria cannot be easily separated from that of Australia as a whole, although many major milestones took place in Victoria or were related to local events, stories, or personalities. The first significant developments in film production in Australia were the recording of the 1896 Melbourne Cup by a visiting French cameraman, the long 1900 film *Soldiers of the Cross*, produced by the Limelight Division of the Salvation Army in Melbourne, and the 1906 feature-length bushranging epic *The Story of the Kelly Gang*. Later the first professionally-made Australian sound films were produced in Melbourne by F.W. Thring, featuring local stars, as did Cinesound in Sydney to a greater extent.

### Cinema-going

In the 1930s Melbourne had many fine cinemas, some like the Capitol, the State, and the Regent having been only recently completed. The ornate Byzantine-style State (later Forum) seated about 3,000 people; the Capitol, designed by Burley Griffin, had a striking ceiling concealing coloured lighting, and has been described as possibly the finest picture theatre ever built anywhere. Out of the city there were some fine theatres but many film-goers still attended Town Halls or other public meeting places where a sign advertised "Talkies" and billboards displayed coming attractions. The sound film had become the technical advance of the decade, achieving by the late 1930s highly sophisticated Hollywood colour motion pictures such as *Gone with the Wind*. As with most indigenous art and literature the Australian motion picture suffered because of the limited market, difficulties with distribution, and the preference of public taste for the best American or British productions. Overseas films exerted a strong influence on fashions in clothing, hair-styles, architecture, music, and most other areas of modern life.

In the 1940s the cinema was used to a great extent for the maintenance of morale and reinforced the effects of the presence in Victoria of large numbers of American servicemen between 1942 and 1945. Cinesound and Fox-Movietone newsreels helped publicise Australia and broaden the education of the population, but there were few Australian feature films of high quality to satisfy the prevalent surge of patriotism. Magazines highlighted the glamour of the overseas stars, screenplays, and lavish productions. These contrasted sharply with the relatively low budgets with which a handful of courageous local film-makers attempted to capture the national ethos.

By the mid-1950s the familiar pattern of weekly visits to the cinema by families and Saturday matinees for the young were varied for many new residents of outer suburbs and country towns because the universal availability of the motor car and ample space had made possible the introduction of the Drive-In theatre. Large screens became permanent structures in many places. The first Drive-In in Australia was opened at Burwood, Victoria, in 1954. Picture-going was also suddenly disrupted by the advent of television in 1956. Almost overnight many theatres closed to become bowling alleys or warehouses, or were demolished to make way for other ventures. Some large cinemas found it more profitable to reduce the seating and become twin theatres. In 1965 the Capitol reduced its 2,000 seats and a shopping arcade was built through the lowest level.

During the next two decades smaller city cinemas catered for a varied range of films, some attracting loyal followings for avant-garde and festival films; others for films of more sensational or restricted taste. Colour television was introduced in 1975 and theatres attracted audiences with spectacular, disaster, and space films, some third dimension and other experimental effects not obtainable on television, and a tendency to repetition of successful formulae in a spate of film titles suffixed II or III. Television also encouraged cinema attendances by frequent repeat screenings and, except on ABC channels, constant interruptions by commercials, but also by giving viewers the opportunity to see and appreciate quality foreign productions. By the 1980s, however, the Video Cassette Recorder had become popular, home cassette libraries became common in many suburbs, freeing television viewers from the standard programmes and advertising, and widening the range of films that could be enjoyed away from the theatre. Also the changing demographic composition of many areas affected attendances at theatres. Drive-Ins further from the city remained but the Burwood Drive-in, for example, closed in 1983.

### Feature film production

During the fifty year period, Australian film production moved from the cheaply made, self-conscious portrayal of largely rural themes and slapstick comedy of the 1930s, to sporadic but more ambitious projects often financed by overseas organisations in the 1940s and 1950s, a comparative decline in the 1960s, and a resurgence in the 1970s. The television industry provided a technical training ground for serious work for portrayal on both the small and large screen. In the 1970s the establishment of the Australian Film Development Corporation (later the Australian Film Commission) and Film Corporations in individual States administered government encouragement to film-makers, which, together with tax incentives, was partly responsible for the increased activity. Many successful films, however,



were completed without assistance. Similarly the graduation of technical specialists from film schools in Melbourne and Sydney may have been a factor, and some experts believe that skilled personnel trained in commercial advertising production have been invaluable.

On several occasions enthusiastic observers have proclaimed the emergence of the long-awaited Australian film industry, not in the form of a local Hollywood, despite similar climate, space, and scenery for spectacular outdoor dramas, but at least continuous production of films of an indigenous character. Since the 1970s a remarkable number of films have been produced, most in colour, many of world class, and several outstanding, from directors like Peter Weir, Fred Schepisi, and Bruce Beresford. There are several major themes into which most Australian films can be classified over the 50 year period: the bush and the outback (*The Overlanders, Kangaroo, The Sundowners*); war (*40,000 Horsemen, Rats of Tobruk, Gallipoli*); adaptations from Australian literary works (*The Sentimental Bloke, My Brilliant Career, We of the Never Never*); biographical studies (*Smithy, Ned Kelly, Breaker Morant*); Aborigines (*Jedda, The Chant of Jimmie Blacksmith, The Last Wave*); and some that present new themes, departing from typical Australian stories, and accents, or exploring taboo subjects or fantasy (*The Year of Living Dangerously, Mad Max*).

Films worthy of note with a Victorian theme, location, or backing included the Efftee films of the 1930s such as *Diggers, Harmony Row, and A Ticket on Tatts*, before the company ceased production on the death of F.W. Thring in 1936. In 1935 Charles Chauvel had ventured into historical drama with *Heritage*. *Eureka Stockade* was made in the late 1940s and *On the Beach* in the 1950s. The screenplay of *Summer of the Seventeenth Doll* shifted the location of the story to Sydney. Since the revival of the 1970s there have been *Picnic at Hanging Rock, The Devil's Playground, The Getting of Wisdom, The Man from Snowy River, Phar Lap*, and many others. Notable television series have included *Power Without Glory, Rush, and The Sullivans*.

#### Victorian Government involvement in films

In the 1940s the Victorian Government established the Documentary Film Committee which eventually led to the development of the State Film Centre. This housed the most significant documentary film library in Australia outside the national collection in Canberra. Since its establishment in 1946, it has built up a collection of more than 13,500 titles of the world's best information films and videotapes covering a wide range of viewpoints and interests. Services offered include Australia's largest library of books, magazines, and clippings on visual media; regular free screenings of documentary films; free screenings of films for children; a regional library network; workshops for school children; and theatres for hire.

As activity in professional film production increased in Australia in the 1970s, Victoria like other States, became concerned with government investment in film production, assistance other than financial to those engaged in film making, and the provision of appropriate facilities so that a viable industry could be based in Melbourne, as well as operate in various parts of the State.

To facilitate the making of feature films, the Victorian Film Corporation was established in 1976 and re-named Film Victoria under amending legislation in 1981. Film Victoria was not established as a production company but as a body to encourage and promote the production, exhibition, and distribution of films, television programmes, and related areas. Film Victoria has assisted in the finance of feature films, documentaries, television features, script development, government films, and associated activities. Support staff are available to offer advice and direction to potential film makers. The Melbourne Film Studio which opened in 1980 provided Australia with its only world class film production stage. Film Victoria assisted the development of the Studio by undertaking a long-term lease of the major sound stage, which is leased back to the industry at current rates.

The interlocking pattern of Film Victoria, the State Film Centre, and private industry have made Victoria a centre for film production aiming at high artistic and technical standards to serve the community's needs for instruction and entertainment.

## RADIO AND TELEVISION

**Radio before the advent of television in 1956**

The history of the broadcast media in Victoria from 1934 can be divided into three periods: the age of radio until 1956, the television era from 1956 into the 1970s, and a state of change and uncertainty since 1972.

Unlike the larger States, Victoria enjoyed almost total radio coverage by 1934. Virtually all of the principal national and commercial stations had already been established. The Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC), set up in 1932, presented its programmes over 3AR and 3LO until the establishment of relay stations to carry the programmes to country areas. Reception was erratic, but most listeners had a choice of national or commercial programmes from 1935.

The ABC from its inception set about establishing a comprehensive programme service. Special departments were set up to plan and produce programmes of music, drama, talks, light entertainment, sport, and news. In 1938, by which time two stations had been erected for the ABC in every State capital, two separate programme networks were established.

In the same period the commercial stations, if not actually winning the great profits that came later, developed from the amateur status of earlier days into commercially viable operations, and programmes improved accordingly. Quizzes and talent quests were on almost every station, and drama was a staple fare. However, in spite of local successes, many drama programmes were imported from America in transcription form. Local variety was popular, and community singing was a favourite.

The outbreak of war brought many restrictions because programmes had to be prepared and checked a fortnight in advance. News was a great hazard. Two Melbourne stations, 3KZ and 3AR, were severely disciplined for mentioning the sinking of HMAS *Sydney* in 1941. The event was fully covered in the press, but forbidden for radio. The war's most profound influence, however, was on programmes. The source of American transcribed programmes came to an end, and at the same time some advertisers turned, many of them for the first time, to radio as a major advertising medium. The influx of money transformed the programme production industry.

The trend continued after the war. If big advertisers dominated the medium, big stars dominated the ratings: Jack Davey, Bob Dyer, Roy Rene ("Mo"), George Wallace, Joy Nicholls, Willie Fennell, Strella Wilson, Hal Lashwood, and Dick Bentley were household names. The absence of American transcriptions opened a new era for Australian actors. "Soap-operas", adventure serials, half-hour and one hour dramas, many based at the beginning on American models, proliferated during the war, and, with the variety and quiz programmes dominated commercial radio over the years until the advent of television.

Through the war the ABC developed its news service, and in 1946 an amendment to the Broadcasting Act (opposed at the time by newspaper interests) compelled the Commission to end its co-operative arrangement with the press for the supply of news, and to establish its own independent service. The ABC quickly set up a news service of national stature. Commercial stations continued to rely upon newspapers for services.

Administratively, broadcasting was completely changed by the Act of 1948 which created the Broadcasting Control Board to control broadcasting and television in Australia. The Board took over from the Post Office and the Postmaster-General most responsibilities for planning and controlling broadcasting, although the Post Office and the ABC retained their respective responsibilities for the provision of technical services and programmes for the national service. The Postmaster-General also retained the final authority to issue commercial licences, after recommendation by the Board.

The Board drew up comprehensive plans for the extension of the national service by means of substantial increases of transmission power for existing stations, and the building of seventeen additional transmitters. As these proposals materialised, the influence and importance of the ABC as a truly national service increased. Increases in power were also approved for many commercial stations and the Board steadily expanded their number as modern techniques made possible the closer sharing of frequencies.

A principal responsibility of the Board under the 1948 legislation and its amendments, was to police the complicated ownership and control provisions of the Act. Through the 1960s this section of the legislation was under constant revision to close loopholes which

permitted large operators to obtain indirect control over more than the permitted number of stations. Effectively, ownership or control was defined as holding, in the case of radio, more than 15 per cent and, for television, more than 5 per cent of the shares. "Control" of management, or programming, or control through loans or agreements was included. In radio the permissible limit was eight licences (only four in metropolitan areas) and in television, two.

#### **Television era, 1956 to the 1970s**

The introduction of television was accompanied by some vacillation. In 1950 the Commonwealth Government decided to establish a national transmitter in Sydney, and to offer one commercial licence in Sydney and Melbourne. However, in 1952 it announced that "because of the very drastic change which has taken place in the Australian economy" the establishment of television would be "held in abeyance". In 1953 a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into all aspects of the introduction of television. It reported in 1954 and the Government accepted its recommendations. The ABC was to develop a national television service, and applications were immediately invited for two commercial licences, in Sydney and Melbourne. The Board was instructed to hold public inquiries into these applications and recommend to the Minister. (Legislation making mandatory inquiries into the grant of all licences was not passed until 1956.)

Television commenced in Australia in 1956. Melbourne stations made special efforts to begin transmission during the Olympic Games, and HSV-7 officially opened on 4 November. ABV-2 followed on 19 November, and although GTV-9 did not officially open until January 1957, it covered the Games in test transmissions.

It was not until 1960 that television licences were issued for provincial areas in Victoria, following protracted inquiries. Most commenced operation in late 1961 or early 1962, although the stations at Mildura and Albury (the latter's transmitter in Victoria, but studio in New South Wales) did not commence until 1964 and 1965, respectively. In a controversial decision the Commonwealth Government later decided upon a third commercial station in the major capitals, and ATV-0 commenced operation in Melbourne in 1964.

The national service was generally a year or two later in setting up its stations in country areas, operating on continuous relay from ABV-2 in Melbourne. Commercial stations originate their programmes locally, although increasing numbers of prime time programmes are taken on relay from Melbourne.

#### **Impact of television on radio**

The rapid development of television caused substantial changes in radio programming. Television viewing dominated the prime times between 6.30 and 10 p.m. which had previously been occupied by the big drama, quiz, and variety shows. Radio's largest audiences changed to the breakfast and morning periods, although listeners, presumably sated by television drama, deserted radio's "soap operas" in favour of "personalities".

News developed rapidly. From pale copies of the papers, commercial news broadcasts became lively programmes in their own right. On-the-spot interviews and descriptions, made possible by the introduction of the tape recorder and low-power miniaturised transmitters, increased the appeal. The broadcast telephone conversation also became an outstanding feature. Listeners telephoned for expert information, or to participate in debates with prominent figures—and others listened avidly.

The trend was to specialisation with each station attempting to define a discrete audience which it could offer to advertisers. The development of the transistorised radio gave stations access to a new audience, not confined to one location.

The radio programmes of the ABC, directed to more specialised ends, saw less change, although they reflected the growing sophistication of taste, and the new demands of critical audiences. "Newrad" in 1963 re-defined the roles of the first and second networks, and the so-called "third network" supplied programmes drawn from both to regional audiences, supplementing them with material of regional appeal. The State orchestras, now large enough to justify the title of Symphony Orchestras spread to intra- and later, inter-State, and even overseas, tours. The Commission imported more overseas artists as the traditional entrepreneurs felt the impact of television.

### Television programmes

Television programmes were mainly from overseas, although a very few radio programmes and personalities successfully made the transition, and one or two original programmes like "In Melbourne Tonight" grew into apparently permanent public favour. As opportunities for broadcast employment faded, Australian performers increasingly felt the effects. Many viewers also expressed disquiet at the fact that television, so obviously an all pervasive and persuasive medium, based virtually all its programme values on those of the United States.

In 1960 the Postmaster-General advised all stations, as he renewed their licences, that he wanted a steady increase in Australian programming, but without great effect. In 1962 a Select Committee of the Senate (the Vincent Committee) inquired into Australian content in films and television. Amid much controversy over this and other reports, little actual change occurred. From 1966 on, the Board attempted to obtain greater exposure for Australian artists. The Board's powers were very limited, but, aided by vocal public opinion, some steady improvement in quality and quantity was achieved. By the early 1980s, Australian produced programmes, while still not numerous, rated equally with imports in popularity.

## RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN BROADCASTING AND TELEVISION

### Introduction of colour television and FM radio

The Commonwealth Government did not permit the introduction of colour television until 1975, but it spread quickly. Its introduction, carefully planned and implemented with full co-operation from all sections of the industry, was marked by a minimum of difficulty and confusion. The same relative calm did not attend the discussion and implementation of other broadcasting innovations.

Frequency Modulation (FM) broadcasting, postponed during the introduction of television, again became an issue in 1968-69. After an inquiry the Board recommended the establishment of FM, including not only national and commercial stations, but also various non-profit stations serving special interests. It was recommended that, because of congestion in the Very High Frequency (VHF) band, FM be introduced in the Ultra High Frequency (UHF). After several years' controversy, this proposal was rejected in favour of a proposal to clear the VHF band, used overseas for FM, of television, telecommunication and air navigation services, so that FM could commence. By 1984, very little progress had been made with this clearance.

The ABC established a (still expanding) "classical" FM network. The Commonwealth Government resisted pressure from existing commercial operators, and new commercial FM licences were restricted to new companies. In Melbourne, the first two commercial FM stations, 3EON and 3FOX commenced in 1980.

There was considerable interest in the Board's proposal to license non-profit stations for special interests, but at the time this was impossible under the existing legislation.

The making of policy decisions had been greatly affected by the creation in 1973 of the Media Department which took from the PMG responsibility for broadcasting matters. The new department's role was never clearly defined and there was confusion about its relationship with the independent Control Board.

In the absence of amending legislation, the Board recommended the establishment of "experimental" non-profit stations using the provisions of the Wireless Telegraphy Act. Two such stations were set up in Victoria, 3MBS (devoted to classical music) and 3EA, in the Amplitude Modulation (AM) band, providing, with government support, ethnic programming. By 1982, 3RMT (Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology) and 3GCR (Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education) had joined them.

Another expedient was the licencing under the normal provisions of the Act, of commercial stations restricted as to the amount of revenue they could earn. In Melbourne 3CR was licensed under this provision to a company formed by Trades Unions, conservation groups, and others. Regarding itself as an "alternative voice" the station's sometimes radical views caused controversy. Commercial radio operators were highly critical of the lack of any apparent policy behind these isolated moves, and television operators were

becoming increasingly restive at the Board's increasing demands upon them regarding Australian content.

In 1975 the Department of the Media was abolished, its staff and functions being absorbed into a new Department of Posts and Telecommunications, (later Department of Communications). Its first priority was an inquiry conducted by the Secretary of the Department which proposed substantial changes to the control of broadcasting. These were implemented in part.

The Control Board was replaced by the Broadcasting Tribunal, and licensing of the new "public" stations was regularised; planning, which had suffered through the confused dual responsibilities of the Department and the Board became the responsibility of the Department. A further provision, sought for many years, required the Tribunal to conduct open inquiries into licence renewals, with provision for public participation. The Minister's responsibility for issuing and renewing licences passed to the Tribunal. The legislation was hastily drafted, and substantial revision was undertaken in 1978, when the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) was established to conduct the "experimental" ethnic stations 2EA and 3EA. Later, amid further controversy, SBS established multi-cultural television stations on Channels 0 and 28 (UHF) in Sydney and Melbourne.

The Tribunal acted to regularise the position of 3MBS, 3GCR, and 3RMT by granting them "public" licences. The latter's backers were widened to include other tertiary institutions and the call changed to 3RRR in August 1978. One new licence was granted to 3PBS. Later came 3CC (Bendigo/Castlemaine), 3MBR (Murrayville), and 3RPC (Portland).

#### **New developments**

New technical developments, and extensions of existing parameters for broadcasting, claimed attention from 1976 onwards. Satellite television, ethnic, cable, and pay television, and the various data supply systems, all were mooted and created intense controversy, but no firm policies evolved. Instead, between 1976 and 1980 no less than 13 major inquiries into broadcasting matters (apart from scores conducted by the Tribunal) were held by various departments or *ad hoc* committees. In 1980 alone there were six such inquiries, many operating simultaneously.

Most important were a review of the ABC, and a Tribunal inquiry into cable and subscription (pay) television. Some action eventuated. The ABC was restructured as the Australian Broadcasting Corporation in 1983, with a new managing director. A satellite policy finally eventuated, but cable and pay television decisions were postponed again.

### **LIBRARIES**

#### **Munn-Pitt Report**

In May 1934, Ralph Munn, an eminent American librarian, arrived in Melbourne to conduct the first formal survey of Australian libraries and make suggestions for their improvement. His visit was sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation of New York whose support for the survey was secured by a group of Australian librarians and laymen through the particular efforts of Frank Tate of the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER). The Chief Librarian of the Public Library of Victoria, Ernest Pitt, shared Munn's task and was co-author of the report published by ACER in 1935.

Victorian libraries of the early 1930s, as profiled in the Munn-Pitt Report, were dominated by the presence of the State Library, then still known as the Public Library of Victoria. The only two other libraries of some substance offered a rather limited service to a restricted public at the University of Melbourne and Parliament House, while local library provision was left to private initiative in the shape of the hundreds of "free libraries" maintained by mechanics' institutes, schools of arts, and similar voluntary organisations. These libraries were the product of a movement for popular education that had its roots in early nineteenth century England, and their contribution to the cultural life of Victoria had been recognised by an annual government grant as far back as 1852. Under the terms of the grant, which amounted to \$40,000 at its maximum in 1890, all citizens had to be given free access to the reading rooms; borrowing privileges, however, remained restricted to subscribers.

Institute libraries suffered a sharp reduction in government assistance and public support during the Depression of the 1890s. The decline continued in the unstable economic climate of the next few decades despite the libraries' attempt to boost subscription revenue by stocking almost exclusively the most ephemeral recreational reading. By 1934 institute libraries still survived in great numbers, often as appendages to dance halls and billiard rooms, but they had largely lost whatever claim to effective provision of library service they may have had in the past.

The State Library presented a more heartening picture. Even during the worst years of the Depression the Library's official status had assured it a degree of financial stability sufficient to prevent serious deterioration.

In 1934, with collections of over half a million volumes, the State Library was not only the oldest and largest public library in Australia but a proud institution, literally attempting to be all things to all people in the way of library service. Its functions ranged from reference and research library of academic standing, and legal deposit library dedicated to the preservation of the State's history, to lending library serving the expanding metropolitan area, posting books to country borrowers, and assisting smaller libraries with bulk loans and professional advice.

The Munn-Pitt Report fully acknowledged the State Library's creditable performance as practically the only source of effective library service, but it deplored in the strongest terms the condition of institute libraries and urged that they be phased out in favour of rate supported libraries, in line with the established overseas trend.

Although the Report has been given credit for having created a new awareness of the social value of libraries that was eventually translated into public pressure for better library provision through government action, it was also a well timed and authoritative expression of an already growing realisation in the community that the library institutions of yesterday were unfit to meet the needs of tomorrow.

The publication of the Report was almost immediately followed by the formation of the Free Library Movement. In Victoria, under the presidency of Sir John Latham, Chief Justice of the High Court of Australia, the movement engaged in programmes of publications, public meetings, and deputations aimed at keeping the cause of library reform before the public and the government. In 1937 the movement was joined by the Australian Institute of Librarians.

At first progress was only visible in the increasing willingness of municipal authorities to assist local libraries and in some cases to assume total responsibility for their maintenance. However in 1940 the Victorian Government appointed a Library Service Board "to inquire into and make recommendations regarding the adequacy of library service in Victoria". It was understood that the Victorian Government would be in no position to respond to any recommendations involving new initiatives before the end of the war. The Board therefore deferred presentation of its report until 1944.

#### **Free Library Services Board**

The report of the Board of Inquiry documented how the state of affairs had improved only marginally since the survey of a decade earlier. Many of the mechanics institutes had actually ceased to function as libraries, but some 220 managed to survive and shared a government grant that was now down to a token \$5,000. Thanks to suburban local government intervention metropolitan residents were better served than people in country areas. It was estimated by the report, however, that only 35 per cent of the metropolitan population had access to free municipal service, while 37 per cent was still dependent on subscription libraries and 28 per cent had no local facilities at all.

The Board maintained that the task before the Government was to meet the Victorian community's urgent need for adequate library service. Adequacy was defined in terms of a number of essential requirements, namely, that library services be free to every citizen, that they be available throughout the State, that they be controlled by local government and managed by trained staff, and that they be subsidised by the Victorian Government through an appropriate co-ordinating agency. Within this frame the report of the Board of Inquiry articulated a wide range of recommendations on matters such as the functions of the proposed co-ordinating body, the role of the State Library, provision for formal training facilities, and the need for a regional approach to service in smaller municipalities.

The first recommendation the Victorian Government acted on concerned not municipal libraries but the State Library. Legislation passed in December 1944 dissolved the body that controlled the Library together with the Gallery and the two Museums that had grown around it in the nineteenth century, and created a separate board of trustees for each of the four institutions. This move recognised the Library's evolution away from the British Museum model towards a more distinctive role and the resulting need for specialist management at policy level.

Almost exactly two years later the Free Library Services Board Act established a permanent body charged with promoting municipal libraries and allocating any grants provided by the Victorian Government for the purpose. The Board was appointed in May 1947 and sought to secure the commitment of State and local government to a programme of library development in line with the 1944 Report.

Only 12 municipalities qualified for the Board's per capita subsidy in 1947-48. The number doubled the following year when the Victorian Government agreed to raise the subsidy to a full one-for-one basis. By the beginning of the new decade, the Board's annual report for 1950-51 could point to over 40 subsidised libraries, and drew the conclusion that "the municipal library movement is soundly established in Victoria".

In the 1950s came a growth in population as well as a greater demand for government services. In the keen competition for government funds municipal libraries had two advantages: a built-in growth mechanism in the per capita basis of subsidy, and the political appeal of the subsidy as a grant to local government. The State Library found itself in a less competitive position.

At its centenary celebrations in 1956, the State Library reflected on its record of service but was also apprehensive about the future. Because of its basic commitment to indefinite preservation, the Library had accumulated very fine collections of books, newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps, and other graphic and pictorial material that constituted a unique and invaluable social asset of national significance. At the same time its role had expanded to include the operation of a training school for librarians, the maintenance of public archives, the supervision of government department libraries, and the provision of support services to municipal libraries. But the financial resources provided by the Victorian Government had failed to keep up with the Library's growing needs since the Depression. Through the 1950s, as funding of municipal libraries increased in proportion to their growing numbers and the better standards promoted by the Free Library Services Board, support of the State Library continued to stagnate.

As the declining condition of the State Library became increasingly obvious, the library profession started to question the wisdom of the uneven and unco-ordinated support from public funds of two parallel systems of library service. This issue among others convinced the Victorian Government by 1963 that the time had come for another systematic look at library development. A Board of Inquiry into Library Services in Victoria, consisting of Sir John Jungwirth (who had been Secretary of the Premier's Department from 1935 to 1962) was appointed, and reported in 1964. Its broad terms of reference reflected the social changes that had created a demand for library services in educational institutions, government agencies, and business enterprises over the past decade. The Jungwirth Report's recommendations covered all aspects of library development in the State but its main impact was on public libraries, because of the Victorian Government's acceptance of the Board's arguments in favour of a single authority to supersede the State Library Trustees and the Free Library Services Board.

#### **Library Council**

The new authority was created by the *Library Council of Victoria Act 1965*, which also provided for the appointment of a State Librarian to act as its chief executive officer. In addition to the management of the State Library and the promotion of municipal libraries, the functions of the Council comprised the exercise of leadership through advice to government towards the effective and co-ordinated development of all types of library services in the State.

When the Library Council took up its task, the Victorian Government was already granting an increased book vote. Also, the La Trobe wing was completed in 1965 and provided suitable quarters for the Australiana collections, which relieved the worst of the

congestion in the rest of the building complex. The Council then initiated measures to re-organise the Library's operations. This process included phasing out the Training School as library courses were introduced in colleges of advanced education; closing the Lending Branch and re-deploying its resources into a Municipal Support Service; and securing the creation of a Public Records Office to take over the Library's archival responsibilities. By the early 1970s as the re-organisation was being completed, staffing conditions and physical facilities began to be improved. Thus, later in the decade, the Art, Music, and Performing Arts Library was opened in the restored Queen's Hall and a modern Reference and Information Centre was established in the building.

For local library services, the Library Council inherited a system of facilities that already extended to 115 municipalities, covering almost 70 per cent of the State's population. The main challenge for the future was not "coverage" but rather "quality" of service in terms of staff, bookstock, and the provision of attractive and convenient service points.

Schemes based on the sale of service by one municipality to another had already proven advantageous, especially in the country. An amendment in 1966 to the Local Government Act allowed autonomous committees to be set up for the administration of regional library services on behalf of participating municipalities. Over the next decade such regional organisations became an important feature of Victorian libraries largely through the representations of the Council's Public Libraries Division and the incentive of a substantial regional development grant made available by the Victorian Government.

These measures affecting municipal and State Library services were part of a plan made public by the Library Council in 1970 under the title *Public Library Service in Victoria: a Report to the State Government*. The thrust of this policy statement was the Council's intention to develop the libraries under its care into an integrated resource capable of responding to the needs of the community. The growth of specialised library facilities in schools, tertiary institutions, government agencies, and the private sector provided an opportunity for co-ordination on a still larger scale to the benefit of library users. Such a plan was made possible by the administrative move in 1973 that took the Library Council's services out of the Chief Secretary's Department into the new Ministry for the Arts, and by the greater concern with "quality of life" issues and demand for cultural services.

It also diversified the form and content of library materials and services in an endeavour to cater for the social diversity in the Victorian community and the special requirements of groups such as the handicapped and ethnic minorities. Libraries were no longer just for books nor were they restricted to the English language.

#### PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

Public records and private documents had been deposited in a rather random manner with the then Public Library of Victoria since 1893. In 1911 and again in 1928 the Historical Society of Victoria approached the Victorian Government with a request that papers should not be destroyed until they had been examined by a competent authority.

In July 1937 the Premier notified all government departments that "before any official records or documents are destroyed, the Secretary to the Public Library Trustees should be notified so that a responsible officer might be sent to select such as are likely to be useful to the Library". This circular was reissued from time to time. During the Second World War, when the shortage of materials led to the pulping of many public papers, the future of the documentary heritage of the State was raised in Parliament.

On 30 October 1940, a deputation representing the University of Melbourne, the Historical Society of Victoria, and the Trustees of the Public Library met with the Chief Secretary seeking the appointment of an archivist and the drafting of an Act of Parliament requiring all documents to be submitted to the Library before destruction. Efforts to have an archivist appointed to the Public Library continued during 1941 and 1942. Two years later legislation separating the Library, the Art Gallery, and the Museum included provision for an archivist and staff in the Public Library. The first archivist was appointed in 1948. In a report to the Premier on 6 September 1954, the Trustees of the Public Library drew attention to the need for the preservation, classification, proper storage, and use of historical records.

The report arose from seminars given in Canberra on the subject of records management



and archives, and recommended that archives be developed into a major division of the Library. The Archives Section of the State Library was in fact created in 1955.

The quantities of public records deposited increased considerably and the introduction of systematic procedures for records management and guidelines for records selection and disposal brought recognition of the importance of records management in current public administration. In 1973 the *Public Records Act* finally established separately from the State Library the Public Record Office and a Public Records Advisory Council which "in consultation with the keeper of Public Records shall promote co-operation between the Public Record Office and public offices" and "may report and make recommendations to the Minister on any matter relating to the administration of the Act".

The Act requires officers in charge of public offices to ensure that full and accurate records are made and kept and that standards established by the keeper for the management of public records are observed. Public officials and officers of the Public Record Office work together to control the number of records created, to ensure that records of purely temporary significance are separated and discarded as early as possible and essential records safeguarded, and that arrangements are made for the regular transfer of non-current files to the Public Record Office.

In 1975 an air-conditioned building was purchased at Laverton to become the base repository, and the main search room was established at 1 Little Collins Street in Melbourne. Since then a policy of establishing regional repositories throughout the State, to hold records of local interest, was developed. The first, established at Ballarat, commenced full-time operation in 1982.

Many publications have been issued and a major project undertaken in the series *Historical Records of Victoria*, the first volume of which was released in 1981.

#### VICTORIAN WRITING

Since 1934, there has been little or no writing that could be regarded as contributing to a Victorian regional literature, or even to a distinctively local school of writing. Nevertheless, certain local characteristics do emerge from the whole body of work, and could be described as socially radical, stylistically conservative. These characteristics can be discerned in the major journals which have emanated from Melbourne during these years and in the concerns of the major literary society in Melbourne, the Victorian branch of the Fellowship of Australian Writers. As opposed to the Australian Society of Authors, which is essentially a professional association with headquarters in Sydney, the Fellowship is interested in the wider cultural aspects of writing. In its earlier years it was also political, and provided debates on the social function of the author. Also active in Victoria, although less so than its interstate colleagues, has been a branch of *PEN*, which takes a particular interest in maintaining the freedom of writers internationally.

The senior literary journal in Victoria is *Meanjin*, founded in Brisbane in 1940 by Clem Christesen, but published from the University of Melbourne since 1945. *Meanjin* has been radical in politics and has taken a wide interest in general cultural issues. *On Native Grounds*, a collection of writings from *Meanjin*, appeared in 1968. As well as introducing Australian readers over the years to overseas schools of thought, *Meanjin* has conducted a continuing debate over the nature of the Australian cultural and literary tradition. A contributor to this debate has been the Melbourne critic A.A. Phillips, whose book *The Australian Tradition* (1958), most of which first appeared in *Meanjin*, laid the grounds for the critical re-evaluation of the nationalist school of Australian writing. His most recent book, *Responses* (1979), reprints his major essays over a period of more than 30 years.

*Overland*, a quarterly of the more radical left, appeared in 1954 under the editorship of Stephen Murray-Smith, who has published and edited it since. It succeeded an earlier journal, the *Realist Writer*, but, despite its political commitments, it has always been open to poetry and fiction of every stance. It has given particular emphasis to contemporary reportage and to historical writing. A collection of work from *Overland*, the *Overland Muster*, appeared in 1965. One of the journal's editorial board, the late Ian Turner, historian and political critic, in his *My Long March* (1974) provided an autobiographical account of the post-war struggles and dilemmas of the Australian political left. His *Temper Democratic, Bias Australian* (1978) and a special issue of *Overland* in 1979 commemorated

Turner's work. An edition of his occasional writings, *Room for Manoeuvre*, was published in 1982.

Regular reviewing of Australian books is provided by the monthly *Australian Book Review*, which was established in 1978 by the National Book Council. The morning daily, *The Age*, each Saturday provides a comprehensive section of reviews of Australian and overseas books. *The Age Monthly Review*, established in 1981, published longer articles and reviews of Australian and overseas writing, arts, and intellectual issues. Originally a supplement to *The Age* it was later sold separately.

The leading Victorian writers in the 1930s were the poet Frank Wilmot ("Furnley Maurice"), whose *Melbourne Odes* appeared in 1934, and Vance and Netty Palmer, who, as well as producing ten books themselves during this period, including Vance Palmer's novel *The Swayne Family* (1934) and his biographical studies, *National Portraits* (1940), were keen supporters of other Australian writers. Vance Palmer's later work included his trilogy of the Queensland mining industry, unions, and politics, *Golconda* (1948), *Seedtime* (1957), and *The Big Fellow* (1959), a collection of his short stories, *The Rainbow Bird* (1957), and the historical essay *The Legend of the Nineties* (1954), which both questioned and established the literary and nationalist significance of that decade.

The war years were marked by the publication of Eve Langley's novel, *The Peapickers* (1942), of Hal Porter's first collection of short stories (1942), and of Alan Marshall's account of his wanderings around wartime Victoria, *These Are My People* (1944). John Manifold's *Selected Verse* (1946) included the wartime elegy "The Tomb of Lt John Learmonth, A.I.F." Other accounts of wartime experience were written by Peter Ryan, who dealt with the war in New Guinea in *Fear Drive My Feet* (1959), and Rohan Rivett, who wrote of Japanese prison camps and the fate of prisoners of war working on the Burma Railway in *Behind Bamboo* (1946).

The post-war years were marked by the emergence of a group of realist writers and by two major trials. Robert Close was imprisoned after his novel *Love Me Sailor* (1945) was found obscene at a second trial. Frank Hardy was found not guilty of criminal libel in his novel of Victorian politics and corruption, *Power Without Glory*, a work whose interest wavers between documentary and character study. After this major work, Hardy produced only relatively minor works until *But the Dead Are Many* (1975) which provides a convincing account of the initial appeal of Communism and the later disillusionment among its followers. Other major realist writers were John Morrison, Alan Marshall, Judah Waten, and David Martin. Morrison's achievement was in the short story, which he used first to explore the world of work and unions on the waterfront, and later extended to the study of social and human relationships in the suburbs. His major collections are *Black Cargo* (1955), *Twenty-three* (1962), and *North Wind* (1982). Alan Marshall's autobiographical *I Can Jump Puddles* (1955) has become a classic, but he has since revisited the same territory more sardonically in *Hammers Over the Anvil* (1975). Judah Waten's strength lies in his portrayal of the conflicts that arise from the clash of cultures and of generations, first shown in the novel *Alien Son* (1952). His most recent work *Scenes of Revolutionary Life* (1982) is concerned with left-wing politics in England and Australia. David Martin has also been interested in the clash of cultures, particularly in *The Young Wife* (1962), but has more recently been exploring fiction for children and young adults.

Outside this realist tradition stood Martin Boyd, whose novel *Lucinda Brayford* (1945) marked his return to the fictional exploration of his family's history between two hemispheres, an exploration he was to continue in the sequence of four novels starting with *The Cardboard Crown* (1952) as well as in his autobiography *Day of My Delight* (1965), and Hal Porter, who has produced a sequence of works of fiction, poetry, drama, and autobiography in which he maintains the stance of artist as outsider which is suggested by the title of the first volume of his autobiography, *The Watcher on the Cast-Iron Balcony* (1963). The work in which the elements of understanding and detachment, affection and cynicism, are best integrated is his collection of poems, *In an Australian Country Graveyard* (1974).

In the realist tradition, but without any explicit political attachment, was George Johnston, whose autobiographical trilogy of novels commenced with the publication of *My Brother Jack* (1964). This novel conveys the flavour of Melbourne between the wars. Criena Roahn's two novels, *The Delinquents* (1962) and *Down by the Docks* (1963)

have similar subject matter in an exuberant if poor working class setting, but have long been out of print.

A new twist to realism appeared in 1966 with the publication of Peter Mathers' *Trap* (1966), a novel which uses the Rabelaisian figure of Jack Trap as a focus for combination of social satire and broad knockabout comedy of the absurd.

A more recent school of fiction has been concerned with the recollection of Australian Catholic boyhood. Among these novelists are Laurie Clancy (*A Collapsible Man*, 1975), Gerald Murnane (*Tamarisk Row*, 1974), and Barry Oakley (*A Wild Ass of a Man*, 1967). Oakley and Clancy have both gone on to become chroniclers of suburban absurdity, and Murnane's most recent work, *The Plains* (1982) enters the realm of surrealism.

Other recent chroniclers of suburbia are Barry Hill, whose stories, *A Rim of Blue* (1978) and novel, *Near the Refinery* (1980) are characterised by plainness of style and psychological insight, and Joseph Johnson, who, after the strange parable of *Womb to Let* (1973), in *A Low Breed* (1976) portrays the waning radical professional approaching middle age and the truth of his own destructiveness. Similar territory was covered by George Turner, although with more compassion, in his novel of life in the country town, *A Stranger and Afraid* (1961), and more recently in the genre of science fiction. In *Transit of Cassidy* (1978), he returned to naturalism, but he has continued to write science fiction, *Beloved Son* (1978), and *Vaneglorry* (1982), both dealing with life in 21st century Australia after a nuclear war. Other novelists who have worked in the mode of science fiction and fantasy are Lee Harding, whose *Displaced Person* (1979) translates Melbourne into a separate dimension, and Damien Broderick, who in *The Dreaming Dragons* (1981) brings together science fiction, the metaphysics of physics, Aboriginal mythology, and a new theory of evolution. Helen Garner's *Monkey Grip* (1977), later made into a film, broke new ground in its portrayal of a generation determined to create its own patterns of living.

Melbourne did not have a great number of active poets publishing since 1934, although it is the centre of the Poets' Union. John Shaw Neilson published four books between 1934 and 1943. The three major contemporary schools are the academics, led by Vincent Buckley and Chris Wallace-Crabbe, the suburbans, including R. A. Simpson, Judith Rodriguez, and Bruce Dawe, and the proletarians, particularly Ti and Eric Beach. The most substantial poem in this period appears to be Vincent Buckley's book-length sequence, *The Golden Builders* (1976). The Poets' Union has actively promoted poetry reading as a way of taking poetry to the people and the journal *925* provides a vehicle for poetry related to working life.

Since the mid-1960s Melbourne has provided the home for a new school of Australian drama, first at La Mama, where the Australian Performing Group was established, and later at the Pram Factory. Earlier, the Elizabethan Theatre Trust had sponsored the production of Ray Lawler's *Summer of the Seventeenth Doll* (published 1957), which established social tragi-comedy in an Australian setting, and was followed by Richard Beynon's play about relations between Italian migrants and their neighbours *The Shifting Heart* (produced in 1957). The newer playwrights built on this tradition of realism, but added satire and, at times, surrealist humour whose genesis was the music-hall rather than straight theatre. This style was enhanced by the workshop method of production in which the writer was involved with the actors in the shaping of the final product. Leading authors among this group were David Williamson (*The Removalists*, 1972, and *The Club*, 1978), John Romeril, whose work is more politically involved, and Jack Hibberd, who, despite the success of the social satire of *Dimboola* (1973), has since developed a more metaphysical, perhaps existentialist manner, as in *A Stretch of the Imagination* (1973). Barry Oakley has also worked with this group, first in *The Feet of Daniel Mannix* (1975), a political satire. Later playwrights include the highly political Steven Sewell and the anarchistic comedian Barry Dickins.

Two other significant groups of Victorian writers are the historians and the journalists. Professor C.M.H. Clark's monumental work, *A history of Australia*, now up to volume five, has been written since he moved to Canberra in 1949, but his book of short stories, *Disquiet* (1969) is based on his early life in Victoria. Geoffrey Blainey's earlier work dealt with institutional and local history, but his more general works, *The Tyranny of Distance* (1966), *Triumph of the Nomads* (1975), and *A Land Half Won* (1980) provide new ways of seeing Australia's past. Victoria's early history is traced by Geoffrey Serle, who is also

an editor of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, in *The Golden Age* (1963) and *The Rush to Be Rich* (1971). He also wrote the biography *John Monash* (1982). Margaret Kiddle published an important social history of the Western District *Men of Yesterday* (1961). Younger historians include Don Watson, whose *Brian Fitzpatrick: a political life* (1978) deals with the work of a seminal Victorian historian, commentator and activist, and Graeme Davison, whose *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne* (1978) traces the history of the State's capital.

Among the journalists, Bruce Grant's sensitive account of his experience in India and the contrasting political crises in India and Australia, *Gods and Politicians* (1982), stands out, while political biographies by Paul Ormonde of Jim Cairns, *A Foolish Passionate Man* (1981), and by Kate White, *John Cain* (1982) have added depth to our knowledge of the State's political life.

### BOOK PUBLISHING

Publishing, of its nature, is not parochial. Publishers and authors, distributors and booksellers contract and trade across State and national boundaries. The publishers noted here are those founded in Victoria or those who have their Australian head office situated within the State.

Historically, publishing in Victoria developed mainly as a subsidiary interest to bookselling, and as the representation of overseas publishers as well as printing. Until the Second World War, most Australian readers read British books imported direct by booksellers or distributed to them in Australia by Australian sales offices set up by British publishers or by local distribution agents. A few Australian authors were published locally.

In Victoria book publishing was fostered by the arrival in Melbourne in 1939 of Dr Andrew Fabinyi who joined the bookselling firm F.W. Cheshire, and by the impression of international standards of design and production on Melbourne University Press by Gwyn James; by the establishment in 1943 of Georgian House by publishers' representatives George Jaboor and E.C. Harris; and by the appointment to the Australian office of Oxford University Press of Frank Eyre.

Restrictions on imports of paper and books during and just after the war provided an economic impetus to local publishing. Demand developed for Australian books in the absence of others.

Fabinyi, at Cheshire, published the *Quest* series of short surveys of aspects of Australian life and literature in conjunction with the Army Education Service. In 1942 he discussed New Caledonia with Wilfred Burchett and published his *Pacific Treasure Island* which was later published in the USA. In 1944 Cheshire began their long relationship with Alan Marshall when they published *These are my People*. In the thirty years that Fabinyi was with Cheshire, he developed a list of titles which included seminal studies of Australia such as Robin Boyd's *The Australian Ugliness*, economics, sociology, poetry and novels, among them *Picnic at Hanging Rock*.

Georgian House published Charles Barrett's *Australian Wildlife* in 1943. They later published fiction, poetry (including the Jindyworobacks under Rex Ingamells), children's books, and non-fiction. They also published *Love Me Sailor*.

But it was, to a large extent, the development of secondary education in the post-war years and the demand for Australian course texts that helped both the development of local companies and the decision of major British publishers to develop their Australian sales offices into publishing houses for the local market.

In 1949 the Victorian Publishers Association and the New South Wales Publishers Association formed a federation. At the time of formation there were twenty members, but there were not more than half a dozen who were regarded as making a significant contribution to Australian publishing.

Penguin Books had come to Australia in 1946, eleven years after its foundation in London, and were later to become significant Australian publishers as were Longman, Macmillan, Heinemann, and Cassell (which had established a presence in Australia in 1894). All had their publishing offices in Melbourne. Cassell has since moved to Sydney through amalgamation.

The 1950s and 1960s were a period of vital development in Australian publishing and much of the excitement centred in Melbourne. In 1960 Lloyd O'Neil, founded Lansdowne

Press in Melbourne which nurtured and satisfied a developing nationalism in reading habits. Geoffrey Dutton established the Australian paperback house Sun Books with reprints of titles such as *Maurice Guest* by Henry Handel Richardson and *Alien Son* by Judah Waten.

The local publishers and editors of overseas-owned firms saw themselves very much as Australian publishers and in education Heinemann Educational Australia and Macmillan developed strong local lists. Cassell published Thomas Keneally and Peter Mathers. Penguin developed an influential original Pelican list in politics, sociology, economics, and contemporary issues such as feminism and the situation of the Aboriginal in society.

In the late 1960s acquisitions and mergers had started to bring a commercial undertone to publishing. Lansdowne had been acquired by Cheshire which itself was to become part of Reed-IPC, owners of the London *Daily Mirror* and Paul Hamlyn. Cheshire Publishing was later purchased by Xerox and eventually sold to Longman. Sun Books spent some time in the Hamlyn Group but was later taken up by Macmillan.

However, out of these changes and the wide community acceptance of the Australian book came a re-emergence of small indigenous companies. Smaller companies had already been established earlier, such as the Hill of Content Publishing Co., a subsidiary of Collins Booksellers, and Kookaburra Technical Publications in 1964.

Since Lloyd O'Neil left the Cheshire Group in 1969 to establish his own company once more, many others have followed as independent publishers. The 1970s have seen the establishment of small houses, many of them devoted to specialist publishing, such as Primary Education Publishing founded in 1970, and Childersset (children's books), and Dove Communications (religious and general) in 1972.

The formation of the Sisters publishing group fostered feminist writing and reading, and Tony Wheeler's specialist travel publishing house has achieved substantial export sales. Queensberry Hill Press published *Australiana* of high craftsmanship. The development of these presses, after fifty years of development has given publishing in Victoria the maturity of diversity.

## PRESS IN VICTORIA

### Introduction

Historically, Victorians, in common with all Australians, have always been very keen newspaper readers. The coming of, first, radio and later—in 1956—television, has made no overwhelming impact on this, although television in particular has brought about some changes in trends to accommodate changing lifestyle patterns in the community. One innovation was the more frequent appearance of bylines as papers set out to inform their readers with interpretive and investigative reporting. Background feature articles and subjective journalism became more common. But, despite the inroads of the electronic media, news still sold newspapers. A big news story, no matter how well covered electronically, could still stimulate circulations, as happened on 21 July 1969, the day of the first moon landing. This was witnessed "live" by millions on television and heard "live" by millions more on radio, but the event created sales records for *The Herald*.

Between 1934 and 1983, Victorian newspapers covered such historic events as the disastrous bushfires of 1939, the Second World War, the first atomic explosion in Australia (1953), the Petrov affair (1954), Melbourne's Olympic Games (1956), the disappearance of Prime Minister Harold Holt (1967), the Southern Aurora disaster (1969), Neil Armstrong's moon walk (1969), the West Gate Bridge catastrophe (1970), the constitutional crisis (1975), and the Ash Wednesday bushfires (1983).

In the Second World War, newspaper correspondents reported from every theatre of war. At home, the war was imposing its own problems with newsprint rationing, staff shortages, and censorship. After 1945, newspapers were to embark on their biggest era of expansion.

But another fundamental change came in the early 1980s: new computerised technologies which were accompanied by changes in work patterns and distribution of labour. Traditional newspaper publishing has been highly labour intensive in the number of crafts and skills required to convert the journalist's typed report to the printed page seen by the reader. The new technology eliminated many time consuming, error-prone processes. A reporter



Werribee Park, an Italianate mansion on the Werribee River, was built by Thomas Chirnside in 1874. The 264 hectare property was acquired by the State of Victoria in 1973 and is now open to the public.

*Victorian Tourist Commission*

The main sitting room of the Werribee Park mansion has been restored by the Public Works Department and furnished with many of the rooms' original pieces.

*Public Works Department*



The Royal Melbourne Philharmonic Society performing the *Messiah* in the Melbourne Town Hall in 1983.

*Royal Melbourne Philharmonic Society*

Performance by the Victorian State Opera Company of *Eugene Onegin* by Tchaikovsky at the Palais Theatre, 1983.

*Victorian State Opera*





To my friend Richard H. Fowler,  
with thanks for yeoman help,  
skill & kindness.  
Till we meet again!  
Percy Grainger  
Jul 13, 1938



(Above) Sir Bernard Heinze, musician, conductor, and teacher of music. He conducted the Victorian Symphony Orchestra from 1933 to 1956.

*Australian Broadcasting Corporation*

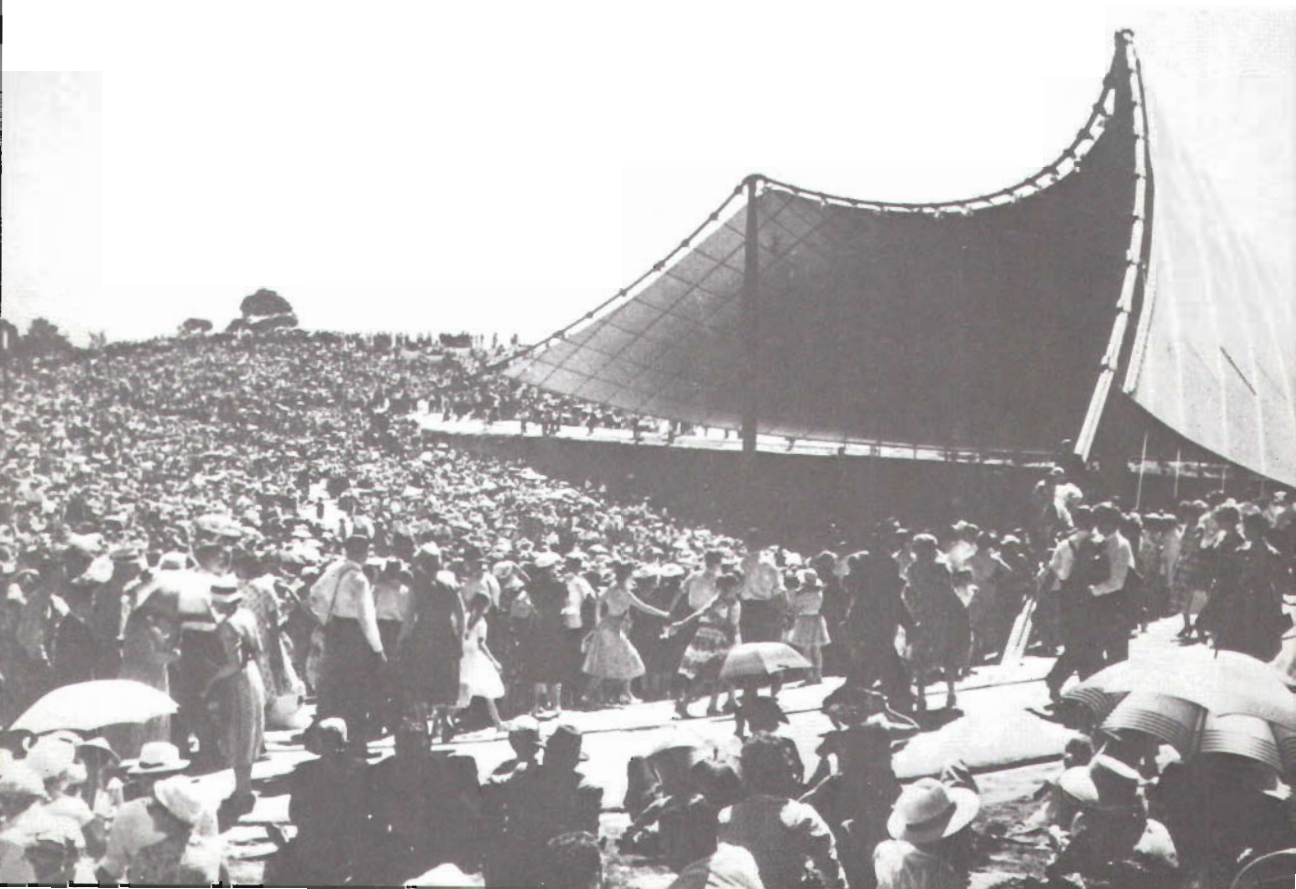
(Left) Percy Grainger and his wife Ella on the steps of the Grainger Museum (founded 1934, officially opened 13 December 1938, and opened to the public in 1966).

*Richard H. Fowler*

*Reproduced by permission of the Grainger Museum Board*

A Melbourne summer tradition, "Music for the People" at the Sidney Myer Music Bowl.

*Performing Arts Museum, Victorian Arts Centre Trust*







The Princess Theatre, designed by William Pitt, was opened in 1887, totally lit by electricity and with a roll-back roof for use in fine weather.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*

The cast of the popular ABC television serial "Bellbird". The serial first went to air on 28 August 1967 and ran for 1,697 episodes, finishing on 23 December 1977.

*Australian Broadcasting Corporation*





*The Argus* building situated on the north-west corner of Elizabeth and La Trobe Streets, Melbourne. *The Argus* newspaper commenced in 1846 and ceased publication in 1957.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*



Typesetting by hand for the evening newspaper before the advent of computer typesetting.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*



*The Age* newspaper, founded in 1854, occupied this building in Collins Street, Melbourne. It has since moved to new premises in Spencer Street.

*Westpac Banking Corporation*

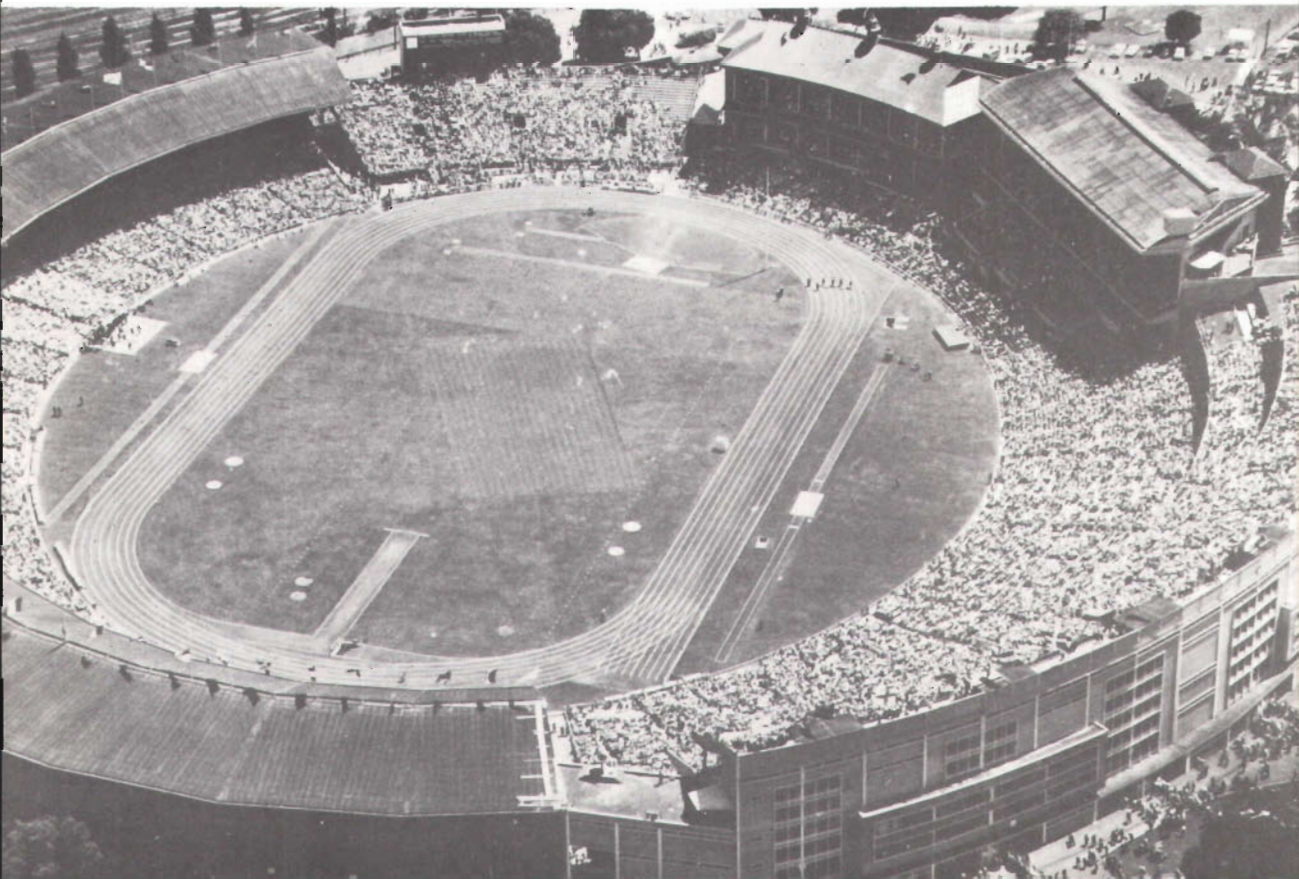
Victoria's Ron Clarke, world junior 1.6 kilometre record holder, carries the Olympic torch around the Melbourne Cricket Ground at the opening ceremony of the 1956 Olympic Games.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*



The Melbourne Cricket Ground on the opening day of the Olympic Games, 22 November 1956.

*The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd*





Many "fun runs" and marathons are organised in Victoria to cater for the increasing popularity of running.

*Department of Youth, Sport and Recreation*



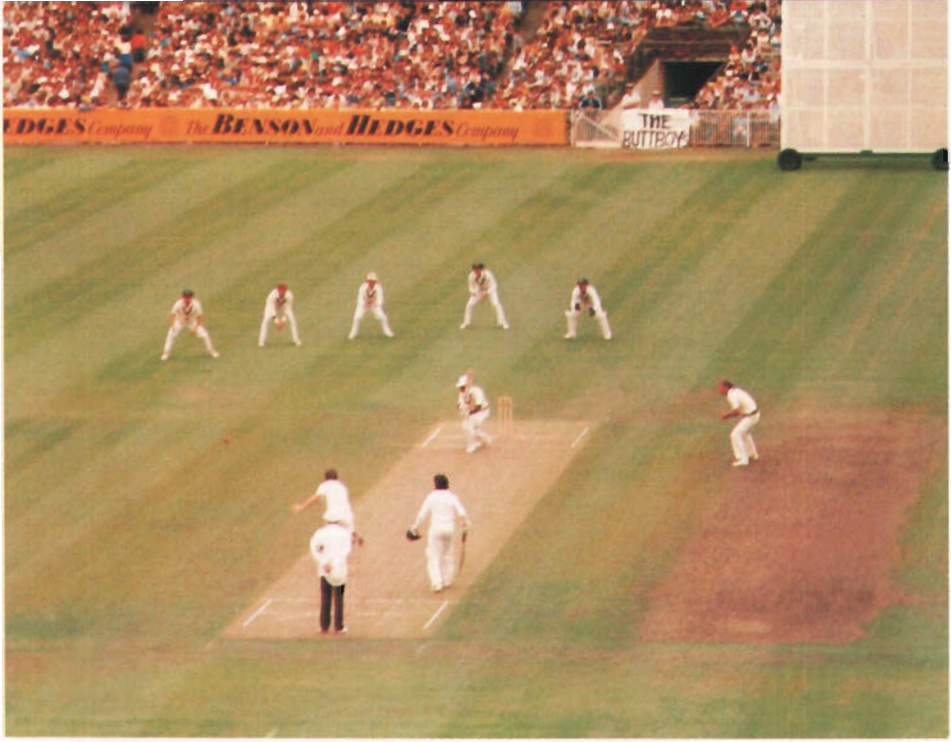
Children participating in the "earthball" game as part of the "Life. Be in it" campaign.

*Department of Youth, Sport and Recreation*

Floats parade down Swanston Street, Melbourne, as part of the Moomba Day celebrations in March 1983.

*ColourCare, Melbourne*





A cricket Test Match in progress at the Melbourne Cricket Ground between Australia and Pakistan, 1983.

*Patrick McDonnell*

(Below left) Many international tennis competitions are held at Kooyong, the headquarters of the Lawn Tennis Association of Victoria.

*L. V. Hort*

(Below right) The high-flying action of an Australian Rules football match between the Richmond and Hawthorn teams.

*Alan Funnell*



types his copy onto the visual display unit of a central computer from where it is edited. The old "hot metal" typesetting method has been replaced by high-speed, computerised photo-setting, either on film or bromide, although existing presses continue to print the paper. The introduction of the computerised systems also had a similarly dramatic impact on the processing of advertising, where substantial savings have been achieved in time and labour. The new technology led to some industrial disputes, one of which spawned Australia's first national strike by journalists in 1980, lasting four and a half weeks.

The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd began to introduce the new technology progressively from late 1979, starting with the company's non-daily publications. *The Age*, which caters for a wide classified advertising market, aimed the introduction of the new techniques first at this section of the paper's activities.

The report of an inquiry into the ownership and control of newspapers in Victoria, conducted by a retired Supreme Court Judge, Mr John (later Sir John) Norris, Q.C., was tabled in the Victorian Parliament in October 1981. He recommended that the Victorian Government set up an independent authority to regulate ownership and control of newspaper publishing companies. Although the inquiry considered that, in general, there be no further concentration of ownership or control of corporations publishing newspapers with substantial circulations in Victoria, Mr Norris did not believe divestiture by companies of any present shareholdings was justified.

### **The Herald and The Sun News-Pictorial**

The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd publishes *The Sun News-Pictorial* (morning) and *The Herald* (evening). The company still reflects the influence of the late Sir Keith Murdoch who steered it out of the quiet 1920s and launched it on a course of expansion. In the second quarter of this century, Murdoch dominated journalism in Victoria.

In 1934, he was the executive head of the company. He had been managing director for five years and was also editor-in-chief. Within eight years he also became chairman. Murdoch introduced an era of development. He applied techniques he had learned from close personal association with Lord Northcliffe in England to the needs of Australian newspapers, and set out to raise standards as well as circulations. When he died, in 1952, he left a core of executives trained in his methods who carried on his philosophies.

In 1934, *The Herald* papers established their first teleprinter link with Canberra. Seven years later, the papers began using Australian newsprint for the first time, at a time when the long existing problem of the cost and irregularity of supplies of imported paper had been accentuated by the Second World War. This was made possible by *The Herald* company and others joining in the formation of Australian Newsprint Mills Pty Ltd (ANM) in 1941. Production began at Boyer, Tasmania, in April of that year, and the following month *The Herald* was using Australian newsprint to supplement overseas supplies. In 1981, ANM now jointly owned by The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd and John Fairfax and Sons Ltd, opened a \$190m newsprint mill at Albury, NSW, capable of producing 75 per cent of Australia's needs.

Despite difficulties imposed by wartime restraints, *The Herald* and *The Sun News-Pictorial*, each added 100,000 to their circulations, *The Sun* rising from 251,000 in 1940 to 351,000 in 1946, and *The Herald* from 240,000 to 338,000 in the same period. In 1941, the price of the papers rose from 1½ pence to 2 pence.

In 1948, the company launched a new magazine, *Woman's Day* (which in 1956, passed into Sydney ownership), and in 1949 took over J.J. Miller's Sporting Annual (known as "Miller's Guide"), then in its 74th edition.

The death of Murdoch in 1952 did not leave a void in the company. The late Mr J.F. (later Sir John) Williams succeeded Murdoch as managing director in 1953; he became chairman in 1964 and maintained his association with the paper until 1973.

During these years *The Sun News-Pictorial's* circulation rose from 351,000 to more than 600,000, and *The Herald* exceeded half a million copies. The company's activities underwent wide expansion during Sir John's time. This included the launching of the television station, HSV7, in 1956; the purchase of *The Brisbane Telegraph* and the subsequent merger with *The Courier-Mail* to form a public company, Queensland Press Ltd, in 1955; the purchase of the Argus and Australasian Ltd in 1957 when the London owners closed *The Argus* newspaper; the purchase of *The Bendigo Advertiser* in 1963; the acquisition, in

1965, of South Pacific Post Pty Ltd in Papua New Guinea; and the acquisition of West Australian Newspapers Ltd in 1969.

In the 1970s The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd expanded its overseas interests to Singapore and Fiji. It also acquired a controlling interest in Davies Bros. Ltd, Hobart, publishers of *The Mercury*, and, in 1978, bought Standard Newspapers Pty Ltd, Cheltenham, publishers of a chain of suburban weeklies.

Through the 1970s, however, *The Herald*, in common with most evening newspapers throughout the world, had a continuing battle against falling circulation. It declined from above 500,000 in 1970 to about 385,000 in 1982. *The Sun News-Pictorial's* circulation also declined from around 650,000 copies to a little over 600,000. In 1979 and 1981 two takeover bids for The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd failed, the first by the Sydney-based company News Ltd, and the second by Mr Robert Holmes a Court's Bell Group.

### The Age

No Victorian daily newspaper changed more between 1934 and 1982 than *The Age*, published by David Syme and Co. Although it had been a robust nineteenth century radical paper, *The Age* had become basically conservative in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, showing some detachment in its editorial stand and frequently resisting administrative change. The change in editorial policy began under Sir Harold Campbell (editor from 1936 to 1956), grew under E. K. Sinclair (1959-66), and became more prominent under Graham Perkin, who edited the paper from 1966 until his early death in 1975.

David Syme, who had been the sole proprietor, died in 1908, leaving *The Age* to his five sons in trust for their children. The trust, though very successful for several decades, struck difficulties after the Second World War, when the terms of the will prevented expansion. So, in 1948, through a successful application to the Supreme Court to vary David Syme's will, the trust established David Syme and Co. Ltd—a public company listed on the Melbourne Stock Exchange. The Syme family trust remained the principal shareholder.

Through the 1940s and 1950s, *The Age* and *The Argus* struggled to maintain circulation; it became apparent that Melbourne could not continue to support three morning newspapers, one of which was the successful *Sun News-Pictorial*, with a circulation which exceeded that of the other two combined. After *The Argus* ceased publication in January 1957, *The Age* gained circulation, and laid the foundation for the innovations which were to reach fruition in the 1960s, by setting out to meet competitive pressures, recognising social changes, and winning younger readers by making *The Age* more inquisitive, informative, argumentative, and with a strong emphasis on investigative journalism.

At the same time the management set up a research department to examine reading habits and the editor, together with some of his colleagues, lectured and appeared on television when the occasion demanded. This made the general public far more aware of what went on behind the scenes of a newspaper. The new era of the paper extended freedom to a team of skilled specialist writers, some of whom had already contributed previously on topics such as food, wine, environment, and leisure. It also went in for "personalising" staff writers, who concentrated on interpretive reporting of politics, economics, and public affairs. The Canberra bureau as well as overseas and local news cover were strengthened.

In December 1966, *The Age* took a Sydney partner, John Fairfax and Sons Ltd, publishers of *The Sydney Morning Herald* and other publications. This gave the paper extra capital. The new partnership was administered by a board on which each company had three directors.

In 1969, the company made an unsuccessful attempt to break into evening newspapers, long the exclusive domain of *The Herald*. Both The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd and David Syme and Co. Ltd had been preparing to produce Sunday newspapers but, mainly due to union opposition, the move was thwarted. David Syme had hired staff and brought an editor from England for the proposed Sunday edition and decided to use this force to launch an evening newspaper, *Newsday*, the first new evening newspaper in Victoria since *The Star* in 1933. The move was a failure.

Through the 1970s, David Syme and Co. Ltd continued a programme of diversification and expansion which, through subsidiary companies and shareholdings, took it into such

wide-ranging enterprises as country and suburban newspapers, magazines and special interest publications, TV production, school textbooks, travel, and broadcasting.

Traditionally *The Age* has been the leader among local papers in the classified advertising market, although this was challenged by *The Herald* in 1983. Its circulation had gained by 30 per cent in the 17 years to 1982, when it was about 250,000 copies. In 1983, it was sold to John Fairfax and Sons Ltd.

### **The Argus and Australasian**

*The Argus*, first published in 1846, for over a century was one of Australia's great institutions, a conservative newspaper which had grown up with the city of Melbourne and had achieved a degree of recognition around the world. Its weekly stablemate, *The Australasian* (later to become the *Australasian Post*) also had wide appeal, particularly in rural areas.

In October 1933, the company launched an evening daily, *The Star*. Like other attempts to break *The Herald's* hold on the Melbourne evening newspaper market, *The Star* failed. It ceased publication in April 1936, a costly exercise from which the company never fully recovered. The year after *The Star's* demise, The Argus and Australasian Ltd became a public company. Innovations were introduced: news replaced classified advertisements on the front page and the paper became a semi-tabloid.

In common with *The Age*, *The Argus* had a circulation problem due to the increasing popularity of *The Sun News-Pictorial*. In 1949, a controlling interest in the company was bought by the London based companies, Daily Mirror Newspapers Ltd and Sunday Pictorial Newspapers Ltd.

The British owners injected new zest into *The Argus*, transforming it into a "popular" paper which embarked on campaigns, gave more freedom of expression to its writers and contributors, and generally engendered a spirit of excitement in the old publication. In mid-1952, *The Argus*, with the aid of new high-speed colour processes, became the first newspaper in the world to present daily news pictures in full colour. But, although circulation continued to grow steadily (in 1955 it gained 3.7 per cent, against a 1.4 per cent gain by *The Sun* and a 2.6 per cent loss by *The Age*), the return from the capital outlay was not sufficient to save *The Argus*. On the morning of 19 January 1957, the newspaper world learned that *The Argus* had closed. Under a banner headline, "Your last Argus", the directors announced that because of continued heavy losses, due to rising costs, especially for newsprint, *The Argus* had ceased publication.

The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd bought The Argus and Australasian Ltd, which is now a wholly owned subsidiary, and continued to publish the survivors of the Argus fleet, *Australasian Post* and *Your Garden*, as well as other activities.

### **Other dailies**

The first experiment in a truly national daily newspaper in Australia was *The Australian*, first published in Canberra in 1964 by News Ltd. Its headquarters moved to Sydney three years later. It is now published simultaneously in all States. *The Australian Financial Review*, produced by John Fairfax and Sons Ltd, started as a weekly in 1951, became bi-weekly 10 years later, and daily in 1963. It went national with facsimile editions in 1969. Together with *The Sun News-Pictorial* and *The Age*, these two national dailies give Melbourne readers the option of four morning papers.

### **Non-dailies**

The custom of Melbourne daily newspapers sponsoring weekly companions began last century when, in 1856, *The Age* proprietors started *The Leader*, an essentially rural weekly. *The Argus* management followed suit in 1864 with *The Australasian*, which later added fiction, sketches, verse, and other contributions to its rural content. This, aided by the later development of a pictorial section, gained *The Australasian* a nationwide circulation. Between the world wars, its sales began to fall, probably as a result of the coming of radio. In 1946, with the name changed to *Australasian Post*, the format was drastically altered. *The Leader* finally succumbed in 1957, up to which time it was Australia's longest running weekly newspaper. *The Herald* introduced a weekly stablemate, *The Weekly Times*,



in 1869. Essentially a rural paper, *The Weekly Times* has continued successfully in this field.

Ipec Pty Ltd took the opportunity to launch *The Sunday Observer* in 1969 when *The Age* and *The Sun* failed to start their proposed Sunday editions. The venture lasted only until March 1971. After its closure, Ipec failed in a court action to prevent the name "Observer" being used for *The Melbourne Observer*, which sprang up in its wake. *The Melbourne Observer* was published until 1977 when it was bought by Peter Isaacson, proprietor of a suburban newspaper business, who reverted to the name *Sunday Observer*.

Meanwhile, in 1973, The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd and David Syme and Co. Ltd entered Sunday publishing with a joint enterprise, *The Sunday Press*, which soon established circulation leadership in this market.

For 57 years from 1922, The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd published the twice-weekly *Sporting Globe*, the Saturday evening edition of which was almost a Melbourne institution. In the 1950s it attained a circulation of 220,000. The coming of television, however, with its Saturday night sporting cover, made inroads into *The Sporting Globe's* sales and in October 1979, the Saturday edition was incorporated in *The Sunday Press*. The mid-week edition continued.

The national weekly, *The National Times*, published in Sydney by the Fairfax organisation from 1971, enjoys good support in Victoria. So does Australia's widest selling magazine, *The Australian Women's Weekly* (Australian Consolidated Press, Sydney), which was in competition with the Melbourne based *New Idea* (Southdown Press) in 1983 when the *Weekly* became a monthly publication.

The Sydney publishers, Truth and Sportsman Ltd, first published a weekly edition of Melbourne *Truth* in the 1890s. The paper was acquired in 1960 by Southdown Press, a division of News Ltd, and later published twice weekly. In December 1980, the title was purchased by Truth Newspapers Pty Ltd.

The Sydney based national magazine, *The Bulletin*, formerly a pacesetter in developing the talents of Australian writers and artists, and once known as "the bushman's Bible", was acquired by Australian Consolidated Press, Sydney, in 1960 and is now more of a news-background magazine. It has always enjoyed a share of popularity in Victoria.

The Melbourne based geographic and travel magazine *Walkabout* was popular from its inception in November 1934 for its informative articles about Australia and its excellent photographs. It ceased publication in June 1974.

Victorian readers have a wide selection of special interest newspapers and magazines. The arrival of post-war immigrants gave impetus to the development of the ethnic press and today Melbourne has a large number of foreign language newspapers catering for migrant groups. Publications are aimed at special interests including television, radio, home computing, politics, religion, aviation, motoring, science, travel, gardening, home-making, and various other social, cultural, and sporting activities.

#### Country and suburban press

Although the metropolitan dailies are delivered to most provincial centres, the hometown newspaper has always played an important role in Victorian life. These generally set a high standard and range from large country dailies like *The Geelong Advertiser* (circulation about 30,000) to small weeklies like *The Western Plains Advertiser*, Skipton, with a circulation of 600.

Many country newspapers are long established, with fine traditions of service to their communities. *The Geelong Advertiser*, for example, established by John Pascoe Fawkner in 1840, is Victoria's oldest newspaper. *The Portland Guardian* (1842) is almost as old. *The Port Fairy Gazette* commenced in 1849, *The Bendigo Advertiser* in 1853, and *The Castlemaine Mail* in 1854. The majority of Victoria's 96 country newspapers are now produced on modern off-set printing plants.

Metropolitan Melbourne has about 50 suburban newspapers, mostly delivered free to all homes in their respective districts. These range from chains produced by large companies, some of which are subsidiaries of the metropolitan newspaper companies, to single papers published by independent operators. Like the country papers, the suburban "locals" are usually of high quality and fill an important place in the life and times of the community, keeping residents abreast of local affairs not covered in their daily newspapers.

## SPORT AND LEISURE

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### INTRODUCTION

Victorians have always valued the opportunities afforded by leisure time, and the developments in sport and recreational activities (many of them referred to as "hobbies" in former days) reflected the social changes in the State since 1934. This Chapter presents an overview of sport and leisure during the 50 year period, considers aspects of competitive sport, commercialism in sport, sport as entertainment, the involvement of government and "umbrella" organisations, and special groups in sport and recreation.

### GENERAL PATTERNS OF SPORT AND LEISURE

The Depression with its financial hardships caused many attendances at sporting functions to fall. This affected both the matches of the Victorian Football League (VFL) and the Victorian Football Association (VFA), and many clubs could not pay their players more than \$6 a week. In some districts, cricket declined because men could not afford to play. Because horse racing was regarded as an inessential activity the Victorian Government also intervened to pass legislation which restricted it; attendances and stake money declined as a result. On the other hand, recreations such as hiking and community singing, which required little money, became increasingly popular.

The Second World War was even more disruptive of sporting activities in Victoria. The Commonwealth Government restricted horse racing. Cricket associations played out the 1939-40 season, but then suspended Sheffield Shield and district cricket for the duration of the war. In football, although the VFA suspended their competition between 1942 and 1945, VFL teams continued their matches. Most sporting associations and clubs, even those such as golf which catered more for older players, experienced a significant decline in membership as participants volunteered for the Armed Services. Many sporting facilities and grounds were used for war purposes; in mid-1940 the Army occupied Caulfield racecourse and the Caulfield Cup was held at Flemington until 1943; the Melbourne Cricket Ground buildings were used from April 1942 to October 1945 as a staging camp for the Armed Services and the Commonwealth Government also took over several football grounds including Footscray, South Melbourne, St Kilda, and, for a while, Collingwood and Port Melbourne.

Although the war disrupted recreational and sporting activities, it also helped to introduce new ones. American soldiers stationed in Melbourne in the 1940s influenced the increase in popularity of sports such as volleyball, softball, and basketball. After the war the picture changed significantly. The ex-servicemen, many of whom acquired a taste for regular exercise and sport in the Forces, returned to join various sporting clubs and associations. Then, after the late 1940s, the arrival of migrants from Britain and Europe saw the introduction of many new sports and the stimulation of several old ones. Soccer had had little publicity before the Second World War, but the new settlers made it increasingly popular, and formed a great number of ethnic soccer clubs.

The increasing affluence of the 1950s and 1960s not only saw new sports developed, but established sporting and recreation groups, which had suspended their activities during the Second World War, were revitalised. The greater use of the car in gaining access to

national parks and outdoor recreations facilitated the popularity of power boating, and with it, water skiing.

The economic problems of the 1970s again caused a re-direction of sporting interests. The financial difficulties of clubs helped bring about a rapprochement between sporting associations and business, resulting in increased sponsorship, not only of professional sports such as racing and Australian Rules football, but also of small amateur associations seeking finance to conduct competitions.

Technological changes since 1934 have altered the patterns of leisure activities. Pre-eminent has been the acceptance of the motor car which in the 1930s was a luxury but, after the war (and the end of petrol rationing in 1950) became commonplace. This revolution in personal mobility has been perceived to be the greatest single influence which has given access to coastal, bushland, and mountain environments as mass recreation areas for city dwellers. By the 1950s, the increasing number of visitors to the National Parks prompted a re-organisation of their management through the National Parks Act of 1956. The new Authority created by this Act stressed the importance of conservation, and was involved in recreation.

In the more sedentary use of leisure, television was the technological change which was most widely assimilated into Victorian homes. Its introduction coincided with the staging of the Olympic Games in Melbourne in 1956. It was to cause a decline in the spectator attendances at many sporting events but also, by capturing a wider home audience, awakened in industry the potential of sport as an advertising vehicle. The growth of television also led to a considerable decline in movie-going which had reached the height of popularity in the 1930s and 1940s. In Victoria, in 1956-57, when television transmissions had just begun, cinema attendances were 34 million, but four years later the figure had declined to 16 million. Technological change has also played its part in the development of sporting equipment and the sophistication of training methods.

Social leisure patterns have changed significantly since 1934. The religious observance of Sunday progressively declined; in the 1930s it was still strong and some local councils disallowed sport and band practice on Sundays. With increasing mobility, especially in the 1950s, there was a growing tendency to make use of the two day weekend for excursions; but this was to some degree associated with a growth in home centered activities, encouraged by wider home ownership and television. The latter won large audiences for major sporting events, but did so at the expense of physical attendances at horse racing, cricket, tennis, and Australian Rules football functions.

The highly organised sports have come to provide more opportunities for top level competition. They are assisted by government funding and sponsorship (with industry providing an increasing amount for sport), and many associations employ professionally trained administrators and/or coaches. The differentiation between amateur and professionals in sport has continued but amateur rulings are less stringent; "open" sport is more acceptable; and professional sportsmen have more opportunities to make their "recreation" their livelihood.

A sustained trend, particularly since the 1960s has been the move away from competitive sports towards an emphasis on informal, individual and outdoor recreations, many of which, such as climbing, bush-walking, skin-diving, hang-gliding, skiing, and wind-surfing require a close relationship with nature. An interest in the preservation of the environment (also evident in the 1960s) has also strengthened this trend and has been marked in such activities as Nordic skiing, orienteering, water sports, birdwatching, and gemstone collecting. Surfing and sun-bathing remained very popular.

Occasional special events, highly organised but with an informal atmosphere, have been "fun runs" and "walkathons", both drawing a wide range of participants as regards ability and age. In 1974, a survey conducted by the National Youth Council of Australia noted that 12 to 14 year old boys are very interested in team sports, but that this was not an enthusiasm shared by older boys, or indeed by girls of any age, both of whom tended to prefer informal, social pastimes, or individual, non-competitive sports, and outdoor activities. Adults continued to be attracted to informal outdoor forms of recreation such as gardening, barbecues, and picnics. As the 1970s brought growing economic difficulties the old homely forms of recreation regained their popularity: home grown vegetables were produced; kite-flying, bush-walking, jogging, and cycling (with the provision of more

bicycle paths) again became popular; interest in Australia's past was demonstrated by the growth in the number of local historical societies; health studios flourished; and older hobbies such as stamp collecting, photography (both still and movie), and model railways and aircraft, were joined by new recreations such as slot cars, war-gaming, electronic games, and the many diversions of home computers. Home billiards and table tennis have always been enjoyed.

There was a trend to commercialism in organised sport and growing opportunities for an ever widening range of other leisure time activities. The introduction of the 40 hour week in 1948, increasing family incomes where the wife as well as the husband had jobs, changing public attitudes, and growing government encouragement to various recreational activities (not least the introduction of daylight saving in 1971) have all had their impact.

The main pattern of leisure activities in the 1930s provides an illuminating contrast with subsequent developments. Just as the Depression had temporarily slowed spectator and participant sport, so technology began to make an impact on leisure time pursuits, although for many these were too expensive in the early 1930s. However, from 1934, cinema attendances increased at the expense of commercial live theatre, although amateur theatrical groups actually increased. Ballet, too, was becoming popular, largely as a result of visiting companies from overseas and the establishment of dancing schools around Victoria.

The wireless aided relaxation at home and by 1934 two years had passed since the first radio broadcasts by Melbourne stations 3AR and 3LO. The Australian Broadcasting Commission had been established in 1932, and was already encouraging the appreciation of music. Sales of wirelesses rose steadily and by 1939 the number in use had quadrupled in a decade.

Another leisure time pursuit in the home—though hardly a new one—was reading. Mechanics Institutes had provided library facilities until the 1930s and local libraries were financed through voluntary subscription and government subsidy. However, by 1934, lack of funds had caused a deterioration in services and in 1935 the Munn-Pitt Report called for improvements which included the provision of rate supported municipal free libraries.

Gardening and home related crafts were popular in the 1930s, encouraged by the Royal Horticultural Society (which had promoted gardening since the middle of the nineteenth century) and the Country Women's Association, formed in 1928 and providing companionship for women in rural areas.

In the 1930s, however, not all recreation was centred on the home, the car, and the cinema. City parks provided walking and rest areas among beautiful lawns and flower beds, and playing fields and tennis courts had also been established in some public places. Hiking was becoming very popular and was to remain so until the Second World War, encouraged by more than 30 hiking clubs in 1932, regular columns in Melbourne newspapers, and in 1939 by the beginnings of a network of youth hostels throughout the State. This encouragement of physical fitness was shared by many organisations concerned with the welfare of youth since before the 1930s. The Melbourne City Newsboys' Society, Toc-H, the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides Associations, the YMCA, the YWCA, and to give it its present name, the Play-grounds and Recreation Association were some of these. The latter was already organising supervised play activity for children in crowded inner areas and did much to encourage local councils to provide recreational areas for children. The Victorian Council of Physical Fitness, later to be the National Fitness Council was established in 1939. Over the years, it promoted recreational programmes, at first, for youth in Victoria, but since the war, for all age groups. Two of its most important functions have been the training of youth leaders and the establishment of camps.

Another State Government body which was to become significant in its contribution to the development of non-competitive leisure activity was the Council of Adult Education whose activities grew rapidly after its establishment in 1947. Lectures, discussions, and outings were some of the developments which expanded in the early 1970s.

The role of municipal councils in recreation did not become significant until the 1960s. The Melbourne City Council was the leader, establishing a recreation division within the Parks and Gardens Department. The public was encouraged to participate in parks and community centres. Barbecue areas were set aside and fitness courses led to increased activity. Other municipal councils and the MMBW followed the lead of the Council and

municipal recreation officers were gradually appointed in the 1960s and 1970s to co-operate with existing organisations and the public.

### SPORT

By 1934, competitive sport in Victoria was well established and many of the administrative bodies of the present sporting organisations had been founded. Competition evolved at a local level, followed by inter-colonial matches before Federation and inter-State matches after 1901.

Major changes in competitive sport since 1934 have included the formation of more controlling bodies, changes in the types of sports played, growth in membership of sports bodies, and changes within the composition of membership. This has not only led to the establishment of new associations, but has been reflected by changes within the old ones. It is possible to identify trends within competitive sports and their organisations, influenced as they were by social and economic circumstances. World standards have risen with the dedication of sportsmen and sportswomen, together with improved nutrition, training, equipment, and facilities and greater government and commercial involvement. Funding requirements have encouraged sporting associations to make their sports available to as many as possible. The standard and number of coaching courses has increased as a result of increasing funds and amalgamations between sporting bodies.

For organisations established before the Second World War, the effect of the war was a decline in membership. Competitions were discontinued in many sports. The resurgence of enthusiasm after the war was not, however, automatic, although generally the war indirectly boosted participation during the following decade. Returned servicemen increased the popularity of athletics, and migrants from Europe joined existing associations and established their own. Soccer was one of the sports to benefit most from this population growth and some of the clubs formed at this time grew strongly.

By the 1950s and through to the mid-1970s, Victoria was enjoying economic prosperity which also had its effects on sport. More persons had money and the time to participate more widely in competitive sport and the increasing ownership of motor cars simplified transport arrangements. During this period the more expensive sports such as gliding, sailing, skiing, golf, parachuting, and power boat racing gained in popularity. Formerly "exclusive" sports extended to the wider community, as facilities and personal incomes increased. Also activities like trail-bike riding, hang-gliding, and go-kart racing became more common. As Melbourne expanded to the new outer suburbs, which had a young population and the space to establish facilities, further sports clubs were established.

Apart from the general social and economic influences on sport already discussed, there were five specific factors which bore on the development of sport: competition, membership patterns, equipment, administration, and media coverage. Two events had a wide impact on most of these factors. One was the 1956 Olympic Games held in Melbourne, which were a climax of the competitive sphere for those sports involved. The second was the membership patterns, which illustrated, among other things, the new position of women within sport over the last 50 years.

### Competition

Competition in Victoria ranges from traditional sports seen at their best in such outstanding events as the "Centenary Test" to lesser known sports such as trugo and orienteering, which can be enjoyed by whole families.

By 1983, many sporting associations were competing from local to international level. Some inter-State competitions and national championships existed in the nineteenth century, but as inter-State travel became more popular, an increasing number of associations organised inter-State sporting events. International competition increased after the Second World War for a number of reasons: communication and travel became quicker and simpler, while greater prosperity allowed individuals and organisations to take advantage of increased opportunities. In addition, sponsorship encouraged involvement by subsidising national and international events for amateur bodies, while at the professional level, high prize money attracted overseas competition.

The involvement of juniors in sport is examined elsewhere, but a brief consideration of one of the school sports associations demonstrates the extent of their involvement. The

Metropolitan Technical Schools Sports Association had 65 affiliated schools in 1981 with weekly sports competitions and annual championships. Their activities also extend to the international level and in 1979, boys' and girls' basketball teams toured the United States. Promotion by many of the sporting associations has been directed at the schools. For example, when the Royal Victorian Bowls Association obtained the record sponsorship of \$250,000 for the period 1980 to 1985, it was stated that a proportion of this amount would be used to promote bowls in schools.

For the majority of sporting associations, the highlights in their histories since 1934 have been the holding of, or attendance at, State, inter-State, or international competitions. Many world championships have been held in Victoria, for example, in billiards (1938 and 1977), golf (1959 and 1972), softball (1965), modern pentathlon (1966), snooker (1968), bocce (1979), bowls (1980), fencing (1980), squash (1967 and 1978), and men's field hockey (1982).

The number of sports at which Victorians have excelled has increased, due partly to affluence and the ability to travel and seek international competition. As well as participating in such traditional local events as the Stawell Gift foot race; the Melbourne to Warrnambool road race, *The Sun* Tour, and the Austral Wheel Race in cycling; and similar contests in rowing, swimming, boxing, athletics, and so on, Victorians have been represented in many international sporting arenas. These include Wimbledon, the Davis Cup and other major world tennis tournaments, the Tour de France and other notable cycling championships, the America's Cup, heading many famous yachting challenges, and their equivalents in such varied sports as billiards and snooker, motor-racing, and marathon running.

#### *Games of the XVI Olympiad, Melbourne, 1956*

The success of Australian sportsmen and women at these and other sporting events of the 1950s was notable, and encouraged many sporting associations. It was not only a stimulus to the performance of the top sportsmen and sportswomen, but also to the membership of the associations. These were the first Olympic Games—indeed the first programmes—to be televised in Victoria and they played a large part in introducing that medium to Australia. This in turn publicised the sports.

Melbourne played host to 67 nations at the 1956 Games. The 9.4 hectare State-owned area of land previously used for sport was developed into the Olympic Park, situated close to the City centre. Houses were built under the Housing Commission programme at Heidelberg and these formed the Olympic village. The total outlay on the Games was \$8m, which was raised by the Australian Olympic Federation, by spectator fees, and by contributions from the State and Commonwealth Governments. Australian sportsmen and women took part in a programme comprising athletics, boxing, cycling, fencing, gymnastics, modern pentathlon, rowing, shooting, swimming, weightlifting, wrestling, yachting, basketball, canoeing, soccer, hockey, and water polo. Australian football was demonstrated as a national sport and baseball as an overseas sport. Overall, Australia's 13 gold, 8 silver, and 13 bronze medals were mainly won in the swimming events and women's athletics.

#### **Membership patterns**

Sporting association membership has grown since 1934; some sports, for example, soccer, have recorded the greatest influx of new members as a result of immigration in the 1950s and 1960s.

Apart from the participation of the younger and older sections of the community (noted later), the other growth area in sport has been among women. In part, the technological advances of the last 50 years have reduced the time spent on housework. Women have moved into the labour force or fill their leisure time in other ways, including sport. For instance, after the World Bowls Series of 1980, held in Victoria and publicised through television, there was a general rise in membership, but especially among women over 40.

However, it is a change in attitude towards women in sport which has probably most encouraged the growth in this area. Even in 1936, when women were being represented at the Olympic Games, myths abounded about the unsuitability of sport for women: sport for women was "unladylike" and would lead to infertility; sport was not among the traditional roles of women, which included child rearing and home management, rather than rowing across Albert Park Lake. Women were hampered by such attitudes and by

the types of clothing deemed suitable for ladies. It was after the Second World War that sportswomen were grudgingly given some further recognition, perhaps partly because they had proved during the war that they could handle "men's work" and that such activity was not in fact harmful for them.

In Australia, the 1930s' attitude of men towards sportswomen waned slowly at an official level. It was only just before the 1956 Olympic Games that women representatives of the Victorian Women's Amateur Sports Council were admitted to the Victorian Olympic Council and even in the 1980s there were still barriers to women's participation in some sports. Despite the background of discrimination in women's sport, female membership in sporting associations has grown with the changes in social attitudes. Many associations which were segregated in early days have amalgamated, as, for example, in the case of the Victorian Amateur Swimming Association, and those that remain segregated are moving towards amalgamation.

### **Equipment**

Changes in equipment, facilities, and uniforms were also trends noted by sporting associations. The most obvious modifications of sports uniforms have been for women, though until quite recently traditional ideas were stressed. For example, slacks for lady golfers were permitted only in the 1960s. Both the Victorian Women's Amateur Athletic Association and the Victorian Netball Association gradually moved towards the development of a uniform to allow greater ease of movement. In addition to clothing, equipment has been modernised to make performance more efficient. Unbreakable aluminium bats were tried in cricket and baseball, the development of self contained underwater breathing apparatus has led to scuba diving, and hang-gliders have become safer and more efficient in design. The Archery Society, Soaring Association, and Surf Life Saving Association also have obtained more sophisticated equipment.

Facilities, too, have changed and governments have contributed to their increased availability. Local councils have been especially active here and the Victorian Amateur Diving Association has acknowledged the growing provision of diving facilities at local swimming pools.

### **Administration**

As membership of clubs has grown and fixtures have become more complex, it has become difficult for "kitchen secretariats" to cope efficiently. With the increase in grants made available by the Department of Youth, Sport and Recreation, full-time State directors have been employed by some sporting associations. Their own successful financial dealings have also allowed the larger bodies to take on further staff. This has particularly benefited promotion and coaching and has meant that representatives may be sent into country areas and schools. In order to encourage expertise in administration the Victorian Government has conducted courses to allow associations to improve their standards.

### **Media**

By 1934, the importance of sport coverage as an influence on the number of newspapers sold had become obvious to editors. The size of the sporting section of Australian newspapers has been commented on by many, and reflects the importance of sport to the average Australian. The sports covered have been those that could be expected to sell the most newspapers, such as Australian Rules football, which for many months of the year dominates the Victorian newspapers. During the 1970s, the less popular sports gained more coverage, as in the case of ladies' rowing. In addition to coverage in the daily papers, specialist magazines have also been produced, some catering for specific sports and recreations.

Since 1956, television publicised sporting competitions, with the greatest coverage going to local matches and international events such as the Olympic Games and Wimbledon. This acted as a stimulus for membership of clubs, although perhaps it also contributed to the decline in spectator figures for football. Television coverage of many events in motor car racing, at Albert Park, Calder, and Sandown, and of boxing, particularly in the 1960s, stimulated interest in these sports.

## COMMERCIALISM IN SPORT

The growth of commercialism in Victorian sport has been most evident in recent years but debate in modern times about the effects on sport of increased professionalism and commercial involvement has its origins in the nineteenth century. It has long been feared that the emphasis in sport may shift from playing for sheer fun and devotion to playing for money, and in recent times there has been the added threat that private entrepreneurs may divert funds away from investment in the sport itself and into the area of private profit. But these fears have to be balanced with the understanding that participants in sport have become subject to greater demands of commitment than ever before, and hence specialisation and commercialism have arisen as natural corollaries.

The 1970s have seen many Victorian sporting associations taking on the characteristics of business enterprises. In fact this commercial orientation has been obvious for much longer in sports such as horse racing. In the 1930s gambling was a popular Australian pastime pursued with inventive vigour in such "national" games as Two Up, but it has been in its connection with horse racing that gambling gained its greatest public support since then. In 1930 in Victoria, the long battle for an on-course totalisator was finally won, ironically at a time when, due to the Depression, racing clubs had difficulties erecting the necessary buildings and purchasing the equipment for machine betting. Before the 1930s, such was the opposition to gambling of any kind (even church lotteries and whist drives were frowned upon early in the century), that twenty previous legislative attempts had been made in Victoria to gain a legalised on-course totalisator. But, even when achieved, this facility was not enough for the punter, who really wanted gambling on the telephone or, at least, at the local shopping centre. By 1950 illegal betting with starting price (SP) bookmakers had become significant. State by State, legislatures sought to stop the SP bookmakers by legalising off-course betting. Victoria, in 1961, was one of the last States to do so, but it was the first to introduce it in the form of a Totalizator Agency Board (TAB). There were fears that legalised off-course betting would lead to a great increase in gambling, so the initial operations of the TAB were governed by restrictions. But soon a TAB was established in almost every city, town, and suburb in Victoria.

**TOTALIZATOR AGENCY BOARD, VICTORIA:  
NUMBER OF AGENCIES AND TURNOVER,  
1961 to 1982 (a)**

Year	Agencies	Turnover \$'000
1961	(b) 30	3,826
1962	83	27,653
1963	140	52,767
1964	203	81,188
1965	283	111,650
1966	326	129,374
1967	346	144,209
1968	383	163,290
1969	405	187,503
1970	421	203,771
1971	437	231,722
1972	448	275,427
1973	451	322,819
1974	463	365,711
1975	466	461,984
1976	476	497,347
1977	474	546,840
1978	473	570,821
1979	472	585,279
1980	471	628,456
1981	465	688,374
1982	436	731,020

(a) At 31 July.

(b) The Totalizator Agency Board had operated for five months only.

Source: Totalizator Agency Board annual reports.



Racing attendances and betting have grown greatly in the last fifty years. However, fluctuations in attendances at race meetings, such as occurred during the Depression and after the introduction of television in 1956, combined with improved off-course betting services provided by the Totalizator Agency Board, persuaded clubs to provide modern facilities on-course to attract patronage. To aid racing clubs, the Victorian Government passed legislation in 1968 establishing a Development Fund to provide financial assistance for capital improvements on racecourses. This fund's main source of revenue is a deduction of 1.25 per cent from the "daily doubles" and "quadrillas" conducted by the TAB. An amount of \$42.2m has been credited to the Fund since its inception but the introduction of Tattsлото (a type of lottery) in the 1970s and the "tightening" of the economy have restricted the financial expansion of the racing industry.

In 1978 a Working Party appointed by the Victorian Government to inquire into racing industry finances recommended that financial relief be granted mainly in the form of a reduction in the government share of totalizator investments. In 1946 the Victorian Government had taken control of trotting and in 1955 the Control Board for greyhound racing was established. These two activities that in earlier days were practised mainly in country areas became established industries and popular in the metropolitan area.

Commercial interests have given impetus in other sporting arenas for many years. The sporting goods industry, in the form of large public companies, has been able to serve the growing market for recreation and leisure goods. For instance, the increasing popularity of running in the 1970s provided the impetus for the production and sale of a wide range of specialised clothing and footwear.

A sport such as ten pin bowling has attracted commercial investment since its introduction to Victoria in 1960. Its initial popularity declined and within five years a number of centres were forced to close. Other commercial enterprises such as public golf courses, tennis and squash courts, ice skating rinks, and mountain ski lifts, have also been developed since the 1930s. Business enterprise, through the establishment of hotels, lifts, and access roads at mountain resorts, has made skiing a popular Victorian sport. At the turn of the century, a golf course in a Victorian country town was a rarity; by the 1980s only the very smallest did not possess one.

Since the 1970s sports organisations ranging from the VFL to the Lawn Tennis Association of Australia have come to assume a commercial orientation. The VFL is the best example in Victoria of this trend. Some clubs such as Carlton and St Kilda have become incorporated organisations and each club in the League now has a formal administrative structure and in some cases clubs have appointed promotion and marketing officers. There has been a move of businessmen into the VFL and club administration and in 1976 the VFL established a Properties Division which is concerned with licensing the VFL name and logo. The first game on the League's own ground, VFL Park at Waverley, took place on 18 April 1970.

Most of the commercial trappings that have come to be associated with many sports in the last decade serve to finance the development of the game itself, rather than private individuals. However, there have been increased demands, especially among the top few in a sport, for financial recognition. Payment of players was once viewed askance, but with the growing commitment of participants, it has become accepted in several of the popular sports. Today, players in the VFL not only receive a base payment from their own clubs but are also eligible for amounts set aside for them when they retire, in the form of Club Provident Funds and the VFL Players' Provident Fund. In addition, top players and those with long service are able to hold individual contracts with clubs. In 1973 the formation of a VFL Players' Association, to obtain injury compensation and insurance and to provide employment and contract advice for players, has even further institutionalised the employer/employee relationship in football to the extent that many footballers now regard the game as their profession.

The VFL has dominated Victorian football for some 80 years in spite of the fact that the VFA was the body from which the VFL originated. The VFA survived, was innovative in its rules, increased the number of clubs, but was not able to compete with the charisma and commercial effectiveness of the VFL.

Generally, it has been over the issue of payment of players that "money incentive" has clashed most with the cry of "for the good of the game". In the late 1970s, the cricketing

world saw a debate about telecasting rights precipitate a split between "establishment" and "commercial" factions of the game. The refusal of the Australian Cricket Board to guarantee exclusive broadcasting rights to a commercial television chain resulted in the private promoter contracting more than fifty of the world's leading cricketers to appear in a succession of international "Supertests".

The split was reproduced in the Victorian sphere. The Victorian Cricket Association (VCA) in 1977 maintained that the basic issue was that cricket was "essentially an amateur game". Very few players reached first class cricket and it was only at that level that matches were profitable. Those profits were indispensable to the continuing development of the game and since the "Supertest" scheme diverted those profits into private hands, the VCA felt that the future of cricket was jeopardised.

In the early 1980s the two factions were reconciled and cricket continued to be a popular spectator and participant sport, although the trappings of "one day" matches and night cricket would possibly have raised the eyebrows of earlier players.

### Sponsorship

In the 1960s, large companies began to take a major interest in sport by providing prizes for professional events, by bringing overseas teams and coaches to Victoria, and by subsidising amateur sport. This growth in commercial sports sponsorship accelerated in the 1970s. All sporting clubs and associations have to find ways to finance their activities, to develop their facilities, and yet balance their budgets, and this has become more difficult to achieve with the increase in administrative costs due to inflation. In the 1970s as sporting groups were attempting to meet funding targets, the corporate world began to perceive sport as an attractive vehicle for promoting and advertising its products.

The growth of sponsorship was evident in many sports. Prior to 1976 no VFL team was sponsored, yet by 1980 all clubs were involved in at least one sponsorship contract. The sort of sporting entrepreneurship which before the 1970s was confined to professional boxing, wrestling, and occasionally tennis, appeared in the cricket world as outlined previously. Sponsors have also been involved in golf and soccer.

Commercial sponsorship has provided economic support not only to professional and semi-professional sports, but also to amateur orientated and suburban centred sports. The Victorian Little Athletics Association in 1980 received sponsorship from a large number of companies. Since the ban on television and radio cigarette advertising, tobacco companies have had surplus funds available for promotional activities and companies have given financial assistance to cricket, tennis, and motor racing. However, this move has been controversial.

Sponsorship has brought about an improvement in facilities as well as an increase in prize money and player incomes. Commercial support has made it possible for full-time professional players to survive at realistic income levels. Many Australian cricketers and golfers have relied on this support.

### SPORT AS ENTERTAINMENT

A number of major sporting events are also seen as major entertainment and tourist attractions — particularly in horse racing, cricket, and Australian Rules football. The most famous race in Australia, the Melbourne Cup, is handicapped. This contrasts with the Derby in England, which is run at set weights.

Foot racing, predominantly amateur, has included a small component of professional races since the mid-nineteenth century and most of these are handicap races. Handicapping is also designed to heighten the entertainment value and to attract the spectator, a necessary aim for professional and semi-professional sports. The Stawell Gift meeting at Easter is the highlight of the professional year and attracts runners from all States and from some overseas countries.

Some sports have large crowd followings. Cricket Tests attract crowds sometimes exceeding 50,000 and in 1961 a record 90,000 spectators watched the second day of play of the fifth Test in the Australia v. West Indies series at the MCG. Australian Rules football is the most popular spectator sport in Victoria, drawing more than three million spectators to VFL games in Melbourne each year. The VFL Grand Final regularly draws over 100,000 spectators and reached its record in 1970 with a crowd of 121,696. The

reliance on this revenue from gate takings led to some initial resistance to the introduction of radio and television broadcasting of some sports. In 1960 no television coverage was permitted because of the great fall in gate takings in the previous three years. It was not until 1977 that the VFL accepted the idea of a direct telecast of the Grand Final and even then it was on the condition that all seats were sold.

Racing has seen similar battles being fought between radio stations and racecourses in the 1930s and the wide wings on the winning post at Flemington are a legacy of that era. Their width was designed to prevent the outside broadcaster, who was stationed in the hotel opposite the course, from reporting the final winner. Radio, which by the 1930s was beginning to challenge the press as a disseminator of sporting news, was seen as a great asset to the SP bookmakers. Elaborate efforts were made at the Pakenham Racing Club in 1941 to ban broadcasting and to obscure the numbers of winning horses from the eyes of outside observers. But this initial resistance to radio and television gradually waned as favourable media outlets for sporting associations became available. For instance, the once ailing VFA was revived in part by the regular telecast of a Sunday match.

With increasing commercial involvement in sport and increased emphasis on the need to entertain and attract publicity, sponsorship has allied itself with the television industry to modify the sports they promote in an effort to stimulate audience interest. Some VFL team colours have been redesigned since the introduction of colour television in Victoria; tennis has introduced the tie-breaker to create a more decisive and climactic finish to the game; and World Series Cricket has introduced night games, special pitches, and even microphones on the field.

#### INVOLVEMENT OF GOVERNMENT AND "UMBRELLA" ORGANISATIONS IN SPORT AND RECREATION

Before the 1970s, sport in Victoria was very much a matter of separate associations, headed by the club secretary who worked voluntarily in his spare time and for whom this was a recreational activity. Government involvement was minimal, apart from early funding for the National Fitness Council, the Olympic and Commonwealth Games, and life saving associations. Moves did come from within the sports ranks themselves to work towards common goals by forming umbrella organisations.

An early umbrella organisation was the Victorian Olympic Council (VOC). The VOC was formed in 1912 and was the first co-ordinating body for sport in Victoria. Its objectives were directed at successful participation by Australia in the Olympic Games and this meant involvement in both funding and organisation. The second co-ordinating body for sport in Victoria was the Victorian Women's Amateur Sports Council (VWASC), founded in 1932. Its objectives were directed towards sport for women and girls, physical education, and appropriate uniform. This group was one of the earliest to recommend to the Premier in the 1960s that there should be an appointment made at Ministerial level with responsibility for sport. In 1977, the VWASC was incorporated into the third co-ordinating body, the Sports Federation of Victoria (formerly the Sports Council of Victoria).

The Sports Federation of Victoria was established in 1966. Thirty-one sports associations were initially involved and by 1979 this figure had reached seventy-four. The Sports Federation sought primarily to identify the problems of its members and to bring these to the attention of the Victorian Government, lobbying for government aid in answer to needs within the sporting world. It also kept sports organisations in touch and distributed advice and information. A central secretariat was established by the Victorian Government for sports organisations as a result of a submission by the Sports Federation drawing attention to the inefficiencies of the "kitchen secretariats" from which many sporting groups operated.

Educational institutions have played their role in encouraging sport. Physical education has been taught in most schools and specialist teacher preparation courses have been introduced at tertiary level. In addition to these influences of schools and the Victorian co-ordinating bodies, sport in Victoria has also been affected by national organisations. One such group is the Australian Sports Medicine Federation which was founded in 1963, with its national headquarters in Melbourne. It provides information on sport and exercise as they affect health, advises government and sports and recreation bodies, and encourages research in sports medicine. The Confederation of Australian Sport is the latest major

national sporting body to influence sport in Victoria. This was established in November 1976 and has its head offices in Melbourne.

Apart from co-ordinating bodies which have sought to bring some unity to sport in Victoria, the remaining influence has been government at all levels. Significant government involvement in sport did not take place until the 1970s, although local councils had provided playing fields and other recreational facilities. Commonwealth and State Governments had provided funds for sport and recreation in a rather "piecemeal" fashion, but after the 1970s they became involved in sport in a more co-ordinated manner. The Commonwealth Government established the Department of Tourism and Recreation and in 1974, the Australian Sports Council. After 1975, it was affiliated with the Confederation of Australian Sport.

There were also changes during the 1970s in Victoria. The Department of Youth, Sport and Recreation was established in December 1972, and one of its roles was to provide funds to community groups for leisure time activities. The policies of the Department were directed towards support for voluntary youth groups, and the development of community centres aimed at family participation. Local government co-operation was seen as essential and an improvement of standards was sought. The Victorian Government has provided assistance to a wide range of youth, sport, and recreation bodies, in various areas. Sports are funded through associations, one State wide association being funded for each sport.

The Department also assists other areas of sport apart from the Sports Assistance Programme. Municipal councils receive assistance for youth, sport, and recreation and by June 1983 payment of subsidies and loans to municipal councils for major capital works had totalled \$31.7m. By June 1983, the contribution of local councils in Victoria to sport and recreation facilities was over \$70m.

The Victorian Government has also sponsored conferences, research, and publications. Perhaps the most widely recognised piece of research it has carried out has been that leading to the "Life. Be in it" programme begun in 1975. This identified the attitude of Victorian society towards fitness and physical activity. The result was a campaign that sought to "get a lot of people to do a little rather than a few to do a lot". The campaign used modern marketing techniques, including television advertising, and by 1977 there was a high level of awareness. On the basis of such success, the Recreation Ministers' Council decided in 1977 to extend the programme throughout Australia.

The other major development has been in the provision of international standard facilities. In 1980, a State Swimming Centre (previously the Frank Beaurepaire Pool) was opened and the first stages of a State Equestrian Centre at Werribee Park were begun. A sports medicine centre was commenced at the City Baths in Melbourne in conjunction with the Australian Sports Medicine Federation (Victorian Branch). In 1982, an "astroturf" artificial pitch for men's and women's field hockey—only the second of its kind in Australia—was opened at Royal Park.

## SPECIAL GROUPS IN SPORT AND RECREATION

Organised involvement of special groups such as junior, veteran, and disabled participants grew during the period. Through their awareness of the special nature of their participants, junior, veteran, and disabled groups have been articulate about the philosophy and aims underlying their attitudes to recreation and have continually felt the tension between the need to cater for the different capabilities of their members and the desire to encourage integration with others in the community.

### Juniors

In many instances, recreations that have traditionally drawn older persons, have increasingly attracted younger participants. In cricket, football, netball, tennis, soccer, hockey, and rugby, there has been a steady increase in the involvement of juniors and with it growing organisational structures to cater for them. Golf has also recently witnessed an upsurge in junior interest, particularly in country areas. Netball has changed in nature from a Saturday afternoon sport to a very popular evening sport for teenagers and young adults.

The increasing participation of children in sports has led to many associations developing modifications of their game specially designed to cater for younger, smaller players. The

emphasis, in these modifications, has been on enjoyment rather than on stress and competition. Baseball, basketball, and cricket have designed special games and mini-hockey, mini-rugby and mini-volleyball schemes have been developed. These modifications include such elements as shorter playing time, smaller playing area, more encouragement for the inexperienced and an emphasis, through substitution rules and smaller teams, on everyone participating. Sporting activities offered to students have been progressively broadened, and annual championships are conducted in such sports as judo and artistic gymnastics, while individual technical schools are conducting programmes in ten pin bowling, ice skating, and archery.

Associations solely designed to cater for the special needs of youngsters in sport have developed. The Victorian Little Athletics Association is one such group and it grew from the first informal but regular athletics meetings organised for children under 12 in Geelong in 1964. In 1980, the Association had 88 operative centres in the State and approximately 27,000 Victorian boys and girls as registered members.

### Veterans

Several associations designed to cater for the retired or older adults have appeared since the 1960s. The Australian Retired Persons' Association, the Early Planning for Retirement Association, and the Council of Adult Education all provide either counselling on retirement needs and plans or opportunities for further education, often in areas of recreation such as art and craft, yoga, and literature studies. The Recreation Development and Youth Affairs Division of the Department of Youth, Sport and Recreation has initiated programmes designed to teach older adults recreational skills which may be useful in retirement and has recently organised camps for persons over fifty.

A great increase in the number of older adults making use of the facilities of sporting associations has been evident since 1934. Nearly all sporting clubs involve older persons to a certain extent, often in the role of non-playing administrators, but there are particular sports such as bowling, golf, trugo, croquet, billiards, fishing, horse racing, yachting and shooting, which attract a substantial senior age membership.

The Royal Victorian Bowls Association reached its centenary year in 1980 and has members ranging in age from 18 to 100 years. Cycling, women's cricket, and men's field hockey have witnessed a growth in veteran membership and veteran athletics have been organised in Melbourne since the 1971-72 season.

Trugo is a sport of Victorian invention which is played only in suburban Melbourne and is the preserve of persons over sixty. It began in the 1920s as a game played by Newport Railway workers in their lunch hour and consists of hitting buffer washers or rubber discs with a mallet, aiming to send them through two metre wide goal posts from a distance of 27 metres. Fifty years after its beginnings, 12 clubs have emerged in Melbourne with about 100 men and 60 women, all over sixty years of age, playing in a weekly competition between August and April.

### Disabled groups

Handicapped groups have been encouraged to seek recreation for its own sake and the social opportunities it provides. In many cases, institutions changed their emphasis and sometimes self-help groups have been formed. This growing awareness was illustrated by the establishment of the Victorian Advisory Council on Recreation for the Disabled in March 1976.

The developments in recreation for the mentally retarded illustrate many of the trends that have been evident among disabled groups: a movement in institutions towards encouraging recreation for enjoyment and social purposes, an emphasis on using community facilities and the appearance of many groups catering solely for recreational and sporting needs.

The Victorian Blind Sports Association was formed in October 1979, but comprised sporting groups with much longer histories. The Blind Cricket Association was established about 1924 and grew from fielding two sides to adding a fifth team in 1979. "Swish", otherwise known as blind table tennis, has become a very popular game since the early 1960s. A Rifle Shooting Club was begun and a Ski Club formed in 1967, while a lawn

bowls competition has been held regularly since 1975. The Victorian Olympic Sports Association of and for the Blind was set up in mid-1979 to assist the competitive aspects of sport and recreation for the visually impaired. Three major international events form the goals towards which this organisation works. These are the Olympics for the Handicapped, which last took place in Holland in June 1980; the Far Eastern and South Pacific Games for the Handicapped, which are also held every four years and took place in Hong Kong in 1982; and the Winter Olympics for the Handicapped, in which Australia was represented for the first time in Norway in February 1980.

These international events involve not only the blind, but also other physically disabled competitors. "Paravics" is a wheelchair sporting group which has sent representatives overseas and interstate for many years. Their association is another example of the movement towards self-help among disabled people. A Victorian Sports Council for the Disabled has been formed. It is a body with representatives from five disabled sporting associations — those for the blind, the deaf, the mentally retarded, the physically disabled, and amputees.

The Adult Deaf Society of Victoria and the Victorian Deaf Committee both provide many recreational opportunities for the deaf, as well as encouraging sporting groups. They conduct such sports as basketball, netball, tennis, table tennis, golf, cricket, Australian Rules football, soccer, badminton and squash, and other recreational activities covering theatre, film, craft, and various hobby groups.

The Limbless Soldiers' Association was founded after the First World War in 1921, and established a golf club in the early 1930s and a bowling club in 1952. The Amputees' Association of Victoria was formed in 1980. With the growing awareness of the personal importance of sport and recreation for disabled persons there has come an increasing emphasis on non-competitive attitudes to sport, with the motivation for participation being social, educational, or purely for personal fulfilment.

#### CONCLUSION

It is not possible to isolate sport from other forms of recreation, because sport is both competitive and non-competitive, active and passive, spontaneous and organised. What can be said for the 1980s in contrast to the 1930s is that large-scale, competitive sport has become very highly organised and that the money devoted to its commercial sponsorship involves large sums. That is a clear change from the 1930s. Another is the growing government involvement — at all levels — in encouraging and helping to pay for various sporting facilities.

Recreation has shown less clearly defined patterns of development. In many ways the path has been more cyclical, as many of the homely self-made recreations of the 1930s regained their popularity. There has also been a change brought about by electronic and other technological advances so that the family that played a game of draughts or chess or cards in the 1930s played a video screen game in the early 1980s.

## EPILOGUE

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Victoria is part of a nation founded as a result of British exploration and expansion in the late eighteenth century. The Colony owed its permanent existence to the enterprise of settlers seeking new lands to develop in the 1830s rather than to the provision of a penal colony, although its Aboriginal inhabitants were subjugated in this advance of European civilisation. The discovery of gold attracted large numbers of migrants, many of whom later sought land to farm. After Separation from New South Wales in 1851, with the independent establishment in Victoria of the British institutions—Crown, Parliament, Judiciary, and Executive—and with an energetic population, it experienced a rapid growth towards prosperity based on manufacturing as well as agriculture by the 1880s, only to be followed by a severe economic depression in the following decade. People born in Australia began to outnumber those of British origin and a distinct national character began to emerge.

The fifty years from 1884 to 1934 saw some strengthening of this national tendency throughout Australia. From Federation in 1901, the spread of transport and communication networks across a vast land was one unifying factor but, sadly, it was the shared suffering on the beaches of Gallipoli and in the fields of France and Flanders that showed that there was no real difference between the people because of State boundaries. Rather than population, however, the size of the country and its physical and climatic variations were governing factors in the task of administering widely separated communities. In many ways the States remained individual in their political, social and economic experience, although the hardships of the 1930s Depression were felt across the whole land. Victoria was still enduring unemployment, with low marriage and birth rates and much misery, when it celebrated its Centenary.

Since 1934—the period with which this book deals at length—the generation of Victorians who had lived through the Depression was called upon to make further sacrifices in the Second World War from 1939 to 1945. The war quickly dispelled unemployment and women were encouraged to join the labour force. Victoria became a supply base, giving its manufacturing sector additional stimulus, which ensured that on the resumption of peace it could turn to production of a wider range of commodities. By the 1950s the growth in population, resulting largely from immigration, provided demand for housing, transport, roads, community facilities, and goods and services. For two decades there were good seasons free from droughts, with full employment, and general prosperity. Since the mid-1970s, however, inflationary forces appeared, together with unemployment.

This sesquicentenary year of 1984 completes the third fifty year period since the establishment of the Henty settlement at Portland. The period saw the achievement of relative material affluence and a higher standard of living, brought about in part by improvements in health and welfare and greater educational opportunities. The rapid advance of technology, especially the computer, has had a significant impact on work. The change from a populace of almost completely British extraction to a more cosmopolitan demographic structure has done much to vary community life. Consideration of the environment and concern for the less privileged indicate growing social maturity. It is hoped that the material contained in this book will provide a valuable background for the study of the interaction of such factors which contributed to the moulding of Victoria's recent past, as well as a useful guide to analysing future changes in Victorian society.

# Appendix A

## HISTORICAL STATISTICS

The following tables provide a historical summary of some statistics relating to Victoria. They have been based on tables appearing in previous *Victorian Year Books*, most recently the 1973 edition, and other ABS sources. It has been necessary to convert certain previously published historical series into metric units.

A blank space indicates that the figures are not available.

A line drawn across a column between two consecutive figures indicates a break in the continuity of the series; see footnotes for further explanation.

### Demography

#### POPULATION: VICTORIA, 1836 TO 1982

Year	Population at 31 December (a) (b)				Mean population (a) (b)		Population of Melbourne (b) (d)
	Males	Females	Total persons	Masculinity (c)	Year ended 30 June	Year ended 31 December	
1836	186	38	224	489.47			200
1837	984	280	1,264	351.43		744	
1838	3,080	431	3,511	714.62		2,388	
1839	4,104	1,718	5,822	238.88		4,667	
1840	7,254	3,037	10,291	238.85		8,057	4,000
1841	14,391	6,025	20,416	238.85		15,354	4,479
1842	15,691	8,108	23,799	193.52		22,108	
1843	15,892	8,211	24,103	193.55		23,951	
1844	17,626	9,108	26,734	193.52		25,419	
1845	20,624	10,656	31,280	193.54		29,007	
1846	23,531	14,803	38,334	158.96		34,807	12,351
1847	26,004	16,932	42,936	153.58		40,635	
1848	30,697	20,693	51,390	148.34		47,163	
1849	39,556	26,664	66,220	148.35		58,805	
1850	45,495	30,667	76,162	148.35		71,191	
1851	58,235	39,254	97,489	148.35		86,826	23,143
1852	110,825	57,496	168,321	192.75		132,905	
1853	146,456	75,980	222,436	192.76		195,379	
1854	185,249	98,693	283,942	187.70		253,189	76,565
1855	226,462	120,843	347,305	187.40		315,624	
1856	251,349	139,035	390,384	180.78		368,845	
1857	291,523	164,999	456,522	176.68		423,453	110,110
1858	314,923	181,223	496,146	173.78		476,334	
1859	325,259	195,813	521,072	166.11		508,609	
1860	330,302	207,932	538,234	158.85		529,653	
1861	320,888	218,876	539,764	146.61		538,999	139,916
1862	322,298	229,090	551,388	140.69		545,576	
1863	324,731	243,175	567,906	133.54		559,647	148,873
1864	341,102	256,901	598,003	132.78		582,955	154,385
1865	348,717	269,074	617,791	129.60		607,897	160,586
1866	354,757	278,845	633,602	127.22		625,697	167,476
1867	360,112	288,190	648,302	124.96		640,952	174,366
1868	371,066	300,258	671,324	123.58		659,813	181,945
1869	383,665	313,097	696,762	122.54		684,043	190,212
1870	397,230	326,695	723,925	121.59		710,344	202,975
1871	407,628	338,822	746,450	120.31		735,188	215,991
1872	411,027	348,401	759,428	117.98		752,939	229,125
1873	416,756	357,052	773,808	116.72		766,618	236,990
1874	421,201	364,907	786,108	115.43		779,958	242,800
1875	424,269	370,665	794,934	114.46		790,521	245,873
1876	428,243	377,181	805,424	113.54		800,179	248,878
1877	433,777	385,158	818,935	112.62		812,180	253,577



## POPULATION: VICTORIA, 1836 TO 1982—continued

Year	Population at 31 December (a) (b)				Mean population (a) (b)		Population of Melbourne (b) (d)
	Males	Females	Total persons	Masculinity (c)	Year ended 30 June	Year ended 31 December	
1878	438,077	391,841	829,918	111.80		824,427	260,738
1879	442,699	399,058	841,757	110.94		835,838	271,100
1880	450,558	408,047	858,605	110.42		850,181	281,037
1881	457,782	416,183	873,965	110.00		866,285	288,169
1882	466,788	425,977	892,765	109.58		883,365	297,937
1883	477,671	434,782	912,453	109.86		902,609	313,550
1884	490,266	445,511	935,777	110.05		924,115	334,030
1885	504,097	455,741	959,838	110.61		947,808	358,500
1886	523,864	469,853	993,717	111.50		976,778	381,590
1887	541,216	484,260	1,025,476	111.76		1,009,597	405,520
1888	571,425	507,652	1,079,077	112.56		1,052,277	432,350
1889	582,672	522,266	1,104,938	111.57		1,092,008	459,360
1890	595,519	538,209	1,133,728	110.65		1,119,333	482,600
1891	606,395	551,977	1,158,372	109.86		1,146,050	486,620
1892	608,666	560,081	1,168,747	108.67		1,163,560	469,390
1893	609,500	566,670	1,176,170	107.56		1,172,459	449,560
1894	609,379	572,776	1,182,155	106.39		1,179,163	444,340
1895	607,933	577,743	1,185,676	105.23		1,183,916	452,210
1896	599,497	580,353	1,179,850	103.30		1,182,763	458,300
1897	599,621	582,485	1,182,106	102.94		1,180,978	466,895
1898	598,332	583,949	1,182,281	102.46		1,182,194	480,390
1899	599,765	588,776	1,188,541	101.87		1,185,411	489,600
1900	601,773	594,440	1,196,213	101.23		1,192,377	494,905
1901	608,436	601,464	1,209,900	101.16	1,197,438	1,203,137	501,580
1902	604,318	603,913	1,208,231	100.07	1,207,236	1,207,527	502,840
1903	599,950	604,792	1,204,742	99.20	1,206,498	1,205,296	505,760
1904	597,617	607,991	1,205,608	98.29	1,203,347	1,202,814	511,520
1905	598,134	612,287	1,210,421	97.69	1,203,846	1,206,046	519,925
1906	600,856	618,976	1,219,832	97.07	1,209,319	1,213,672	530,660
1907	605,775	627,032	1,232,807	96.61	1,219,304	1,225,503	543,115
1908	614,937	635,512	1,250,449	96.76	1,232,489	1,240,488	557,350
1909	631,021	646,001	1,277,022	97.68	1,249,987	1,261,169	573,255
1910	646,482	654,926	1,301,408	98.71	1,271,500	1,282,477	588,000
1911	668,818	671,075	1,339,893	99.66	1,301,138	1,320,652	612,190
1912	690,056	692,497	1,382,553	99.65	1,337,796	1,357,824	636,200
1913	707,444	707,972	1,415,416	99.93	1,378,226	1,395,881	660,160
1914	713,307	721,881	1,435,188	98.81	1,412,176	1,427,512	680,470
1915	694,210	730,235	1,424,445	95.07	1,433,971	1,431,632	688,890
1916	666,245	738,418	1,404,663	90.23	1,424,896	1,414,480	702,120
1917	671,075	745,985	1,417,060	89.96	1,408,480	1,411,381	716,150
1918	684,243	753,002	1,437,245	90.87	1,416,900	1,424,054	730,830
1919	739,956	763,079	1,503,035	96.97	1,442,619	1,473,013	750,940
1920	753,803	774,106	1,527,909	97.38	1,497,806	1,512,093	776,840
1921	765,306	785,421	1,550,727	97.44	1,524,498	1,537,042	800,520
1922	789,517	800,756	1,590,273	98.60	1,552,601	1,570,883	831,060
1923	807,884	817,571	1,625,455	98.82	1,589,673	1,607,850	861,760
1924	825,919	831,232	1,657,151	99.36	1,625,703	1,641,944	889,720
1925	840,817	843,234	1,684,051	99.71	1,657,111	1,671,537	917,080
1926	855,035	856,952	1,711,987	99.78	1,683,724	1,696,758	945,500
1927	870,718	871,114	1,741,832	99.95	1,711,855	1,727,734	971,000
1928	879,478	882,268	1,761,746	99.68	1,741,432	1,751,974	990,650
1929	886,472	891,797	1,778,269	99.40	1,761,212	1,770,133	1,006,000
1930	892,422	900,183	1,792,605	99.14	1,778,761	1,786,217	999,650
1931	896,429	907,141	1,803,570	98.82	1,792,802	1,799,241	995,600
1932	900,663	912,724	1,813,387	98.68	1,804,014	1,808,618	993,800
1933	904,868	919,349	1,824,217	98.42	1,814,797	1,820,497	995,800
1934	909,806	926,854	1,836,660	98.16	1,824,660	1,830,326	1,000,000
1935	910,740	930,855	1,841,595	97.84	1,835,578	1,838,206	1,008,300
1936	913,959	935,648	1,849,607	97.68	1,841,636	1,845,941	1,016,500
1937	916,974	940,017	1,856,991	97.55	1,850,071	1,853,765	1,024,300
1938	924,034	947,065	1,871,099	97.57	1,858,585	1,865,251	1,035,600
1939	929,470	953,663	1,883,133	97.46	1,872,287	1,878,918	1,050,700
1940	947,037	967,881	1,914,918	97.85	1,886,751	1,900,426	1,083,000
1941	964,619	981,806	1,946,425	98.25	1,916,727	1,932,412	1,114,900
1942	970,729	991,829	1,962,558	97.87	1,948,710	1,959,496	1,143,900
1943	979,549	1,002,067	1,981,616	97.75	1,965,473	1,973,533	1,156,600
1944	986,889	1,011,065	1,997,954	97.61	1,981,997	1,989,870	1,168,900
1945	994,784	1,020,323	2,015,107	97.50	1,998,202	2,006,649	1,180,200
1946	1,006,395	1,033,374	2,039,769	97.39	2,015,197	2,025,475	1,189,800
1947	1,016,724	1,045,985	2,062,709	97.20	2,039,348	2,053,916	1,228,300
1948	1,039,037	1,069,088	2,108,125	97.19	2,070,116	2,091,581	1,247,800
1949	1,071,759	1,097,125	2,168,884	97.69	2,115,830	2,142,529	1,272,300
1950	1,114,497	1,122,685	2,237,182	99.27	2,174,844	2,209,013	1,302,200
1951	1,150,009	1,149,529	2,299,538	100.04	2,242,882	2,276,272	1,330,800
1952	1,189,262	1,177,457	2,366,719	101.00	2,309,708	2,343,610	1,359,100
1953	1,212,060	1,203,975	2,416,035	100.67	2,372,366	2,395,851	1,388,800
1954	1,244,739	1,233,247	2,477,986	100.93	2,422,839	2,452,741	1,524,111
1955	1,281,891	1,264,441	2,546,332	101.38	2,485,222	2,520,481	1,575,300
1956	1,319,445	1,298,667	2,618,112	101.60	2,556,148	2,592,670	1,629,400
1957	1,348,351	1,332,204	2,680,555	101.21	2,625,609	2,656,363	1,677,100

POPULATION: VICTORIA, 1836 TO 1982—continued

Year	Population at 31 December (a) (b)				Mean population (a) (b)		Population of Melbourne (b) (d)
	Males	Females	Total persons	Masculinity (c)	Year ended 30 June	Year ended 31 December	
1958	1,379,857	1,365,308	2,745,165	101.07	2,687,115	2,717,371	1,726,100
1959	1,413,523	1,397,906	2,811,429	101.12	2,749,994	2,783,951	1,777,700
1960	1,453,815	1,434,475	2,888,290	101.35	2,819,650	2,857,032	1,831,100
1961	1,485,348	1,469,951	2,955,299	101.05	2,893,417	2,926,075	1,984,936
1962	1,511,418	1,499,625	3,011,043	100.79	2,956,769	2,983,715	2,029,240
1963	1,540,749	1,530,297	3,071,046	100.68	3,011,833	3,041,442	2,077,560
1964	1,573,966	1,563,955	3,137,921	100.64	3,073,384	3,105,685	2,130,980
1965	1,602,058	1,593,802	3,195,860	100.52	3,136,319	3,165,594	2,180,800
1966	1,627,787	1,622,056	3,249,843	100.35	3,194,035	3,221,403	2,230,793
1967	1,653,363	1,650,243	3,303,606	100.19	3,249,885	3,277,183	2,283,000
1968	1,679,213	1,677,614	3,356,827	100.10	3,302,366	3,328,451	2,331,000
1969	1,710,586	1,710,592	3,421,178	100.00	3,356,773	3,388,417	2,389,700
1970	1,739,916	1,742,115	3,482,031	99.87	3,420,609	3,450,523	2,447,600
1971(e)	1,815,332	1,818,511	3,633,843	99.83	3,481,370	3,519,881	2,575,000
1972	1,841,114	1,845,022	3,686,136	99.79	3,632,733	3,661,084	2,616,400
1973	1,863,086	1,867,738	3,730,824	99.75	3,685,499	3,707,460	2,652,700
1974	1,887,222	1,892,365	3,779,587	99.73	3,730,502	3,754,761	2,685,800
1975	1,896,188	1,904,468	3,800,656	99.57	3,774,902	3,788,394	2,711,200
1976	1,905,656	1,918,285	3,823,941	99.34	3,799,937	3,811,360	2,723,700
1977	1,918,212	1,934,377	3,852,589	99.16	3,823,831	3,837,834	2,740,800
1978	1,927,106	1,947,395	3,874,501	98.96	3,852,206	3,864,925	2,757,200
1979	1,937,866	1,962,127	3,899,993	98.76	3,875,422	3,886,929	2,771,000
1980	1,951,449	1,979,206	3,930,655	98.60	3,899,760	3,914,238	2,787,400
1981	1,969,443	1,999,187	3,968,630	98.51	3,931,159	3,949,277	2,806,300
1982	1,991,687	2,021,532	4,013,219	98.52	3,969,667	3,993,075	2,836,800

- (a) All estimates have been corrected for discrepancies disclosed by the various Censuses up to the Census of 30 June 1981. Figures from 1939 to 1946 include all living Australian defence service personnel irrespective of whether they were within Australia or overseas, but exclude members of Allied Services and prisoners of war and internees from overseas. The population estimates from 1947 onwards include defence personnel in Australia and exclude members of the forces overseas.
- (b) Figures for 1961 and subsequent years include full-blood Aboriginals.
- (c) Number of males per 100 females.
- (d) Figures shown for the population of Melbourne from 1841 to 1861 inclusive are as at the following Census dates: 2 March for 1841, 1846, and 1851, 26 April 1854, 29 March 1857, and 7 April 1861. The definition of Melbourne and suburbs in these years was adjusted from time to time to encompass that area which at any particular date was, for practical purposes, considered to comprise the metropolitan area.
- (e) From 1863 to 1953 the figures shown are estimates at 31 December, those for 1954 and subsequent years are estimates or Census counts at 30 June. The figures shown for the years 1863 to 1921 relate to the population within a 16 kilometre radius of the Melbourne G.P.O. From 1921 to 1960 the figures relate to the population of the City of Melbourne and adjoining municipal areas within boundaries defined for Census purposes at the respective Censuses of 1921, 1933, 1947, and 1954. In defining this area at each Census it was found necessary to include only portions of certain local government areas which embraced the more distant suburbs. In each case the Census definition was also used in each subsequent year prior to the following Census. From 1961 onwards the figures relate to the population within a new fixed outer boundary embracing an area referred to as the Melbourne Statistical Division. This boundary was designed to circumscribe an area which would contain the limits of urban development of Melbourne for at least twenty years, and which would generally be socially and economically oriented to Melbourne.

MARRIAGES, DIVORCES, BIRTHS, AND DEATHS (a) (b): VICTORIA, 1836 TO 1982

Year	Marriages		Divorces (c)		Births		Deaths		Infant mortality	
	Number	Crude rate (d)	Decrees granted	Crude rate (e)	Number	Crude rate (f)	Number	Crude rate (g)	Number	Crude rate (h)
1836	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	—	—	—
1837	1	1.34	—	—	7	9.41	1	1.34	—	—
1838	15	6.28	—	—	28	11.73	20	8.38	—	—
1839	57	12.21	—	—	142	30.43	67	14.36	—	—
1840	177	21.97	—	—	358	44.43	198	24.57	—	—
1841	406	26.44	—	—	618	40.25	319	20.78	—	—
1842	514	23.25	—	—	1,025	46.36	413	18.68	—	—
1843	364	15.20	—	—	1,317	54.99	313	13.07	—	—
1844	328	12.90	—	—	1,336	52.56	240	9.44	—	—
1845	316	10.89	—	—	1,521	52.44	327	11.27	—	—
1846	301	8.65	—	—	1,596	45.85	328	9.42	—	—
1847	337	8.29	—	—	1,661	40.88	361	8.88	—	—
1848	351	7.44	—	—	1,789	37.93	405	8.59	—	—
1849	593	10.08	—	—	1,913	32.53	593	10.08	—	—
1850	969	13.61	—	—	2,673	37.55	780	10.96	—	—
1851	1,023	11.78	—	—	3,049	35.12	1,165	13.42	—	—
1852	1,958	14.73	—	—	3,756	28.26	2,105	15.84	—	—
1853	2,703	13.83	—	—	3,025	15.48	3,213	16.44	—	—
1854	3,765	14.87	—	—	7,542	29.79	6,261	24.73	—	—
1855	3,847	12.19	—	—	11,941	37.83	6,603	20.92	—	—
1856	4,116	11.16	—	—	14,420	39.10	5,728	15.53	—	—
1857	4,524	10.68	—	—	17,384	41.05	7,449	17.59	—	—
1858	4,552	9.56	—	—	19,929	41.84	9,015	18.93	—	—
1859	4,769	9.38	—	—	22,092	43.44	9,469	18.62	—	—
1860	4,351	8.21	—	—	22,863	43.17	12,061	22.77	—	—

## MARRIAGES, DIVORCES, BIRTHS, AND DEATHS (a) (b): VICTORIA, 1836 TO 1982—continued

Year	Marriages		Divorces (c)		Births		Deaths		Infant mortality	
	Number	Crude rate (d)	Decrees granted	Crude rate (e)	Number	Crude rate (f)	Number	Crude rate (g)	Number	Crude rate (h)
1861	4,434	8.23	1	—	23,461	43.53	10,522	19.52		
1862	4,525	8.29	11	0.02	24,391	44.71	10,080	18.48		
1863	4,227	7.55	7	0.01	23,906	42.72	9,502	16.98	2,844	118.97
1864	4,554	7.81	13	0.02	25,680	44.05	8,887	15.24	2,778	108.18
1865	4,497	7.40	11	0.02	25,915	42.63	10,461	17.21	3,538	136.52
1866	4,253	6.80	6	0.01	25,010	39.97	12,286	19.64	3,838	153.46
1867	4,490	7.01	8	0.01	25,608	39.95	11,733	18.31	3,534	138.00
1868	4,692	7.11	7	0.01	27,243	41.29	10,067	15.26	3,054	112.10
1869	4,735	6.92	15	0.02	26,040	38.07	10,630	15.54	3,284	126.11
1870	4,732	6.66	9	0.01	27,151	38.22	10,420	14.67	3,203	117.97
1871	4,693	6.38	7	0.01	27,382	37.24	9,918	13.49	3,114	113.72
1872	4,791	6.36	2	—	27,361	36.34	10,831	14.38	3,334	121.85
1873	4,974	6.49	10	0.01	28,100	36.65	11,501	15.00	3,181	113.20
1874	4,925	6.31	6	0.01	26,800	34.36	12,222	15.67	3,341	124.66
1875	4,985	6.31	14	0.02	26,720	33.80	15,287	19.34	3,811	142.63
1876	4,949	6.18	8	0.01	26,769	33.45	13,561	16.95	2,980	111.32
1877	5,103	6.28	11	0.01	26,010	32.02	12,776	15.73	3,299	126.84
1878	5,092	6.18	9	0.01	26,581	32.24	12,702	15.41	3,262	122.72
1879	4,986	5.97	4	—	26,839	32.11	12,120	14.50	3,219	119.94
1880	5,286	6.22	11	0.01	26,148	30.76	11,652	13.71	3,105	118.75
1881	5,896	6.81	9	0.01	27,145	31.33	12,302	14.20	3,119	114.90
1882	6,309	7.14	12	0.01	26,747	30.28	13,634	15.43	3,722	139.16
1883	6,771	7.50	27	0.03	27,541	30.51	13,006	14.41	3,150	114.37
1884	7,218	7.81	12	0.01	28,850	31.22	13,505	14.61	3,281	113.73
1885	7,395	7.80	22	0.02	29,975	31.63	14,364	15.15	3,771	125.80
1886	7,737	7.92	16	0.02	30,824	31.56	14,952	15.31	3,924	127.30
1887	7,768	7.69	23	0.02	33,043	32.73	16,005	15.85	4,296	130.01
1888	8,946	8.50	29	0.03	34,503	32.79	16,287	15.48	4,401	127.55
1889	9,194	8.42	25	0.02	36,359	33.30	19,392	17.76	5,549	152.62
1890	9,187	8.21	40	0.04	37,578	33.57	18,012	16.09	4,412	117.41
1891	8,780	7.66	99	0.09	38,505	33.60	18,631	16.26	4,861	126.24
1892	7,723	6.64	92	0.08	37,831	32.51	15,851	13.62	4,041	106.82
1893	7,004	5.97	92	0.08	36,532	31.18	16,508	14.08	4,302	117.70
1894	7,029	5.96	83	0.07	34,258	29.05	15,430	13.09	3,567	104.12
1895	7,181	6.07	85	0.07	33,706	28.47	15,636	13.21	3,450	102.36
1896	7,625	6.45	108	0.09	32,178	27.21	15,714	13.29	3,540	110.01
1897	7,568	6.41	117	0.10	31,310	26.51	15,126	12.81	3,235	103.32
1898	7,620	6.45	87	0.07	30,172	25.52	18,695	15.81	4,047	134.13
1899	8,140	6.87	107	0.09	31,008	26.16	16,578	13.99	3,541	114.20
1900	8,308	6.97	93	0.08	30,779	25.81	15,215	12.76	2,936	95.39
1901	8,406	6.99	83	0.07	31,008	25.77	15,904	13.22	3,192	102.94
1902	8,477	7.02	109	0.09	30,461	25.23	16,177	13.40	3,308	108.60
1903	7,605	6.31	101	0.08	29,569	24.53	15,595	12.94	3,146	106.40
1904	8,210	6.83	141	0.12	29,763	24.74	14,393	11.97	2,319	77.92
1905	8,774	7.28	137	0.11	30,107	24.96	14,676	12.17	2,508	83.30
1906	8,930	7.36	125	0.10	30,844	25.41	15,237	12.55	2,866	92.92
1907	9,575	7.81	134	0.11	31,365	25.59	14,539	11.86	2,277	72.60
1908	9,335	7.53	152	0.12	31,097	25.07	15,766	12.71	2,676	86.05
1909	9,431	7.48	139	0.11	31,544	25.01	14,436	11.45	2,251	71.36
1910	10,239	7.98	141	0.11	31,437	24.51	14,732	11.49	2,417	76.88
1911	11,088	8.40	214	0.16	33,026	25.01	15,216	11.52	2,269	68.70
1912	11,738	8.64	252	0.19	35,796	26.36	16,589	12.22	2,666	74.48
1913	11,324	8.11	239	0.17	35,970	25.77	15,474	11.09	2,537	70.53
1914	11,829	8.29	243	0.17	36,222	25.37	16,503	11.56	2,835	78.27
1915	12,832	8.96	219	0.15	35,009	24.45	15,823	11.05	2,408	68.78
1916	11,342	8.02	207	0.15	34,235	24.20	16,489	11.66	2,555	74.63
1917	9,505	6.73	202	0.14	33,033	23.40	14,555	10.31	1,877	56.82
1918	9,156	6.43	236	0.17	31,597	22.19	15,177	10.66	1,951	61.75
1919	11,706	7.95	348	0.24	31,619	21.47	19,370	13.15	2,147	67.90
1920	14,898	9.85	375	0.25	36,213	23.95	16,832	11.13	2,669	73.70
1921	13,676	8.90	389	0.25	35,591	23.16	16,165	10.52	2,582	72.55
1922	12,996	8.27	378	0.24	36,288	23.10	15,155	9.65	1,936	53.35
1923	13,126	8.16	431	0.27	35,877	22.31	17,219	10.71	2,356	65.67
1924	13,296	8.10	408	0.25	36,140	22.01	16,503	10.05	2,216	61.32
1925	13,370	8.00	458	0.27	35,922	21.49	15,837	9.47	2,047	56.98
1926	13,405	7.90	470	0.28	35,362	20.84	16,335	9.63	1,969	55.68
1927	13,608	7.88	517	0.30	35,074	20.30	16,773	9.71	1,966	56.05
1928	13,186	7.53	484	0.28	34,498	19.69	17,708	10.11	1,919	55.63
1929	12,935	7.31	548	0.31	33,604	18.98	16,717	9.44	1,587	47.23
1930	11,641	6.52	388	0.22	33,127	18.55	15,959	8.93	1,544	46.61
1931	10,182	5.66	425	0.24	30,332	16.86	17,033	9.47	1,349	44.47
1932	11,744	6.49	459	0.25	27,464	15.19	16,805	9.29	1,181	43.00
1933	12,668	6.96	499	0.27	28,392	15.60	17,456	9.59	1,148	40.43
1934	13,862	7.57	621	0.34	27,828	15.20	18,648	10.19	1,242	44.63
1935	15,409	8.38	608	0.33	27,884	15.17	18,456	10.04	1,148	41.17
1936	15,915	8.62	690	0.37	28,883	15.65	18,778	10.17	1,222	42.31
1937	16,226	8.75	800	0.43	29,731	16.04	18,613	10.04	1,091	36.70
1938	17,113	9.17	830	0.44	30,344	16.27	18,955	10.16	1,038	34.21
1939	17,368	9.24	805	0.43	30,493	16.23	20,169	10.73	1,085	35.58
1940	22,299	11.73	822	0.43	31,962	16.82	20,293	10.68	1,261	39.45
1941	20,898	10.81	842	0.44	34,406	17.80	20,522	10.62	1,246	36.21

MARRIAGES, DIVORCES, BIRTHS, AND DEATHS (a) (b): VICTORIA, 1836 TO 1982—continued

Year	Marriages		Divorces (c)		Births		Deaths		Infant mortality	
	Number	Crude rate (d)	Decrees granted	Crude rate (e)	Number	Crude rate (f)	Number	Crude rate (g)	Number	crude rate (h)
1942	23,636	12.06	959	0.49	35,927	18.33	21,973	11.21	1,497	41.67
1943	18,356	9.30	1,383	0.70	39,117	19.82	21,327	10.81	1,399	35.76
1944	17,857	8.97	1,694	0.85	39,358	19.78	20,502	10.30	1,258	31.96
1945	16,501	8.22	1,759	0.88	41,200	20.53	20,496	10.21	1,155	28.03
1946	21,405	10.57	1,651	0.82	46,693	23.05	21,534	10.63	1,268	27.16
1947	20,437	9.95	2,294	1.12	47,366	23.06	21,442	10.44	1,245	26.28
1948	20,035	9.58	1,681	0.80	46,099	22.04	21,825	10.43	1,103	23.93
1949	20,066	9.37	1,780	0.83	46,873	21.88	21,991	10.26	1,026	21.89
1950	20,320	9.20	1,604	0.73	49,830	22.56	22,341	10.11	1,001	20.09
1951	21,117	9.28	1,730	0.76	50,553	22.21	23,446	10.30	1,143	22.61
1952	20,220	8.63	1,616	0.69	53,738	22.93	23,322	9.95	1,198	22.29
1953	19,238	8.03	2,128	0.89	53,561	22.36	22,650	9.45	1,133	21.15
1954	19,404	7.91	1,539	0.63	54,660	22.29	22,554	9.20	1,055	19.30
1955	20,056	7.96	1,691	0.67	56,336	22.35	22,527	8.94	1,035	18.37
1956	20,137	7.77	1,270	0.49	58,393	22.52	23,886	9.21	1,128	19.32
1957	20,239	7.62	1,362	0.51	60,464	22.76	24,131	9.08	1,219	20.16
1958	20,649	7.60	1,717	0.63	61,269	22.55	23,625	8.69	1,178	19.23
1959	20,456	7.35	1,877	0.67	62,245	22.36	25,078	9.01	1,320	21.21
1960	20,627	7.22	1,313	0.46	64,025	22.41	24,547	8.59	1,182	18.46
1961	21,264	7.27	1,257	0.43	65,886	22.52	24,500	8.37	1,173	17.80
1962	22,393	7.51	1,623	0.54	65,890	22.09	25,847	8.66	1,219	18.50
1963	22,061	7.25	1,626	0.53	65,649	21.59	26,920	8.65	1,242	18.92
1964	24,169	7.78	2,151	0.69	64,990	20.93	27,548	8.87	1,098	16.89
1965	26,421	8.35	2,103	0.66	63,550	20.08	28,031	8.86	1,109	17.45
1966	27,089	8.41	2,144	0.67	64,008	19.87	28,673	8.90	1,116	17.44
1967	28,004	8.55	2,054	0.63	65,485	19.98	28,373	8.66	1,101	16.81
1968	29,724	8.93	2,525	0.76	70,228	21.10	29,967	9.00	1,010	14.38
1969	30,860	9.11	2,235	0.66	71,035	20.96	28,976	8.55	1,066	15.01
1970	31,729	9.20	2,604	0.75	73,019	21.16	30,335	8.79	1,060	14.52
1971	32,386	9.20	3,079	0.87	75,498	21.45	30,598	8.69	1,107	14.66
1972	31,206	8.52	3,664	1.00	71,713	19.59	29,937	8.18	1,048	14.59
1973	30,203	8.15	3,313	0.89	66,910	18.05	30,738	8.29	958	14.27
1974	29,708	7.91	4,465	1.19	66,052	17.60	30,973	8.25	989	14.94
1975	27,806	7.34	5,683	1.50	61,797	16.31	29,579	7.81	806	13.02
1976	28,760	7.55	16,633	4.36	60,531	15.88	30,884	8.10	702	11.57
1977	27,558	7.18	10,859	2.83	59,389	15.48	29,542	7.70	653	10.97
1978	27,178	7.03	10,820	2.80	58,687	15.19	29,206	7.56	616	10.47
1979	27,019	6.95	9,471	2.44	57,628	14.83	29,118	7.49	652	11.29
1980	27,724	7.08	9,207	2.35	58,022	14.82	29,453	7.53	592	10.17
1981	28,648	7.25	9,769	2.47	59,284	15.01	29,088	7.37	562	9.44
1982	28,851	p7.23	11,266	2.82	59,817	p14.98	30,657	p7.68	641	10.69

- (a) The Registration Act providing for the legal registration of births, deaths, and marriages in Victoria was passed in 1853. Prior to this date Victorian vital statistics were obtained from parish and church records which were regarded as being incomplete for statistical purposes. For this reason the numbers of vital events and their corresponding rates for this period must be treated with caution. In particular, it is thought that in the year in which the new registration system was introduced (1853) both births and deaths were understated, the correct totals in each case would probably have exceeded five thousand. Figures for 1966 and subsequent years include particulars of full-blood Aboriginals. From 1972 onwards figures for births and deaths are compiled on a State of usual residence basis.
- (b) The rates are referred to as crude rates because they do not take into account important factors such as age structure, sex, and marital status of the population.
- (c) The *Commonwealth Family Law Act 1975* came into operation on 5 January 1976 repealing the previous *Matrimonial Causes Act 1959*.
- (d) Number of registered marriages per 1,000 of the mean estimated resident population.
- (e) Number of divorces per 1,000 of the mean estimated resident population.
- (f) Number of registered births per 1,000 of the mean estimated resident population.
- (g) Number of registered deaths per 1,000 of the mean estimated resident population.
- (h) Number of deaths under one year per 1,000 registered live births.

POPULATION INCREASE: VICTORIA, 1836 TO 1982

Year (a)	Natural increase (b) (c) (d)	Apparent net migration (d) (e)	Total increase (c)	Rate of natural increase (d) (f)	Rate of apparent net migration (d) (g)	Rate of population growth
1836	-2	226	224	-	-	per cent
1837	6	1,034	1,040	8.06	1,389.78	464.29
1838	8	2,239	2,247	3.35	937.60	177.77
1839	75	2,236	2,311	16.07	479.11	65.82
1840	160	4,309	4,469	19.86	534.81	76.76
1841	299	9,826	10,125	19.47	639.96	98.39
1842	612	2,771	3,383	27.68	125.34	16.57
1843	1,004	-700	304	41.92	-29.23	1.28
1844	1,096	1,535	2,631	43.12	60.39	10.92
1845	1,194	3,352	4,546	41.16	115.56	17.00

POPULATION INCREASE: VICTORIA, 1836 TO 1982—*continued*

Year (a)	Natural increase (b) (c) (d)	Apparent net migration (d) (e)	Total increase (c)	Rate of natural increase (d) (f)	Rate of apparent net migration (d) (g)	Rate of population growth
1846	1,268	5,786	7,054	36.43	166.23	22.55
1847	1,300	3,302	4,602	31.99	81.26	12.01
1848	1,384	7,070	8,454	29.35	149.91	19.69
1849	1,320	13,510	14,830	22.45	229.74	28.86
1850	1,893	8,049	9,942	26.59	113.06	15.01
1851	1,884	19,443	21,327	21.70	223.93	28.00
1852	1,651	69,181	70,832	12.42	520.53	72.66
1853	(h)	54,303	54,115	(h)	277.94	32.15
1854	1,281	60,225	61,506	5.06	237.87	27.65
1855	5,338	58,025	63,363	16.91	183.84	22.32
1856	8,692	34,387	43,079	23.57	93.23	12.40
1857	9,935	56,203	66,138	23.46	132.73	16.94
1858	10,914	28,710	39,624	22.91	60.27	8.68
1859	12,623	12,303	24,926	24.82	24.19	5.02
1860	10,802	6,360	17,162	20.39	12.01	3.29
1861	12,939	- 11,409	1,530	24.01	- 21.17	0.28
1862	14,311	- 2,687	11,624	26.23	- 4.93	2.15
1863	14,404	2,114	16,518	25.74	3.78	3.00
1864	16,793	13,304	30,097	28.81	22.82	5.30
1865	15,454	4,334	19,788	25.42	7.13	3.31
1866	12,724	3,087	15,811	20.34	4.93	2.56
1867	13,875	825	14,700	21.65	1.29	2.32
1868	17,176	5,846	23,022	26.03	8.86	3.55
1869	15,410	10,028	25,438	22.53	14.66	3.79
1870	16,731	10,432	27,163	23.55	14.69	3.90
1871	17,464	5,061	22,525	23.75	6.88	3.11
1872	16,530	- 3,552	12,978	21.95	- 4.72	1.74
1873	16,599	- 2,219	14,380	21.65	- 2.89	1.89
1874	14,578	- 2,278	12,300	18.69	- 2.92	1.59
1875	11,433	- 2,607	8,826	14.46	- 3.30	1.12
1876	13,208	- 2,718	10,490	16.51	- 3.40	1.32
1877	13,234	277	13,511	16.29	0.34	1.68
1878	13,879	- 2,896	10,983	16.83	- 3.51	1.34
1879	14,719	- 2,880	11,839	17.61	- 3.45	1.43
1880	14,496	2,352	16,848	17.05	2.77	2.00
1881	14,843	517	15,360	17.13	0.60	1.79
1882	13,113	5,687	18,800	14.84	6.44	2.15
1883	14,535	5,153	19,688	16.10	5.71	2.21
1884	15,345	7,979	23,324	16.61	8.63	2.56
1885	15,611	8,450	24,061	16.47	8.92	2.57
1886	15,872	18,007	33,879	16.25	18.44	3.53
1887	17,038	14,721	31,759	16.88	14.58	3.20
1888	18,216	35,385	53,601	17.31	33.63	5.23
1889	16,967	8,894	25,861	15.54	8.14	2.40
1890	19,566	9,224	28,790	17.48	8.24	2.61
1891	19,874	4,770	24,644	17.34	4.16	2.17
1892	21,980	- 11,605	10,375	18.89	- 9.97	0.90
1893	20,044	- 12,621	7,423	17.10	- 10.76	0.64
1894	18,828	- 12,843	5,985	15.97	- 10.89	0.51
1895	18,070	- 14,549	3,521	15.26	- 12.29	0.30
1896	16,464	- 22,290	- 5,826	13.92	- 18.85	- 0.49
1897	16,184	- 13,928	2,256	13.70	- 11.79	0.19
1898	11,477	- 11,302	175	9.71	- 9.56	0.01
1899	14,430	- 8,170	6,260	12.17	- 6.89	0.53
1900	15,564	- 7,892	7,672	13.05	- 6.62	0.65
1901	15,104	- 1,417	13,687	12.55	- 1.18	1.14
1902	14,284	- 15,953	- 1,669	11.83	- 13.21	- 0.14
1903	13,974	- 17,463	- 3,489	11.59	- 14.49	- 0.29
1904	15,370	- 14,504	866	12.78	- 12.06	0.07
1905	15,431	- 10,618	4,813	12.79	- 8.80	0.40
1906	15,607	- 6,196	9,411	12.86	- 5.11	0.78
1907	16,826	- 3,851	12,975	13.73	- 3.14	1.06
1908	15,331	2,311	17,642	12.36	1.86	1.43
1909	17,108	9,465	26,573	13.57	7.50	2.13
1910	16,705	7,681	24,386	13.03	5.99	1.91
1911	17,810	20,675	38,485	13.49	15.66	2.96
1912	19,207	23,453	42,660	14.15	17.27	3.18
1913	20,496	12,367	32,863	14.68	8.86	2.38
1914	19,719	53	19,772	13.81	0.04	1.40
1915	19,186	- 29,929	- 10,743	13.40	- 20.91	- 0.75
1916	17,746	- 37,528	- 19,782	12.55	- 26.53	- 1.39
1917	18,478	- 6,081	12,397	13.09	- 4.31	0.88
1918	16,420	3,765	20,185	11.53	2.64	1.42
1919	12,249	53,541	65,790	8.32	36.35	4.58
1920	19,381	5,493	24,874	12.82	3.63	1.65
1921	19,426	3,392	22,818	12.64	2.21	1.49
1922	21,133	18,413	39,546	13.45	11.72	2.55
1923	18,658	16,524	35,182	11.60	10.28	2.21
1924	19,637	12,059	31,696	11.96	7.34	1.95
1925	20,085	6,815	26,900	12.02	4.08	1.62

POPULATION INCREASE: VICTORIA, 1836 TO 1982—*continued*

Year (a)	Natural increase (b) (c) (d)	Apparent net migration (d) (e)	Total increase (c)	Rate of natural increase (d) (f)	Rate of apparent net migration (d) (g)	Rate of population growth
1926	19,027	8,909	27,936	11.21	5.25	1.66
1927	18,301	11,544	29,845	10.59	6.68	1.74
1928	16,790	3,124	19,914	9.58	1.78	1.14
1929	16,887	- 364	16,523	9.54	- 0.21	0.94
1930	17,168	- 2,832	14,336	9.61	- 1.59	0.81
1931	13,299	- 2,334	10,965	7.39	- 1.30	0.61
1932	10,659	- 842	9,817	5.89	- 0.47	0.54
1933	10,936	- 106	10,830	6.01	- 0.06	0.60
1934	9,180	3,263	12,443	5.02	1.78	0.68
1935	9,428	- 4,493	4,935	5.13	- 2.44	0.27
1936	10,105	- 2,093	8,012	5.47	- 1.13	0.44
1937	11,118	- 3,734	7,384	6.00	- 2.01	0.40
1938	11,389	2,719	14,108	6.11	1.46	0.76
1939	10,324	1,718	12,034	5.49	0.91	0.64
1940	11,669	20,268	31,785	6.14	10.66	1.69
1941	13,884	18,995	31,507	7.18	9.83	1.65
1942	13,954	5,527	16,133	7.12	2.82	0.83
1943	17,790	3,789	19,058	9.01	1.92	0.97
1944	18,856	- 955	16,338	9.48	- 0.48	0.82
1945	20,704	- 1,812	17,153	10.32	- 0.90	0.86
1946	25,159	- 327	24,662	12.42	- 0.16	1.22
1947	25,924	- 2,952	22,940	12.62	- 1.44	1.13
1948	24,274	21,142	45,416	11.61	10.11	2.20
1949	24,882	35,877	60,759	11.61	16.75	2.88
1950	27,489	40,809	68,298	12.44	18.47	3.15
1951	27,107	35,249	62,356	11.91	15.49	2.79
1952	30,416	36,765	67,181	12.98	15.69	2.92
1953	30,911	18,405	49,316	12.90	7.68	2.08
1954	32,106	29,845	61,951	13.09	12.17	2.56
1955	33,809	34,537	68,346	13.41	13.70	2.76
1956	34,507	37,273	71,780	13.31	14.38	2.82
1957	36,333	26,110	62,443	13.68	9.83	2.39
1958	37,644	26,966	64,610	13.85	9.92	2.41
1959	37,167	29,097	66,264	13.35	10.45	2.41
1960	39,478	37,383	76,861	13.82	13.08	2.73
1961	41,386	15,310	56,696	14.14	5.23	1.96
1962	40,043	15,701	55,744	13.42	5.26	1.89
1963	38,729	21,274	60,003	12.73	6.99	1.99
1964	37,442	29,433	66,875	12.06	9.48	2.18
1965	35,519	22,420	57,939	11.22	7.08	1.85
1966	35,335	18,648	53,983	10.97	5.79	1.69
1967	37,112	16,651	53,763	11.32	5.08	1.65
1968	40,261	12,960	53,221	12.10	3.89	1.61
1969	42,059	22,292	64,351	12.41	6.58	1.92
1970	42,684	18,169	60,853	12.37	5.27	1.78
1971	44,900	9,479	54,379	12.79	2.70	1.56
1972	41,776	10,517	52,293	11.41	2.87	1.44
1973	36,172	8,516	44,688	9.76	2.30	1.21
1974	35,079	13,684	48,763	9.34	3.64	1.31
1975	32,218	- 11,149	21,069	8.50	- 2.94	0.56
1976	29,647	- 6,362	23,285	7.78	- 1.67	0.61
1977	29,847	- 1,199	28,648	7.78	- 0.31	0.75
1978	29,481	- 7,569	21,912	7.63	- 1.96	0.57
1979	28,510	- 3,018	25,492	7.34	- 0.78	0.66
1980	28,569	2,093	30,662	7.30	0.54	0.79
1981	30,196	7,779	37,975	7.65	1.97	0.97
1982	29,160	15,429	44,589	7.30	3.86	1.12

(a) For the period September 1939 to June 1947 troop movements were excluded and deaths of defence personnel, whether in Australia or overseas, included. Thus, for these years, the figures for natural increase and net migration do not equal the total increase figure.

(b) Excess of live births (whether mother's State of usual residence is Victoria) over deaths (where deceased's State of usual residence is Victoria).

(c) Figures for 1966 and subsequent years include full blood Aborigines.

(d) See footnote (a) to preceding table. For reasons stated there, the natural increase and apparent net migration, together with their corresponding rates for this period must be treated with caution.

(e) Derived by subtracting natural increase from the estimated total population increase. See also footnote (a) of this table.

(f) Excess of births over deaths per 1,000 of the Estimated Mean Population.

(g) Apparent net migration per 1,000 of the Estimated Mean Population.

(h) Not calculated. See footnote (a) to preceding table.

## Agriculture

## NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS WITH AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY AND LAND UTILISATION: VICTORIA, 1836-37 TO 1981-82

Year ended 31 March—	Number of establishments with agricultural activity	Area utilised for—				Balance of establishments	Total area occupied
		Crops (a)	Fallow	Sown pasture (b)	Native pasture		
		hectares	hectares	hectares	hectares	hectares	hectares
1836-37		20					
1837-38		—					
1838-39		61					
1839-40		837					
1840-41		1,299					
1841-42		1,975					
1842-43		3,288					
1843-44		4,886					
1844-45		6,689					
1845-46		10,171					
1846-47		12,779					
1847-48		14,686					
1848-49		16,300					
1849-50		18,605					
1850-51		21,182					
1851-52		23,258					
1852-53		14,881					
1853-54		14,090					
1854-55		22,219					
1855-56	4,326	46,594		31			
1856-57	7,523	72,837		43		620,120	
1857-58	10,259	96,206		178		855,156	
1858-59	11,573	120,985	2,428	1,053		1,019,468	
1859-60	13,175	145,172	4,543	2,373		1,220,374	
1860-61	13,653	156,728	8,279	4,711		1,423,294	
1861-62	14,960	166,086	6,813	5,121		1,655,483	
1862-63	16,416	171,424	7,423	9,506		1,910,948	
1863-64	17,679	183,364	8,991	13,143		2,247,841	
1864-65	18,355	168,410	10,679	14,943		2,478,784	
1865-66	20,063	181,378	13,372	19,813		2,745,886	
1866-67	22,698	203,737	12,545	23,662		2,983,863	
1867-68	25,828	215,959	13,538	25,493		3,281,382	
1868-69	29,218	234,138	22,904	31,444		3,595,309	
1869-70	30,214	275,554	19,980	39,358		3,581,263	
1870-71	31,842	280,383	28,001	59,482		3,856,916	
1871-72	33,720	289,081	32,207	57,992		4,087,603	
1872-73	34,569	279,091	30,595	80,063		4,334,893	
1873-74	36,602	285,855	27,110	77,556		4,651,277	
1874-75	38,468	281,589	31,530	96,333		4,963,302	
1875-76	40,852	298,059	39,308	118,645		5,295,006	
1876-77	43,057	329,089	34,058	135,064		5,606,926	
1877-78	45,448	415,422	30,625	128,810		5,992,156	
1878-79	47,050	458,192	39,525	153,535		6,435,075	
1879-80	48,969	494,382	66,836	122,004		6,726,246	
1880-81	49,637	626,781	78,566	103,193		7,341,459	
1881-82		582,210	58,407	96,607			
1882-83	33,952	646,271	64,467	115,192			
1883-84	37,146	712,010	70,661	114,082			
1884-85	38,139	733,790	74,137	132,358			
1885-86	38,384	755,749	85,167	132,417			
1886-87	38,216	754,134	112,147	111,811			
1887-88	37,615	831,227	147,449	63,959			
1888-89	35,727	828,469	134,593	74,853			
1889-90	36,497	849,009	153,660	60,548			
1890-91	36,013	822,304	156,036	95,199			
1891-92	35,945	856,884	159,927	70,813			
1892-93	35,223	907,815	199,811	94,338			
1893-94	34,549	945,964	185,013	90,773			
1894-95	34,249	984,595	140,126	81,365			
1895-96	33,684	976,602	117,775	72,945			
1896-97	34,354	1,078,001	105,874	69,842			
1897-98	34,990	1,110,879	161,686	46,838			
1898-99	39,877	1,299,254	209,321	60,766			
1899-1900	40,160	1,278,529	206,084	61,492			
1900-01	39,381	1,260,246	243,973	84,133			
1901-02	43,625	1,200,170	275,906	65,945			
1902-03	43,768	1,313,841	199,229	228,905			
1903-04	49,002	1,371,509	255,972	389,577	10,559,454		12,576,513
1904-05	52,598	1,344,280	345,533	385,886	9,884,129	1,063,393	13,023,220
1905-06	54,275	1,303,074	424,886	421,009	10,519,086	1,301,110	13,969,164
1906-07	56,411	1,336,915	401,030	443,391	10,820,191	1,287,676	14,289,203
1907-08	57,798	1,308,157	361,911	443,322	11,540,741	1,446,077	15,100,207
1908-09	59,357	1,400,926	418,616	416,710	11,691,670	1,379,599	15,307,521
1909-10	61,811	1,480,558	475,810	400,101	11,776,714	1,279,516	15,412,699

NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS WITH AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY AND LAND UTILISATION: VICTORIA, 1836-37 TO 1981-82—continued

Year ended 31 March—	Number of establishments with agricultural activity	Area utilised for—				Balance of establishments	Total area occupied
		Crops (a)	Fallow	Sown pasture (b)	Native pasture		
		hectares	hectares	hectares	hectares	hectares	hectares
1910-11	66,651	1,599,347	580,391	401,123	11,752,267	936,809	15,269,937
1911-12	66,849	1,473,155	594,730	421,591	11,382,315	1,531,728	15,403,517
1912-13	68,703	1,650,858	658,514	439,224	11,163,676	1,149,653	15,061,926
1913-14	70,535	1,777,106	703,576	442,956	11,287,214	1,097,472	15,308,323
1914-15	71,828	1,870,766	544,928	486,485	11,646,716	952,225	15,501,120
1915-16	73,004	2,311,269	549,702	478,742	11,136,503	998,949	15,475,165
1916-17	73,610	1,963,267	768,725	523,185	11,237,644	832,043	15,324,864
1917-18	74,024	1,663,351	676,930	513,267	11,385,676	901,114	15,140,338
1918-19	74,330	1,595,636	626,503	513,746	11,710,519	985,946	15,432,350
1919-20	75,340	1,619,074	549,376	429,875	12,313,951	887,043	15,799,319
1920-21	77,148	1,816,839	783,370	425,442	11,586,595	971,653	15,583,899
1921-22	79,655	1,833,354	830,806	417,678	11,351,057	928,266	15,361,161
1922-23	80,523	1,967,805	885,000	387,468	11,203,199	910,416	15,353,889
1923-24	80,386	1,894,798	928,470	414,638	11,068,154	940,643	15,246,702
1924-25	80,037	1,926,869	896,489	382,161	10,695,263	994,182	14,894,964
1925-26	78,167	1,794,172	994,369	377,682	10,495,396	1,124,812	14,786,430
1926-27	77,180	1,916,258	1,039,647	385,358	10,259,805	1,231,840	14,832,908
1927-28	75,774	2,000,063	1,089,433	406,917	10,348,263	1,464,442	15,309,117
1928-29	74,912	2,228,060	1,085,960	467,298	10,128,013	1,618,796	15,528,126
1929-30	74,161	2,257,848	1,004,699	461,810	10,217,035	1,573,590	15,514,981
1930-31	74,537	2,177,734	1,048,391	499,630	9,511,034	1,522,777	15,299,565
1931-32	74,996	2,188,181	868,383	571,759	10,030,369	1,426,401	15,085,093
1932-33	75,392	2,070,270	1,065,654	612,930	10,088,676	1,420,872	15,258,403
1933-34	75,386	2,131,446	1,029,134	655,943	10,236,633	1,639,765	15,692,921
1934-35	74,473	1,892,993	896,972	772,725	10,333,184	1,830,699	15,726,573
1935-36	73,772	1,796,304	954,564	911,572	10,316,400	1,856,097	15,834,937
1936-37	72,845	1,783,577	1,004,901	998,315	10,620,422	1,709,986	16,117,202
1937-38	72,792	1,886,789	1,054,027	1,139,503	10,356,031	1,908,165	16,344,516
1938-39	72,452	2,031,240	1,029,208	1,248,002	10,396,988	1,801,991	16,507,429
1939-40	72,557	2,024,386	962,103	1,400,291	10,199,641	1,865,371	16,451,791
1940-41	72,382	1,807,810	763,812	1,464,694	10,851,711	1,839,426	16,727,453
1941-42	72,027	1,914,858	850,391	1,541,835	10,468,426	1,934,785	16,710,294
1942-43	71,489	1,553,353	671,848	(c)	(c)	(c)	16,606,090
1943-44	70,961	1,407,858	695,802	1,553,556	11,125,268	1,920,964	16,703,448
1944-45	70,856	1,744,258	685,577	1,458,503	10,714,862	1,920,235	16,523,436
1945-46	70,652	2,155,812	968,831	1,596,182	9,842,257	1,854,058	16,399,141
1946-47	70,750	2,065,105	995,669	1,648,903	9,681,912	1,818,354	16,209,943
1947-48	70,910	2,032,798	1,022,765	2,100,045	9,154,514	1,612,087	15,922,010
1948-49	71,049	1,879,702	948,456	2,353,634	9,025,410	1,521,848	15,729,251
1949-50	70,486	1,813,075	983,342	3,164,716	6,884,458	2,671,009	15,516,599
1950-51	69,698	1,760,878	871,536	2,890,658	8,332,936	1,565,948	15,421,956
1951-52	69,298	1,728,216	820,284	2,750,554	8,538,666	1,514,269	15,351,990
1952-53	69,353	1,734,391	928,710	2,855,340	7,944,191	1,862,129	15,324,762
1953-54	69,392	1,812,818	925,553	3,019,535	7,484,270	1,952,060	15,194,237
1954-55	69,551	1,778,373	888,768	3,300,277	7,340,946	1,994,268	15,302,631
1955-56	69,528	1,838,123	802,388	3,499,480	7,230,810	1,948,844	15,319,644
1956-57	69,509	1,471,985	760,734	3,768,431	7,293,996	1,944,823	15,239,970
1957-58	69,590	1,639,484	665,613	3,952,292	7,136,829	1,911,693	15,305,910
1958-59	69,770	1,938,846	885,134	3,804,527	6,646,280	2,004,307	15,279,093
1959-60	69,778	1,814,109	882,323	3,939,242	6,639,784	1,995,988	15,271,445
1960-61	69,623	1,823,002	897,508	4,065,886	6,435,670	2,129,421	15,351,488
1961-62	69,866	1,834,315	925,424	4,862,444	5,877,388	1,778,953	15,278,524
1962-63	69,700	2,038,276	1,020,357	5,110,882	5,647,412	1,443,313	15,260,240
1963-64	69,775	1,982,782	1,021,777	5,691,306	5,280,126	1,320,149	15,966,139
1964-65	69,737	2,031,313	1,005,411	6,001,327	5,045,500	1,231,522	15,315,073
1965-66	69,199	2,011,061	1,060,409	6,163,580	4,742,623	1,337,103	15,314,776
1966-67	68,466	2,081,500	1,113,493	6,522,066	4,697,625	1,227,620	15,642,305
1967-68	72,802	2,105,472	1,071,002	6,945,583	4,759,378	1,129,461	16,010,896
1968-69	71,056	2,491,442	1,103,673	7,285,443	4,018,681	956,980	15,856,219
1969-70	69,498	2,175,096	706,230	8,159,815	3,785,727	979,135	15,806,004
1970-71	68,555	1,698,536	930,910	8,679,487	3,590,595	860,777	15,760,305
1971-72	67,714	1,937,207	904,527	8,445,265	(d)	4,596,653	15,883,652
1972-73	66,890	1,925,984	803,518	6,456,131	(d)	6,585,790	15,771,423
1973-74	65,327	1,980,007	(c)	7,116,201	2,367,415	4,020,961	15,484,584
1974-75	62,926	1,775,306	(c)	6,978,276	2,639,361	3,833,233	15,226,176
1975-76	58,468	1,850,509	(c)	6,695,640	2,638,675	3,959,580	15,144,404
1976-77	48,994	1,948,004	(c)	6,548,831	2,620,846	3,381,084	14,498,765
1977-78	48,310	2,173,876	(c)	6,500,493	2,508,402	3,471,222	14,653,993
1978-79	48,855	2,214,935	(c)	6,616,540	2,353,142	3,255,912	14,440,529
1979-80	49,616	2,246,656	(c)	6,224,275	2,880,678	3,383,531	14,735,140
1980-81	49,399	2,183,811	(c)	6,194,508	2,615,994	3,671,517	14,665,830
1981-82	48,608	2,184,048	(c)	6,007,165	2,651,256	3,604,907	14,447,376

(a) Commencing with season 1960-61 the area of pasture cut for hay or seed has been excluded from the area of crops.

(b) Includes oats, barley, and lucerne sown for grazing.

(c) Information not collected.

(d) Native pasture included in balance of establishment.



## LIVESTOCK AND PASTORAL PRODUCTION: VICTORIA, 1836-37 TO 1981-82

Year	Livestock (a)				Greasy wool production (b)	Milk production for all purposes (c)	Butter production (factory and farm) (c)	Cheese production (factory and farm) (c)
	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs				
					'000 tonnes	kilolitres	tonnes	tonnes
1836-37	75	155	41,332					
1837-38								
1838-39	524	13,272	310,946					
1839-40								
1840-41	2,372	50,837	782,283					
1841-42								
1842-43	4,065	100,792	1,404,333					
1843-44	6,278	167,156	1,602,798					
1844-45	7,076	187,873	1,860,912					
1845-46	9,289	231,602	1,792,527	3,986				
1846-47	11,400	290,439	2,996,992	5,501				
1847-48	13,292	322,824	4,164,203	5,015				
1848-49	16,495	386,688	5,130,277	5,659				
1849-50	16,733	346,562	5,318,046					
1850-51	21,219	378,806	6,032,783	9,260				
1851-52	22,086	390,923	6,589,923	7,372				
1852-53	34,021	431,380	6,551,506	8,996				
1853-54	15,166	410,139	5,594,220					
1854-55	15,038	481,640	5,332,007	9,278				
1855-56	33,430	534,113	4,577,872	20,686				
1856-57	47,832	646,613	4,641,548	52,227				
1857-58	55,683	614,537	4,766,022	43,632				
1858-59	68,323	699,330	5,578,413	37,756				
1859-60	69,288	683,534	5,794,127	50,965				
1860-61	76,536	722,332	5,780,896	61,259	11			
1861-62	84,057	628,092	6,239,258	43,480	11			
1862-63	86,067	576,601	6,764,851	52,991	11			
1863-64	103,328	675,272	7,115,943	79,655	12			
1864-65	117,182	640,625	8,406,234	113,530	18			
1865-66	121,051	621,337	8,835,380	75,869	20			
1866-67	121,381	598,968	8,833,139	74,708	18			
1867-68	131,148	650,592	9,532,811	141,522	22			
1868-69	143,934	693,682	9,756,819	136,206	28			
1869-70	161,830	692,518	9,923,663	111,464	24			
1870-71	167,220	721,096	10,761,887	130,946	23			
1871-72	181,643	799,509	10,002,381	177,447	31			
1872-73	185,796	812,289	10,575,219	193,722	24			
1873-74	180,342	883,763	11,323,080	160,336	20			
1874-75	180,254	958,658	11,221,036	137,941	39			
1875-76	196,184	1,054,598	11,749,532	140,765	30			
1876-77	194,768	1,128,265	11,278,893	175,578	41			
1877-78	203,150	1,169,576	10,117,867	183,391	37			
1878-79	210,105	1,184,843	9,379,276	177,373	35			
1879-80	216,710	1,129,358	8,651,775	144,733	32			
1880-81	275,516	1,286,267	10,360,285	241,936	34			
1881-82	278,195	1,286,677	10,267,265	239,926	28			
1882-83	280,874	1,287,088	10,174,246	237,917	35			
1883-84	286,779	1,297,546	10,739,021	233,525	39			
1884-85	293,846	1,287,945	10,637,412	234,347	35			
1885-86	304,098	1,290,790	10,681,837	239,837	31			
1886-87	308,553	1,303,265	10,700,403	240,957	32			
1887-88	315,000	1,333,873	10,623,985	243,461	28			
1888-89	323,115	1,370,660	10,818,575	245,818	29			
1889-90	329,335	1,394,209	10,882,231	249,673	30			
1890-91	436,469	1,782,881	12,692,843	282,457	29			
1891-92	440,696	1,812,104	12,928,148	286,780	39			
1892-93	439,596	1,824,704	12,965,306	290,339	41	549,991	7,577	1,502
1893-94	436,903	1,817,291	13,098,725	328,162	33	569,484	10,664	1,840
1894-95	431,547	1,833,900	13,180,943	337,588	33	563,484	12,773	1,701
1895-96	(d)424,995	(d)1,795,314	(d)12,791,084	(d)339,718	40	569,484	16,139	1,884
1896-97	(d)418,444	(d)1,756,728	(d)12,401,225	(d)341,849	33	558,592	18,035	2,292
1897-98	(d)411,892	(d)1,718,142	(d)12,011,367	(d)343,979	36	534,802	16,841	2,151
1898-99	(d)405,340	(d)1,679,556	(d)11,621,508	(d)346,109	33	520,577	15,677	1,956
1899-1900	(d)398,789	(d)1,640,970	(d)11,231,649	(d)348,240	41	669,944	15,458	1,994
1900-01	392,237	1,602,384	10,841,790	350,370	41	721,360	24,189	2,047
1901-02	(d)387,277	(d)1,623,282	(d)10,673,265	(d)334,295	39	708,645	25,222	1,943
1902-03	(d)382,317	(d)1,644,180	(d)10,504,741	(d)318,220	36	635,516	21,254	1,803
1903-04	(d)377,357	(d)1,665,078	(d)10,336,216	(d)302,145	28	787,492	17,794	1,746
1904-05	372,397	1,685,976	10,167,691	286,070	39	797,148	21,176	2,577
1905-06	385,513	1,737,690	11,455,115	273,682	34	738,194	27,670	2,154
1906-07	406,840	1,804,323	12,937,440	220,452	36	666,711	26,130	1,949
1907-08	424,648	1,842,807	14,146,734	211,002	54	826,543	26,130	2,213
1908-09	424,903	1,574,162	12,545,742	179,358	43	673,376	28,915	1,995
1909-10	442,829	1,549,640	12,937,983	217,921	51	740,990	21,982	1,964
1910-11	472,080	1,547,569	12,882,665	333,281	58	894,098	25,023	2,280
1911-12	507,813	1,647,127	13,857,804	348,069	61	1,082,651	32,025	2,055
							39,236	2,064

LIVESTOCK AND PASTORAL PRODUCTION: VICTORIA, 1836-37 TO 1981-82—*continued*

Year	Livestock (a)				Greasy wool production (b)	Milk production for all purposes (c)	Butter production (factory and farm) (c)	Cheese production (factory and farm) (c)
	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs				
					'000 tonnes	kilotres	tonnes	tonnes
1912-13	530,494	1,508,089	11,892,224	240,072	52	906,022	30,688	1,895
1913-14	562,331	1,528,553	12,113,682	221,277	60	986,265	33,285	2,203
1914-15	552,053	1,362,542	12,051,685	243,196	55	880,364	28,314	1,994
1915-16	493,779	1,043,604	10,545,632	192,002	49	646,068	19,207	1,586
1916-17	514,403	1,175,098	12,576,587	254,436	54	848,269	27,020	2,663
1917-18	514,061	1,371,049	14,760,013	323,159	59	908,027	29,214	2,397
1918-19	523,788	1,596,544	15,773,902	267,819	69	941,504	30,046	2,746
1919-20	513,500	1,631,120	14,422,745	186,810	72	895,052	27,314	3,509
1920-21	487,503	1,575,159	12,171,084	175,275	52	929,775	29,455	1,649
1921-22	496,124	1,750,369	12,325,818	230,770	58	1,114,615	37,640	2,575
1922-23	494,947	1,785,660	11,765,520	294,962	58	1,133,440	38,263	1,703
1923-24	486,075	1,591,367	11,059,761	259,795	49	1,186,316	39,413	3,274
1924-25	473,236	1,605,554	12,649,898	288,509	61	1,340,028	45,744	2,810
1925-26	463,051	1,513,787	13,740,500	339,601	63	1,159,798	37,080	2,395
1926-27	447,988	1,435,761	14,919,653	284,271	69	1,174,878	37,192	2,720
1927-28	428,666	1,327,077	15,557,067	212,785	67	1,184,929	38,225	2,550
1928-29	412,867	1,304,426	16,498,222	222,084	82	1,268,505	42,514	2,497
1929-30	393,015	1,335,242	17,427,203	265,978	73	1,246,411	41,113	3,155
1930-31	379,872	1,429,920	16,477,995	281,245	67	1,426,631	49,898	3,658
1931-32	375,459	1,637,530	16,376,217	286,780	72	1,649,631	59,934	3,504
1932-33	372,907	1,900,922	17,512,394	287,627	77	1,803,507	65,574	4,168
1933-34	361,005	2,002,235	17,195,969	240,530	73	1,676,625	61,209	3,794
1934-35	357,877	2,085,080	16,783,631	265,006	71	1,832,252	66,972	4,579
1935-36	356,106	2,091,246	17,457,291	314,301	74	1,817,263	67,192	4,978
1936-37	357,158	2,005,759	17,663,103	318,673	74	1,924,383	70,203	6,055
1937-38	359,106	1,880,429	18,863,467	285,259	81	1,856,037	64,103	7,469
1938-39	343,828	1,697,295	17,007,352	252,462	75	1,717,881	59,227	8,869
1939-40	326,217	1,787,597	18,251,870	297,655	81	2,077,195	74,764	11,111
1940-41	318,441	1,922,336	20,412,362	397,945	85	2,036,066	70,917	8,336
1941-42	302,401	1,986,544	20,598,201	285,227	97	1,948,868	63,873	10,215
1942-43	292,534	2,022,892	19,614,040	307,929	96	1,734,970	57,005	11,461
1943-44	277,662	2,013,033	19,220,457	337,878	89	1,639,011	50,638	12,093
1944-45	253,782	1,903,110	16,457,101	296,232	80	1,638,870	47,952	12,457
1945-46	232,473	1,827,087	14,655,277	271,887	69	1,707,689	51,969	15,197
1946-47	227,164	2,060,061	16,598,490	290,450	89	2,025,447	61,205	17,929
1947-48	221,454	2,174,203	17,931,173	271,492	91	1,948,313	58,499	16,438
1948-49	213,090	2,224,543	19,170,312	223,823	93	2,102,321	62,118	18,671
1949-50	200,143	2,230,948	19,161,043	212,901	102	2,133,266	65,709	21,542
1950-51	186,415	2,216,253	20,011,933	237,127	99	2,026,060	59,993	22,938
1951-52	169,246	2,214,530	21,537,229	213,670	102	2,031,275	61,310	22,612
1952-53	153,662	2,297,208	21,368,196	182,824	114	1,983,991	59,112	22,745
1953-54	140,818	2,370,184	21,438,007	232,384	101	2,156,474	65,429	26,404
1954-55	132,172	2,456,303	22,329,515	263,666	115	2,440,500	81,469	20,628
1955-56	118,705	2,616,587	23,343,212	227,223	124	2,625,253	92,820	14,235
1956-57	107,859	2,765,049	25,830,544	258,336	136	2,669,460	90,755	20,897
1957-58	98,067	2,749,611	27,090,469	278,628	135	2,570,537	88,267	15,101
1958-59	91,452	2,651,022	26,925,365	253,125	136	2,650,134	90,106	17,754
1959-60	81,225	2,624,019	26,596,613	284,505	147	2,720,030	91,351	19,573
1960-61	64,462	2,863,799	26,619,849	318,523	146	2,712,679	91,375	20,320
1961-62	61,540	3,155,877	27,532,550	325,120	150	2,868,346	97,671	24,327
1962-63	58,172	3,225,196	27,471,730	297,791	144	3,034,797	103,494	26,067
1963-64	55,593	3,300,724	28,412,835	322,051	152	3,159,487	105,412	25,604
1964-65	55,843	3,316,407	30,437,154	378,055	164	3,390,910	112,720	27,658
1965-66		3,396,984	30,968,459	383,509	166	3,413,727	113,706	26,380
1966-67	54,687	3,528,159	31,239,391	350,591	172	3,621,747	121,067	30,802
1967-68		3,474,216	27,908,754	376,990	151	3,337,753	109,425	33,371
1968-69		3,877,826	30,184,874	421,655	165	3,708,659	127,099	34,136
1969-70	53,082	4,462,391	33,156,930	495,128	196	4,056,831	142,316	33,505
1970-71		5,060,711	33,761,487	519,779	195	4,086,799	135,844	35,804
1971-72		5,456,589	29,495,847	589,992	201	3,973,122	130,543	38,788
1972-73		5,464,467	24,105,497	585,227	172	3,944,600	128,029	49,001
1973-74		5,839,690	25,787,551	424,248	155	3,916,529	127,730	47,903
1974-75		6,192,417	26,409,930	383,144	166	3,744,632	119,291	44,833
1975-76		5,868,435	25,395,140	392,834	138	3,517,764	107,731	52,252
1976-77	45,529	5,104,278	21,925,450	396,753	121	3,212,247	88,638	51,788
1977-78	51,561	4,572,412	22,021,356	401,197	130	2,897,949	89,954	64,030
1978-79	63,001	4,134,356	22,750,116	389,976	139	3,247,553	84,120	80,746
1979-80	66,241	4,252,272	24,400,065	421,735	147	3,154,536	68,647	94,829
1980-81	66,748	4,312,123	25,486,993	400,179	146	3,065,000	67,765	80,490
1981-82	63,689	4,121,248	25,340,923	406,253	148	3,028,000	65,599	93,895

(a) 1836-37 to 1900-01 number at 31 March.  
 1901-02 to 1941-42 number at 1 March.  
 1942-43 to 1981-82 number at 31 March.  
 (b) Includes dead and fellmongered wool and wool exported on skins.  
 (c) 1907-09 to 1915-16 year ended 31 December of first mentioned year.  
 (d) Estimated. Figures derived by interpolation.

## WHEAT, OATS, AND BARLEY FOR GRAIN: VICTORIA, 1836 TO 1981-82

Year ended 31 March—	Wheat			Oats			Barley		
	Area	Production	Yield per hectare	Area	Production	Yield per hectare	Area	Production	Yield per hectare
	hectares	tonnes	tonnes	hectares	tonnes	tonnes	hectares	tonnes	tonnes
1836	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1837	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1838	34	—	—	9	—	—	—	—	—
1839	527	343	0.65	102	—	—	.65	—	—
1840	785	1,372	1.75	332	489	1.47	121	204	1.69
1841	689	1,302	1.89	520	677	1.30	143	213	1.49
1842	984	1,507	1.53	975	1,199	1.23	308	454	1.47
1843	1,892	2,832	1.50	1,036	1,284	1.24	430	571	1.33
1844	2,800	3,768	1.35	1,248	787	0.63	662	909	1.37
1845	4,640	6,388	1.38	1,949	1,295	0.66	303	891	2.94
1846-47	6,395	9,415	1.47	2,468	3,372	1.37	685	1,083	1.58
1847-48	7,155	9,518	1.33	2,903	3,763	1.30	875	660	0.75
1848-49	7,846	11,164	1.42	3,354	1,431	0.43	1,044	826	0.79
1849-50	9,812	14,293	1.46	2,177	2,351	1.08	932	1,223	1.31
1850-51	11,538	15,136	1.31	2,027	1,806	0.89	851	910	1.07
1851-52	11,988	19,958	1.66	2,601	2,401	0.92	537	779	1.45
1852-53	6,808	13,573	1.99	1,193	1,760	1.48	166	214	1.29
1853-54	3,057	4,197	1.37	926	921	0.99	166	233	1.40
1854-55	5,191	6,806	1.31	2,161	2,372	1.10	280	325	1.16
1855-56	17,274	31,244	1.81	7,203	11,151	1.55	627	1,024	1.63
1856-57	32,438	50,587	1.56	10,127	11,642	1.15	904	1,577	1.74
1857-58	35,301	49,218	1.39	16,277	22,676	1.39	2,189	3,548	1.62
1858-59	31,660	42,541	1.34	31,374	39,197	1.25	2,154	2,622	1.22
1859-60	43,339	62,490	1.44	36,489	46,332	1.27	1,660	2,232	1.34
1860-61	65,256	94,163	1.44	34,939	47,785	1.37	1,669	1,902	1.14
1861-62	79,692	98,186	1.23	36,851	38,763	1.05	1,384	1,545	1.12
1862-63	65,563	81,878	1.25	43,785	45,437	1.04	2,764	3,244	1.17
1863-64	60,457	36,435	0.60	61,644	63,458	1.03	3,155	2,963	0.94
1864-65	50,602	51,693	1.02	58,397	48,887	0.84	3,095	2,832	0.92
1865-66	72,288	95,642	1.32	41,609	41,358	0.99	2,787	3,481	1.25
1866-67	84,413	126,313	1.50	52,319	70,405	1.35	4,012	6,786	1.69
1867-68	87,812	92,850	1.06	50,725	42,338	0.83	6,468	7,364	1.14
1868-69	105,139	115,101	1.09	46,513	40,978	0.88	7,779	6,638	0.85
1869-70	116,758	155,049	1.33	58,595	68,246	1.16	11,378	15,677	1.38
1870-71	114,998	78,120	0.68	60,423	40,588	0.67	7,950	5,462	0.69
1871-72	135,412	122,492	0.90	71,202	59,872	0.84	6,787	7,609	1.12
1872-73	132,156	146,722	1.11	50,790	44,529	0.88	8,600	10,052	1.17
1873-74	141,630	129,336	0.91	44,917	31,596	0.70	10,252	11,399	1.11
1874-75	134,735	132,000	0.98	46,507	38,494	0.83	11,940	14,059	1.18
1875-76	130,066	135,504	1.04	50,222	49,347	0.98	12,775	15,891	1.24
1876-77	162,448	143,691	0.88	46,623	41,626	0.89	10,131	12,028	1.19
1877-78	228,471	191,006	0.84	42,587	37,022	0.87	7,736	8,589	1.11
1878-79	279,890	164,946	0.59	54,401	42,928	0.79	9,256	9,461	1.02
1879-80	286,189	255,795	0.89	67,831	72,997	1.08	17,475	24,164	1.38
1880-81	395,494	264,736	0.67	54,264	42,863	0.79	27,774	24,241	0.87
1881-82	375,034	327,167	0.63	59,487	65,537	1.10	19,689	21,037	1.07
1882-83	392,287	238,176	0.61	68,753	80,667	1.17	17,693	17,202	0.97
1883-84	446,932	423,753	0.95	76,146	85,595	1.12	18,952	24,263	1.28
1884-85	443,679	283,944	0.64	75,964	79,700	1.05	25,201	24,549	0.97
1885-86	412,813	249,581	0.60	87,410	85,136	0.97	29,992	29,548	0.99
1886-87	426,007	329,309	0.77	75,176	77,221	1.03	14,986	18,775	1.25
1887-88	498,955	362,750	0.73	80,547	82,781	1.03	16,585	21,692	1.31
1888-89	492,580	235,352	0.48	79,933	50,871	0.64	33,784	25,660	0.76
1889-90	477,018	312,862	0.66	95,707	102,419	1.07	36,715	41,529	1.13
1890-91	463,431	347,034	0.75	89,455	89,255	1.00	35,512	35,643	1.00
1891-92	539,318	372,289	0.69	76,954	80,840	1.05	18,219	19,146	1.05
1892-93	543,293	403,189	0.74	71,890	83,004	1.15	15,189	17,559	1.16
1893-94	594,629	415,179	0.70	88,587	89,836	1.01	19,872	23,448	1.18
1894-95	555,904	311,506	0.56	107,826	102,209	0.95	39,400	36,207	0.92
1895-96	571,714	154,290	0.27	103,398	52,255	0.51	31,743	16,229	0.51
1896-97	639,652	192,986	0.30	169,750	123,685	0.73	25,241	18,498	0.73
1897-98	707,747	287,946	0.43	119,052	87,262	0.73	15,056	17,201	1.14
1898-99	871,760	532,916	0.61	107,711	100,215	0.93	19,368	25,233	1.30
1899-1900	876,426	414,709	0.47	109,783	110,968	1.01	32,202	33,250	1.03
1900-01	816,382	485,725	0.59	146,775	173,859	1.18	23,817	27,567	1.16
1901-02	709,988	330,053	0.46	133,202	122,014	0.92	13,121	15,736	1.20
1902-03	807,054	69,927	0.09	175,427	79,886	0.46	15,263	12,727	0.83
1903-04	796,664	776,339	0.97	175,487	243,760	1.39	19,328	28,643	1.48
1904-05	921,687	574,034	0.62	139,220	112,533	0.81	18,652	19,824	1.06
1905-06	837,909	637,325	0.76	126,283	131,223	1.04	16,567	24,089	1.45
1906-07	822,279	615,562	0.75	153,980	160,493	1.04	21,374	28,473	1.33
1907-08	747,504	329,329	0.44	161,368	94,373	0.58	25,525	24,024	0.94
1908-09	720,303	635,365	0.88	169,915	201,847	1.19	26,162	34,273	1.31
1909-10	848,692	783,266	0.92	155,491	143,579	0.92	23,716	23,210	0.98
1910-11	970,473	947,455	0.98	158,913	175,978	1.11	21,322	30,399	1.43
1911-12	875,767	568,584	0.65	122,311	83,195	0.68	21,667	23,237	1.07
1912-13	843,858	713,676	0.85	177,755	151,021	0.85	28,988	39,565	1.36
1913-14	1,038,368	896,378	0.86	178,895	161,303	0.90	33,731	41,116	1.22
1914-15	1,158,833	107,255	0.09	175,964	29,183	0.17	25,290	13,621	0.54

WHEAT, OATS, AND BARLEY FOR GRAIN: VICTORIA, 1836 TO 1981-82—continued

Year ended 31 March—	Wheat			Oats			Barley		
	Area	Production	Yield per hectare	Area	Production	Yield per hectare	Area	Production	Yield per hectare
	hectares	tonnes	tonnes	hectares	tonnes	tonnes	hectares	tonnes	tonnes
1915-16	1,489,233	1,592,700	1.07	143,231	169,260	1.18	24,848	39,338	1.58
1916-17	1,264,924	1,392,414	1.10	178,709	150,398	0.84	37,642	40,818	1.08
1917-18	1,088,693	1,027,048	0.94	118,660	111,426	0.94	34,370	44,696	1.30
1918-19	896,173	686,917	0.77	138,753	95,708	0.69	40,549	46,009	1.13
1919-20	776,297	404,379	0.52	226,441	119,804	0.53	34,529	34,669	1.00
1920-21	929,104	1,074,160	1.16	179,533	197,897	1.10	38,022	56,603	1.49
1921-22	1,056,715	1,193,881	1.13	128,966	110,355	0.86	40,520	52,985	1.31
1922-23	1,070,117	971,519	0.91	199,250	146,845	0.74	41,591	55,384	1.33
1923-24	993,147	1,028,631	1.04	210,701	169,937	0.81	22,891	33,009	1.44
1924-25	1,094,806	1,289,051	1.18	209,315	173,671	0.83	25,804	32,768	1.27
1925-26	1,017,176	796,205	0.78	177,129	90,685	0.51	41,843	40,255	0.96
1926-27	1,179,787	1,276,029	1.08	122,791	88,614	0.72	35,975	43,561	1.21
1927-28	1,240,028	711,981	0.57	214,238	84,962	0.40	31,067	35,201	1.13
1928-29	1,504,988	1,274,200	0.85	140,435	101,648	0.72	30,534	35,292	1.16
1929-30	1,443,165	691,618	0.48	255,047	91,781	0.36	39,529	49,517	1.25
1930-31	1,861,637	1,464,588	0.79	150,148	125,079	0.83	35,417	44,977	1.27
1931-32	1,443,058	1,141,852	0.79	177,910	117,032	0.66	26,863	28,501	1.06
1932-33	1,307,522	1,302,077	1.00	149,267	115,464	0.77	37,860	45,256	1.20
1933-34	1,235,478	1,159,739	0.94	212,855	122,992	0.58	43,034	42,841	1.00
1934-35	994,954	703,536	0.71	205,029	95,232	0.46	35,450	36,503	1.03
1935-36	940,390	1,022,000	1.09	204,619	115,486	0.56	47,094	52,490	1.11
1936-37	968,748	1,166,045	1.20	154,213	110,820	0.72	40,470	48,605	1.20
1937-38	1,087,010	1,311,060	1.21	159,623	96,655	0.61	36,566	61,428	1.09
1938-39	1,112,224	492,720	0.44	266,283	52,785	0.20	71,181	37,916	0.53
1939-40	1,144,216	1,226,185	1.07	177,882	150,241	0.84	82,653	84,779	1.03
1940-41	1,081,616	367,993	0.34	226,300	47,614	0.21	75,939	26,920	0.35
1941-42	1,115,752	1,277,875	1.15	170,754	147,858	0.87	82,669	108,682	1.31
1942-43	868,115	1,137,695	1.31	173,223	120,437	0.70	31,502	28,887	0.92
1943-44	725,775	537,053	0.74	172,520	67,222	0.39	33,694	24,452	0.73
1944-45	866,728	95,191	0.11	292,252	24,230	0.08	52,226	8,154	0.16
1945-46	1,315,793	806,499	0.61	206,990	134,296	0.65	54,281	39,548	0.73
1946-47	1,416,860	1,332,770	0.94	183,686	116,146	0.63	55,856	52,660	0.94
1947-48	1,305,987	1,278,107	0.98	263,094	279,067	1.06	66,445	81,120	1.22
1948-49	1,212,320	1,335,292	1.10	218,370	135,889	0.62	79,229	80,460	1.02
1949-50	1,144,562	1,563,093	1.37	195,540	158,182	0.81	95,556	110,590	1.16
1950-51	1,107,008	1,394,414	1.26	213,357	163,910	0.77	87,856	102,287	1.16
1951-52	996,974	1,251,772	1.26	273,771	202,325	0.74	75,362	82,091	1.09
1952-53	903,298	1,369,885	1.52	305,995	228,593	0.75	94,938	107,369	1.13
1953-54	966,918	1,461,410	1.51	235,962	178,746	0.76	151,577	179,897	1.19
1954-55	967,270	1,319,533	1.36	260,797	181,813	0.70	113,553	112,167	0.99
1955-56	866,599	1,118,098	1.29	352,509	269,581	0.76	125,093	155,964	1.25
1956-57	633,423	960,224	1.52	247,905	173,365	0.70	139,731	171,211	1.23
1957-58	742,535	874,551	1.18	251,814	172,867	0.69	142,346	123,536	0.87
1958-59	732,492	1,162,017	1.59	392,824	423,450	1.08	146,489	194,609	1.33
1959-60	914,886	1,055,762	1.15	272,354	230,443	0.85	112,341	126,843	1.13
1960-61	1,081,160	1,839,413	1.70	337,880	374,954	1.11	125,167	175,050	1.40
1961-62	1,152,862	1,547,976	1.34	313,390	295,953	0.94	91,253	105,561	1.16
1962-63	1,264,559	1,847,914	1.46	377,235	490,643	1.30	78,629	124,018	1.58
1963-64	1,258,187	2,076,607	1.65	368,290	360,784	0.98	76,946	91,297	1.19
1964-65	1,309,580	2,127,322	1.62	391,040	407,253	1.04	75,651	98,304	1.30
1965-66	1,244,046	1,649,027	1.33	390,806	322,660	0.83	77,812	72,975	0.94
1966-67	1,269,916	1,929,481	1.52	436,606	566,959	1.30	92,127	122,936	1.33
1967-68	1,304,659	770,668	0.59	292,559	124,454	0.43	123,434	61,433	0.50
1968-69	1,612,303	2,469,205	1.53	401,179	548,485	1.37	165,525	201,500	1.22
1969-70	1,334,757	2,273,692	1.70	357,601	470,412	1.32	196,930	257,927	1.31
1970-71	760,423	1,004,288	1.32	399,227	466,603	1.17	269,087	318,368	1.18
1971-72	1,040,169	1,797,280	1.73	329,477	449,423	1.36	295,812	390,858	1.32
1972-73	1,087,377	1,249,303	1.14	254,656	238,227	0.93	277,085	213,587	0.77
1973-74	1,257,938	1,405,367	1.11	271,155	232,740	0.85	221,804	285,358	1.28
1974-75	1,140,653	2,091,303	1.83	197,807	186,023	0.94	242,952	319,358	1.31
1975-76	1,073,130	1,578,505	1.47	281,730	337,165	1.19	344,306	444,600	1.29
1976-77	1,103,099	1,779,550	1.61	241,290	309,016	1.28	366,237	401,827	1.09
1977-78	1,270,263	1,496,693	1.17	228,378	268,546	1.17	418,407	358,632	0.85
1978-79	1,337,441	2,998,471	2.24	290,782	446,197	1.53	365,438	519,099	1.42
1979-80	1,456,901	3,249,550	2.23	255,737	390,300	1.52	325,356	494,106	1.51
1980-81	1,431,042	2,538,004	1.77	218,682	321,664	1.47	302,777	418,049	1.38
1981-82	1,321,674	2,466,794	1.87	245,148	305,997	1.25	314,909	459,426	1.46

## MAIZE FOR GRAIN, HAY, AND POTATOES: VICTORIA, 1838 TO 1981-82

Year ended 31 March	Maize for grain			Hay			Potatoes		
	Area	Production	Yield per hectare	Area	Production	Yield per hectare	Area	Production	Yield per hectare
	hectares	tonnes	tonnes	hectares	tonnes	tonnes	hectares	tonnes	tonnes
1838	8	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	—
1839	57	—	—	—	—	—	78	—	—
1840	—	—	—	—	—	—	61	305	5.00
1841	33	30	0.91	182	914	5.02	377	3,794	10.06
1842	28	35	1.25	344	2,337	6.79	574	6,092	10.61
1843	32	—	—	656	2,704	4.12	837	7,044	8.42
1844	43	84	1.95	718	6,563	9.14	1,006	12,617	12.54
1845	31	50	1.61	2,023	9,795	4.84	826	11,317	13.70
1846-47	49	85	1.73	1,840	9,452	5.14	866	9,169	10.59
1847-48	53	92	1.74	2,053	10,050	4.90	1,068	7,371	6.90
1848-49	60	100	1.67	2,389	10,796	4.52	1,043	12,180	11.68
1849-50	12	6	0.50	4,525	15,891	3.51	870	6,024	6.92
1850-51	10	—	—	5,490	21,308	3.88	1,148	5,703	4.97
1851-52	4	15	3.75	6,808	30,169	4.43	962	6,084	6.32
1852-53	0.4	2	5.00	5,706	21,629	3.79	800	4,584	5.73
1853-54	8	2	0.25	8,834	34,462	3.90	662	2,796	4.22
1854-55	15	10	0.67	12,753	54,488	4.27	1,334	8,518	6.39
1855-56	49	80	1.63	16,264	84,622	5.20	4,458	60,757	13.63
1856-57	132	211	1.60	21,038	82,453	3.92	6,589	37,487	5.69
1857-58	180	167	0.93	30,568	139,682	4.57	8,376	51,936	6.20
1858-59	194	246	1.27	34,869	115,365	3.31	12,151	110,208	9.07
1859-60	299	187	0.63	39,890	137,820	3.46	11,178	49,753	4.45
1860-61	668	636	0.95	36,794	146,526	3.98	10,053	78,498	7.81
1861-62	694	528	0.76	30,222	93,982	3.11	10,997	60,317	5.48
1862-63	506	501	0.99	41,132	112,456	2.73	10,045	51,409	5.12
1863-64	692	852	1.23	38,991	123,796	3.17	11,163	76,150	6.82
1864-65	242	101	0.42	34,457	99,300	2.88	12,615	60,788	4.82
1865-66	132	121	0.92	39,620	97,643	2.46	12,806	84,501	6.60
1866-67	658	699	1.06	37,422	163,831	4.38	13,113	90,307	6.89
1867-68	234	288	1.23	43,857	142,849	3.26	14,500	119,677	8.25
1868-69	349	433	1.24	45,439	124,771	2.75	14,651	81,227	5.54
1869-70	437	562	1.29	56,832	228,424	4.02	16,680	129,694	7.78
1870-71	410	509	1.24	66,037	186,657	2.83	15,793	129,627	8.21
1871-72	692	783	1.13	41,766	146,958	3.52	15,809	127,861	8.09
1872-73	773	958	1.24	49,119	162,531	3.31	15,587	135,132	8.67
1873-74	793	1,025	1.29	46,811	149,764	3.20	15,519	111,585	7.19
1874-75	616	616	1.00	48,170	159,785	3.32	14,238	126,305	8.87
1875-76	949	944	0.99	62,837	209,929	3.34	14,933	126,373	8.46
1876-77	651	658	1.01	59,654	183,458	3.08	16,370	136,234	8.32
1877-78	492	560	1.14	71,610	211,492	2.95	15,017	117,271	7.81
1878-79	785	1,035	1.32	69,929	212,383	3.04	14,782	100,546	6.80
1879-80	990	1,572	1.59	81,524	297,100	3.64	16,835	170,628	10.14
1880-81	716	1,252	1.75	101,032	305,405	3.02	18,596	131,337	7.06
1881-82	722	2,058	2.85	85,854	242,626	2.83	15,835	136,445	8.62
1882-83	1,093	3,343	3.06	125,203	332,640	2.66	13,867	131,685	9.50
1883-84	1,040	2,979	2.86	122,602	440,095	3.59	16,266	163,673	10.06
1884-85	1,560	4,480	2.87	137,482	377,001	2.74	15,687	163,705	10.44
1885-86	1,833	4,604	2.51	170,387	449,214	2.64	17,240	165,821	9.62
1886-87	1,983	5,879	2.96	180,146	490,802	2.72	20,224	173,400	8.57
1887-88	2,441	8,092	3.32	178,795	634,139	3.55	19,531	201,407	10.31
1888-89	2,343	6,786	2.90	166,460	313,062	1.88	17,431	133,254	7.64
1889-90	3,418	9,069	2.65	182,734	677,080	3.71	19,076	159,626	8.37
1890-91	4,191	14,582	3.48	167,156	576,892	3.45	21,779	207,432	9.52
1891-92	3,331	11,734	3.52	149,531	522,662	3.50	23,202	203,741	8.78
1892-93	2,698	9,479	3.51	207,461	751,927	3.62	16,428	144,912	8.82
1893-94	2,624	4,583	1.75	166,821	511,434	3.07	16,555	147,031	8.88
1894-95	2,297	7,482	3.26	199,339	631,523	3.17	22,817	199,863	8.76
1895-96	2,908	8,938	3.07	187,969	397,134	2.11	17,764	119,120	6.71
1896-97	3,946	14,378	3.64	168,619	456,263	2.71	17,617	148,907	8.45
1897-98	4,390	13,082	2.98	234,718	670,222	2.86	17,886	68,376	3.82
1898-99	4,309	14,912	3.46	228,787	734,908	3.21	16,694	163,728	9.81
1899-1900	4,467	15,872	3.55	182,185	605,762	3.32	22,448	176,164	7.85
1900-01	3,800	15,347	4.04	203,195	688,635	3.39	15,571	125,102	8.03
1901-02	4,055	15,634	3.86	266,785	898,563	3.37	16,211	127,488	7.86
1902-03	4,414	19,064	4.32	235,076	610,922	2.60	20,115	171,468	8.52
1903-04	4,779	22,969	4.81	296,778	1,252,854	4.22	19,801	170,428	8.61
1904-05	4,611	15,844	3.44	183,104	522,571	2.85	18,985	94,363	4.97
1905-06	4,769	16,288	3.42	239,481	878,047	3.67	18,077	117,203	6.48
1906-07	4,678	17,907	3.83	251,366	895,420	3.56	22,408	169,517	7.57
1907-08	4,388	12,923	2.95	276,074	693,322	2.51	21,913	137,279	6.26
1908-09	5,667	16,523	2.92	387,030	1,438,469	3.72	19,386	155,293	8.01
1909-10	7,734	29,415	3.80	349,794	1,205,785	3.45	25,248	177,778	7.04
1910-11	8,155	24,947	3.06	336,969	1,313,153	3.90	25,456	165,933	6.52
1911-12	7,375	20,135	2.73	348,113	1,048,856	3.01	19,300	121,003	6.27
1912-13	8,088	18,169	2.25	487,132	1,598,179	3.28	19,253	194,179	10.09
1913-14	7,269	20,334	2.80	395,655	1,372,048	3.47	30,179	179,436	5.95
1914-15	7,864	25,869	3.29	362,500	578,088	1.59	26,505	192,262	7.25
1915-16	9,008	25,398	2.82	538,417	2,379,685	4.42	23,031	176,611	7.67

MAIZE FOR GRAIN, HAY, AND POTATOES: VICTORIA, 1838 TO 1981-82—*continued*

Year ended 31 March—	Maize for grain			Hay			Potatoes		
	Area	Production	Yield per hectare	Area	Production	Yield per hectare	Area	Production	Yield per hectare
	hectares	tonnes	tonnes	hectares	tonnes	tonnes	hectares	tonnes	tonnes
1916-17	9,339	29,779	3.19	363,079	1,252,506	3.45	29,792	191,009	6.41
1917-18	8,493	29,282	3.45	303,032	964,785	3.18	27,100	185,119	6.83
1918-19	9,129	18,078	1.98	398,405	1,131,738	2.84	20,890	139,740	6.69
1919-20	9,500	22,326	2.35	452,033	1,262,431	2.79	21,820	148,230	6.79
1920-21	9,773	27,075	2.77	539,607	2,016,711	3.74	25,369	174,383	6.87
1921-22	9,400	24,181	2.57	469,086	1,573,306	3.35	25,857	176,447	6.82
1922-23	10,460	22,351	2.14	510,474	1,691,814	3.31	24,986	150,735	6.03
1923-24	11,778	37,206	3.16	517,029	1,566,025	3.03	24,000	242,348	10.10
1924-25	9,359	22,658	2.42	453,375	1,516,544	3.35	24,805	141,275	5.70
1925-26	8,868	19,527	2.20	410,195	943,980	2.30	25,645	163,309	6.37
1926-27	8,112	17,410	2.15	437,463	1,410,248	3.22	26,784	165,524	6.18
1927-28	7,141	19,249	2.70	367,780	1,017,321	2.77	31,423	234,045	7.45
1928-29	6,506	17,268	2.65	406,735	1,287,779	3.17	27,685	142,408	5.14
1929-30	7,139	13,557	1.90	350,059	978,547	2.80	23,791	174,504	7.33
1930-31	6,567	17,600	2.68	516,945	1,631,675	3.16	27,353	176,123	6.44
1931-32	6,359	15,543	2.44	386,815	1,086,438	2.81	28,299	209,803	7.41
1932-33	6,647	12,120	1.82	422,704	1,408,274	3.33	28,240	185,400	6.57
1933-34	7,907	16,359	2.07	484,109	1,375,524	2.84	24,628	144,413	5.86
1934-35	7,579	18,273	2.41	510,532	1,487,765	2.91	21,940	111,084	5.06
1935-36	8,246	16,222	1.97	461,488	1,368,572	2.97	17,922	105,596	5.90
1936-37	8,140	20,181	2.48	478,182	1,425,568	2.98	18,465	199,779	10.82
1937-38	8,449	19,910	2.36	436,672	1,265,932	2.90	16,635	136,874	8.23
1938-39	7,481	10,582	1.41	446,999	907,307	2.03	13,920	89,722	5.94
1939-40	7,674	9,670	1.26	487,570	1,850,103	3.79	13,022	82,342	6.86
1940-41	6,225	17,856	2.87	272,335	589,550	2.16	17,885	220,044	12.30
1941-42	3,883	7,770	2.00	407,915	1,466,673	3.60	13,513	120,355	8.91
1942-43	2,886	6,892	2.39	319,213	1,066,961	3.34	20,945	198,270	9.47
1943-44	2,670	3,821	1.43	299,740	978,561	3.26	28,502	220,869	7.75
1944-45	1,839	4,200	2.28	365,020	715,549	1.96	33,685	310,115	9.21
1945-46	2,756	7,822	2.84	429,168	1,467,430	3.42	25,495	234,453	9.20
1946-47	3,281	9,066	2.76	274,291	1,001,037	3.65	22,824	227,374	9.96
1947-48	3,225	8,230	2.55	265,938	1,059,169	3.98	24,038	187,849	7.81
1948-49	2,614	6,602	2.53	239,307	948,973	3.97	18,529	168,771	9.11
1949-50	2,078	4,931	2.37	245,452	1,016,919	4.14	20,498	170,575	8.32
1950-51	1,655	4,742	2.87	225,594	908,943	4.03	21,239	141,628	6.67
1951-52	1,665	4,266	2.56	259,168	1,063,565	4.10	17,041	181,262	10.64
1952-53	2,094	5,167	2.47	304,701	1,265,203	4.15	21,388	135,285	6.33
1953-54	2,272	7,571	3.33	326,672	1,382,501	4.23	21,345	217,144	10.17
1954-55	1,772	5,811	3.28	299,103	1,227,062	4.10	17,837	209,893	11.77
1955-56	1,431	4,466	3.12	355,836	1,550,489	4.36	14,981	165,859	11.07
1956-57	1,104	2,052	1.86	316,445	1,446,186	4.57	16,068	230,955	14.37
1957-58	1,731	6,141	3.55	352,465	1,436,084	4.07	20,172	255,190	12.65
1958-59	1,571	5,166	3.29	518,864	2,336,136	4.50	18,665	263,590	14.12
1959-60	1,369	4,584	3.35	342,991	1,372,687	4.00	19,630	246,441	12.55
1960-61	1,208	4,346	3.60	520,526	2,375,435	4.56	15,650	183,721	11.74
1961-62	1,339	4,871	3.64	373,133	1,610,602	4.32	14,758	199,178	13.50
1962-63	1,471	5,491	3.73	506,076	2,414,519	4.77	17,411	258,557	14.85
1963-64	1,376	5,167	3.76	460,729	1,978,587	4.29	16,036	203,600	12.70
1964-65	952	2,900	3.05	528,668	2,546,172	4.82	13,327	186,613	14.00
1965-66	681	2,578	3.79	465,529	1,902,893	4.09	13,894	244,651	17.61
1966-67	569	1,832	3.22	630,696	3,029,401	4.80	15,041	228,800	15.21
1967-68	371	812	2.19	471,545	1,581,443	3.35	16,321	219,407	13.44
1968-69	470	1,833	3.90	747,298	3,693,666	4.94	16,179	304,775	18.84
1969-70	463	1,827	3.95	485,606	2,500,451	5.15	16,092	284,040	17.65
1970-71	535	1,578	2.95	512,437	2,494,736	4.87	14,150	303,901	21.48
1971-72	375	1,919	5.12	636,408	3,001,701	4.72	13,986	306,707	21.93
1972-73	495	1,506	3.04	516,798	1,975,143	3.82	13,120	286,990	21.87
1973-74	654	1,890	2.89	625,726	2,967,388	4.74	12,474	254,021	20.36
1974-75	543	1,912	3.52	505,609	2,016,529	3.99	13,010	282,547	21.72
1975-76	526	2,515	4.78	487,554	1,858,060	3.81	10,940	244,467	22.35
1976-77	432	1,710	3.96	517,992	2,004,050	3.87	9,892	243,625	24.63
1977-78	505	1,848	3.66	380,091	1,251,562	3.29	12,147	303,433	24.98
1978-79	513	1,994	3.89	509,550	2,012,410	3.95	11,256	279,613	24.84
1979-80	575	2,850	4.96	411,812	1,615,035	3.92	13,077	333,614	25.51
1980-81	568	3,002	5.29	497,327	1,894,298	3.81	13,702	348,950	25.47
1981-82	476	2,357	4.95	556,335	1,982,371	3.56	13,668	354,197	25.91

## Mining

## MINERAL PRODUCTION: VICTORIA, 1851 TO 1981-82

Year	Gold		Black coal		Brown coal		Net value of total mining and quarrying production \$'000
	Quantity	Value (a)	Quantity	Value (a)	Quantity	Value (a)	
	gross oz	\$'000	tonnes	\$'000	tonnes	\$'000	\$'000
1851	212,899	1,703					
1852	2,286,535	18,292					
1853	2,744,098	21,953					
1854	2,218,483	17,748					
1855	2,819,288	22,554					
1856	3,053,744	24,430					
1857	2,830,213	22,642					
1858	2,596,231	20,770	2,145	4			
1859	2,348,703	18,790					
1860	2,224,069	17,793					
1861	2,035,173	16,281					
1862	1,730,201	13,842					
1863	1,694,819	13,559					
1864	1,622,447	12,980					
1865	1,611,554	12,892	200	—			
1866	1,546,948	12,373					
1867	1,501,446	12,012					
1868	1,684,918	13,479					
1869	1,544,756	12,358					
1870	1,304,304	10,434	102	—			
1871	1,368,942	10,950					
1872	1,331,377	10,651	10	—			
1873	1,170,397	9,363	512	1			
1874	1,097,643	8,781	2,956	6			
1875	1,068,417	8,547					
1876	963,760	7,710	1,113	2			
1877	809,653	6,477	2,459	5			
1878	758,040	6,064					
1879	758,947	6,072					
1880	829,121	6,633					
1881	833,378	6,667					
1882	864,600	6,917					
1883	780,253	6,242					
1884	778,618	6,229	3,333	7			
1885	735,218	5,882					
1886	665,196	5,322	87	—			
1887	617,751	4,942	3,411	8			
1888	625,026	5,000	8,711	14			
1889	614,838	4,919	14,830	22			
1890	588,560	4,708	14,835	28	9,477	5	
1891	576,399	4,611	23,200	39			
1892	654,456	5,236	23,738	40			
1893	671,126	5,369	93,198	98			
1894	716,954	5,736	174,415	190			
1895	740,086	5,921	197,344	237			
1896	805,087	6,441	230,198	226			
1897	812,766	6,502	240,069	217			
1898	837,257	6,699	246,758	206			
1899	854,500	6,836	266,591	227			
1900	807,407	6,459	214,992	203			
	fine oz						
1901	730,453	6,206	212,689	294			
1902	720,866	6,124	228,778	312			
1903	767,297	6,519	65,230	82			
1904	765,600	6,504	123,695	140			
1905	747,166	6,347	157,625	158			
1906	772,290	6,561	163,209	161			
1907	695,576	5,909	140,808	159			
1908	671,208	5,702	115,283	159			
1909	654,222	5,558	130,230	154			
1910	570,383	4,845	374,982	378	457	1	
1911	504,000	4,278	664,359	598			
1912	480,131	4,079	598,599	517			
1913	434,932	3,695	603,444	549			
1914	413,218	3,510	627,447	577			
1915	329,068	2,796	597,543	550	2,910	1	
1916	256,643	2,180	423,879	432	2,962	1	
1917	201,872	1,715	473,703	671	39,772	21	
1918	158,827	1,349	446,630	699	67,263	36	
1919	35,428	1,151	430,749	744	113,420	69	
1920	152,792	1,298	449,339	929	165,293	128	
1921	104,512	888	523,122	1,207	80,496	62	
1922	106,872	908	568,261	1,329	91,853	63	
1923	95,403	810	484,476	1,051	118,764	76	
1924	67,167	571	526,634	1,139	129,536	82	
1925	47,296	402	542,821	1,192	884,439	326	

MINERAL PRODUCTION: VICTORIA, 1851 TO 1981-82—continued

Year	Gold		Black coal		Brown coal		Net value of total mining and quarrying production
	Quantity	Value (a)	Quantity	Value (a)	Quantity	Value (a)	
	gross oz	\$'000	tonnes	\$'000	tonnes	\$'000	\$'000
1926	49,078	417	600,487	1,316	973,310	378	
1927	38,538	327	695,227	1,525	1,478,842	440	
1928	33,917	288	668,889	1,462	1,617,407	405	
1929	26,275	223	715,124	1,627	1,769,122	356	3,402
1930	24,119	205	714,778	1,618	1,860,903	347	3,480
1931	43,637	513	580,512	724	2,229,674	494	2,825
1932	47,745	712	439,292	551	2,654,443	544	2,189
1933	58,183	908	531,394	658	2,621,470	624	2,388
1934	70,196	1,208	362,687	431	2,659,545	524	2,762
1935	87,609	1,546	484,143	870	2,257,170	635	2,919
1936	117,596	1,986	433,574	781	3,093,768	646	3,587
1937	145,799	2,552	262,085	508	3,448,391	652	3,187
1938	144,243	2,563	312,189	573	3,734,441	703	3,453
1939	156,522	3,078	370,752	520	3,709,613	772	3,485
1940	180,567	3,848	271,990	461	4,347,145	783	4,222
1941	149,769	3,201	331,680	608	4,638,916	846	5,019
1942	101,497	2,122	317,875	822	5,013,049	939	4,427
1943	56,511	1,181	291,708	859	5,173,451	1,057	3,769
1944	54,086	1,137	261,828	816	5,096,951	1,133	3,088
1945	61,790	1,323	251,266	989	5,532,502	1,282	3,097
1946	86,993	1,873	194,360	795	5,798,607	1,413	3,470
1947	84,709	1,823	176,471	600	6,238,689	1,875	4,108
1948	68,579	1,476	170,229	695	6,799,702	2,375	4,594
1949	68,426	1,679	124,473	759	7,493,937	2,939	4,346
1950	67,826	2,101	128,460	764	7,444,719	3,413	4,526
1951	66,063	2,047	150,114	1,201	7,961,825	5,510	5,938
1952	66,777	2,073	146,128	1,506	8,233,829	6,953	8,418
1953	63,917	1,992	154,345	1,959	8,389,829	7,273	13,264
1954	52,665	1,640	143,586	1,803	9,481,022	7,890	14,554
1955	38,035	1,189	135,021	1,653	10,274,507	8,787	16,292
1956	38,846	1,216	120,734	1,354	10,729,286	9,288	17,738
1957	45,752	1,432	113,360	1,008	10,913,382	10,410	18,914
1958	41,476	1,358	110,098	1,037	11,830,509	11,537	19,888
1959	34,662	1,117	89,123	109	13,243,810	12,386	21,974
1960	28,566	893	78,207	835	15,207,426	13,689	24,202
1961	26,229	824	67,428	719	16,540,449	15,443	26,316
1962	28,262	637	57,631	633	17,412,494	15,682	32,958
1963	24,668	779	51,291	588	18,752,671	16,158	32,394
1964	21,284	665	47,813	544	19,340,300	17,304	33,652
1965	19,246	565	42,925	515	20,990,431	18,436	37,056
1966	21,005	610	36,089	497	22,132,594	20,064	39,958
1967	10,996	345	32,581	251	23,758,914	20,686	43,438
1968	11,069	344	26,736	209	23,339,332	21,555	47,382
							Value added (b)
1968-69	9,286	335	13,312	105	23,499,703	20,879	51,628
1969-70	8,678	293	407	6	24,310,900	22,131	82,478
	grammes						
1970-71	182,826	178	20	—	23,180,539	22,975	217,953
1971-72	193,556	214			23,630,467	25,706	283,445
1972-73	141,054	102			24,121,155	28,555	316,619
1973-74	67,941	81			26,354,577	31,532	389,313
1974-75	217,794	225			27,541,462	45,341	468,513
1975-76	105,582	343			29,211,090	52,871	512,919
1976-77	40,175	112			30,994,476	61,598	548,722
1977-78	9,238	35			30,492,186	73,183	636,873
1978-79	21,799	129			32,101,029	87,641	868,078
1979-80	41,088	456			32,896,281	101,480	1,091,266
1980-81	62,350	829			32,102,948	116,728	1,502,196
1981-82	87,392	853			37,566,541	147,485	1,689,879

(a) Selling value at point of sale of mine or quarry products less transport costs from mine or quarry to point of sale, i.e., value of output at mine or quarry. Gold value excludes annual subsidy.  
 (b) Net value of total production until 1968. Value added of mining and quarrying from 1968-69.



## Manufacturing

## FACTORIES: VICTORIA, 1850 TO 1981-82

Year	Manufacturing establishments	Employment (a)	Wages and salaries paid (b)	Value of —		
				Output (c)	Production (d)	Land, buildings, plant, and machinery (e)
			\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m
1850	68					
1851	83					
1852	90					
1853	228					
1854	192					
1855	278					
1856	290					
1857	474					
1858	507					
1859	500					
1860	566	5,467				
1861	531	4,395				
1862	703	6,405				
1863	823	7,369				
1864	704	7,046				
1865	900	10,059				5
1866	983	11,488				5
1867	1,104	14,230				6
1868	1,316	16,770				8
1869	1,530	18,941				9
1870	1,579	17,758				9
1871	1,740	19,569				9
1872	1,770	21,591				10
1873	1,803	24,495				12
1874	2,104	28,036				14
1875	2,241	29,821				11
1876	2,302	31,478				12
1877	2,370	32,688				13
1878	2,343	33,278				14
1879	2,239	33,247				13
1880	2,468	38,178		27		15
1881	2,488	43,208				16
1882	2,612	45,698				17
1883	2,777	46,857				19
1884	2,856	49,393				20
1885	2,813	49,297				22
1886	2,770	45,773				22
1887	2,854	49,084				25
1888	2,975	54,488				30
1889	3,137	57,432				31
1890	3,104	56,369		45		31
1891	3,141	52,225				30
1892	2,952	43,200				27
1893	2,677	39,473				24
1894	2,632	41,000				23
1895	2,804	46,095				24
1896	2,810	50,448				24
1897	2,760	52,701				24
1898	2,869	54,778				24
1899	3,027	60,070				24
1900	3,097	64,207		39		24
1901	3,249	66,529				25
1902	4,003	73,063				27
1903	4,151	73,229	9			26
1904	4,208	76,287	10	46		27
1905	4,264	80,235	10	50		28
1906	4,360	85,229	11	56		29
1907	4,530	90,903	12	61		30
1908	4,608	93,808	13	62		31
1909	4,755	97,355	14	66		32
1910	4,873	102,176	15	73		33
1911	5,126	111,948	18	83		37
1912	5,263	116,108	20	91		39
1913	5,613	118,744	21	96		42
1914	5,650	118,399	22	99		44
1915	5,413	113,834	22	103		45
1916-17	5,445	116,970	24	120		48
1917-18	5,627	118,241	25	134		51
1918-19	5,720	122,349	28	160		55
1919-20	6,038	136,522	35	203	66	62
1920-21	6,532	140,743	43	212	74	71
1921-22	6,762	144,876	48	212	84	82
1922-23	7,096	152,625	51	223	90	93
1923-24	7,289	156,162	55	228	95	106
1924-25	7,425	154,158	55	236	97	122

FACTORIES: VICTORIA, 1850 TO 1981-82—continued

Year	Manufacturing establishments	Employment (a)	Wages and salaries paid (b)	Value of —		
				Output (c)	Production (d)	Land, buildings, plant, and machinery (e)
			\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m
1925-26	7,461	152,959	55	240	96	121
1926-27	7,690	161,639	60	255	105	128
1927-28	8,245	160,357	60	257	108	135
1928-29	8,197	156,568	59	256	106	140
1929-30	8,195	151,009	57	246	103	144
1930-31	8,199	126,016	43	187	79	142
1931-32	8,204	128,265	39	187	76	137
1932-33	8,612	144,428	42	204	82	136
1933-34	8,896	156,334	46	217	88	138
1934-35	9,100	169,691	51	234	98	141
1935-36	9,160	183,390	57	268	108	144
1936-37	9,165	191,383	62	285	117	150
1937-38	9,241	201,789	70	314	130	154
1938-39	9,250	201,831	72	306	132	161
1939-40	9,215	212,461	79	349	148	169
1940-41	9,121	237,636	100	419	178	184
1941-42	8,918	258,400	129	515	222	196
1942-43	8,738	262,357	146	555	243	209
1943-44	9,317	261,299	148	569	247	221
1944-45	9,669	257,633	141	575	245	233
1945-46	10,195	256,249	141	574	241	238
1946-47	10,949	265,757	156	631	263	244
1947-48	11,642	278,271	188	755	317	264
1948-49	12,702	292,006	225	894	366	299
1949-50	13,231	303,476	261	1,053	438	354
1950-51	13,504	316,792	326	1,350	551	415
1951-52	14,758	324,143	405	1,668	669	497
1952-53	15,154	310,759	422	1,720	716	565
1953-54	15,533	331,277	472	1,971	817	679
1954-55	15,861	346,648	526	2,201	904	825
1955-56	16,053	355,185	573	2,403	984	931
1956-57	16,232	355,204	593	2,552	1,056	1,067
1957-58	16,426	357,143	621	2,760	1,137	1,160
1958-59	16,527	362,979	649	2,866	1,218	1,294
1959-60	16,979	381,514	741	3,251	1,384	1,466
1960-61	17,173	387,430	776	3,332	1,418	1,642
1961-62	17,300	377,745	770	3,374	1,441	1,828
1962-63	17,501	397,156	839	3,707	1,602	1,957
1963-64	17,597	413,120	912	4,055	1,750	2,062
1964-65	17,925	432,389	1,028	4,501	1,950	2,234
1965-66	17,980	439,149	1,077	4,625	2,028	2,387
1966-67	18,054	445,557	1,168	5,050	2,236	2,617
1967-68	18,030	449,949	1,244	5,351	2,395	2,685
1968-69	(f)11,563	431,651	1,342	(i)6,336	(j)2,542	Fixed capital expenditure less disposals \$m (k)278
1969-70	(f)11,393	445,663	1,497	(i)6,998	(j)2,799	300
1970-71	—	—	—	—	—	—
1971-72	(f)11,408	450,026	1,800	(i)8,055	(j)3,328	374
1972-73	(f)11,735	455,029	2,045	(i)9,078	(j)3,738	438
1973-74	(f)12,070	469,838	2,524	(i)10,669	(j)4,546	418
1974-75	(g) (f)8,924	432,851	2,961	(i)11,730	(j)5,131	455
	(h) (f)2,834	5,727	17	(i)100	(j)48	2
1975-76	(g) (f)8,873	417,107	3,287	(i)13,220	(j)5,765	462
1976-77	(g) (f)8,735	409,196	3,650	(i)15,040	(j)6,629	495
1977-78	(g)(m) (f)8,571	396,722	3,831	(i)16,175	(j)6,905	653
1978-79	(g)(m) (f)8,546	394,964	4,102	(i)18,228	(j)7,377	742
1979-80	(g)(m) (f)8,902	397,313	4,563	(i)21,233	(j)8,505	735
1980-81	(g)(m) (f)8,726	391,489	5,032	(i)23,855	(j)9,440	712
1981-82	(g)(m) (f)8,916	392,737	5,757	(i)27,208	(j)10,578	1,046

- (a) Average employment over whole year, including working proprietors.
- (b) Excludes drawings of working proprietors.
- (c) The value of factory output is the value of the goods manufactured or their value after passing through the particular process of manufacture and includes the amount received for repair work, work done on commission, and receipts for other factory work. The basis of valuation of the output is the selling value of the goods at the factory, exclusive of all delivery costs and charges and excise duties, but inclusive of bounty and subsidy payments to the manufacturer of the finished article.
- (d) The value of production is the value added to raw materials by the process of manufacture. It is calculated by deducting from the value of factory output the value (at the factory) of those items of cost specified on the factory statistical collection form, namely, materials used, containers and packing, power, fuel, and light used, tools replaced, and materials used in repairs to plant (but not depreciation charges); the remainder constitutes the value added to raw materials in the process of manufacture, and represents the fund available for the payment of wages, taxation, rent, interest, insurance, etc., and profit.
- (e) Depreciated values or book values at end of period and includes an allowance for rent capitalised where premises and plant and machinery are not owned by the occupier.
- (f) Number of establishments operating at 30 June.
- (g) All manufacturing establishments owned by multi-establishment enterprises and single establishment manufacturing enterprises with four or more persons employed.

- (h) Single establishment manufacturing enterprises with less than four persons employed.  
 (i) Turnover, i.e., sales of goods whether produced by the establishment or not, plus transfers out of goods to other establishments of the same enterprise, plus bounties and subsidies on production, plus all other operating revenue from outside the enterprise (such as commission, repair, and service revenue), plus capital work done for own use, or for rental or lease.  
 (j) Value added, i.e., turnover, plus increase (or less decrease) in value of stocks, less purchases, transfers in, and selected expenses.  
 (k) The annual collection of the value of land, buildings, plant and machinery ceased in 1967-68. Details of fixed capital expenditure less disposals have been collected since 1968-69.  
 (l) Commencing with the 1978-79 Census, the method of calculating value added has been changed to accord more closely with the concepts and definitions used in the Australian National Accounts.  
 (m) Since the 1977-78 Census, the classification of census units to industry is based on the 1978 edition of the Australian Standard Industrial Classification. The 1978 edition of the classification replaces the 1969 preliminary edition which has been in use since the 1968-69 Census.

NOTE. This series of factory statistics has not always been compiled on the same basis. The definition of the unit classified, the industrial classification of manufacturing establishments, and the content of the returns have all changed during the period covered by the table.

A June-July financial year was adopted in respect of 1916-17 (previously a calendar year was used). Undoubtedly, within the very broad headings of various industrial classifications differences in administrative practices and coverage were also responsible for minor differences. Revisions, when introduced, could not always be carried through statistics for earlier years.

Returns were first collected through municipal authorities and for the period 1902 to 1954 by the Victoria Police under the supervision of the Government Statist. Between 1955 and 1958 dispatch and receipt of returns by mail was progressively introduced and the involvement of the Police ceased.

In these circumstances, the series can be regarded as divisible into a number of series of varying time spans rather than as a continuous series. Between 1902 and 1967-68 the definition of the unit treated was unchanged. However, a number of changes took place in the classification of the units in that period.

In 1968-69 the first of the Integrated Economic Censuses was conducted of manufacturing, mining, electricity and gas, wholesale, and retail establishments. The integration of these economic censuses meant, that for the first time, they were being conducted on the basis of a common framework of reporting units and data concepts and in accordance with a standard industrial classification. For details see *Victorian Year Book 1971*, pages 368-89.

No census of manufacturing establishments was conducted for the year ending 30 June 1971.

From the 1975-76 Census of Manufacturing Establishments onwards, only a limited range of data (employment and wages and salaries) was collected from single establishment manufacturing enterprises with less than four persons employed. This procedure has significantly reduced the statistical reporting obligations of small businesses.

## Building

### NEW BUILDINGS COMPLETED: VICTORIA, 1945-46 TO 1981-82

Year	Houses		Other dwellings		Value of all buildings (a) (c)
	Number	Value (a)	Number (b)	Value (a)	
		\$'000		\$'000	\$'000
1945-46	3,666	7,604	14	14	10,942
1946-47	7,436	18,720	86	198	22,134
1947-48	11,846	32,098	167	400	35,782
1948-49	14,278	45,084	368	1,056	54,714
1949-50	15,611	57,708	246	1,326	69,368
1950-51	21,194	88,560	333	1,368	104,280
1951-52	24,088	115,990	416	2,022	137,850
1952-53	21,284	114,222	692	4,176	153,938
1953-54	21,593	116,074	689	3,544	173,440
1954-55	23,839	135,276	781	3,664	197,864
1955-56	22,652	136,416	1,273	6,308	229,188
1956-57	20,185	131,542	897	4,680	229,660
1957-58	21,367	140,564	1,104	5,828	263,512
1958-59	24,329	161,916	1,434	7,628	274,874
1959-60	24,157	163,496	2,062	10,920	296,324
1960-61	22,094	157,596	4,183	27,072	326,304
1961-62	18,969	142,536	4,070	26,686	296,350
1962-63	20,328	154,358	3,772	23,184	333,568
1963-64	22,799	175,846	4,270	23,734	334,830
1964-65	22,821	185,692	8,674	47,564	402,280
1965-66	20,929	184,060	9,506	52,663	415,375
1966-67	22,126	203,556	10,138	55,958	471,943
1967-68	21,592	208,097	12,686	80,541	497,370
1968-69	22,731	230,420	13,775	90,085	578,126
1969-70	24,702	261,899	13,992	101,953	629,109
1970-71	25,179	278,109	12,087	85,717	667,966
1971-72	25,627	306,315	10,091	75,421	677,381
1972-73	28,260	372,099	9,923	82,668	809,900
1973-74(d)	27,067	419,669	10,054	101,311	910,481
1974-75	26,902	511,546	10,440	129,749	1,108,278
1975-76	26,135	610,160	8,174	129,924	1,374,470
1976-77	28,901	796,043	8,924	177,775	1,617,273
1977-78	26,471	832,184	7,018	157,315	1,696,045
1978-79	23,445	769,068	4,514	111,773	1,748,931
1979-80	22,617	785,744	4,323	110,680	1,805,977
1980-81(e)	(f)21,480	(g)817,500	4,420	(g)115,600	(g)1,869,600
1981-82	(f)19,960	(g)870,500	4,530	(g)132,100	(g)2,078,000

(a) Excludes value of land.

(b) Individual dwelling units.

(c) Includes houses and flats.

(d) Prior to 1973-74, additions and alterations to dwellings valued at \$10,000 or more were included in the figures.

(e) There was a change in the scope and methodology of the collection in 1980-81 with further modifications in 1981-82.

(f) From 1980-81 figures for houses are rounded to the nearest ten units.

(g) Value figures have been rounded to the nearest million dollars from 1980-81.

Industrial conditions

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES AND TRADE UNIONS: VICTORIA, 1912 TO 1982

Year	Industrial disputes during year (a)				Trade unions			
	Number of disputes	Workers involved (b)	Working days lost	Estimated loss in wages	Number of separate unions	Members		
						Males	Females	Total
				\$'000		'000	'000	'000
1912	29	6,177	77,587	71.5	151	109.9	6.7	116.6
1913	44	7,051	93,932	79.2	162	122.4	7.7	130.2
1914	38	6,243	63,678	57.0	170	128.9	9.9	138.8
1915	55	15,668	167,897	229.4	161	129.1	12.9	142.0
1916	32	18,090	820,034	757.9	151	130.0	17.6	147.6
1917	33	5,748	160,540	198.7	156	129.9	18.9	148.7
1918	62	22,606	601,256	785.6	158	130.7	21.4	152.1
1919	53	39,808	816,710	930.5	160	138.0	26.6	164.6
1920	20	6,280	212,728	139.3	158	154.4	32.8	187.1
1921	29	6,130	64,701	95.4	159	161.1	34.9	196.0
1922	29	7,050	98,880	217.0	169	168.4	37.9	206.3
1923	30	10,037	66,567	101.5	160	165.4	40.7	206.0
1924	19	8,600	131,737	261.6	158	179.6	37.5	217.0
1925	33	8,565	100,735	212.8	154	182.5	38.4	220.9
1926	24	9,221	54,367	88.9	157	188.6	42.0	230.5
1927	21	5,876	110,659	192.9	149	201.5	46.1	247.6
1928	11	21,612	1,296,676	2,261.1	151	194.9	47.3	242.2
1929	5	408	7,744	14.5	151	192.8	48.0	240.8
1930	10	4,643	27,862	49.8	151	184.7	44.6	229.3
1931	12	6,585	99,638	131.2	150	166.1	37.9	204.0
1932	12	7,450	26,693	40.8	151	160.0	37.0	197.0
1933	19	8,428	108,872	164.9	149	156.4	38.7	195.1
1934	20	7,901	45,713	62.6	149	154.0	41.9	195.9
1935	10	1,823	12,251	19.8	147	159.1	40.0	199.1
1936	11	3,814	70,753	114.4	147	160.6	41.0	201.6
1937	19	10,290	104,336	175.2	147	168.7	41.1	209.8
1938	10	2,169	27,313	39.9	147	176.2	38.8	215.0
1939	19	8,664	108,035	202.7	149	176.6	40.2	216.8
1940	22	20,117	139,167	242.4	147	190.2	42.1	232.3
1941	20	12,119	35,658	62.0	146	215.8	54.5	270.3
1942	40	19,259	76,686	130.8	142	228.6	83.2	311.8
1943	53	13,642	72,618	146.4	142	232.9	82.1	315.0
1944	34	29,227	51,208	99.3	141	232.5	74.2	306.6
1945	35	76,817	507,290	1,087.3	139	255.4	69.0	324.4
1946	17	7,934	334,185	834.9	151	266.7	70.8	337.5
1947	21	41,889	159,903	481.3	152	288.8	74.8	363.7
1948	20	22,018	60,112	231.8	156	302.1	80.4	382.5
1949	33	73,987	1,208,365	4,791.4	150	325.2	81.1	406.3
1950	41	27,219	42,210	208.1	152	346.1	87.3	433.4
1951	33	61,920	116,339	678.2	157	337.8	78.6	416.3
1952	53	68,126	57,160	352.7	159	339.6	84.8	424.4
1953	76	44,813	135,611	920.4	158	350.1	83.8	433.9
1954	66	35,542	138,507	870.7	158	357.5	88.9	446.4
1955	54	37,877	111,665	772.3	160	356.5	84.8	441.3
1956	47	9,181	13,444	91.2	162	356.2	86.8	443.0
1957	66	46,718	99,855	680.7	162	355.3	88.9	444.2
1958	60	32,241	35,890	262.9	161	369.2	92.1	461.3
1959	98	86,004	102,805	794.2	159	381.1	98.1	479.2
1960	91	52,747	72,471	609.6	157	385.8	101.0	486.8
1961	166	73,245	100,606	837.3	156	393.7	104.3	498.0
1962	180	87,978	172,963	1,510.2	155	401.3	113.6	514.9
1963	206	190,075	359,567	3,428.2	155	410.3	115.5	525.8
1964	208	121,798	214,300	2,061.6	157	418.0	119.8	537.8
1965	179	101,490	219,605	2,097.2	154	415.9	123.4	539.4
1966	212	84,521	107,312	1,106.6	154	413.9	131.6	545.5
1967	327	172,803	243,924	2,731.3	152	419.6	134.4	554.0
1968	367	356,429	717,221	8,619.6	166	423.6	139.6	563.3
1969	447	(c)333,000	(c)510,800	6,793.7	165	439.9	155.2	595.3
1970	362	(c)380,100	(c)689,600	9,726.5	169	453.3	168.8	622.1
1971	377	(c)338,200	(c)638,400	9,656	170	463.3	191.9	655.2
1972	431	(c)189,800	(c)780,500	13,223	167	486.7	198.0	684.8
1973	476	(c)611,000	(c)2,386,600	46,905	168	503.2	211.9	715.0
1974	424	(c)570,900	(c)1,221,700	31,897	172	507.4	219.0	726.5
1975	322	(c)647,300	(c)1,420,000	42,118	171	504.2	216.4	720.5
1976	244	(c)120,700	(c)586,100	20,752	172	504.7	224.4	729.1
1977	303	(c)227,000	(c)468,100	16,200	172	510.1	225.6	735.7
1978	325	(c)661,500	(c)1,486,100	53,266	174	514.5	235.5	750.0
1979	315	(c)538,300	(c)1,115,400	45,387	174	523.6	246.6	770.1
1980	376	(c)404,900	(c)1,235,500	64,345	173	522.9	248.8	771.7
1981	266	(c)117,200	(c)368,000	23,459	175	533.4	256.7	790.1

(a) Refers only to disputes involving a stoppage of work of 10 man-days or more in the establishment where the stoppage occurred. Disputes not settled at the end of a year are included as new disputes in the figures for the following year. Statistical collection commenced in 1913.  
 (b) Includes persons stood down from work at the establishments where the stoppages occurred but not themselves parties to the dispute.  
 (c) To nearest hundred.

## Education

## PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION: VICTORIA, 1852 TO 1982

Year	Government schools						Non-government schools							
	Number of schools (a)	Number of pupils (b)			Number of teachers (c)			Number of schools (a)	Number of pupils (b)			Number of teachers (d)		
		Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons		Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
1852	98			7,369			17			472				
1853	152			11,270			54			1,763				
1854	259	9,606	7,772	17,378			132	1,303	1,426	2,729				
1855	370	11,417	9,826	21,243			168	1,483	1,752	3,235				
1856	455	13,654	12,385	26,039										
1857	540	17,481	15,753	33,234			135	1,348	2,089	3,437				
1858	595	20,610	18,277	38,887			145	1,569	1,976	3,545				
1859	605	22,663	19,698	42,361			167	1,346	2,558	3,904				
1860	665	25,167	21,520	46,687			221	1,938	3,043	4,981				
1861	671	28,120	23,225	51,345			211	1,968	3,160	5,128				
1862	673	31,268	25,883	57,151			316	3,633	4,757	8,390	167	388	555	
1863	648	32,150	26,369	58,519	702	654	1,356	371	5,037	6,063	11,100	244	463	707
1864	647	31,450	25,532	56,982	730	675	1,405	300	4,120	5,043	9,163	192	391	583
1865	694	34,353	27,862	62,215	848	763	1,611	386	5,539	5,845	11,384	241	432	673
1866	730	36,582	29,455	66,037	886	835	1,721	476	7,064	8,128	15,192	311	595	906
1867	780	39,634	32,161	71,795	949	806	1,755	605	8,740	10,801	19,541	312	785	1,097
1868	802	42,471	34,774	77,245	980	920	1,900	628	8,729	11,910	20,639	420	870	1,290
1869	839	66,223	55,541	121,764	1,031	979	2,010	883	13,483	16,597	30,080	553	1,200	1,753
1870	908	67,225	56,160	123,385	1,097	1,041	2,138	959	14,028	16,940	30,968	590	1,277	1,867
1871	988	71,247	59,898	131,145	1,194	1,123	2,317	1,062	15,421	18,710	34,131	677	1,435	2,112
1872	1,048	73,826	62,136	135,962	1,250	1,166	2,416	888	11,186	13,595	24,781	605	1,236	1,841
1873	1,078	109,560	98,266	207,826	1,509	1,640	3,149	653	8,400	10,028	18,428	472	974	1,446
1874	1,111	111,408	104,736	216,144	1,767	1,948	3,715	610	10,652	11,796	22,448	550	959	1,509
1875	1,320	115,774	104,759	220,533	1,812	2,014	3,826	565	13,106	14,375	27,481	524	987	1,511
1876	1,498	122,350	109,210	231,560	1,819	1,953	3,772	645	13,455	15,392	28,847	542	1,104	1,646
1877	1,626	123,514	111,005	234,519	1,804	2,056	3,860	530	13,128	15,294	28,422	481	976	1,457
1878	1,664	121,471	109,698	231,169	1,824	2,082	3,906	592	17,890	19,192	37,082	608	1,078	1,686
1879	1,713	119,237	108,538	227,775	1,850	2,280	4,130	568	16,432	18,392	34,824	554	1,033	1,587
1880	1,810	120,123	109,600	229,723	1,857	2,351	4,208	643	13,308	14,826	28,134	425	1,091	1,516
1881	1,757	118,996	112,427	231,423	1,894	2,420	4,314	645	16,665	17,397	34,062	430	1,123	1,553
1882	1,762	114,520	108,425	222,945	1,828	2,351	4,179	655	16,490	17,953	34,443	424	1,127	1,551
1883	1,777	114,199	108,229	222,428	1,793	2,391	4,184	670	16,679	19,094	35,773	416	1,222	1,638
1884	1,803	114,286	107,768	222,054	1,783	2,432	4,215	655	17,090	18,025	35,115	449	1,186	1,635
1885	1,826	115,982	108,703	224,685	1,714	2,336	4,050	665	16,535	18,252	34,787	429	1,216	1,645
1886	1,870	119,133	111,443	230,576	1,712	2,466	4,178	691	16,950	18,861	35,811	408	1,272	1,680
1887	1,911	119,559	111,323	230,882	1,750	2,544	4,294	749	17,863	19,960	37,823	448	1,364	1,812
1888	1,933	125,645	116,401	242,046	1,693	2,541	4,234	753	19,396	20,895	40,291	437	1,441	1,878
1889	2,062	130,135	120,294	250,429	1,824	2,778	4,586	782	19,825	20,356	40,181	458	1,509	1,967
1890	2,170	129,932	120,165	250,097	1,845	2,863	4,708	791	20,186	19,995	40,181	479	1,558	2,037
1891	2,233	131,282	122,187	253,469	1,898	2,964	4,862	759	17,941	19,262	37,203	466	1,529	1,995
1892	2,140	129,209	120,577	249,786	1,910	3,067	4,977	745	17,568	18,776	36,344	434	1,539	1,973
1893	2,038	122,232	114,276	236,508	1,911	3,057	4,968	826	16,740	19,002	35,742	422	1,620	2,042
1894	1,956	119,697	111,624	231,321	1,778	2,851	4,629	867	17,863	20,199	38,062	445	1,696	2,141
1895	1,913	119,653	112,399	232,052	1,751	2,732	4,483	938	18,686	21,507	40,193	444	1,871	2,315
1896	1,886	121,178	114,439	235,617	1,760	2,737	4,497	930	19,681	22,363	42,044	444	1,913	2,357
1897	1,877	122,414	115,894	238,308	1,802	2,815	4,617	929	19,976	22,923	42,899	428	1,962	2,390
1898	1,877	122,614	115,743	238,357	1,788	2,830	4,618	945	20,551	23,375	43,926	436	2,004	2,440
1899	1,892	123,143	116,589	239,732	1,860	2,948	4,808	901	24,434	27,884	52,318	415	2,002	2,417
1900	1,948	125,661	118,006	243,667	1,897	3,080	4,977	884	23,475	28,359	51,834	397	1,951	2,348
1901	1,967	110,481	104,631	215,112				862	21,289	24,251	45,540	385	2,017	2,402
1902	2,041	132,266	125,089	257,355	1,917	3,149	5,066	872	21,812	25,218	47,030	404	1,975	2,379
1903	1,988	129,330	122,325	251,655	1,990	3,047	5,037	798	21,429	24,221	45,650	407	1,962	2,369
1904	1,927	124,433	116,712	241,145	1,911	2,886	4,797	787	21,160	23,917	45,077	418	1,942	2,360
1905	1,935	121,510	113,104	234,614	1,881	2,808	4,689	771	21,485	24,451	45,936	421	1,868	2,289
1906	1,953	118,727	110,452	229,179	1,879	2,719	4,598	757	24,144	28,049	52,193	387	2,010	2,397
1907	1,974	119,953	111,806	231,759	2,009	3,102	5,111	751	24,843	28,528	53,371	412	1,901	2,313
1908	2,017	120,741	113,152	233,893	2,006	3,094	5,100	696	25,191	28,845	54,036	389	1,799	2,188
1909	2,035	120,654	112,683	233,337	2,102	3,190	5,292	678	24,998	28,823	53,821	381	1,797	2,178
1910	2,036	121,712	113,330	235,042	2,204	3,237	5,441	641	24,714	30,026	54,740	361	1,706	2,067
1911	2,059	121,275	113,491	234,766	2,218	3,354	5,572	587	25,936	29,957	55,893	337	1,638	1,975
1912	2,130	124,708	116,917	241,625	2,241	3,678	5,919	548	26,194	29,841	56,035	315	1,541	1,856
1913	2,169	127,079	118,503	245,582	2,371	3,804	6,175	519	27,182	30,516	57,698	321	1,525	1,846
1914	2,218	129,902	121,567	251,469	2,248	3,872	6,120	512	27,461	31,425	58,886	327	1,517	1,844
1915	2,274	132,243	123,850	256,093	2,297	4,215	6,512	509	28,211	32,654	60,865	331	1,548	1,879
1916	2,191	138,174	129,361	267,535	2,475	4,477	6,952	495	29,645	35,185	64,830	367	1,542	1,909
1917	2,251	134,283	127,479	261,762	2,481	4,551	7,032	495	29,526	34,443	64,369	427	1,543	1,970
1918	2,349	130,156	122,373	252,529	2,421	4,783	7,204	493	29,032	34,844	63,476	427	1,543	1,903
1919	2,406	127,857	119,934	247,791	2,485	4,801	7,286	486	30,088	33,018	63,106	385	1,606	1,991
1920	2,431	135,174	126,748	261,922				489	30,963	35,482	66,445	380	1,570	1,950
1921	2,455	136,127	127,391	263,518	2,438	4,845	7,283	486	31,615	36,433	68,048	402	1,661	2,063
1922	2,526	139,122	128,126	267,248	2,522	4,913	7,435	486	31,429	36,244	67,673	421	1,688	2,109
1923	2,584	142,037	130,619	272,656	2,611	4,963	7,574	486	32,943	37,672	70,615	430	1,724	2,154
1924	2,634	152,947	131,865	274,812	2,660	5,073	7,733	490	33,391	38,534	71,925	432	1,731	2,163
1925	2,702	144,858	135,173	280,031	2,716	5,108	7,824	495	33,260	38,512	71,772			2,212
1926	2,714	147,521	136,482	284,003	3,081	5,490	8,571	493	33,925	39,324	73,249			2,220
1927	2,753	149,824	138,275	288,099	3,356	6,033	9,389	483	33,342	39,219	72,561			2,253
1928	2,763	150,711	138,823	289,534	3,629	5,922	9,551	500	35,701	39,438	75,139			2,325

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION: VICTORIA, 1852 TO 1982—*continued*

Year	Government schools						Non-government schools							
	Number of schools (a)	Number of pupils (b)			Number of teachers (c)			Number of schools (a)	Number of pupils (b)			Number of teachers (d)		
		Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons		Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
1929	2,789	152,240	139,600	291,840	3,857	5,875	9,732	501	35,822	40,064	75,886			2,249
1930	2,758	154,004	140,784	294,788	3,963	5,730	9,693	502	35,837	40,107	75,944			2,400
1931	2,747	155,046	141,444	296,490	3,906	5,476	9,382	505	34,682	38,660	73,342			2,286
1932	2,767	154,448	141,863	296,311	3,940	5,263	9,203	504	35,369	38,341	73,710			2,309
1933	2,756	153,833	141,244	295,077	3,987	5,125	9,112	508	35,597	38,248	73,845			2,400
1934	2,764	151,369	139,618	290,987	4,028	4,974	9,002	510	36,275	39,508	75,783			2,498
1935	2,754	150,778	138,381	289,159	4,060	4,818	8,878	518	37,210	40,804	78,014			2,501
1936	2,749	148,322	135,884	284,206	4,179	4,660	8,839	520	37,615	42,178	79,793			2,556
1937	2,742	141,417	129,202	270,619	4,180	4,731	8,911	520	36,917	41,986	78,903			2,492
1938	2,745	138,099	126,254	264,353	4,222	4,593	8,815	516	38,463	41,698	80,161			2,654
1939	2,739	138,312	125,011	263,323	4,309	4,645	8,954	514	38,333	42,322	80,655			2,719
1940	2,724	137,327	124,803	262,130	4,398	4,702	9,100	518	38,565	42,812	81,377			2,733
1941	2,697	134,822	122,448	257,270	4,421	4,921	9,342	518	38,410	42,898	81,308			2,744
1942	2,634	127,896	117,642	245,538	4,471	5,104	9,575	513	38,476	42,684	81,160			2,754
1943	2,613	124,408	111,383	235,791	4,341	5,456	9,797	508	40,138	44,373	84,511			2,853
1944	2,530	123,901	110,919	234,820	4,476	5,741	10,217	502	40,318	45,289	85,607			2,952
1945	2,493	120,832	108,341	229,173	4,005	5,006	9,011	473	39,803	42,793	82,596			2,827
1946	2,423	123,163	110,500	233,663	4,491	5,223	9,714	470	40,263	43,213	83,476			2,860
1947	2,345	123,858	114,030	237,888	4,115	4,524	8,639	469	40,927	43,812	84,739			2,910
1948	2,278	111,028	100,813	211,841	4,166	4,645	8,811	470	41,471	45,200	86,671			2,985
1949	2,231	116,152	105,248	221,400	4,279	4,560	8,839	472	43,685	46,374	90,059			3,015
1950	2,183	123,112	112,679	235,791	4,665	4,962	9,627	476	46,810	49,818	96,628			3,147
1951	2,119	130,704	118,045	248,749	4,672	4,616	9,288	479	49,414	52,900	102,314			3,272
1952	2,100	140,618	126,963	267,581	4,851	4,797	9,648	478	52,756	56,201	108,957			3,353
1953	2,090	149,907	135,372	285,279	5,058	5,031	10,089	489	55,438	59,682	115,120			3,449
1954	2,049	159,404	143,589	302,993	5,362	5,146	10,508	494	60,259	63,243	123,502	877	2,707	3,584
1955	2,087	168,287	151,683	319,970	5,566	5,976	11,542	506	64,261	69,446	133,707	894	2,881	3,775
1956	2,103	178,335	160,318	338,653	5,942	6,101	12,043	521	69,348	72,077	141,425	951	2,969	3,920
1957	2,132	189,937	170,639	360,576	6,051	6,274	12,325	532	73,240	75,226	148,466	987	3,060	4,047
1958	2,153	202,471	181,446	383,917	6,508	7,221	13,729	533	76,951	78,574	155,525	1,052	3,188	4,240
1959	2,184	213,059	190,903	403,962	6,817	7,604	14,421	545	79,229	83,313	162,542	1,067	3,380	4,447
1960	2,208	223,285	199,110	422,395	7,237	7,744	14,981	546	78,876	81,699	160,575	1,125	3,564	4,689
1961	2,222	233,153	206,587	439,740	7,665	8,811	16,476	548	81,462	84,403	165,865	1,195	3,665	4,860
1962	2,210	242,569	214,050	456,619	8,308	9,416	17,724	551	82,914	86,050	168,964	1,275	3,827	5,102
1963	2,223	249,176	220,664	469,840	9,718	9,323	19,041	562	84,901	88,852	173,753	1,477	4,539	6,016
1964	2,229	258,450	228,742	487,192	10,409	10,185	20,594	568	87,387	91,263	178,650	1,573	4,757	6,330
1965	2,232	266,815	237,305	504,120	10,956	10,943	21,899	582	89,191	93,415	182,606	1,658	5,042	6,700
1966	2,242	277,153	246,633	523,786	11,518	11,545	23,063	579	89,196	93,659	182,855	1,803	5,278	7,081
1967	2,241	285,721	254,560	540,281	12,072	12,301	24,373	578	90,333	95,189	185,522	1,874	5,564	7,438
1968	2,247	293,459	262,379	555,838	12,779	13,324	26,103	579	91,711	96,862	188,573	2,029	5,868	7,897
1969	2,235	301,622	270,503	572,125	13,294	14,663	27,957	572	92,427	97,025	189,452	2,089	5,918	8,007
1970	2,215	308,199	277,241	585,440	13,428	15,492	28,920	581	93,451	97,577	191,028	2,323	6,393	8,716
1971	2,197	312,203	281,730	593,933	13,847	16,365	30,212	571	93,546	97,669	191,215	2,332	6,473	8,805
1972	2,194	315,876	286,738	602,614	14,400	17,664	32,064	570	94,368	97,787	192,155	2,496	6,639	9,135
1973	2,179	316,391	289,253	605,644	15,336	18,879	34,215	569	95,135	98,302	193,437	2,644	6,944	9,588
1974	2,161	316,621	292,022	608,643	15,694	19,326	35,020	571	96,525	99,895	196,420	2,822	7,237	10,059
1975	2,161	321,124	296,988	618,112	16,621	21,107	37,728	578	97,646	101,193	198,899	2,995	7,530	10,525
1976	2,164	323,499	301,208	624,707	17,557	22,986	40,543	586	98,598	102,485	201,083	3,239	7,484	10,723
1977	2,162	323,285	303,032	626,317	18,184	23,711	41,895	584	99,391	103,923	203,318	3,543	7,813	11,356
1978	2,152	321,896	301,713	623,609	18,588	24,393	42,981	600	101,304	105,856	207,160	3,812	8,070	11,882
1979	2,155	316,430	297,989	614,419	18,629	24,134	42,763	617	103,696	107,445	211,141	4,136	8,520	12,656
1980	2,158	311,702	294,445	606,147	18,391	23,810	42,201	633	106,159	109,966	216,125	4,293	8,741	13,034
1981	2,149	306,510	288,532	595,042	18,206	23,563	41,769	632	108,734	112,877	221,611	4,606	9,209	13,815
1982	2,140	301,469	283,312	584,781	18,362	23,494	41,856	641	111,732	115,471	227,203	4,877	9,561	14,438

(a) First school for Aboriginal children 1836, first school for European children 1837.

Reliable statistics available from 1852.

1852 to 1900 number at 31 December.

1901 to 1947 government schools at 30 June.

1901 to 1953 non-government schools at 30 June.

1945 to 1982 non-government schools exclude registered commercial colleges.

1948 to 1979 government schools at 1 August or the first school day thereafter.

1954 to 1979 non-government schools at 1 August or the first school day thereafter.

From 1980 government and non-government schools at 1 July or the first school day thereafter.

Includes junior technical, correspondence, and special schools (see also non-government note above).

Excludes senior technical, coaching, and business schools.

(b) 1852 to 1868 average monthly gross number of pupils on rolls.

1869 to 1900 gross enrolments for year.

1872 Education Act — education compulsory until the age of 15 years.

1889 compulsory attendance age reduced to 13 years.

1901 gross enrolments six months ended 30 June 1901.

1902 to 1915 government schools gross enrolments during financial year.

1905 compulsory attendance age raised to 14 years.

1916 to 1947 government schools gross enrolments during calendar year.

1902 to 1953 non-government schools gross enrolments during final quarter of financial year.

1945 to 1982 non-government enrolments exclude those at registered commercial colleges.

1948 to 1979 government schools census enrolments at 1 August or on the first school day thereafter.

1954 to 1979 non-government schools census enrolments at 1 August or on the first school day thereafter.

1965 compulsory attendance age raised to 15 years.

From 1980 government and non-government schools census enrolments at 1 July or the first school day thereafter.

Note changes in school leaving age:

(c) 1852 to 1900 at 31 December.

1902 to 1946 at 30 June.

1863 to 1915 teachers in primary and secondary schools includes temporary teachers and excludes technical teachers.

1916 to 1946 includes classified and temporary teachers, student teachers in schools, and secondary teachers in technical schools (from 1926) and excludes student instructors in technical schools, senior technical (teaching) scholarship holders, and senior technical school teachers.

1916 to 1926 estimates have been made of male and female temporary (except 1926) and junior teachers in secondary schools.

1947 to 1949 at 31 December.

1947 to 1962 comprises the primary and secondary divisions, excluding students in training, senior scholarship holders, and free place holders, but including student teachers in primary schools until 1957 and temporary and part-time teachers.

1963 to 1980 teachers at primary, secondary, junior technical, and ungraded schools.

1950 primary at 31 December 1950 and secondary at 30 June 1951.

1951 to 1959 primary at 31 December and secondary at 30 June.

1960 at 30 June; males and females primary estimated.

1961 and 1962 at 30 June.

1963 to 1979 at 1 August or the first school day thereafter.

From 1980 at 1 July or the first school day thereafter.

(d) 1852 to 1900 at 31 December.

1901 to 1953 at 30 June.

1945 to 1982 teachers at non-government schools exclude those at registered commercial colleges.

1954 to 1979 at 1 August or the first school day thereafter.

From 1980 at 1 July or the first school day thereafter.

1862 to 1982 teachers at non-government primary and secondary schools.

### UNIVERSITY EDUCATION (a): VICTORIA, 1855 TO 1982

Year	Enrolments (b)				Number of academic staff (d)	Degrees conferred (e)		
	Male	Female	Full-time/Part-time (c)	Total		Bachelor	Higher	Total
1855	17	—	17	—	17	—	—	—
1856	15	—	15	—	15	—	3	3
1857	54	—	54	—	54	—	—	—
1858	44	—	44	—	44	5	4	9
1859	60	—	60	—	60	1	1	2
1860	68	—	68	—	68	4	2	6
1861	100	—	100	—	100	7	4	5
1862	79	—	79	—	79	8	7	12
1863	68	—	68	—	68	10	4	8
1864	73	—	73	—	73	13	10	12
1865	94	—	94	—	94	15	5	8
1866	91	—	91	—	91	15	7	11
1867	89	—	89	—	89	15	9	16
1868	77	—	77	—	77	15	11	13
1869	98	—	98	—	98	14	6	13
1870	122	—	122	—	122	15	9	10
1871	122	—	122	—	122	14	15	19
1872	134	—	134	—	134	15	8	14
1873	133	—	133	—	133	20	18	21
1874	177	—	177	—	177	20	18	24
1875	199	—	199	—	199	20	22	29
1876	178	—	178	—	178	20	22	28
1877	213	—	213	—	213	20	22	26
1878	258	—	258	—	258	20	18	24
1879	273	—	273	—	273	20	47	56
1880	301	—	301	—	301	20	42	49
1881	368	2	370	—	370	20	44	55
1882	396	1	397	—	397	24	63	73
1883	387	2	389	—	389	22	46	64
1884	431	—	431	—	431	25	67	80
1885	443	1	444	—	444	22	63	77
1886	432	18	450	—	450	22	73	102
1887	471	21	492	—	492	29	96	119
1888	508	31	539	—	539	30	82	117
1889	497	40	537	—	537	32	102	129
1890	527	43	570	—	570	32	76	99
1891	582	70	652	—	652	33	94	119
1892	587	79	666	—	666	38	105	127
1893	560	79	639	—	639	38	93	115
1894	518	76	594	—	594	38	81	105
1895	496	199	695	—	695	37	120	141
1896	483	185	668	—	668	37	101	122
1897	490	196	686	—	686	38	117	145
1898	496	195	691	—	691	38	115	147
1899	489	238	727	—	727	39	105	131
1900	433	214	647	—	647	41	96	124
1901	425	159	584	—	584	43	145	200
1902	434	187	621	—	621	50	86	122
1903	434	194	628	—	628	55	96	135
1904	431	184	615	—	615	46	121	152
1905	586	216	695	107	802	44	87	112
1906	648	212	775	85	860	50	122	166
1907	749	231	862	118	980	63	122	146
1908	778	265	934	109	1,043	61	139	167
1909	845	276	1,014	107	1,121	69	165	199
1910	903	334	1,151	86	1,237	69	168	201





- (b) 1855 to 1956 gross enrolments in courses.  
1957 to 1971 net enrolments (students in two courses counted once).  
Monash students included from 1961.  
La Trobe students included from 1967.  
Deakin students included from 1977.
- (c) 1905 to 1924 students attending evening classes.  
1925 to 1941 evening and correspondence students.  
1942 to 1982 part-time and external students.
- (d) Academic staff (teaching and research). Includes full-time and part-time staff. Melbourne from 1855, Monash from 1961, La Trobe from 1966 and Deakin from 1977.
- (e) Excludes degrees conferred *ad eundem* (discontinued 1917) and honorary degrees.  
1856 to 1973 statistics relate to degrees conferred and diplomas as awarded, while the statistics from 1974 onwards refer to course completions.  
1856 to 1960 year ended 31 December.  
1961 seven months ended 31 July.  
1962 to 1967 year ended 31 July.  
1968 eleven months ended 30 June.  
1969 to 1982 year ended 30 June.  
Monash degrees were first conferred 1963.  
La Trobe degrees were first conferred 1969.  
At Deakin course completions commenced in 1978.
- (f) 1961 to 1972 part-time teaching staff are expressed in 100 hour units and part-time staff only doing research are expressed in equivalent full-time units of 35 hours per week. From 1973 onwards, all part-time staff are shown in full-time equivalent units, converted as follows:  
Lecturer 250 hours per year; Tutor/Demonstrator 700 hours per year; Other staff 35 hours per year.

## NON-UNIVERSITY TERTIARY EDUCATION: VICTORIA, 1969 TO 1982

Year	Number of institutions (a)	Student enrolments (b)	Year	Number of institutions (a)	Student enrolments (b)
1969	15	23,916	1976	30	50,085
1970	16	24,180	1977	23	49,705
1971	16	26,451	1978	23	52,232
1972	16	24,072	1979	23	54,218
1973	15	25,818	1980	22	54,762
1974	31	41,539	1981	22	56,566
1975	31	46,982	1982	17	57,300

(a) From 1969 to 1973 includes the affiliates of the Victoria Institute of Colleges (VIC). From 1974 refers to all operative institutions listed in the appropriate States Grants (Advanced Education) Act and subsequent *Tertiary Education Commission Act 1977* as colleges of advanced education.

(b) Number of students enrolled for post-graduate and under-graduate courses at 30 April.

## PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS (a): VICTORIA, 1855 TO 1982

Year	Matriculation (b)			Year	Matriculation (b)		
	Attempted to pass fully	Passed fully	Percentage who passed		Attempted to pass fully	Passed fully	Percentage who passed
1855	16	16	100.0	1881	911	409	44.9
1856	7	7	100.0	1882	940	389	41.4
1857		7		1883	1,004	342	34.1
1858		7		1884	953	438	46.0
1859		10		1885	954	339	35.5
1860	29	14	48.3	1886	857	372	43.4
1861	29	20	69.0	1887	971	385	39.6
1862	27	16	59.3	1888	995	442	44.4
1863	48	29	60.4	1889	992	464	46.8
1864	51	23	45.1	1890	1,271	631	49.6
1865	73	42	57.5	1891	1,293	543	42.0
1866	83	35	42.2	1892	1,434	567	39.5
1867	102	43	42.2	1893	1,290	535	41.5
1868	137	55	40.1	1894	1,255	496	39.5
1869	202	83	41.1	1895	1,171	466	39.8
1870	245	87	35.5	1896	1,195	517	43.3
1871	276	122	44.2	1897	1,122	484	43.1
1872	383	203	53.0	1898	1,140	482	42.3
1873	425	196	46.1	1899	1,235	559	45.3
1874	519	204	39.3	1900	1,159	443	38.2
1875	485	181	37.3	1901	1,136	511	45.0
1876	482	208	43.2	1902	1,047	490	46.8
1877	544	208	38.2	1903	1,199	478	39.9
1878	588	262	44.6	1904	1,162	490	42.2
1879	628	311	49.5	1905	1,238	493	39.8
1880	776	334	43.0	1906	484	224	46.3

PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS (a): VICTORIA, 1855 TO 1982—continued

Year	Junior Commercial (c)			Junior Public (b) (c)			Senior Public (b) (c)		
	Attempted to pass fully	Passed fully	Percentage who passed	Attempted to pass fully	Passed fully	Percentage who passed	Attempted to pass fully	Passed fully	Percentage who passed
1906	(d)	(d)	(d)	(e) 914	(e) 356	(e) 38.9	66	33	50.0
1907	79	26	32.9	1,028	400	38.9	148	86	58.1
1908	88	22	25.0	1,365	539	39.5	175	102	58.3
1909	49	18	36.7	1,517	605	39.9	230	125	54.3
1910	47	12	25.5	1,483	593	40.0	232	117	50.4
1911	49	15	30.6	2,003	888	44.3	391	201	51.4
1912	51	21	41.2	2,174	1,045	48.1	462	249	53.9
1913	48	23	47.9	2,407	1,181	49.1	513	255	49.7
1914	71	28	39.4	2,497	1,166	46.7	731	288	39.4
1915	73	25	34.2	2,853	1,201	42.1	857	429	50.1
1916	74	22	29.7	3,249	1,369	42.1	900	411	45.7
1917	21	14	66.7	933	554	59.4	376	211	56.1

Year	Intermediate (f)			Leaving (b) (g)			Matriculation (b)		
	Attempted to pass fully	Passed fully	Percentage who passed	Attempted to pass fully	Passed fully	Percentage who passed	Attempted to pass fully	Passed fully	Percentage who passed
1917	2,352	986	41.9	736	353	48.0			
1918	3,532	1,551	43.9	1,328	597	45.0			
1919	4,006	1,937	48.4	1,652	796	48.2			
1920	4,176	1,667	39.9	2,047	955	46.7			
1921	3,831	1,346	35.1	2,238	827	37.0			
1922	4,431	1,725	38.9	2,587	1,004	38.8			
1923	4,275	1,974	46.2	2,422	1,016	41.9			
1924	4,148	1,858	44.8	2,418	1,053	43.5			
1925	4,165	1,919	46.1	2,335	1,098	47.0			
1926	4,421	1,909	43.2	2,434	1,226	50.4			
1927	4,998	2,284	45.7	2,568	1,360	53.0			
1928	5,371	2,457	45.7	2,640	1,317	49.9			
1929	7,282	3,071	42.2	3,467	1,538	44.4			
1930	6,255	3,337	53.3	3,322	1,657	49.9			
1931	7,805	3,412	43.7	4,699	1,877	39.9			
1932	6,103	3,302	54.1	3,492	1,779	50.9			
1933	5,392	2,900	53.8	2,969	1,609	54.2			
1934	6,144	2,781	45.3	3,260	1,396	42.8			
1935	5,095	2,886	56.6	2,595	1,288	49.6			
1936	5,658	3,284	58.0	2,726	1,607	59.0			
1937	6,133	3,749	61.1	2,949	1,806	61.2			
1938	6,582	3,907	59.4	3,263	1,882	57.7			
1939	7,135	4,502	63.1	3,589	2,109	58.8			
1940	7,464	4,489	60.1	4,841	2,227	46.0			
1941	7,378	4,488	60.8	4,959	2,247	45.3			
1942	6,965	4,395	63.1	4,799	2,243	46.7			
1943	7,703	4,616	59.9	5,718	2,492	43.6			
1944	8,245	4,663	56.6	4,970	2,768	55.7	969	619	63.9
1945	9,013	5,165	57.3	5,378	3,375	62.8	1,560	842	54.0
1946	8,538	4,891	57.3	5,331	3,414	64.0	1,992	1,189	59.7
1947	8,636	5,452	63.1	4,964	3,162	63.7	2,130	1,254	58.9
1948	8,320	5,166	62.1	5,015	3,237	64.5	2,043	1,249	61.1
1949	8,375	5,354	63.9	4,763	3,205	67.3	2,041	1,181	57.9
1950	8,608	5,572	64.7	4,999	3,353	67.1	2,278	1,346	59.1
1951	8,573	5,662	66.0	5,211	3,543	68.0	2,449	1,422	58.1
1952	9,240	6,089	65.9	5,387	3,666	68.1	2,639	1,650	62.5
1953	10,895	7,288	66.9	5,983	4,030	67.4	2,556	1,659	64.9
1954	10,720	7,310	68.2	6,882	4,552	66.1	2,700	1,700	63.0
1955	11,742	7,915	67.4	7,079	4,858	68.6	3,045	2,069	67.9
1956	13,162	8,738	66.4	7,564	5,275	69.7	3,328	2,180	65.5
1957	14,812	9,404	63.5	8,615	5,442	63.2	3,760	2,442	64.9
1958	17,228	11,293	65.6	10,393	6,288	60.5	4,257	2,808	66.0
1959	19,323	12,501	64.7	12,192	7,328	60.1	4,723	3,127	66.2
1960	21,230	14,023	66.1	13,733	8,528	62.1	5,466	3,537	64.7
1961	23,621	15,589	66.0	15,636	9,493	60.7	6,651	4,280	64.4
1962	25,718	18,821	73.2	17,704	11,176	63.1	7,951	5,090	64.0
1963				20,852	13,176	63.2	9,072	5,948	65.6
1964							10,801	7,054	65.3
1965							11,474	7,435	64.8
1966							12,296	8,096	65.8
1967							12,898	8,628	66.9
1968							14,617	9,701	66.4
1969							16,932	10,987	64.9
1970							18,756	12,467	66.5
1971							19,351	13,274	68.6
1972							20,044	13,935	69.5
1973							21,521	14,681	68.2
1974							21,686	14,835	68.4
1975							22,966	15,787	68.7

## PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS (a): VICTORIA, 1855 TO 1982—continued

Year	Intermediate (f)			Leaving (b) (g)			Matriculation (b)		
	Attempted to pass fully	Passed fully	Percentage who passed	Attempted to pass fully	Passed fully	Percentage who passed	Attempted to pass fully	Passed fully	Percentage who passed
1976							23,676	16,069	67.9
1977							22,533	15,619	69.3
1978							22,569	15,315	67.9
1979							21,738	15,034	69.2
1980							21,367	14,609	68.4
1981							23,397	16,162	69.1
1982							23,425	16,367	69.9

- (a) Where supplementary examinations have been held in the following February, the results have been included in the previous year's figures.
- (b) Matriculation was first held in 1855 primarily as a qualification for university entrance.  
1855 to 1905 usually held twice a year in February or May and October.  
1906 held in May only and then discontinued.  
1906 to 1917 matriculation gained by a pass in the Senior Public or a pass with at least three distinctions in the Junior Public Examinations.  
1917 to 1926 matriculation gained by passing the Leaving Examination and a foreign language at Intermediate level.  
1927 to 1943 matriculation gained by passing English, a branch of mathematics or science, a foreign language, and at least two other subjects at Leaving level and a foreign language at Intermediate level.  
Resumed in 1944.  
1970 title changed from Matriculation Examination to Higher School Certificate of Victoria Examination.
- (c) 1906 held in December only.  
1907 to 1916 held in May and December.  
1917 held in May only.  
A Senior Commercial Examination was also set but in no year did anyone attempt to pass fully.
- (d) Included in Junior Public figures.
- (e) Includes Junior Commercial figures.
- (f) 1963 to 1967 Intermediate was a subject examination (one in which the candidate is presented with a certificate listing the subjects he or she passed, i.e., the candidate does not pass or fail the examination as a whole). The only available figures show the total number of entries (persons) regardless of the number of subjects each is sitting for and have been excluded.  
Includes candidates with Headmaster's Certificates which were accepted as satisfying the requirements of the examination.  
1967 was the last year in which the examination was held.
- (g) Since 1964 known as a subject examination (see footnote [f]). Figures 1964 to 1971 excluded.  
In 1971 the Leaving Certificate commenced to be phased out. A large number of schools conducted their own 5th year secondary examinations.

## Health

## PUBLIC HOSPITALS: VICTORIA, 1856 TO 1981-82

Year	Number of hospitals(a)	Number of beds	Patients treated		Year	Number of hospitals(a)	Number of beds	Patients treated	
			Inpatients	Outpatients				Inpatients	Outpatients
1856	9				1890-91	42	2,672	19,800	(f)41,166
1857	8				1891-92	46	2,726	21,056	(f)42,577
1858	12		4,054	7,435	1892-93	46	2,762	21,090	(f)37,315
1859	17		5,579	11,704	1893-94	46	2,800	19,838	(f)41,105
1860	18	(c)947	(b)7,119	13,749	1894-95	48	2,833	18,825	(f)48,822
					1895-96	48	2,900	19,969	(f)50,817
1861	19	(f)926	(d)7,610	(e)17,596	1896-97	48	2,934	20,330	(f)55,318
1862	19	(g)1,037	(g)7,222	22,878	1897-98	48	2,976	22,997	(f)58,172
1863	22	1,123	7,529	29,035	1898-99	49	(m)3,034	22,590	(f)58,730
1864	24	1,347	8,892	33,208	1899-1900	50	3,116	22,715	(f)59,960
1865	25	1,411	9,939	37,340					
1866	25	1,414	10,183	49,291	1900-01	50	3,231	23,442	(f)68,579
1867	27	1,665	10,517	(h)39,011	1901-02	50	3,307	25,350	(f)66,454
1868	27	1,599	10,822	(h)44,029	1902-03	50	3,335	25,944	(f)64,004
1869	27	1,616	11,515	(h)44,350	1903-04	50	3,394	26,674	84,672
1870	27	1,588	11,915	(i)65,077	1904-05	51	3,457	27,461	82,527
					1905-06	52	3,512	28,522	80,692
1871	31	1,820	13,087	49,983	1906-07	52	3,694	29,573	85,420
1872	32	1,842	13,316	47,112	1907-08	52	3,703	31,332	88,026
1873	33	2,001	14,654	50,429	1908-09	53	3,724	31,680	90,539
1874	35	2,074	15,268	(i)76,944	1909-10	54	3,792	35,014	86,696
1875	35	2,094	15,515						
1876	35	2,186	15,827		1910-11	55	3,897	36,292	76,328
1877	35	2,196	16,178		1911-12	56	3,897	39,005	81,297
1878	36	2,269	16,713		1912-13	56	3,923	38,433	80,889
1879	37	2,341	16,649		1913-14	57	4,095	40,197	80,462
1880	37	2,339	16,801		1914-15	57	4,040	40,618	84,871
					1915-16	57	4,191	44,285	87,941
1881	37	2,350	16,828		1916-17	58	4,607	41,685	89,639
1881-82(j)	38	2,229	9,391		1917-18	59	4,735	43,512	88,511
1882-83	39	2,292	16,324		1918-19	59	4,800	49,715	85,908
1883-84	41	2,372	16,390		1919-20	59	4,768	50,004	90,298
1884-85	41	2,401	16,543						
1885-86	41	2,483	17,993		1920-21	60	4,845	50,517	93,661
1886-87	41	2,514	17,978		1921-22	60	4,850	49,167	109,703
1887-88	41	2,563	18,567	(k)54,892	1922-23	60	4,965	50,061	106,217
1888-89	42	2,613	20,434	(k)40,728	1923-24	60	5,097	52,000	112,365
1889-90	42	2,604	20,855	(k)38,498	1924-25	60	5,083	54,477	166,123

PUBLIC HOSPITALS: VICTORIA, 1856 TO 1981-82—continued

Year	Number of hospitals(a)	Number of beds	Patients treated		Year	Number of hospitals(a)	Number of beds	Patients treated	
			Inpatients	Outpatients				Inpatients	Outpatients
1925-26	60	5,188	56,742	128,895	1954-55(s)	117	11,810	259,834	598,647
1926-27	63	5,473	63,782	142,301	1955-56	125	11,819	222,986	514,423
1927-28	63	5,574	69,017	147,003	1956-57	132	12,274	234,720	526,085
1928-29	63	(n)4,638	70,529	156,986	1957-58(t)	134	(u)12,391	(u)247,136	541,743
1929-30	64	(n)4,622	71,842	174,257	1958-59	140	13,210	262,762	568,194
1930-31	65	(n)4,597	73,028	171,465	1959-60	142	13,505	264,503	571,020
1931-32	67	(n)4,684	81,303	216,666	1960-61	144	(u)13,108	(u)273,988	589,947
1932-33	68	(n)4,832	81,790	244,653	1961-62	146	(v)13,193	(v)287,127	626,397
1933-34	66	6,037	84,770	238,233	1962-63	149	(w)13,395	(w)294,137	666,589
1934-35	66	6,828	85,613	235,140	1963-64	151	(x)13,479	(x)308,629	725,495
1935-36	66	6,882	91,919	245,305	1964-65(y)	154	(x)13,529	(x)314,783	776,169
1936-37	67	7,270	92,472	255,482	1965-66	156	(z)13,612	(z)323,631	819,116
1937-38	67	7,490	89,899	241,067	1966-67	157	(aa)17,047	(aa)338,236	815,817
1938-39	67	7,642	96,173	261,209	1967-68	157	17,301	350,822	836,699
1939-40	68	7,696	102,369	265,215	1968-69	158	17,410	364,462	877,357
1940-41	67	7,827	109,716	281,278	1969-70	156	17,564	375,995	919,515
1941-42	70	7,264	93,658	263,223	1970-71	158	17,639	391,938	959,289
1942-43	70	7,379	93,157	252,323	1971-72	158	18,206	417,374	1,028,469
1943-44	72	8,908	131,207	260,063	1972-73	159	18,799	431,261	1,126,501
1944-45	72	9,092	130,859	271,754	1973-74	159	18,772	429,311	1,254,751
1945-46	75	9,204	129,109	281,146	1974-75	159	14,474	432,613	1,356,092
1946-47	86	9,435	147,031	327,910	1975-76	160	14,109	455,670	1,642,596
1947-48	86	9,505	148,140	342,136	1976-77	162	14,411	467,216	1,747,849
1948-49(o)	88	9,576	118,913	288,263	1977-78	162	14,192	484,849	1,812,586
1949-50(q)	96	9,851	157,592	404,743	1978-79	161	13,933	500,788	2,004,382
1950-51(q)	98	10,128	170,554	415,495	1979-80	161	13,887	503,434	2,064,730
1951-52(q)	102	10,429	176,417	422,851	1980-81	161	13,879	528,703	2,166,211
1952-53(q)	110	10,894	187,930	431,981	1981-82	161	13,746	522,488	2,033,771
1953-54(q)	112	13,989	267,515	447,838					

- (a) The first hospital was established in 1837. Statistics available from 1856. The table includes general hospitals, special hospitals (those that have accommodation for specific cases only or for women and/or children exclusively and the Cancer Institute which was established in 1949), sanatoria, auxiliary hospitals, convalescent hospitals, and hospitals for the aged. Excludes mental hospitals, psychiatric and infirmal hospitals, intellectual deficiency training centres and schools, founding homes and hospitals, bush nursing centres, and convalescent homes.
  - (b) Excludes Belfast Hospital.
  - (c) Excludes Melbourne Lying-in Hospital.
  - (d) Excludes Daylesford, Lower Murray, and Sandhurst Hospitals.
  - (e) In several of the hospitals no account of the relief afforded outdoors was kept.
  - (f) Excludes Daylesford, Lower Murray, Melbourne, and Sandhurst Hospitals.
  - (g) Excludes Creswick Hospital.
  - (h) Excludes Eye and Ear Hospital.
  - (i) Represents total relief afforded, not individual cases treated.
  - (j) Figures for 6 months ended 30 June 1882.
  - (k) General hospitals only.
  - (l) Excludes Free Melbourne Hospital for Sick Children and Consumptive Sanatorium.
  - (m) Excludes Queen Victoria Hospital for Women and Children.
  - (n) Comprises hospitals under the control of the Charities Board.
  - (o) Figures for 9 months ended 31 March 1949.
  - (q) Figures for 12 months ended 31 March.
  - (s) Figures for 15 months ended 30 June 1955.
  - (t) From 1958 the Mount Royal Benevolent Home is classified as a hospital for the aged. Hospitals for the aged included in number from 1957-58.
  - (u) Excludes Mount Royal Hospital for the Aged.
  - (v) Excludes Mount Royal Hospital for the Aged and Queen Elizabeth Home for the Aged.
  - (w) Excludes Bendigo Home and Hospital for the Aged, Greenvale Village for the Aged, Mount Royal Hospital for the Aged and Queen Elizabeth Home for the Aged.
  - (x) Excludes institutions listed in footnote(w) and the Cheltenham Home and Hospital for the Aged.
  - (y) Figures from 1964-65 are not strictly comparable with previous figures owing to change in accounting methods employed by hospitals.
  - (z) Excludes institutions listed in footnotes(w) and (x) and the Alexander (Castlemaine) Home and Hospital for the Aged.
  - (aa) Increase partly due to inclusion of figures for hospitals for the aged.
- NOTE. The letters (p) and (r) have not been used as footnotes.



RAILWAYS, TRAMWAYS, AND OMNIBUS SERVICES: VICTORIA, 1862 to 1982—*continued*

Year (a)	Victorian Railways				Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board (b)			
	Lines open for traffic	Kilometres run	Passenger journeys	Goods and livestock carried	Tramways		Omnibuses	
					Kilometres run	Passenger journeys	Kilometres run	Passenger journeys
kilometres	tonnes	'000	'000	'000	'000	'000	'000	
1938	7,609	30,400,003	144,051,267	7,390,160	37,007	175,564	2,931	9,212
1939	7,672	30,377,213	148,543,244	6,085,689	36,984	182,094	3,484	11,911
1940	7,670	29,020,769	151,279,927	6,302,007	36,630	185,282	4,781	17,874
1941	7,670	30,315,668	166,650,465	6,747,841	34,722	193,386	8,473	39,694
1942	7,681	30,851,139	189,775,439	7,646,804	35,509	233,136	12,271	61,893
1943	7,670	30,964,306	205,533,158	8,918,818	36,896	265,928	13,861	70,877
1944	7,670	27,697,425	204,083,197	8,427,348	37,015	278,451	13,718	71,632
1945	7,654	27,585,915	205,738,287	8,193,012	36,582	284,139	13,110	70,664
1946	7,654	27,632,232	205,936,888	7,345,051	36,490	281,198	12,657	70,196
1947	7,644	26,392,274	178,639,440	7,683,139	36,202	262,406	11,151	57,947
1948	7,617	28,579,992	191,105,459	8,575,218	36,297	255,804	12,674	67,154
1949	7,574	29,474,553	185,005,089	9,001,203	37,208	266,440	13,029	72,333
1950	7,564	29,803,123	190,472,649	9,271,598	37,499	203,697	10,981	59,765
1951	7,562	23,935,997	147,176,623	7,660,170	34,294	238,709	12,273	67,442
1952	7,574	28,823,045	171,830,096	9,352,141	34,839	217,685	12,228	62,619
1953	7,519	30,052,335	169,371,880	9,339,140	35,752	207,398	12,997	61,045
1954	7,226	31,059,134	172,497,575	9,348,242	35,406	204,747	12,701	59,111
1955	7,165	31,732,551	170,480,237	10,244,034	33,870	202,437	11,653	56,611
1956	7,154	31,534,967	167,901,387	9,760,972	35,813	207,914	9,429	37,209
1957	7,092	31,189,087	169,137,324	9,531,259	35,792	203,323	9,506	34,640
1958	7,083	30,203,180	169,577,732	9,034,373	33,478	195,350	9,527	32,242
1959	6,973	30,310,673	165,261,609	9,444,200	32,689	183,835	9,392	31,286
1960	6,904	30,020,093	159,865,445	9,842,928	31,762	177,868	9,392	31,286
1961	6,906	29,909,113	151,301,891	11,152,681	31,054	172,055	9,537	30,282
1962	6,906	30,944,618	154,076,416	10,516,413	30,278	167,250	11,254	31,313
1963	6,864	31,862,887	153,979,167	11,014,884	28,498	162,692	11,814	32,634
1964	6,775	32,918,011	154,639,820	12,326,734	28,284	160,479	11,721	32,426
1965	6,777	32,502,736	150,907,000	12,797,821	27,230	147,891	11,695	29,812
1966	6,742	32,925,459	150,184,992	12,351,515	26,730	140,556	10,884	25,120
1967	6,788	32,699,199	147,300,774	12,268,347	26,668	131,876	11,154	25,107
1968	6,775	32,390,565	147,156,834	11,294,364	26,522	127,575	11,805	25,576
1969	6,743	32,102,740	145,768,967	11,497,536	25,861	119,009	11,425	24,271
1970	6,711	33,496,995	144,571,400	12,025,095	24,580	110,692	11,141	22,353
1971	6,705	33,948,679	142,485,605	12,690,805	23,978	109,779	11,294	22,753
1972	6,700	(f)33,175,000	(f)137,794,000	(f)11,795,000	23,759	101,962	11,190	20,471
1973	6,687	33,057,000	113,150,000	11,475,000	24,443	104,719	11,882	20,993
1974	6,684	33,345,000	114,648,000	11,370,000	23,873	109,368	11,918	22,168
1975	6,658	33,876,000	117,720,000	11,057,000	23,840	111,077	12,027	22,658
1976	6,653	33,818,000	109,669,000	10,803,000	24,235	106,126	12,681	20,821
1977	6,578	33,489,000	102,654,000	10,971,000	24,166	102,886	12,762	20,073
1978	6,364	32,013,000	97,654,000	11,120,000	24,185	101,296	12,874	19,339
1979	6,185	30,856,000	93,323,000	11,190,000	24,191	101,070	12,879	19,927
1980	6,184	30,795,000	88,911,000	13,453,000	23,547	98,889	12,739	19,872
1981	5,870	30,614,000	(g)88,000,000	12,721,000	24,062	100,474	13,162	21,017
1982	5,812	31,136,000	76,313,000	11,623,000	24,030	103,479	13,336	23,546

(a) 1862 to 1870 and 1877 to 1884 year ended 31 December.  
 1871 six months ended 30 June.  
 1872 to 1875 and 1885 to 1982 year ended 30 June.  
 1876 eighteen months ended 31 December.  
 (b) 1886 to 1915 Melbourne Tramway and Omnibus Company.  
 1916 to 1982 Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board.  
 (c) Ten months only.  
 (d) Nine months only.  
 (e) Six months only.  
 (f) Rounded to nearest thousand for 1972 onwards.  
 (g) Estimated.

## MOTOR VEHICLES: VICTORIA, 1924-25 TO 1981-82

Year	New motor vehicles registered during period (a)				Motor vehicles on register at 30 June (a)				Drivers' and riders' licences in force at 30 June	Net revenue collected by Motor Registration Branch
	Cars and station wagons (b)	Other (c)	Total (d)	Motor cycles	Cars and station wagons (b)	Other (c)	Total (d)	Motor cycles		
1924-25							70,191	19,212	100,021	\$'000 828
1925-26							83,622	19,929	126,369	1,287
1926-27							111,124	23,011	164,380	1,647
1927-28							126,328	24,015	188,057	1,892
1928-29							143,844	24,554	212,228	2,185
1929-30					125,315	29,167	154,482	25,405	230,853	2,371
1930-31					116,568	28,028	144,596	23,635	228,051	2,212
1931-32					117,160	28,224	145,384	22,568	226,712	2,196
1932-33					124,609	31,554	156,163	23,439	235,613	2,371
1933-34					130,495	33,513	164,008	24,248	245,847	2,522
1934-35					140,483	37,487	177,970	24,968	260,288	2,738
1935-36					143,330	50,500	193,830	26,095	289,486	3,110
1936-37	13,292	7,948	21,240	2,923	137,885	69,025	206,910	26,663	315,826	3,394
1937-38	14,954	8,604	23,558	2,946	145,179	77,943	223,122	27,333	340,438	3,589
1938-39	15,090	6,831	21,921	2,349	153,391	81,766	235,157	26,698	358,417	3,774
1939-40	11,613	5,773	17,386	1,370	156,337	84,575	240,912	25,765	370,838	3,879
1940-41	5,529	3,304	8,833	735	148,437	84,725	233,162	23,572	365,205	3,785
1941-42	1,244	1,590	2,834	270	123,649	84,589	208,238	16,692	339,334	3,305
1942-43	852	1,153	2,005	83	131,417	85,937	217,354	16,275	329,595	2,912
1943-44	527	3,306	3,833	70	136,842	89,354	226,196	17,965	337,171	3,057
1944-45	496	2,351	2,847	86	141,249	94,110	235,359	19,820	353,584	3,214
1945-46	1,208	2,329	3,537	378	146,605	102,196	248,801	23,249	401,610	3,566
1946-47	6,136	4,643	10,779	1,683	157,461	111,263	268,724	26,203	437,924	4,056
1947-48	12,170	9,354	21,524	3,480	171,203	121,097	292,300	29,143	470,971	4,491
1949-49	18,333	11,551	29,884	5,048	189,445	130,277	319,722	31,706	487,407	4,856
1949-50	32,321	17,240	49,561	6,440	227,055	142,592	369,647	34,318	525,709	5,821
1950-51	36,692	19,432	56,124	5,442	263,714	147,049	410,763	33,637	575,753	7,024
1951-52	42,319	22,498	64,817	5,439	347,873	148,050	495,923	37,303	639,910	9,114
1952-53	26,594	11,458	38,052	2,523	376,123	130,172	506,295	33,533	645,962	9,571
1953-54	34,379	11,799	46,178	2,358	397,658	130,707	528,365	30,881	708,307	10,020
1954-55	47,528	15,907	63,435	2,363	456,024	143,930	599,954	29,193	725,826	11,280
1955-56	49,658	17,568	67,226	2,244	447,370	173,987	621,357	25,854	801,852	12,054
1956-57	43,862	14,701	58,563	1,963	473,748	177,690	651,438	24,048	831,847	14,802
1957-58	49,845	15,508	65,353	2,142	504,837	184,165	689,002	22,676	879,779	18,451
1958-59	52,926	16,736	69,662	2,280	538,113	190,036	728,149	21,816	908,343	19,333
1959-60	70,197	17,252	87,449	2,220	585,867	196,445	782,312	20,644	967,952	22,098
1960-61	67,001	14,803	81,804	1,356	625,183	201,132	826,315	18,422	1,032,431	22,538
1961-62	59,664	12,317	71,981	738	655,961	203,902	859,863	16,770	1,079,751	23,334
1962-63	77,892	14,206	92,098	656	704,906	211,558	916,464	15,079	1,112,750	25,176
1963-64	90,506	16,386	106,892	715	761,111	215,358	976,469	13,516	1,162,448	27,433
1964-65	96,268	17,486	113,754	1,000	818,331	218,957	1,037,288	12,526	1,215,435	31,928
1965-66	86,240	17,750	103,990	1,214	860,451	220,649	1,081,100	11,800	1,259,477	44,233
1966-67	87,172	17,048	104,200	1,788	901,121	222,996	1,124,117	12,431	1,313,291	46,357
1967-68	99,136	16,673	115,809	3,019	954,461	223,689	1,178,150	15,386	1,371,673	50,402
1968-69	101,677	18,634	120,311	3,457	1,008,506	227,605	1,236,111	18,527	1,435,797	57,782
1969-70	110,797	20,058	130,855	4,689	1,067,919	232,255	1,300,174	21,342	1,502,074	61,356
1970-71	109,829	18,703	128,532	8,218	1,122,460	235,739	1,358,199	28,912	1,566,396	66,480
1971-72	107,937	19,384	127,321	11,091	1,170,100	239,600	1,409,700	35,700	1,634,118	73,581
1972-73	110,660	21,754	132,414	11,778	1,231,100	250,500	1,481,600	42,200	1,711,808	80,116
1973-74	121,546	23,290	144,836	11,637	1,307,000	264,600	1,571,600	48,800	1,856,910	90,708
1974-75	133,163	26,073	159,236	8,770	1,382,700	280,600	1,663,300	52,600	1,885,874	115,378
1975-76	120,168	26,991	147,159	8,450	1,445,800	286,900	1,732,700	52,000	1,957,056	145,401
1976-77	117,794	28,551	146,345	7,645	1,479,200	298,900	1,778,100	51,100	2,032,520	172,382
1977-78	115,368	28,248	143,616	6,469	1,544,900	318,300	1,863,200	52,300	2,016,063	204,107
1978-79	122,961	24,258	147,219	7,148	1,591,500	328,200	1,919,700	54,300	2,072,172	218,683
1979-80	115,567	22,021	137,588	10,884	1,580,100	326,200	1,906,300	54,000	2,120,469	223,871
1980-81	114,699	23,921	138,620	14,450	1,632,500	339,200	1,971,700	64,200	2,181,714	235,035
1981-82	121,960	27,517	149,477	15,731	1,731,200	366,400	2,097,500	74,300	2,255,439	270,704

(a) Excludes defence service vehicles.

(b) Includes ambulances and hearses until 1970-71 inclusive.

(c) Includes utilities, panel vans, trucks, truck-type vehicles, omnibuses, and from 1971-72 onwards, ambulances and hearses.

(d) Excludes motor cycles, tractors, trailers, plant and equipment, and caravans.

ROAD TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS INVOLVING CASUALTIES: VICTORIA, 1924 TO 1982

Year (a)	Accidents involving casualties	Persons killed	Persons injured	Rate per—					
				10,000 vehicles registered			100,000 mean population		
				Accidents involving casualties	Persons killed	Persons injured	Accidents involving casualties	Persons killed	Persons injured
1924		224	3,534					13.6	215.2
1925		301	2,688		31.2	278.6		18.0	160.8
1926		351	3,513		29.5	295.6		20.7	207.0
1927		331	3,658		23.3	257.2		19.2	211.7
1928		349	3,714		21.9	233.0		19.9	212.0
1929		344	4,221		19.8	242.4		19.4	238.5
1930		350	4,085		20.1	234.7		19.6	228.7
1931		333	4,042		19.8	240.5		18.5	224.7
1932		311	4,090		17.9	235.4		17.2	226.1
1933		316	5,082		17.2	276.3		17.4	279.2
1934		349	6,812		17.8	348.3		19.1	372.2
1935		382	6,765		18.1	320.0		20.8	368.0
1936		404	7,375		17.8	325.3		21.9	399.5
1937	6,400	427	7,278	264.5	17.6	300.7	345.2	23.0	392.6
1938	6,638	433	7,523	259.1	16.9	293.7	355.9	23.2	403.3
1939	7,098	480	8,074	268.6	18.2	305.5	377.8	25.6	429.7
1940	7,561	515	8,723	283.5	19.3	327.1	400.7	27.3	462.3
1941	6,548	412	7,610	255.0	16.0	296.4	341.6	21.5	397.0
1942	5,240	396	5,836	233.0	17.6	259.5	268.9	20.3	299.5
1943	4,166	347	4,749	178.3	14.9	203.3	212.0	17.7	241.6
1944	3,764	266	4,219	154.2	10.9	172.8	189.9	13.4	212.9
1945	3,827	260	4,368	150.0	10.2	171.2	191.5	13.0	218.6
1946	5,285	336	6,202	194.3	12.4	228.0	262.3	16.7	307.8
1947	6,522	386	7,810	221.1	13.1	264.8	319.8	18.9	383.0
1948	6,252	362	7,210	194.5	11.3	224.3	302.0	17.5	348.3
1949	6,940	426	8,225	197.5	12.1	234.0	328.0	20.1	388.7
1950	8,618	501	10,538	213.3	12.4	260.9	396.3	23.0	484.5
1951	9,274	581	11,364	208.7	13.1	255.7	413.5	25.9	506.7
1952	10,111	603	12,531	189.6	11.3	235.0	437.8	26.1	542.5
1953	10,098	515	12,564	187.1	9.5	232.7	425.7	21.7	529.6
1954	10,537	569	13,351	188.4	10.2	238.7	434.9	23.5	551.1
1955	10,217	528	12,833	162.4	8.4	204.0	411.1	21.3	516.4
1956	10,606	582	13,483	163.9	9.0	208.3	414.9	22.8	527.5
1957	10,804	589	14,120	159.9	8.7	209.0	411.5	22.4	537.8
1958	11,233	571	15,015	157.8	8.0	211.0	418.0	21.3	558.8
1959	12,462	661	16,784	166.2	8.8	223.8	453.2	24.0	610.3
1960	12,267	698	16,595	152.8	8.7	206.7	435.1	24.8	588.6
1961	12,140	773	16,757	143.7	9.2	198.4	419.6	26.7	579.1
1962	11,639	818	16,074	132.8	9.3	183.4	393.6	27.7	543.6
1963	12,330	803	17,149	132.4	8.6	184.1	409.4	26.7	569.4
1964	13,067	838	18,401	132.0	8.5	185.9	425.2	27.3	598.7
1965	14,432	907	20,482	137.5	8.6	195.1	460.2	28.9	653.1
1966	14,110	933	20,277	129.1	8.5	185.5	441.8	29.2	634.8
1967	14,077	963	19,994	123.9	8.5	175.9	433.2	29.6	615.3
1968	15,113	868	21,932	126.6	7.3	183.8	457.9	26.3	664.5
1969	15,622	964	22,498	124.5	7.7	179.3	465.8	28.7	670.9
1970	17,030	1,065	24,502	128.9	8.1	185.4	498.5	31.2	717.2
1971	15,327	996	22,067	110.5	7.2	159.1	441.0	28.7	634.9
1972	14,988	884	21,090	102.3	6.3	143.1	410.7	25.5	574.6
1973	14,611	949	20,312	95.0	6.1	131.2	399.3	25.8	551.7
1974	13,452	877	18,634	77.2	5.0	108.1	340.8	21.9	477.1
1975	12,625	910	17,586	73.7	5.3	102.7	339.5	24.5	472.9
1976	12,680	938	17,653	72.1	5.3	100.4	332.7	24.6	463.2
1977	14,803	954	19,874	80.9	5.2	108.6	385.7	24.9	517.8
1978	14,957	869	20,377	78.4	4.6	106.8	387.0	22.5	527.2
1979	14,648	847	19,690	74.7	4.3	100.4	376.9	21.8	506.8
1980	14,988	657	19,957	76.4	3.3	101.7	382.9	16.8	509.9
1981	15,576	713	20,764	76.5	3.5	102.0	392.4	18.0	523.1
1982	15,658	717	20,758	72.1	3.3	95.6	p390.0	p17.9	p517.0

(a) 1924 to 1939 and 1975 to 1980 year ended 31 December.  
1940 to 1974, 1981 and 1982 year ended 30 June.



## INTERSTATE AND OVERSEAS SHIPPING: VICTORIA, 1837 TO 1978-79

Year (a)	Shipping entered		Shipping cleared		Year	Shipping entered		Shipping cleared	
	Vessels	Net tonnes	Vessels	Net tonnes		Vessels	Net tonnes	Vessels	Net tonnes
1837	140	12,959	140	13,639	1886	2,307	1,877,719	2,324	1,117,529
1838	137	11,905	136	11,866	1887	2,435	1,950,999	2,418	1,969,169
1839			189	20,679	1888	2,724	2,217,093	2,630	2,159,931
1840	262	44,113	232	34,885	1889	2,855	2,307,274	2,886	2,365,721
1841	272	53,343	228	34,704	1890	2,474	2,213,517	2,459	2,219,856
1842	237	44,462	225	34,815	1891	2,531	2,376,403	2,560	2,414,384
1843	238	44,305	230	28,045	1892	2,255	2,260,358	2,266	2,267,419
1844	229	30,447	247	35,151	1893	1,889	2,041,434	1,887	2,052,981
1845	273	31,840	291	31,613	1894	2,083	2,198,444	2,045	2,161,893
1846	349	41,220	340	36,290	1895	1,948	2,216,553	1,889	2,201,930
1847	423	48,654	425	49,415	1896	1,882	2,313,105	1,900	2,326,503
1848	469	68,703	446	55,978	1897	1,888	2,476,307	1,882	2,467,154
1849	484	98,560	460	84,240	1898	2,008	2,512,433	2,043	2,523,860
1850	555	109,764	508	88,485	1899	2,024	2,705,530	2,031	2,721,656
1851	712	131,503	658	112,787	1900	1,928	2,948,190	1,935	2,959,445
1852	1,657	414,768	1,475	355,918	1901	2,418	3,446,671	2,347	3,376,603
1853	2,594	733,053	2,268	675,538	1902	2,278	3,420,517	2,286	2,426,685
1854	2,596	807,357	2,607	811,658	1903	2,204	3,464,007	2,263	3,503,915
1855	1,907	560,581	1,995	590,891	1904	2,495	3,991,907	2,503	3,969,394
1856	1,920	547,254	1,959	547,003	1905	2,376	4,053,941	2,274	3,921,037
1857	2,190	705,712	2,207	695,513	1906	2,163	4,102,148	2,160	4,106,264
1858	2,034	658,505	2,015	651,546	1907	2,219	4,271,082	2,216	4,259,647
1859	2,026	644,309	2,056	672,135	1908	2,293	4,560,813	2,290	4,544,082
1860	1,814	590,977	1,841	608,753	1909	2,174	4,579,310	2,157	4,586,752
1861	1,778	558,010	1,820	549,487	1910	2,308	5,031,757	2,310	5,034,297
1862	1,715	565,115	1,766	591,231	1911	2,335	5,222,684	2,347	5,239,721
1863	1,739	634,077	1,782	627,972	1912	2,399	5,513,236	2,385	5,497,644
1864	1,816	630,154	1,896	651,912	1913	2,481	6,045,533	2,469	5,997,009
1865	1,743	590,298	1,823	608,971	1914	1,281	3,201,258	1,297	3,259,895
1866	2,078	660,411	2,203	686,587	1914-15	2,324	5,374,969	2,329	5,394,024
1867	1,847	602,756	1,955	626,929	1915-16	2,392	5,014,338	2,385	4,980,926
1868	2,067	663,848	2,172	696,205	1916-17	1,962	4,107,706	1,967	4,115,099
1869	2,320	732,850	2,334	742,693	1917-18	1,721	2,917,428	1,724	2,919,894
1870	2,039	674,417	2,187	692,030	1918-19	1,730	2,917,053	1,709	2,861,134
1871	2,137	673,643	2,257	703,130	1919-20	1,792	4,051,258	1,809	4,085,728
1872	2,104	677,031	2,234	705,572	1920-21	2,246	4,737,969	2,248	4,726,480
1873	2,187	768,238	2,226	775,157	1921-22	2,442	5,594,500	2,436	5,606,963
1874	2,100	789,583	2,122	805,229	1922-23	2,634	6,717,464	2,634	6,725,202
1875	2,171	853,874	2,223	846,877	1923-24	2,666	6,891,354	2,676	6,858,208
1876	2,086	823,063	2,150	860,621	1924-25	2,577	6,916,615	2,605	6,986,720
1877	2,192	954,743	2,219	950,336	1925-26	2,470	6,589,654	2,447	7,107,405
1878	2,119	967,026	2,173	977,112	1926-27	2,667	7,302,501	2,666	7,295,999
1879	2,084	978,545	2,083	992,818	1927-28	2,589	6,954,668	2,608	6,979,565
1880	2,076	1,096,201	2,115	1,118,685	1928-29	2,474	6,907,201	2,466	6,924,691
1881	2,125	1,238,800	2,123	1,211,813	1929-30	2,499	7,021,970	2,488	6,987,801
1882	2,089	1,370,746	2,079	1,363,327	1930-31	2,166	6,260,594	2,181	6,338,450
1883	2,023	1,488,261	2,064	1,523,647	1931-32	2,097	6,092,331	2,101	6,115,264
1884	1,986	1,594,347	1,989	1,607,823	1932-33	2,343	6,796,268	2,296	6,781,258
1885	2,154	1,657,448	2,119	1,655,036					

Year (a)	Shipping entered		Shipping cleared		Cargo			
	Vessels	Net tonnes	Vessels	Net tonnes	Shipped		Discharged	
					'000 tonnes weight	'000 tonnes measurement	'000 tonnes weight	'000 tonnes measurement
1933-34	2,393	6,900,060	2,359	6,883,758	1,376	435	2,515	673
1934-35	2,603	7,554,754	2,585	7,526,005	1,558	458	3,013	755
1935-36	2,719	8,067,151	2,711	8,034,549	1,752	481	3,375	821
1936-37	2,848	8,228,596	2,849	8,199,555	2,032	518	3,610	886
1937-38	3,019	8,674,890	2,991	8,657,624	2,137	712	3,922	1,094
1938-39	2,979	8,674,105	2,989	8,616,099	1,480	596	3,808	974
1939-40	2,658	7,137,688	2,672	7,206,375	1,329	844	3,122	1,682
1940-41	2,465	5,679,730	2,473	5,657,627	1,278	1,037	3,380	1,514
1941-42	2,154	4,522,787	2,139	4,530,652	1,174	993	3,766	1,367
1942-43	1,681	3,334,656	1,678	3,313,274	1,044	940	3,296	1,010
1943-44	1,494	3,049,082	1,499	3,034,287	1,099	873	3,013	998
1944-45	1,412	3,046,905	1,444	3,146,669	1,051	1,119	3,475	817
1945-46	1,442	3,541,730	1,434	3,538,166	899	820	3,392	716
1946-47	1,679	4,922,174	1,659	4,881,136	1,178	843	3,449	786
1947-48	1,846	5,770,882	1,825	5,698,452	1,544	714	3,907	870
1948-49	2,068	7,167,880	2,709	7,205,391	1,388	851	4,083	1,267
1949-50	2,315	8,439,068	2,314	8,435,003	1,532	797	4,539	1,752
1950-51	2,287	8,665,836	2,316	8,737,087	1,726	744	5,050	1,924
1951-52	2,316	8,888,838	2,328	8,981,980	1,508	758	5,305	2,229
1952-53	2,448	8,764,447	2,437	8,726,853	1,443	870	4,825	927
1953-54	2,546	9,157,659	2,541	9,154,611	1,339	1,037	5,169	1,457
1954-55	2,718	10,111,253	2,719	10,108,681	2,181	1,108	6,259	1,857
1955-56	2,757	10,706,552	2,755	10,641,092	2,593	1,044	7,365	1,897
1956-57	2,698	10,034,513	2,699	9,992,649	2,673	1,022	7,190	1,423

INTERSTATE AND OVERSEAS SHIPPING: VICTORIA, 1837 TO 1978-79—continued

Year (a)	Cargo							
	Shipping entered		Shipping cleared		Shipped		Discharged	
	Vessels	Net tonnes	Vessels	Net tonnes	'000 tonnes weight	'000 tonnes measurement	'000 tonnes weight	'000 tonnes measurement
1957-58	2,830	10,541,551	2,801	10,439,711	2,503	1,027	7,432	1,553
1958-59	2,899	11,155,816	2,899	11,138,471	2,774	1,030	7,787	1,499
1959-60	2,983	11,881,517	2,987	11,888,543	2,920	1,211	8,038	1,947
1960-61	3,054	12,993,340	3,060	13,070,113	3,662	1,182	8,129	2,505
1961-62	3,210	13,742,548	3,198	13,624,483	4,340	1,164	8,191	1,691
1962-63	3,177	13,806,336	3,189	13,803,917	4,862	1,096	9,602	1,904
1963-64	3,360	14,850,240			5,106	1,421	9,460	2,152
1964-65	3,316	15,341,753			4,132	1,545	9,892	2,497
1965-66	3,418	15,361,116			3,803	1,563	9,614	2,498
1966-67	3,332	15,973,652	3,331	15,929,440	4,319	1,575	11,178	2,529
1967-68	3,226	15,812,803	3,225	15,812,077	3,509	1,699	11,114	2,812
1968-69	3,317	16,586,889	3,295	16,448,462	3,442	1,734	11,465	3,129
1969-70	3,364	18,669,138	3,352	18,614,796	5,628	2,105	11,357	3,414
1970-71	3,323	19,262,771	3,334	19,363,536	11,664	2,354	7,778	3,435
1971-72	3,618	21,676,271	3,606	21,534,031	14,721	2,334	7,202	3,716
1972-73	3,540	20,824,881	3,507	20,775,481	12,153	2,715	6,075	4,189
1973-74	3,449	21,087,967	3,450	21,263,574	15,406	2,621	7,228	5,016
1974-75	3,435	20,692,321	3,470	21,038,482	15,257	2,396	5,978	4,969
1975-76	3,203	20,265,093	3,212	20,437,111	15,893	1,870	5,421	4,517
1976-77	3,311	21,411,044	3,294	21,245,218	17,600	905	6,421	3,898
1977-78	2,723	19,079,568	2,749	19,361,407	17,909	1,255	5,277	2,530
1978-79(b)	1,551	13,633,245	1,566	13,484,663	5,970	579	2,972	2,239

(a) 1837 to 1913 figures are for the year ended 31 December.  
 1914 figures are for the six months ended 30 June.  
 1914-15 to 1981-82 figures are for the year ended 30 June.  
 (b) Figures on the above basis not available after 1978-79.

ESSENDON AND MELBOURNE AIRPORTS: VICTORIA, 1960 TO 1982

Year	Domestic aircraft (a)				International aircraft (b)			
	Number of movements	Passengers		Freight handled	Number of movements	Passengers		Freight handled
		Embarked	Disembarked			Embarked	Disembarked	
1960	37,436	579,985	590,623	29,310 tonnes	931	9,294	11,514	364 tonnes
1961	37,599	571,063	574,661	23,672	896	10,589	11,072	281
1962	36,354	584,471	589,395	22,467	834	10,607	12,438	283
1963	39,928	632,768	644,669	22,649	844	13,059	15,772	359
1964	46,418	743,352	753,155	25,739	1,085	17,768	20,161	447
1965	47,938	856,536	849,203	34,965	1,201	19,866	23,440	500
1966	48,243	890,043	896,483	36,850	1,120	20,425	22,359	436
1967	50,312	981,729	990,201	39,459	1,036	22,353	26,092	576
1968	50,066	1,075,898	1,069,415	40,360	1,018	23,643	25,634	688
1969	54,192	1,201,469	1,229,748	47,140	1,021	27,252	28,812	687
1970	59,050	1,343,510	1,358,451	49,272	2,165	51,035	49,438	1,862
1971	58,064	1,401,134	1,410,682	48,318	4,309	89,962	95,132	4,063
1972	59,985	1,475,295	1,475,621	47,466	5,758	135,303	144,932	5,144
1973	67,517	1,798,331	1,783,826	56,509	6,127	193,375	214,357	9,075
1974	72,037	1,994,115	1,996,732	61,187	6,390	222,738	242,759	10,732
1975	71,946	2,068,415	2,068,923	55,366	7,278	268,607	283,019	12,277
1976	68,473	2,065,897	2,063,022	60,114	7,528	318,345	335,184	15,317
1977	68,558	2,144,619	2,146,831	59,013	8,578	332,207	353,012	15,175
1978	72,308	2,335,629	2,331,760	62,919	9,485	355,064	384,207	20,112
1979	70,065	2,451,235	2,457,658	72,680	9,131	435,224	457,986	24,383
1980	72,024	2,584,254	2,589,151	69,763	9,907	468,359	503,017	28,418
1981	66,499	2,518,313	2,519,984	74,377	9,719	458,348	497,436	35,189
1982	61,102	2,414,298	2,416,548	72,678	10,710	462,458	505,544	40,734

(a) Domestic aircraft movements commenced at Melbourne Airport on 20 June 1971.  
 (b) International aircraft movements commenced at Melbourne Airport on 1 July 1970.

## Communications

## VICTORIAN POST OFFICE, 1837 TO 1900

Year	Postage		Year	Postage		Year	Postage		Number of telephone subscribers (b)
	Number of letters	Number of newspapers		Number of letters (a)	Number of newspapers		Number of letters (a)	Number of newspapers	
1837	'000	'000	1858	'000	'000	1879	'000	'000	
1838	1	1	1859	5,026	4,265	1880	23,216	10,075	
1839	7	3	1860	6,649	5,051	1881	24,195	10,641	
1840	16	23	1861	8,116	5,683	1882	26,308	11,441	
1841	32	70	1862	6,110	4,277	1883	28,878	12,384	
1842	57	120	1863	6,277	4,909	1884	30,962	13,982	
1843	97	147	1864	6,636	4,931	1885	33,404	15,143	
1844	129	155	1865	6,790	5,672	1886	36,062	16,277	
1845	117	134	1866	7,486	6,038	1887	38,392	17,482	
1846	127	151	1867	8,631	5,438	1888	41,288	18,869	1,121
1847	139	205	1868	9,568	4,908	1889	47,701	21,703	1,637
1848	178	250	1869	9,750	4,974	1890	48,097	20,663	1,988
1849	210	310	1870	10,583	5,251	1891	62,526	22,729	2,307
1850	262	323	1871	11,133	5,287	1892			2,439
1851	382	381	1872	11,716	5,173	1893			2,414
1852	504	457	1873	12,941	5,491	1894			2,308
1853	972	710	1874	14,475	6,080	1895			2,398
1854	2,039	1,619	1875	15,739	6,867	1896			2,609
1855	2,674	2,395	1876	17,134	7,553	1897			2,754
1856	2,991	2,350	1877	18,964	9,010	1898			3,088
1857	3,221	2,906	1878	20,911	9,809	1899			3,630
	3,900	2,982	1878	22,325	10,697	1900	74,291	25,466	4,407
									5,136

## VICTORIA—POSTMASTER-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT, 1901 TO 1981-82

Year	Telephone services in operation (lines connected) (c)	Letters, etc., posted in Victoria and received from overseas (d)	Year	Telephone services in operation (lines connected) (c)	Letters, etc., posted in Victoria and received from overseas (d)
1901	6,049	'000	1913	30,640	'000
1902	6,847	123,807	1914	34,071	224,748
1903	7,610	137,711	1915-16	36,372	221,732
1904	8,429	143,412	1916-17	38,025	219,296
1905	9,269	149,746	1917-18	40,754	230,950
1906	9,269	155,708	1918-19	44,035	219,847
1907	10,423	162,337	1919-20	49,017	211,097
1908	12,885	170,351	1920-21	52,791	213,121
1909	14,993	178,421	1921-22	55,986	197,137
1910	17,108	168,830	1922-23	61,412	211,279
1911	20,343	181,145	1923-24	71,362	227,012
1912	23,504	195,747			247,457
	27,652	211,021			

Year	Telephone services in operation (lines connected) (c)	Letters, etc., posted in Victoria and received from overseas (d)	Licences in force (e)—		Combined broadcast and television receiver (f)
			Broadcast receiver	Television receiver	
1924-25	83,640	'000	19,243		
1925-26	93,215	265,567	63,494		
1926-27	101,891	277,449	113,612		
1927-28	108,678	293,123	137,503		
1928-29	114,603		142,534		
1929-30	118,074		139,887		
1930-31	113,282				
1931-32	110,213	253,746	139,323		
1932-33	110,386	252,462	170,995		
1933-34	113,983	275,765	206,995		
1934-35	121,631	281,946	236,886		
1935-36	128,313	275,835	263,414		
1936-37	135,751	271,983	288,717		
1937-38	143,657	289,748	315,406		
1938-39	150,570	295,450	327,579		
1939-40	157,081	291,328	348,158		
1940-41	164,051	291,252	362,790		

VICTORIA—POSTMASTER-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT 1901 TO 1981-82—*continued*

Year	Telephone services in operation (lines connected) (c)	Letters, etc., posted in Victoria and received from overseas (d)	Licences in force (e)—		Combined broadcast and television receiver (f)
			Broadcast receiver	Television receiver	
		'000			
1941-42	167,909	306,212	371,502		
1942-43	170,780	304,406	390,950		
1943-44	175,526	307,350	419,325		
1944-45	181,685	319,549	412,317		
1945-46	190,507	321,213	415,785		
1946-47	202,769	331,509	499,944		
1947-48	214,997	327,250	505,106		
1948-49	228,635	369,762	531,722		
1949-50	245,899	404,204	557,556		
1950-51	272,646	437,229	586,393		
1951-52	297,415	421,575	520,364		
1952-53	319,107	423,312	533,329		
1953-54	340,756	460,644	545,148		
1954-55	366,648	465,998	549,690		
1955-56	395,307	485,795	554,339		
1956-57	416,881	504,362	554,909	44,986	
1957-58	442,767	545,180	557,960	147,721	
1958-59	468,827	572,835	605,340	270,073	
1959-60	487,853	570,102	606,587	353,091	
1960-61	508,567	608,758	589,437	401,395	
1961-62	536,229	676,607	585,752	460,558	
1962-63	568,946	726,113	607,036	530,256	
1963-64	601,714	728,800	622,663	581,286	
1964-65	631,950	778,531	512,205	488,583	132,413
1965-66	660,974	817,329	141,630	87,649	574,955
1966-67	693,134	790,280	114,778	92,822	598,035
1967-68	727,575	792,431	94,982	96,789	629,729
1968-69	770,162	754,282	80,833	99,266	647,814
1969-70	824,227		72,051	107,362	675,457
1970-71	864,044	837,861	64,298	115,613	690,464
1971-72	896,615	813,794	58,390	111,921	699,652
1972-73	948,344	837,618	53,588	114,721	722,583
1973-74	1,011,355	837,678	(g) 48,870	(g) 103,451	(g) 732,832
1974-75	1,061,965	803,289			
1975-76 (h)	1,105,248	697,949			
1976-77	1,158,306	703,148			
1977-78	1,221,067	650,522			
1978-79	1,290,505	698,085			
1979-80 (i)	1,355,017	744,309			
1980-81 (j)	1,424,109	780,997			
1981-82	1,484,497	800,936			

(a) Postcards were first issued in April 1876 and are included with letters.

(b) Previously worked as a private undertaking, the telephone system was taken over by the Post Office on 22 September 1887.

(c) 1901 to 1914 at 31 December.

1914-15 to 1981-82 at 30 June.

(d) Includes postcards, newspapers, and packets. From 1949-50 registered articles and parcels are also included.

1901 to 1908 includes mail received from other States.

(e) Includes hirers' licences which were available for any period not exceeding twelve months. In the majority of instances they were taken out for short terms, usually on a monthly basis.

(f) Introduced on 1 April 1965.

(g) All licences for broadcast and television receivers were abolished in September 1974.

(h) From 1 July 1975, all postal services and most of the services provided by telecommunication ceased to operate as the Postmaster-General's Department and were embodied in two separate Commissions — the Australian Postal Commission (Australia Post) and the Australian Telecommunications Commission (Telecom).

(i) Number of services in operation at 18 June 1980.

(j) Number of services in operation at 17 June 1981.

## Appendix B

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### BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS, 1770 TO 1982

- 1770 First recorded sighting by Europeans of the south coast of Australia, at Point Hicks, by the expedition of Captain James Cook, R.N.
- 1788 Colony of New South Wales founded by Captain Arthur Phillip, R.N., at Sydney Cove.
- 1797 First recorded landing on the south coast of Australia, near Point Hicks; this was by a shipwrecked crew.
- 1798 Western Port first entered by George Bass, Surgeon, R.N., who landed on Phillip Island, named Cape Woolamai, and discovered the western passage. Existence of Bass Strait established by Bass and Lieutenant Matthew Flinders, R.N., later in the year.
- 1800 Lieutenant James Grant, R.N., the first to sail through Bass Strait from the west, discovered and named several capes and islands, including Capes Bridgewater, Nelson, Otway, Patton, and Liptrap, Lawrence Rocks, and Lady Julia Percy Island.
- 1801 Grant entered Western Port through the western passage; his party sowed wheat and other seeds on Churchill Island.
- 1802 Port Phillip Bay discovered and entered by Acting Lieutenant John Murray, R.N. On 9 March, Murray took formal possession of the port in the King's name. Victorian coast explored by French expedition under Nicholas Baudin, making an eight day survey of Western Port and naming various bays and capes. Port Phillip Bay entered, examined, and charted by Commander Matthew Flinders, R.N.
- 1803 A party under Charles Grimes, Acting Surveyor-General of New South Wales, made a land survey of the shores of Port Phillip Bay and rowed up the Yarra River to the approximate site of the future settlement of Melbourne. Grimes' map showed, for the first time, the whole coast of Port Phillip Bay. Lieutenant-Colonel David Collins, with a party of convicts and a few free settlers, attempted a settlement at Sullivan Bay, about 1.6 kilometres from the present site of Sorrento on 13 October.
- 1804 On 30 January, Sullivan Bay settlement was abandoned.
- 1824 Hamilton Hume and William Hilton Hovell, having travelled overland from Lake George in southern New South Wales, reached a river which they named the Hume, and later arrived at Corio Bay.
- 1826 Captain Samuel Wright with a party of convicts reached Western Port to form a settlement. He took possession of the site (Corinella) on 13 December.
- 1828 The Western Port settlement was abandoned in April.
- 1830 Captain Charles Sturt, on an expedition to trace the course of the Murrumbidgee River, entered and named the Murray River, a part of which had previously been known as the Hume River.
- 1834 Edward Henty established the first permanent settlement in Victoria, at Portland Bay on 19 November.
- 1835 John Batman, as agent for the Port Phillip Association, arrived at Port Phillip from Van Diemen's Land. He made a treaty in June with the Aboriginals for

- 243,000 hectares of land and chose the site of the future Melbourne. The British Government later refused to validate the treaty. Governor Sir Richard Bourke issued a proclamation, claiming the Port Phillip District as part of the Colony of New South Wales. In August, John Pascoe Fawkner's associates settled on the site of Melbourne, followed by Fawkner and his family in October. New South Wales overlanders began the southern movement into the Port Phillip District.
- 1836 First Population Census of the Port Phillip District taken in May: 142 males, 35 females. Major Thomas Mitchell journeyed through the western portion (*Australia Felix*) of the Port Phillip District. Proclamation of the Port Phillip District as open for settlement. Captain William Lonsdale appointed magistrate to superintend the settlement.
- 1837 Death of King William IV; accession of Queen Victoria. First post office established at Melbourne. Inspection of site and naming of future township "Melbourne" (after the British Prime Minister, Viscount Melbourne) by Sir Richard Bourke. Robert Hoddle surveyed and planned the township (now the inner city area of Melbourne), based on an earlier design of Robert Russell and also surveyed the immediate area of the Port Phillip District into land parishes. Bourke approved the plan of the township and named the main streets. First land sales were in June. By December, estimated population of Port Phillip District was 1,264.
- 1838 The *Melbourne Advertiser*, written by hand, first issued by Fawkner. First overland mail from Melbourne to Sydney. Publication of first number of *Port Phillip Gazette*, Melbourne's first licensed newspaper. First banks opened in Melbourne for general banking business.
- 1839 Presbyterian Church services transferred to site of present Scots Church. Charles Joseph La Trobe appointed Superintendent of the Port Phillip District, arriving on 30 September. First Wesleyan chapel opened. Foundation stone of St James' Anglican Church (later St James' Old Cathedral) laid. First general insurance company opened in Melbourne. Angus McMillan explored Gippsland, continuing until 1841. First mail dispatched direct from Port Phillip District to England.
- 1840 The *Port Phillip Herald* newspaper (later the *Herald*) first published. Count Paul Strzelecki reached Melbourne after exploration in Gippsland. A public meeting sought separation of the Port Phillip District from New South Wales.
- 1841 Independent Chapel, Russell Street, opened (replaced by present Independent Church in 1866). First resident judge appointed for Port Phillip District. First mail direct from England. First issue of a Government Gazette for the District. Foundation stone of St Francis' Church, Lonsdale Street, laid. Wesleyan Chapel, Collins Street, opened. First Melbourne market opened. Boundaries of town of Geelong defined. First official post office for the Port Phillip District opened on site of Elizabeth Street G.P.O. Melbourne's first theatre — the Pavilion (later known as the Theatre Royal) — built in Bourke Street.
- 1842 Royal Assent given to an Act for the Government of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land by which the Port Phillip District was entitled to be represented by six of the 24 elected members of the Legislative Council of New South Wales. Melbourne incorporated as a town. First Town Council elected, with Henry Condell as Mayor.
- 1843 Port Phillip District divided into four squatting districts: Gipps' Land, Murray, Western Port, and Portland Bay.
- 1844 Petition for separation from New South Wales sent from Port Phillip to England. Dr Lang's motion for separation moved in the New South Wales Legislative Council.
- 1845 First government offices built. Site chosen for Botanic Gardens.
- 1846 Foundation stone of first Melbourne Hospital laid. The *Argus* newspaper founded. Melbourne Botanic Gardens founded. Fifth squatting district, Wimmera, gazetted.
- 1847 Mail service between Melbourne and Adelaide inaugurated.
- 1848 Two bishops installed in Melbourne — Dr Perry in St James' Anglican Cathedral, and Dr Goold in St Francis' Roman Catholic Pro-Cathedral. National and Denominational Schools Boards established. Melbourne Hospital opened.

- 1849 Royal Letters Patent signed in 1847, designating Melbourne a city, proclaimed. Successful culmination of campaign against attempts by British Government to use the District as a convict settlement when La Trobe prevented a landing of convicts from the transport ship *Randolph*. Experimental use of gas for illumination of Melbourne. Geelong incorporated as a town.
- 1850 An Act for the better government of the Australian Colonies given Royal Assent; this Act separated the Port Phillip District from the Colony of New South Wales, created it the Colony of Victoria, and granted it representative government. The first trade union in Victoria, the Operative Stonemasons Society, established. Victoria's own postage introduced. La Trobe officially opened the first masonry Prince's Bridge, which replaced the previous wooden structure.
- 1851 Separation Act proclaimed and La Trobe became Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria. First meeting of Legislative Council held. "Black Thursday", 47.2°C temperature and destructive bushfires. Gold discovered at Andersons Creek (Warrandyte), Clunes, Ballarat, Castlemaine, Bendigo, and Daylesford as well as on the Mitta Mitta and several Gippsland Rivers.
- 1852 Gold discovered at Wedderburn, Heathcote, and Beechworth. Beginning of the overseas gold rush immigration to Victoria. Supreme Court and other courts of law established. The first enterprise to supply gas (the City of Melbourne Gas and Coke Co.) formed, and the first gas works erected.
- 1853 Gold discovered at Maldon, Stawell, Avoca, Dunolly, Steiglitz, Rushworth, and Buckland River. Bank of Victoria opened. Dr F.J.H. (later Baron Sir Ferdinand) von Mueller appointed Government Botanist. Road districts (the origin of the present shires) established. A permanent quarantine station established at Point Nepean. Work commenced on Yan Yean Reservoir. Legal registration of births, marriages, and deaths provided for by the Registration Act. Coaching firm Cobb & Co. founded. First Murray River paddle steamer *Lady Augusta* sailed upstream as far as Swan Hill.
- 1854 Gold discovered at Ararat, Maryborough, and Beaufort. Telegraphic communication established between Melbourne and Williamstown. Sir Charles Hotham appointed Lieutenant-Governor. Opening of the first Australian railway by Melbourne and Hobson's Bay Railway Company — Melbourne to Sandridge (Port Melbourne). *The Age* newspaper founded. Riots on Ballarat goldfields, culminating in the action at the Eureka Stockade. Municipal institutions established. First Health Act proclaimed. National Museum opened in La Trobe Street.
- 1855 University of Melbourne opened with Redmond (later Sir Redmond) Barry as first Chancellor. Victorian Constitution Act proclaimed. Eastern Market established. Death of Sir Charles Hotham. Gold discovered at Blackwood and St Arnaud.
- 1856 Lying-in-Hospital (now Royal Women's Hospital) established. Melbourne Public Library opened. Eight hours of work per day agreed upon by employers and unions in the building trades — later extended to most other trades. First Parliament in Victoria under responsible government opened in new building at Spencer Street, Melbourne. Beginning of public ownership of railways by acquisition of the Melbourne, Mount Alexander, and Murray River Railway Company by the Victorian Government. H.M.V.S. *Victoria*, first ship of the Victorian Navy, arrived.
- 1857 Melbourne's streets lit by gas. Universal adult male suffrage adopted for Legislative Assembly. Zoological Society of Victoria founded. Victoria's first rural railway commenced operating between Melbourne and Geelong. National Herbarium established. Brown coal discovered at Lal Lal. Dr F.J.H. (later Baron Sir Ferdinand) von Mueller appointed Director of the Botanic Gardens.
- 1858 Telegraphic communication established between Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide. First Land Selection (Nicholson) Act passed.
- 1860 Burke and Wills expedition left Melbourne for the Gulf of Carpentaria; the leaders later perished at Cooper Creek on the return journey. Building of St Patrick's Roman Catholic Cathedral begun.
- 1861 The first Melbourne Cup run. The first Conference of Australian Statisticians held in Melbourne.

- 1862 Bendigo and Ballarat railways opened. Common schools brought under control of Board of Education. Torrens transfer of land system adopted in Victoria. The first medical school in Australia established at the University of Melbourne. Duffy Land Act in operation.
- 1865 The Melbourne Stock Exchange established. Victoria's first woollen mill established at Geelong. Grant Land Act proclaimed.
- 1866 First stages of the tariff protection policy adopted by Victoria.
- 1867 Electric light illuminations in Melbourne for H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh's visit. Melbourne G.P.O. building opened.
- 1869 First life assurance company established in Victoria. The Homoeopathic (later Prince Henry's) Hospital and the Melbourne Institution for Diseases of the Eye and Ear (later the Royal Victorian Eye and Ear Hospital) opened. The Industrial and Technological Museum (now the Science Museum of Victoria) established. Grant Land Act (Amended) passed.
- 1870 Ballarat School of Mines and Industries opened. Children's Hospital opened on a site in Russell Street, Melbourne.
- 1871 Alfred Hospital opened.
- 1872 Branch of Royal Mint opened in Melbourne. The Education Act created the Department of Public Instruction to administer the system of free, secular, and compulsory education. Department of Agriculture established.
- 1873 Education Act came into operation. Bendigo School of Mines and Industries established. Horse trams commenced operation in Melbourne.
- 1874 First Victorian Factories Act and Local Government Act passed. Government Statist's Office established. First *Victorian Year Book* published.
- 1877 Melbourne Harbor Trust established. First Test Cricket match (England v Australia) held in Melbourne. State aid to denominational schools abolished.
- 1878 Metropolitan Gas Company established. Government ownership of railways extended by purchase of Melbourne and Hobson's Bay Railway Company. Payment of members of Legislative Assembly approved by Legislative Council.
- 1879 First inter-colonial trade union congress held in Melbourne. Main Gippsland railway completed.
- 1880 A mail service between Victoria and England, running at fortnightly intervals, commenced. Women admitted to University of Melbourne under an 1879 Act. Foundation stone of St Paul's Anglican Cathedral, Melbourne, laid. First electric lighting company in Victoria formed. Ned Kelly, a bushranger, captured and later tried and hanged. First Australian telephone exchange opened in Melbourne; it was privately owned and operated by the Melbourne Telephone Exchange Co. Ltd. First International Exhibition to be held in Melbourne opened.
- 1882 Austin Hospital opened. New Law Courts in William Street, Melbourne opened.
- 1883 Victorian Railways Commissioners constituted. Victorian and New South Wales railway system (Melbourne to Sydney) linked at Albury, but with change of gauge. Water Conservation Act passed.
- 1884 First Public Service Board for Victoria established.
- 1885 First cable tramway in Victoria began operating from Melbourne to Richmond. Victoria accepted the Federal Council of Australasia Act of 1885.
- 1886 Irrigation Act passed; building of Goulburn Weir authorised.
- 1887 The Working Men's College, later renamed the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, opened with an enrolment of 300. Government acquired the private telephone company. Melbourne and Adelaide linked by rail. Chaffey brothers began the Mildura irrigation settlement and the Victorian Government began the first waterworks scheme, a weir on the Goulburn River. Coode Canal, constructed to facilitate shipping on the Yarra River, was completed.
- 1888 Weekly mail contract between Australia and England commenced. Centennial International Exhibition in Melbourne.
- 1889 Queen's Bridge, Melbourne opened.
- 1890 Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works created by statute. Great maritime strike commenced in Melbourne. Fire Brigades Act established metropolitan and nine country fire brigades.



- 1891 Australian colonies postal union formed.
- 1892 Rich gold finds at Coolgardie in Western Australia attracted large numbers of persons from Victoria.
- 1893 Widespread unemployment. Bank failures and moratorium. Victoria Dock opened. St Vincent's Hospital opened.
- 1895 Income tax first imposed in Victoria. Serious drought commenced; it continued until 1902.
- 1896 Wages boards established under Factories and Shops Act. Metropolitan sewerage system inaugurated by the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works. Queen Victoria Memorial Hospital opened.
- 1898 The final sitting of the Federal Convention to determine the various requirements for Federation held in Melbourne. A draft Bill to constitute the Commonwealth of Australia was framed and adopted for submission to a popular referendum of the various Colonies represented. Closer settlement approved.
- 1899 Referendum on amended Federal Constitution Bill accepted by Victoria. Plural voting abolished for Victorian Parliament. First Victorian troops left for the South African War.
- 1900 Royal Assent to the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act of 1900. Old age pension scheme adopted under Victorian Government statute; replaced by Commonwealth scheme in 1909.
- 1901 Death of Queen Victoria. Accession of King Edward VII. First Commonwealth Parliament opened in Exhibition Building, Melbourne, by H.R.H. The Duke of Cornwall and York; Commonwealth Parliament was to meet in Melbourne using the Victorian parliamentary chambers until Commonwealth chambers could be provided at a site to be chosen. First Federal Ministry formed. Interstate free trade established. Recommendations of a commission of inquiry led to reorganisation of the Victorian education system.
- 1902 End of the South African War. Completion of Pacific cable.
- 1903 The High Court of Australia and the Victorian Industrial Appeals Court established.
- 1904 Royal Assent to Commonwealth *Conciliation and Arbitration Act 1904*.
- 1905 The Pure Food Act passed. The Geelong Harbour Trust and the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission established. The first State secondary school, Melbourne High School, founded.
- 1906 Wireless telegraphy in operation between Queenscliff and Devonport, Tasmania. The first electric tramway, running from Flemington Bridge to Essendon, opened.
- 1907 The first interstate telephone service, from Sydney to Melbourne, commenced. The "Harvester" award, which became the basis of the basic wage, handed down. Revival of assisted immigration.
- 1908 The Yass-Canberra district selected as the site of the Federal capital. The State Coal Mine established at Wonthaggi.
- 1909 Commonwealth age pensions scheme established. Victorian quarantine powers transferred to the Commonwealth. First Commonwealth-States Financial Agreement.
- 1910 Houdini made the first aeroplane flight in Victoria. Death of King Edward VII; accession of King George V. Printing of Australian bank notes commenced in Melbourne. Geelong proclaimed a city. Victorian Electoral Act granted full adult suffrage for the Legislative Assembly. Education Act providing for State wide network of high schools passed.
- 1911 Commonwealth introduced compulsory military training for males aged between 14 and 18 years.
- 1912 The Royal Australian Navy established a naval base at Crib Point. The first automatic telephone exchange in Australia opened at Geelong. First shore-to-ship radio communication station for Victorian waters opened in Melbourne. Royal Assent to Commonwealth *Maternity Allowance Act 1912*.
- 1913 Establishment of Country Roads Board. First Commonwealth Savings Bank and General Banking Department established in Victoria. Commonwealth postage stamps issued.
- 1914 Commencement of First World War; first detachment of the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) left for overseas service.

- 1915 Landing of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZACs) at Gallipoli. Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board appointed. River Murray Waters Agreement signed.
- 1916 The ANZACs evacuated from Gallipoli. Commonwealth Serum Laboratories established. First referendum on conscription rejected. Six p.m. closing of hotels. Advisory Council of Science and Industry established. Open cut operations on Morwell brown coal deposits commenced.
- 1917 Closer settlement scheme for ex-servicemen initiated in Victoria. First aeroplane flight from Sydney to Melbourne. Dr Daniel Mannix installed as Roman Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne. Second referendum on conscription rejected.
- 1918 End of First World War. Establishment of Forests Commission.
- 1919 The State Electricity Commission and the Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board established. Completion of first section of electrification of Victorian metropolitan railways.
- 1920 Walter and Eliza Hall Institute inaugurated.
- 1921 First direct wireless press message from England to Australia.
- 1923 Police strike in Melbourne.
- 1924 First transmission to Melbourne of power generated from Yallourn brown coal; production of brown coal briquettes began. Victoria's first broadcasting station, 3AR Melbourne, licensed; it was privately operated until 1929. Australian Loan Council formed. Plans to electrify Melbourne's tram system announced.
- 1926 Baker Medical Research Institute established. Establishment of Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (later Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization [CSIRO]), succeeding Advisory Council of Science and Industry and the Institute of Science and Industry (1916 to 1926).
- 1927 Seat of Commonwealth Government transferred from Melbourne to Canberra; first meeting of Commonwealth Parliament at Canberra opened by the Duke of York (later King George VI).
- 1928 Revised Commonwealth-States Financial Agreement 1927, accepted by referendum.
- 1929 Loan Council took over States' debts.
- 1930 Effects of world wide economic depression included growing unemployment. Sir Isaac Isaacs of Melbourne appointed as first Australian born Governor-General. Melbourne's Spencer Street Bridge opened.
- 1931 Death of world famous soprano, Dame Nellie Melba, who was born at Richmond in 1861. Commonwealth *Financial Emergency Act* 1931 ("Premiers' Plan") proclaimed. Death of General Sir John Monash, Australian military leader in the First World War and first chairman of the State Electricity Commission.
- 1933 The Australian Broadcasting Commission and the Transport Regulation Board established.
- 1934 The Victorian Centenary celebrations opened, and the Shrine of Remembrance was dedicated by H.R.H. The Duke of Gloucester. Scott and Black won the London to Melbourne Centenary Air Race.
- 1936 Death of King George V; King Edward VIII proclaimed; abdication of King Edward VIII and accession of King George VI. Telephone service between Tasmania and Victoria opened. Commonwealth Aircraft Corporation established. Hume Reservoir officially opened.
- 1937 Mining disaster at Wonthaggi Coal Mine: 13 persons killed. Outbreak of poliomyelitis caused 113 deaths.
- 1938 Severe Australia wide coal strike. Housing Commission of Victoria established. Commonwealth *National Health and Pensions Insurance Act* 1938; operation of Act postponed indefinitely in 1939.
- 1939 Disastrous bushfires ("Black Friday") followed a long period of drought and very high temperatures in Victoria. The fires killed 71 persons. The first locally-built service aircraft, Wirraway No. 1, made its first test flight. Outbreak of Second World War.
- 1940 Australia wide coal strike severely affected transport services. Petrol rationing introduced due to the need to conserve supplies of fuel. Cable trams ceased operating, having been superseded by electric services and buses.

- 1941 Child endowment payments commenced. Curtin Federal (Australian Labor Party) Ministry succeeded the Menzies and Fadden (United Australia Party-Country Party coalition) Ministries. Outbreak of war with Japan. Inauguration of new beam radio service between Australia and the United States of America.
- 1942 Fall of Singapore to Japanese forces, and capture of greater part of the 8th Division, Second AIF. Restrictions on non-essential manufactured goods, rationing of commodities, and price control introduced. Uniform taxation introduced for Australia. Japanese attacks on east coast shipping. Premiers' Conference in Melbourne for discussions on wartime policy with Prime Minister. Limited hotel trading hours (10 a.m. to 6 p.m.) introduced in Melbourne metropolitan area.
- 1943 Ministry of Health Act brought all matters of public health under jurisdiction of Minister of Health. Price stabilisation scheme for Australia introduced.
- 1944 "Pay as you earn" income taxation plan adopted. The Town and Country Planning Board and the Country Fire Authority established.
- 1945 Cessation of Second World War. First group of returned prisoners of war of the Japanese reached Victoria.
- 1946 Commonwealth-States Housing Agreement.
- 1947 Australian National Antarctic Research Expedition (ANARE) established a scientific research station on Heard Island. Arrival of first "displaced persons" from Europe under the post-war planned migration scheme.
- 1948 Introduction of the 40 hour week. The Hospitals and Charities Commission and the Cancer Institute established.
- 1949 A State of Emergency proclaimed throughout Victoria during the seven week general coal strike which severely affected transport, fuel, light, and power. Chifley Federal (ALP) Ministry succeeded by Menzies (Liberal-Country Party) Ministry. Introduction of metropolitan planning scheme under the control of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works. Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization (CSIRO) established to take over functions of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.
- 1950 Mental Hygiene Authority established within the Health Department. Two month Melbourne tramway strike. Adult suffrage adopted for Legislative Council. The Portland Harbour Trust and the Gas and Fuel Corporation of Victoria established.
- 1951 Commonwealth National Service Act passed. Inauguration of first regular air service between Melbourne and New Zealand. Field-Marshal Sir Thomas Blamey, the only Australian to have achieved such military rank, died.
- 1952 Death of King George VI and accession of Queen Elizabeth II. St Vincent's School of Medical Research established.
- 1954 Establishment of Mawson research station — first Australian permanent base on Antarctic continent. First visit to Australia by a reigning monarch, H.M. Queen Elizabeth II accompanied by H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh. "Tattersall" sweep consultations transferred to Victoria from Hobart.
- 1955 Power generated by first completed section of Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Scheme.
- 1956 Olympic Games opened in Melbourne by H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh. First Australian television station, HSV7 commenced transmission. H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh made the first Freeman of the City of Melbourne. Traffic Commission established. Opening of Lurgi brown coal gasification plant at Morwell.
- 1958 Victorian Government signed Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Scheme Agreement. Regular global air service inaugurated from Melbourne Airport, Essendon. Integration of Commonwealth and State statistical services.
- 1959 Opening of Sidney Myer Music Bowl, Melbourne. Inauguration of the Melbourne to Devonport (Tasmania) ferry service by the *Princess of Tasmania*. Petroliferous gas flow discovered near Port Campbell. Electricity from the Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Scheme became available to Victoria.
- 1960 Opening of the all-weather deep-sea harbour at Portland. Subscriber trunk dialling telephone system introduced in Victoria.
- 1961 Monash University opened. National Heart Foundation established.

- 1962 Opening of the standard gauge railway system between Melbourne and Sydney. Coaxial cable system between Canberra, Sydney, and Melbourne opened. First stage of South Eastern Freeway opened. Royal Commission investigated failure of section of new King Street bridge. British Commonwealth trans-Pacific cable opened.
- 1963 H.M. Queen Elizabeth II and H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh visited Melbourne. Death of Dr Mannix, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne since 1917. Commencement of inquiries of Royal Commission on Victorian liquor laws.
- 1965 Victoria Institute of Colleges established. The La Trobe Library (part of the State Library of Victoria) opened. Tests showed good natural gas flow off the Gippsland coast.
- 1966 Women became eligible for jury service in Victoria. Liquor law reforms, including extension of hotel trading hours to 10 p.m., came into operation in Victoria. Introduction of decimal currency. Australia's first offshore oil discovered in Bass Strait. Broadband microwave trunkline telephone service inaugurated between Melbourne and other cities. Automatic telex system introduced.
- 1967 Increasingly severe drought. La Trobe University opened. Postcode system introduced for mail. Disappearance of Prime Minister, Rt Hon. H. E. Holt at Portsea.
- 1968 Senator J. G. Gorton became Prime Minister. Severe drought ended. New National Gallery of Victoria, the first stage of the Victorian Arts Centre, opened. State Coal Mine at Wonthaggi closed. Uniform Commonwealth-State censorship laws became operative.
- 1969 Connection of natural gas to consumers commenced; the Lurgi brown coal gasification plant at Morwell closed. Equal pay for men and women began to be implemented. First section of Tullamarine Freeway opened.
- 1970 Dartmouth Dam Agreement signed by the Commonwealth, Victorian, New South Wales, and South Australian Governments. The Royal family visited Melbourne and parts of Victoria. Whole of Tullamarine Freeway, second stage of the South Eastern Freeway, and the new Melbourne Airport, Tullamarine, opened. The \$33m natural gas fractionation plant opened at Long Island, Western Port. Collapse of section of West Gate Bridge resulted in 35 deaths; it was followed by a Royal Commission to inquire into the disaster. Legislation concerning the wearing of seat belts in certain motor vehicles introduced in Victoria. Melbourne's conversion to natural gas was completed at a cost of \$30m.
- 1971 The Victorian Premier opened the new Mercy Maternity Hospital, East Melbourne. The Victorian Premier opened a \$26m extension to a refinery at Altona. Domestic airline operations were transferred from Essendon Airport to the new Melbourne Airport at Tullamarine.
- 1972 Melbourne suffered the heaviest city downpour ever recorded, in February. The Victorian Government bought Corpus Christi College at Glen Waverley for a police training academy. First of Melbourne's stainless steel suburban electric trains came into service.
- 1973 The Victorian Government provided almost \$1m to drought stricken areas. Legislation was approved to give 18 year olds the vote. The Victorian Education Department introduced a special entrance test for universities, advanced colleges, and teachers colleges. Cardinia Reservoir, Melbourne's largest water storage, was opened. The State College of Victoria took over administration of Teachers Colleges. Victoria's first Ombudsman was appointed.
- 1974 The 106 year old Rippon Lea Estate in Elsternwick was acquired by the National Trust of Australia (Victoria). Legislation giving Victoria full control over its Constitution was introduced. Metric road signs were introduced.
- 1975 Transfer of overall responsibility for Aboriginal affairs to the Commonwealth became effective. Colour transmission commenced on Melbourne's four television channels. Capital punishment was abolished in Victoria. First awards of the Order of Australia honours were announced.
- 1976 A Film Corporation, later known as Film Victoria, was set up by the Victorian Government. Former Governor-General of Australia, Lord Casey, died in Mel-

- bourne. The Victorian Government bought the Windsor Hotel in Spring Street, Melbourne.
- 1977 Five persons were killed and the town of Streatham destroyed when major bushfires burned through large areas of the Western District. H.M. Queen Elizabeth II and H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh were greeted in Melbourne on the Silver Jubilee Tour of Victoria. Australia won the Centenary Test Match at the Melbourne Cricket Ground, defeating England by 45 runs. A majority of the State Premiers at a special Premier's conference held in Canberra opposed a plan to give each State the power to raise its own income tax. Nauru House, Melbourne's tallest office building to date, 52 storeys, was opened. The Victorian Football League Grand Final was televised live for the first time. Power restrictions followed an industrial stoppage in the La Trobe Valley.
- 1978 Sir Robert Menzies, founder of the Liberal Party and former Prime Minister, died at his home in Malvern. The first major tram extension since 1956 was opened to East Burwood. The Premier officially opened the West Gate Bridge.
- 1979 The Victorian Universities and Schools Examination Board ceased operating and its functions were transferred to the Victorian Institute of Secondary Education. Victoria's four Universities agreed to a new assessment procedure for the Higher School Certificate. Dartmouth Dam on the Mitta Mitta River in north-east Victoria was opened by the Governor-General.
- 1980 The City Square was officially opened by H.M. The Queen. Australia's first "test tube" baby was born at the Royal Women's Hospital, Melbourne. Prospectors, using a metal detector, discovered a 27.2 kilogram gold nugget at Kingower, near Bendigo.
- 1981 The first stage of the Melbourne underground rail loop was opened to traffic, ten years after construction work commenced. Legislation to restructure the Melbourne City Council was introduced into the Victorian Parliament. H.M. The Queen arrived in Melbourne for a 7 day visit. Heads of State from 41 countries visited Melbourne for the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, lasting 7 days and held in the Royal Exhibition Building.
- 1982 The Australian Labor Party won office at the State elections. Most parts of Victoria were affected by a severe drought. The Omega Navigation Station in south Gippsland was officially opened. The Melbourne Concert Hall was officially opened.

### CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS, 1983

#### January

1 709 persons were killed on Victoria's roads in 1982, 57 fewer than in 1981.

14 The Minister for Transport announced the construction of a 5 kilometre railway line between Altona and Laverton, the first to be constructed in Melbourne for over 25 years.

22 The Minister for Housing announced the allocation of \$40m to new housing projects, mainly in the Melbourne metropolitan area.

The Commonwealth Government announced plans to spend \$640m over 5 years on water storage and distribution projects; \$346m of this to be spent in Victoria. Areas in Victoria to benefit from the scheme would be Bacchus Marsh, the Wimmera-Mallee, and Bairnsdale.

#### February

2 Fires destroyed 24 homes and over 6,000 hectares of bush at Mt Macedon.

7 Fires destroyed over 100,000 hectares of State forest at Cann River, burning over a 300 kilometre perimeter.

8 A report commissioned by the Victorian Government indicated that Victoria's brown coal resources were 60 per cent greater than had previously been thought.

A giant dust storm, a result of one of Australia's worst droughts, swept across Victoria. The dust storm reached Melbourne at 3 p.m., reducing visibility to a few metres in the city and suburbs.

Victoria experienced its highest-ever recorded February temperature of 43.2°C.

**15** Lawn watering was banned and garden hosing allowed only three days a week under stricter water restrictions introduced by the Victorian Government.

**16** A State of Emergency was called when huge fires, fed by high temperatures and strong winds, spread through many parts of the State. The fires, referred to as the "Ash Wednesday" bushfires, killed 48 persons, destroyed over 1,700 homes, and burned over an area of approximately 210,000 hectares.

**23** Heavy storms affected Seymour and Benalla and caused mudslides, unroofed houses, and brought down powerlines.

**28** Only 0.6mm of rain fell in February, the second lowest figures for that month ever recorded. The driest February record was 0.5mm of rain in 1965. More than half of Victoria's 211 Municipalities had been declared drought areas.

Victoria recorded an unemployment rate of 9.3 per cent; the national average was 10.7 per cent.

### March

**1** The Victorian Government cut by 1 per cent the maximum interest rate building societies could charge for home loans. This reduced the new mortgage rate ceiling to 14.65 per cent.

**3** The Victorian Parliament passed legislation to allow for extensive changes to the State Electricity Commission's senior management.

**6** The Australian Labor Party, led by Mr R. J. L. Hawke, gained office in a general election held for the House of Representatives and half of the Senate in the Commonwealth Parliament.

**9** The Premier officially opened the new 12 kilometre bypass on the Western Highway. Built at a cost of \$23.6m, the road bypasses the towns of Wallace and Bungaree.

Rainfall in most of Victoria for the 11 months since April 1982 was the lowest on record.

**18** The Victorian Government agreed to grant a 38-hour week for 80,000 public health employees.

**21** Heavy rain fell over much of Victoria, the first time in more than a year. The heaviest falls were in East Gippsland with up to 70mm in some areas.

**23** The Victorian Government passed legislation to prohibit the mining, exploration, transport and processing of nuclear products.

**25** T.R.H. The Prince and Princess of Wales visited the town of Cockatoo to inspect the damage caused by the "Ash Wednesday" fires and talk to people involved in fire-fighting operations.

**29** The Victorian Government announced a Board of Inquiry into the introduction of poker machines to Victoria.

The Minister for Minerals and Energy released figures showing the cost of building the Loy Yang power station had risen from an estimated \$1,640m in 1976 to \$5,120m in 1982.

### April

**14** T.R.H The Prince and Princess of Wales arrived in Victoria for a two day visit, including Melbourne, Ballarat, and Bendigo.

The Minister for Transport reversed a decision of September 1982 on the building of an extension to the West Gate Freeway.

The Bourke Street Mall in Melbourne was officially opened by H.R.H The Prince of Wales.

**15** The Victorian Government amended the Melbourne Metropolitan Planning Scheme in order to place special controls on many of Melbourne's historic areas, streetscapes, and parks.

**26** The Victorian Government announced a major housing redevelopment on a 19.8 hectare site at Footscray. The site would incorporate 200 cluster homes and an 11.5 hectare park on the bank of the Maribyrnong River.

**May**

4 The Victorian Government approved plans for a \$400m urban redevelopment project on a 4.9 hectare site in South Yarra.

5 The Minister for Transport presented a bill to the Victorian Parliament which extensively altered the management and administrative structure of Victoria's transport authorities.

6 The Victorian Government introduced legislation to elect Parliaments for four years instead of three, commencing from the poll due in 1985. Seven new Legislative Assembly seats would be created, and Legislative Councillors would serve eight year terms.

7 A rural commodities firm announced plans to develop Geelong as a major port for farm exports. The \$40m development would include a large wool store, and large malt and stockfeed plants.

15 A 30 second storm accompanied by winds of up to 160 kilometres per hour struck Melbourne's north-western suburbs causing an estimated \$3m damage to windows, house roofs, and fences.

25 The Victorian Government accepted the recommendation of a report by Mr F. X. Connor, Q.C., that no casino be built in Victoria.

26 The Minister for Transport announced the decision to link the South-Eastern and Mulgrave Freeways with a four-lane arterial road.

**June**

1 The Premier introduced the Equal Opportunity Bill which made it illegal to discriminate or harass persons in the labour force on the grounds of sex, marital status, race, and political or religious persuasion.

10 The Victorian Government outlined plans to spend over \$10m on projects to commemorate Victoria's 150th anniversary.

17 Penalties for the cultivation or possession of small quantities of marijuana were relaxed by the Victorian Government.

22 The Victorian Government assumed control of the south bank of the Yarra River to protect the area from development until a planning strategy is formulated.

25 The Victorian Government launched an investigation into the operations of trustee companies, following the collapse of a major firm.

**July**

2 The State Electricity Commission announced that it expected to pay approximately \$100m in compensation to "Ash Wednesday" fire victims.

6 The Premier announced that a new office, the Office of Corrections, would be established to administer Victoria's prison system.

11 The Federal Government announced a \$114.8m grant to Victoria for public housing in 1983-84.

12 The Minister for Industrial Affairs stood down from government while an independent inquiry was conducted into his Ministerial conduct.

19 A six-day strike by petrol tanker drivers of the Transport Workers Union ended. The dispute was over job security and the payment of union delegates who attended specific meetings in July. The Victorian Government set up a monitoring system for petrol supplies as a result of the dispute.

**August**

4 The Minister for Transport announced plans to construct a \$30m overpass to help link the West Gate Freeway with St Kilda Road.

6 The High Court declared the Victorian Government's oil pipeline tax invalid.

7 The State of Emergency proclaimed on 5 August was revoked following a return to work by striking prison officers throughout the State.

17 The first of 10 special cameras to detect motorists driving through red lights at busy intersections came into operation.

### September

- 1 The Minister for Industrial Affairs resigned from the Ministry.
- 10 The Victorian Government announced plans to make 900 hectares of land in West Sunshine and Deer Park available for housing by removing some forms of industry.
- 12 Floodwaters isolated two major highways and other roads in central and northern Victoria. Constant heavy rain caused eight rivers to burst their banks.
- 15 The Victorian Government introduced legislation to disallow extended weekend trading by supermarkets.
- 16 The Victorian Government agreed to take a 25 per cent share in an aluminium smelter at Portland as part of an agreement to recommence construction.
- 21 The Treasurer brought down the Victorian budget. Estimated expenditure for 1983-84 was \$6,444m.
- 26 Hawthorn — 20.20 defeated Essendon — 8.9 to win the 1983 Victorian Football League Grand Final.
- 30 The World Trade Centre in Spencer Street, built at a cost of \$95m, was officially opened.

### October

- 1 The Minister of Water Supply abolished 70 water and sewerage authorities, transferring their functions to 12 new water boards and 22 municipal councils.
  - 12 The Minister for Health claimed that a report into hospital capital works would allow the Victorian Government to plan a \$1 billion building programme over the next decade.
  - 13 The Williamstown Naval Dockyard received contracts from the Commonwealth Government to build two RAN destroyers at a cost of \$830m.
  - 17 A new tramways traffic system called the "Fairway System", developed to give trams priority on metropolitan roads, commenced operations.
- Homes were evacuated, roads were cut, and thousands of vehicles were left stranded following heavy rain in the western suburbs of Melbourne. Floods occurred at Maribyrnong, Werribee, Lara, Little River, and Melton.
- 19 The State Electricity Commission paid out nearly \$30m compensation to victims of the "Ash Wednesday" bushfires at Macedon and East Trentham.

### November

- 1 The Melbourne Cup was won by Kiwi.
  - 18 Significant changes concerning Victorian electoral boundaries, due to come into effect after the next State election were announced.
  - 22 The Minister for Police and Emergency Services was empowered with overall control of all government agencies involved with fighting bushfires.
- The Victorian Government introduced legislation to create six parks which would increase Victoria's parks area by 187,000 hectares.
- 23 The Victorian Government announced a public transport fare freeze for at least 12 months.
  - 30 Nude bathing became legal at two Victorian beaches.

### December

- 2 The Premier announced that the Victorian Government would not introduce poker machines following the report of the board of inquiry.
  - 7 An \$85m redevelopment project was announced for Flinders Street, Melbourne, near St Paul's Cathedral. It was the first major project approved under the new Melbourne Interim Development Order.
  - 8 The Victorian Government approved plans for a \$30m convention centre to be built next to the World Trade Centre.
- The Road Construction Authority announced details of the C3 arterial road linking the South-Eastern and Mulgrave Freeways.
- 9 Train services resumed following a four-day strike by rail unions. The strike, the first since 1981, was called over plans to close 24 rail freight centres.



13 Water restrictions introduced on 1 December 1982 were lifted.

14 The Victorian Government passed legislation to control and regulate some aspects of in-vitro fertilisation.

The Victorian Government scrapped plans to extend or build six large metropolitan roads. At least 32 other projects, including freeways and road widenings, were placed under review.

22 The first of Melbourne's new articulated light rail vehicles, a combination of train and tram, was delivered to the Metropolitan Transit Authority.

#### REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOVEREIGN: VICTORIA, 1839 TO 1982

Name	Office	Date of assumption of office
BEFORE RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT		
Charles Joseph La Trobe	Superintendent of the District of Port Phillip	30 September 1839
	Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Victoria	15 July 1851
John Vesey Fitzgerald Leslie Foster (acting)	Officer administering the Government of the Colony of Victoria	8 May 1854
Captain Sir Charles Hotham, R.N., K.C.B.	Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Victoria	22 June 1854
SINCE RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT		
Captain Sir Charles Hotham, R.N., K.C.B.	Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Colony of Victoria, also Vice-Admiral, Commissary, and Deputy in the office of Vice-Admiralty in the said Colony	22 May 1855
Sir Henry Barkly, K.C.B.	Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Colony of Victoria, and Vice-Admiral of the same	26 December 1856
Sir Charles Henry Darling, K.C.B.	Governor and Commander-in-Chief	11 September 1863
The Hon. Sir John Henry Thomas Manners-Sutton, K.C.B.	Governor and Commander-in-Chief	15 August 1866
Sir George Ferguson Bowen, G.C.M.G.	Administrator of the Government Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of Victoria and its Dependencies, and Vice-Admiral of the same	31 March 1873 30 July 1873
The Most Hon. George Augustus Constantine Phipps, Marquis of Normanby, G.C.M.G., P.C.	Administrator of the Government Governor and Commander-in-Chief	27 February 1879 29 April 1879
Sir Henry Brougham Loch, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.	Governor and Commander-in-Chief	15 July 1884
The Rt Hon. John Adrian Louis Hope, Earl of Hopetoun, G.C.M.G.	Governor and Commander-in-Chief	28 November 1889
The Rt Hon. Baron Brassey, K.C.B.	Governor and Commander-in-Chief	25 October 1895
SINCE FEDERATION		
Sir George Sydenham Clarke, K.C.M.G., F.R.S.	Governor of the State of Victoria	10 December 1901
Major-General the Hon. Sir Reginald Arthur James Talbot, K.C.B.	Governor	25 April 1904
Sir Thomas David Gibson Carmichael, Bart, K.C.M.G.	Governor	27 July 1908
Sir John Michael Fleetwood Fuller, Bart, K.C.M.G.	Governor	24 May 1911
The Hon. Sir Arthur Lyulph Stanley, K.C.M.G.	Governor	23 February 1914

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOVEREIGN: VICTORIA, 1839 TO 1982—*continued*

Name	Office	Date of assumption of office
<i>SINCE FEDERATION—continued</i>		
Colonel the Rt Hon. George Edward John Mowbray, Earl of Stradbroke, K.C.M.G., C.B., C.V.O., C.B.E., Aide-de-Camp to H.M. The King	Governor	24 February 1921
Lieutenant-Colonel the Rt Hon. Arthur Herbert Tennyson, Baron Somers, K.C.M.G., D.S.O., M.C.	Governor	28 June 1926
Captain the Rt Hon. William Charles Arcedeckne, Baron Huntingfield, K.C.M.G.	Governor	14 May 1934
Major-General Sir Winston Joseph Dugan, G.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O.	Governor	17 July 1939
General Sir Reginald Alexander Dallas Brooks, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., D.S.O., K.St.J.	Governor	18 October 1949
Major-General Sir Rohan Delacombe, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O., K.St.J.	Governor	8 May 1963
Sir Henry Arthur Winneke, A.C., K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., O.B.E., K.St.J., Q.C.	Governor	1 June 1974
Rear Admiral Sir Brian Stewart Murray, K.C.M.G., A.O., K.St.J.	Governor	1 March 1982

## MINISTRIES SINCE RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT: VICTORIA, 1855 to 1982

Number of Ministry and name of Premier	Date of assumption of office	Date of retirement from office	Duration of office
1 William Clark Haines	30 November 1855	11 March 1857	468 days
2 John O'Shanassy	11 March 1857	29 April 1857	50
3 William Clark Haines	29 April 1857	10 March 1858	316
4 John O'Shanassy	10 March 1858	27 October 1859	597
5 William Nicholson	27 October 1859	26 November 1860	397
6 Richard Heales	26 November 1860	14 November 1861	354
7 John O'Shanassy	14 November 1861	27 June 1863	591
8 James McCulloch	27 June 1863	6 May 1868	1,776
9 Charles Sladen	6 May 1868	11 July 1868	67
10 James McCulloch	11 July 1868	20 September 1869	437
11 John Alexander MacPherson	20 September 1869	9 April 1870	202
12 Sir James McCulloch	9 April 1870	19 June 1871	437
13 Charles Gavan Duffy	19 June 1871	10 June 1872	358
14 James Goodall Francis	10 June 1872	31 July 1874	782
15 George Briscoe Kerferd	31 July 1874	7 August 1875	373
16 Graham Berry	7 August 1875	20 October 1875	75
17 Sir James McCulloch, K.C.M.G.	20 October 1875	21 May 1877	580
18 Graham Berry	21 May 1877	5 March 1880	1,020
19 James Service	5 March 1880	3 August 1880	152
20 Graham Berry	3 August 1880	9 July 1881	341
21 Sir Bryan O'Loughlen, Bart	9 July 1881	8 March 1883	608
22 James Service	8 March 1883	18 February 1886	1,079
23 Duncan Gillies	18 February 1886	5 November 1890	1,722
24 James Munro	5 November 1890	16 February 1892	469
25 William Shiels	16 February 1892	23 January 1893	343
26 Sir James Brown Patterson, K.C.M.G.	23 January 1893	27 September 1894	613

MINISTRIES SINCE RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT: VICTORIA, 1855 to 1982—*continued*

Number of Ministry and name of Premier	Date of assumption of office	Date of retirement from office	Duration of office days
27 Sir George Turner, P.C., K.C.M.G.	27 September 1894	5 December 1899	1,896
28 Allan McLean	5 December 1899	19 November 1900	350
29 Sir George Turner, P.C., K.C.M.G.	19 November 1900	12 February 1901	86
30 Alexander James Peacock	12 February 1901	10 June 1902	484
31 William Hill Irvine	10 June 1902	16 February 1904	617
32 Sir Thomas Bent, K.C.M.G.	16 February 1904	8 January 1909	1,789
33 John Murray	8 January 1909	18 May 1912	1,227
34 William Alexander Watt	18 May 1912	9 December 1913	571
35 George Alexander Elmslie	9 December 1913	22 December 1913	14
36 William Alexander Watt	22 December 1913	18 June 1914	179
37 Sir Alexander James Peacock, K.C.M.G.	18 June 1914	29 November 1917	1,261
38 John Bowser	29 November 1917	21 March 1918	113
39 Harry Sutherland Wightman Lawson	21 March 1918	7 September 1923	1,997
40 Harry Sutherland Wightman Lawson	7 September 1923	19 March 1924	195
41 Harry Sutherland Wightman Lawson	19 March 1924	28 April 1924	41
42 Sir Alexander James Peacock, K.C.M.G.	28 April 1924	18 July 1924	82
43 George Michael Prendergast	18 July 1924	18 November 1924	124
44 John Allan	18 November 1924	20 May 1927	914
45 Edmond John Hogan	20 May 1927	22 November 1928	553
46 Sir William Murray McPherson, K.B.E.	22 November 1928	12 December 1929	386
47 Edmond John Hogan	12 December 1929	19 May 1932	890
48 Sir Stanley Seymour Argyle, K.B.E.	19 May 1932	2 April 1935	1,049
49 Albert Arthur Dunstan	2 April 1935	14 September 1943	3,088
50 John Cain	14 September 1943	18 September 1943	5
51 Albert Arthur Dunstan	18 September 1943	2 October 1945	746
52 Ian Macfarlan, K.C.	2 October 1945	21 November 1945	51
53 John Cain	21 November 1945	20 November 1947	730
54 Thomas Tuke Hollway	20 November 1947	3 December 1948	380
55 Thomas Tuke Hollway	3 December 1948	27 June 1950	572
56 John Gladstone Black McDonald	27 June 1950	28 October 1952	855
57 Thomas Tuke Hollway	28 October 1952	31 October 1952	4
58 John Gladstone Black McDonald	31 October 1952	17 December 1952	48
59 John Cain	17 December 1952	31 March 1955	835
60 John Cain	31 March 1955	7 June 1955	69
61 Sir Henry Edward Bolte, G.C.M.G.	7 June 1955	23 August 1972	6,288
62 Rupert James Hamer, E.D.	23 August 1972	5 June 1981	3,209
63 Lindsay Hamilton Simpson Thompson, C.M.G.	5 June 1981	8 April 1982	299
64 John Cain	8 April 1982	Still in office	

## THE MELBOURNE CUP, 1861 TO 1983

Year	Winner	Weight	Time	Year	Winner	Weight	Time
1861	Archer	9.7	3.52	1923	Bitalli	7.0	3.24¼
1862	Archer	10.2	3.47	1924	Backwood	8.2	3.26½
1863	Banker	5.4	3.44	1925	Windbag	9.2	3.22¾
1864	Lantern	6.3	3.52	1926	Spearfelt	9.3	3.22¾
1865	Toryboy	7.0	3.44	1927	Trivalve	7.6	3.24
1866	The Barb	6.11	3.43	1928	Statesman	8.0	3.23½
1867	Tim Whiffler	8.11	3.39	1929	Nightmarch	9.2	3.26½
1868	Glencoe	9.1	3.42	1930	Phar Lap	9.12	3.27¾
1869	Warrior	8.10	3.40	1931	White Nose	6.12	3.26
1870	Nimblefoot	6.3	3.37	1932	Peter Pan	7.6	3.23¼
1871	The Pearl	7.3	3.39	1933	Hall Mark	7.8	3.27½
1872	The Quack	7.10	3.39	1934	Peter Pan	9.10	3.40½
1873	Don Juan	6.12	3.36	1935	Marabou	7.11	3.23¾
1874	Haricot	6.7	3.37½	1936	Wotan	7.11	3.21¼
1875	Wollomai	7.8	3.38	1937	The Trump	8.5	3.21½
1876	Briseis	6.4	3.36½	1938	Catalogue	8.4	3.26¼
1877	Chester	6.12	3.33½	1939	Rivette	7.9	3.27
1878	Calamia	8.2	3.35¾	1940	Old Rowley	7.12	3.26
1879	Darriwell	7.4	3.30¾	1941	Skipton	7.7	3.23¾
1880	Grand Flaneur	6.10	3.34¾	1942	Colonus	7.2	3.33¼
1881	Zulu	5.10	3.32½	1943	Dark Felt	8.4	3.23¼
1882	The Assyrian	7.13	3.40	1944	Sirius	8.5	3.24½
1883	Martini-Henri	7.5	3.30½	1945	Rainbird	7.7	3.24¼
1884	Malua	9.9	3.31¾	1946	Russia	9.0	3.21¼
1885	Sheet Anchor	7.11	3.29½	1947	Hiraji	7.11	3.28
1886	Arsenal	7.5	3.31	1948	Rimfire	7.2	3.21
1887	Dunlop	8.3	3.28½	1949	Foxzami	8.8	3.28½
1888	Mentor	8.3	3.30¾	1950	Comic Court	9.5	3.19½
1889	Bravo	8.7	3.32½	1951	Delta	9.5	3.24¼
1890	Carbine	10.5	3.28¼	1952	Dalray	9.8	3.23¾
1891	Malvolio	8.4	3.29¼	1953	Wodalla	8.4	3.23¾
1892	Glenloch	7.13	3.36¼	1954	Rising Fast	9.5	3.23
1893	Tarcoola	8.4	3.30½	1955	Toparoa	7.8	3.28¼
1894	Patron	9.3	3.31	1956	Evening Peal	8.0	3.19½
1895	Auraria	7.4	3.29	1957	Straight Draw	8.5	3.24½
1896	Newhaven	7.13	3.28½	1958	Baystone	8.9	3.21¼
1897	Gaulus	7.8	3.31	1959	Macdougall	8.11	3.23
1898	The Grafter	9.2	3.29¾	1960	Hi Jinx	7.10	3.23¾
1899	Merriwee	7.6	3.36¼	1961	Lord Fury	7.8	3.19½
1900	Clean Sweep	7.0	3.29	1962	Even Stevens	8.5	3.21.4
1901	Revenue	7.10	3.30½	1963	Gatum Gatum	7.12	3.21.1
1902	The Victory	8.12	3.29	1964	Polo Prince	8.3	3.19.6
1903	Lord Cardigan	6.8	3.29¼	1965	Light Fingers	8.4	3.21.1
1904	Acrasia	7.6	3.28¼	1966	Galilee	8.13	3.21.9
1905	Blue Spec	8.0	3.27½	1967	Red Handed	8.9	3.20.4
1906	Poseidon	7.6	3.31½	1968	Rain Lover	8.2	3.19.1
1907	Apologue	7.9	3.27½	1969	Rain Lover	9.7	3.21.5
1908	Lord Nolan	6.10	3.28¾	1970	Baghdad Note	8.7	3.19.7
1909	Prince Foote	7.8	3.27½	1971	Silver Knight	8.9	3.19.5
1910	Comedy King	7.11	3.27¾	1972	Piping Lane	48	3.19.9
1911	The Parisian	8.9	3.27¾	1973	Gala Supreme	49	3.19.5
1912	Piastre	7.9	3.27½	1974	Think Big	53	3.23.2
1913	Posinatus	7.10	3.31	1975	Think Big	58.5	3.29.6
1914	Kingsburgh	6.12	3.26	1976	Van Der Hum	54.5	3.34.1
1915	Patrobas	7.6	3.28½	1977	Gold and Black	57	3.18.4
1916	Sasanof	6.12	3.27¾	1978	Arwon	50.5	3.24.3
1917	Westcourt	8.5	3.26¾	1979	Hyperno	56	3.21.8
1918	Night Watch	6.9	3.25¾	1980	Beldale Ball	49.5	3.19.8
1919	Artilleryman	7.6	3.24½	1981	Just a Dash	53.5	3.21.2
1920	Poitrel	10.0	3.25¾	1982	Gurner's Lane	56	3.21.1
1921	Sister Olive	6.9	3.27¾	1983	Kiwi	52	3.18.9
1922	King Ingoda	7.1	3.28¼				

NOTE. From 1861 to 1971, the Melbourne Cup was run over a distance of two miles and the weights carried by the winning horses are shown in stones and pounds. In 1972, following the conversion to metric measurement, the race was run over 3,200 metres (about 20 yards less than two miles) and the weight carried is expressed in kilograms. Times are shown as minutes, seconds, and fractions of tenths of seconds.

## VICTORIAN FOOTBALL LEAGUE GRAND FINALISTS, 1897 TO 1983

Season	Premiers	Runner-up	Attendance
1897	Essendon	Geelong	*
1898	Fitzroy 5.8 (38)	Essendon 3.5 (23)	16,000
1899	Fitzroy 3.9 (27)	South Melbourne 3.8 (26)	4,000
1900	Melbourne 4.10 (34)	Fitzroy 3.12 (30)	20,000
1901	Essendon 6.7 (43)	Collingwood 2.4 (16)	30,000
1902	Collingwood 9.6 (60)	Essendon 3.9 (27)	35,000
1903	Collingwood 4.7 (31)	Fitzroy 3.11 (29)	32,363
1904	Fitzroy 9.7 (61)	Carlton 5.7 (37)	32,688
1905	Fitzroy 4.6 (30)	Collingwood 2.5 (17)	30,000
1906	Carlton 15.4 (94)	Fitzroy 6.9 (45)	44,437
1907	Carlton 6.14 (50)	South Melbourne 6.9 (45)	40,485
1908	Carlton 5.5 (35)	Essendon 3.8 (26)	50,261
1909	South Melbourne 4.14 (38)	Carlton 4.12 (36)	36,700
1910	Collingwood 9.7 (61)	Carlton 6.11 (47)	43,000
1911	Essendon 5.11 (41)	Collingwood 4.11 (35)	44,000
1912	Essendon 5.17 (47)	South Melbourne 4.9 (33)	54,463
1913	Fitzroy 7.14 (56)	St Kilda 5.13 (43)	59,479
1914	Carlton 6.9 (45)	South Melbourne 4.15 (39)	30,427
1915	Carlton 11.12 (78)	Collingwood 6.9 (45)	39,211
1916	Fitzroy 12.13 (85)	Carlton 8.8 (56)	20,953
1917	Collingwood 9.20 (74)	Fitzroy 5.9 (39)	28,385
1918	South Melbourne 9.8 (62)	Collingwood 7.15 (57)	39,168
1919	Collingwood 11.12 (78)	Richmond 7.11 (53)	47,000
1920	Richmond 7.10 (52)	Collingwood 5.5 (35)	53,908
1921	Richmond 5.6 (36)	Carlton 4.8 (32)	43,122
1922	Fitzroy 11.13 (79)	Collingwood 9.14 (68)	50,054
1923	Essendon 8.15 (63)	Fitzroy 6.10 (46)	46,566
1924	Essendon	Richmond	*
1925	Geelong 10.19 (79)	Collingwood 9.15 (69)	64,288
1926	Melbourne 17.17 (119)	Collingwood 9.8 (62)	59,362
1927	Collingwood 2.13 (25)	Richmond 1.7 (13)	34,551
1928	Collingwood 13.18 (96)	Richmond 9.9 (63)	50,026
1929	Collingwood 11.13 (79)	Richmond 7.8 (50)	63,336
1930	Collingwood 14.16 (100)	Geelong 9.16 (70)	45,022
1931	Geelong 9.14 (68)	Richmond 7.6 (48)	60,712
1932	Richmond 13.14 (92)	Carlton 12.11 (83)	69,724
1933	South Melbourne 9.17 (71)	Richmond 4.5 (29)	75,754
1934	Richmond 19.14 (128)	South Melbourne 12.17 (89)	65,335
1935	Collingwood 11.12 (78)	South Melbourne 7.16 (58)	54,154
1936	Collingwood 11.23 (89)	South Melbourne 10.18 (78)	74,091
1937	Geelong 18.14 (122)	Collingwood 12.18 (90)	88,540
1938	Carlton 15.10 (100)	Collingwood 13.7 (85)	96,834
1939	Melbourne 21.22 (148)	Collingwood 14.11 (95)	78,110
1940	Melbourne 15.17 (107)	Richmond 10.8 (68)	69,061
1941	Melbourne 19.13 (127)	Essendon 13.20 (98)	79,687
1942	Essendon 19.18 (132)	Richmond 11.13 (79)	49,000
1943	Richmond 12.14 (86)	Essendon 11.15 (81)	42,100
1944	Fitzroy 9.12 (66)	Richmond 7.9 (51)	43,000
1945	Carlton 15.13 (103)	South Melbourne 10.15 (75)	62,986
1946	Essendon 22.18 (150)	Melbourne 13.9 (87)	73,743
1947	Carlton 13.8 (86)	Essendon 11.19 (85)	85,815
1948	Melbourne 10.9 (69)	Essendon 7.27 (69)	85,658
	Replay 13.11 (89)	7.8 (50)	52,226
1949	Essendon 18.17 (125)	Carlton 6.16 (52)	90,453
1950	Essendon 13.14 (92)	North Melbourne 7.12 (54)	87,601
1951	Geelong 11.15 (81)	Essendon 10.10 (70)	85,795
1952	Geelong 13.8 (86)	Collingwood 5.10 (40)	82,890
1953	Collingwood 11.11 (77)	Geelong 8.17 (65)	89,060
1954	Footscray 15.12 (102)	Melbourne 7.9 (51)	80,897
1955	Melbourne 8.16 (64)	Collingwood 5.6 (36)	88,053
1956	Melbourne 17.19 (121)	Collingwood 6.12 (48)	115,802
1957	Melbourne 17.14 (116)	Essendon 7.13 (55)	100,324
1958	Collingwood 12.10 (82)	Melbourne 9.10 (64)	97,956
1959	Melbourne 17.13 (115)	Essendon 11.12 (78)	103,506
1960	Melbourne 8.14 (62)	Collingwood 2.2 (14)	97,457
1961	Hawthorn 13.16 (94)	Footscray 7.9 (51)	107,935
1962	Essendon 13.12 (90)	Carlton 8.10 (58)	98,385
1963	Geelong 15.19 (109)	Hawthorn 8.12 (60)	101,209
1964	Melbourne 8.16 (64)	Collingwood 8.12 (60)	102,469

VICTORIAN FOOTBALL LEAGUE GRAND FINALISTS, 1897 TO 1983—*continued*

Season	Premiers	Runner-up	Attendance
1965	Essendon 14.21 (105)	St Kilda 9.16 (70)	104,846
1966	St Kilda 10.14 (74)	Collingwood 10.13 (73)	101,655
1967	Richmond 16.18 (114)	Geelong 15.15 (105)	109,396
1968	Carlton 7.14 (56)	Essendon 8.5 (53)	116,828
1969	Richmond 12.13 (85)	Carlton 8.12 (60)	119,165
1970	Carlton 17.9 (111)	Collingwood 14.17 (101)	121,696
1971	Hawthorn 12.10 (82)	St Kilda 11.9 (75)	118,192
1972	Carlton 28.9 (177)	Richmond 22.18 (150)	112,393
1973	Richmond 16.20 (116)	Carlton 12.14 (86)	116,956
1974	Richmond 18.20 (128)	North Melbourne 13.9 (87)	113,839
1975	North Melbourne 19.8 (122)	Hawthorn 9.13 (67)	110,551
1976	Hawthorn 13.22 (100)	North Melbourne 10.10 (70)	110,143
1977	North Melbourne 9.22 (76)	Collingwood 10.16 (76)	108,224
	Replay 21.25 (151)	19.10 (125)	98,366
1978	Hawthorn 18.13 (121)	North Melbourne 15.13 (103)	101,704
1979	Carlton 11.16 (82)	Collingwood 11.11 (77)	112,845
1980	Richmond 23.21 (159)	Collingwood 9.24 (78)	113,461
1981	Carlton 12.20 (92)	Collingwood 10.12 (72)	112,964
1982	Carlton 14.19 (103)	Richmond 12.13 (85)	107,536
1983	Hawthorn 20.20 (140)	Essendon 8.9 (57)	110,332

\* System of second round matches did not provide for a final match.

## AUSTRALIA'S RECORD IN TEST MATCHES AT THE MELBOURNE CRICKET GROUND, 1876-77 TO 1983-84

Season	Opponent	Test	Result for Australia	Series result (a)
1876-77	England	1st	Won by 45 runs	
	England	2nd	Lost by 4 wickets	1-1
1878-79	England	(b)1st	Won by 10 wickets	1-0
1881-82	England	1st	Drawn	
	England	4th	Drawn	2-0
1882-83	England	1st	Won by 9 wickets	
	England	2nd	Lost by an innings and 27 runs	2-2
1884-85	England	2nd	Lost by 10 wickets	
	England	5th	Lost by an innings and 98 runs	2-3
1891-92	England	1st	Won by 54 runs	2-1
1894-95	England	2nd	Lost by 94 runs	
	England	5th	Lost by 6 wickets	2-3
1897-98	England	2nd	Won by an innings and 55 runs	
	England	4th	Won by 8 wickets	4-1
1901-02	England	1st	Lost by an innings and 124 runs	
	England	2nd	Won by 229 runs	
	England	5th	Won by 32 runs	4-1
1903-04	England	2nd	Lost by 185 runs	
	England	5th	Won by 218 runs	2-3
1907-08	England	2nd	Lost by 1 wicket	
	England	4th	Won by 308 runs	4-1
1910-11	South Africa	2nd	Won by 89 runs	
	South Africa	4th	Won by 530 runs	4-1
1911-12	England	2nd	Lost by 8 wickets	
	England	4th	Lost by an innings and 225 runs	1-4
1920-21	England	2nd	Won by an innings and 91 runs	
	England	4th	Won by 8 wickets	5-0
1924-25	England	2nd	Won by 81 runs	
	England	4th	Lost by an innings and 29 runs	4-1
1928-29	England	3rd	Lost by 3 wickets	
	England	5th	Won by 5 wickets	1-4
1930-31	West Indies	4th	Won by an innings and 122 runs	4-1
1931-32	South Africa	3rd	Won by 169 runs	
	South Africa	5th	Won by an innings and 72 runs	5-0
1932-33	England	2nd	Won by 111 runs	1-4
1936-37	England	3rd	Won by 365 runs	
	England	5th	Won by an innings and 200 runs	3-2
1946-47	England	3rd	Drawn	3-0

AUSTRALIA'S RECORD IN TEST MATCHES AT THE MELBOURNE CRICKET GROUND,  
1876-77 TO 1983-84—*continued*

Season	Opponent	Test	Result for Australia	Series result (a)
1947-48	India	3rd	Won by 233 runs	
	India	5th	Won by an innings and 177 runs	4-0
1950-51	England	2nd	Won by 28 runs	
	England	5th	Lost by 8 wickets	4-1
1951-52	West Indies	4th	Won by 1 wicket	4-1
1952-53	South Africa	2nd	Lost by 82 runs	
	South Africa	5th	Lost by 6 wickets	2-2
1954-55	England	3rd	Lost by 128 runs	1-3
1958-59	England	2nd	Won by 8 wickets	
	England	5th	Won by 9 wickets	4-0
1960-61	West Indies	2nd	Won by 7 wickets	
	West Indies	5th	Won by 2 wickets	(c)2-1
1962-63	England	2nd	Lost by 7 wickets	1-1
1963-64	South Africa	2nd	Won by 8 wickets	1-1
1964-65	Pakistan	(b)1st	Drawn	0-0
1965-66	England	2nd	Drawn	
	England	5th	Drawn	1-1
1967-68	India	2nd	Won by an innings and 4 runs	4-0
1968-69	West Indies	2nd	Won by an innings and 30 runs	3-1
1970-71 (d)	England	5th	Drawn	0-2
1972-73	Pakistan	2nd	Won by 92 runs	3-0
1973-74	New Zealand	1st	Won by an innings and 25 runs	2-0
1974-75	England	3rd	Drawn	
	England	6th	Lost by an innings and 4 runs	4-1
1975-76	West Indies	3rd	Won by 8 wickets	
	West Indies	6th	Won by 165 runs	5-1
1976-77	Pakistan	2nd	Won by 348 runs	1-1
1976-77	England	(b)1st	Won by 45 runs	1-0
1977-78	India	3rd	Lost by 222 runs	3-2
1978-79	England	3rd	Won by 103 runs	1-5
1978-79	Pakistan	1st	Lost by 71 runs	1-1
1979-80	West Indies	2nd	Lost by 10 wickets	0-2
1979-80	England	3rd	Won by 8 wickets	3-0
1980-81	New Zealand	3rd	Drawn	2-0
1980-81	India	3rd	Lost by 59 runs	1-1
1981-82	Pakistan	3rd	Lost by an innings and 82 runs	2-1
1981-82	West Indies	1st	Won by 58 runs	1-1
1982-83	England	4th	Lost by 3 runs	2-1
1983-84	Pakistan	4th	Drawn	2-0

(a) Australia's wins are cited first, opponent's second.

(b) Only Test in series.

(c) First Test was tied.

(d) Third Test at Melbourne was cancelled due to rain.

TEST MATCHES AT THE  
MELBOURNE CRICKET GROUND  
1876-77 to 1983-84(a)

Australia's opponent	Won	Lost	Drawn	Total
England	23	18	7	48
South Africa	5	2	—	7
West Indies	8	1	—	9
India	3	2	—	5
Pakistan	2	2	2	6
New Zealand	1	—	1	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>77</b>

(a) Excludes the Third Test against England in 1970-71 which was washed out. Australia's total Test record in Australia and overseas is: 439 Tests, 191 won, 124 lost, 120 drawn, and 1 tied. Figures include the 1983-84 season but excludes the 1984 tour of the West Indies.

## Appendix C

### INDEX OF SPECIAL ARTICLES IN THE VICTORIAN YEAR BOOKS, 1961 TO 1983

The following is a list of special articles which appeared in the *Victorian Year Books* 1961 to 1983. Many articles are extensively altered or omitted each year to provide space for new material. These lists are revised each year to furnish readers with up to date cumulative indexes of special articles published in editions from 1961 onwards. Where an article has appeared more than once, reference is given to its most recent appearance. The figures beside entries indicate the year and pages of the *Year Book* to which reference is made.

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## Appendix D

### INDEX OF MAPS IN THE VICTORIAN YEAR BOOKS, 1961 TO 1983

The following is a list of maps which appeared in the *Victorian Year Books* 1961 to 1983. The figures below indicate the year and page of the *Year Book* to which reference is made. Where a map has been reproduced more than once, only the latest edition in which it appears is shown.

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## Appendix E

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### VICTORIAN STATISTICAL PUBLICATIONS

#### Introduction

This Appendix describes the official publications issued by the Victorian Office of the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). These are grouped into a numbering system common to the ABS Central Office in Canberra and the Offices in each State. The system is based on nine broad subject matter categories (indicated by the first digit of the catalogue number) which are further sub-divided into a maximum of nine sub-categories (second digit). The third and fourth digits are permanent serial numbers allocated to particular publications, while the fifth digit identifies the originating Office ("2" for Victorian Office publications and "0" for Central Office publications). In the following list, the catalogue number appropriate for each Victorian Office publication precedes its title.

The majority of Victorian Office publications are free with no postal charges applied. However, prices and postal charges for priced publications are shown under the relevant entry in the list below. Remittances for priced publications should accompany all orders and must include postage.

The *Monthly Summary of Statistics* (1303.2) lists Victorian Office publications issued each month. Copies of publications issued may be examined in the library of the ABS Victorian Office in Melbourne. The publications themselves may be obtained from the Sales of Publications counter located on the Eighth Floor, Commonwealth Banks Building, Cnr Flinders and Elizabeth Streets, Melbourne or by writing to the: Information Services Section, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Box 2796Y, G.P.O., Melbourne, Vic. 3001.

Inquirers seeking general statistical information should call on or write to the Information Services Section, Eighth Floor, at the address listed above, or should telephone (03) 63 0181 and ask for the Information Services Section. In some cases, statistical information exists additional to that published which for various reasons is unsuitable for publication but may be made available on request. However, charges may be made for unpublished information requiring extensive clerical or computer extraction or photocopying.

It should also be noted that many publications issued by the ABS Central Office, not listed below, also contain information pertaining to Victoria. A full list of all publications issued by all Offices of the ABS is contained in the *Catalogue of Publications* (1101.0), which is available free of charge from any ABS Office.

#### Description of publications\*

##### 1: General

##### 13: Principal publications

##### 1301.2 VICTORIAN YEAR BOOK

*Annual; latest issue:* No. 97, 1983; 773 pp.; \$25.00, \$28.75 posted.

New series commenced with Vol. 75, 1961.

Each edition gives a comprehensive coverage of life in Victoria and features many new articles, as well as maps and photographs. The contents are divided into twenty-nine

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\*The latest issues shown are those current at 31 March 1983.



chapters covering the Victorian environment and man; Geography; Climate; Constitution and Parliament; Government administration and planning; Local government; Population; Vital statistics; Industrial conditions; Employment and unemployment; Housing, building, and construction; Energy and minerals; Water resources and sewerage; Forestry; Fisheries and wildlife; Agricultural industries; Manufacturing; Internal trade; External trade; Public finance; Private finance; Prices and household expenditure; Transport; Communications; Education; Health and medical research; Social welfare; Justice and the administration of law; The arts, libraries, and media; and a comprehensive index.

A new series of special articles on "Victoria's Environment and Man" began in the 1976 edition of the *Victorian Year Book*. The articles will run over many years and will trace the development of Victoria's environment.

#### 1302.2 VICTORIAN POCKET YEAR BOOK

*Annual; latest issue:* No. 24, 1983; 91 pp.; \$1.90, \$2.25 *posted*.

Series commenced with 1956 issue.

Compact tables covering most fields of statistics collected by the Australian Bureau of Statistics about Victoria.

#### 1303.2 MONTHLY SUMMARY OF STATISTICS

*Monthly; 40 pp.;* \$1.00, \$1.70 *posted*.

Series commenced with January 1960 issue.

New title from January 1979; previously *Victorian monthly statistical review*.

Major monthly and quarterly statistical series covering population and vital statistics, employment and unemployment, wages and prices, production, building, public and private finance, trade, transport and communications, rainfall, Melbourne meteorological data, and a list of Victorian ABS publications released during the month.

#### 1305.2 VICTORIA AT A GLANCE

*Annual; latest issue:* 1983; 8 pp. brochure.

First issue 1980.

Condensed information about Victoria's, demography, education, welfare services, overseas trade, state and local government finance, housing finance, private finance, labour force, earnings and income, prices, primary industry, manufacturing, mineral production, retail trade, tourist accommodation, building, transport, and Victorian data compared with Australia.

#### 1306.2 SEASONALLY ADJUSTED INDICATORS, VICTORIA

*Annual; latest issue:* 1980; 56 pp.; \$1.50, \$2.20 *posted*.

Series commenced with 1979 issue.

Original and seasonally adjusted data both in tabular and graphical forms indicating movements in Victorian economic activities, including: production, employment, internal trade, building, and finance together with details of the methods of adjustment and measures of variability.

#### 1307.2 ECONOMIC INDICATORS, VICTORIA

*Quarterly; latest issue:* December quarter 1983; 12 pp.

Series commenced with June quarter 1982 issue.

Original and where available, seasonally adjusted data, presented in tabular and graphical form showing comparisons between Victorian and Australian movements in major economic activities.

#### 2: *Census of population and housing*

For information on publications relating to this topic, contact the Information Services Section at the address listed at the beginning of this Appendix.

*3: Intercensal estimates of population, vital statistics**31: General demography***3101.2 DEMOGRAPHY: SUMMARY STATEMENT***Annual; latest issue: 1982; 8 pp.*

Series commenced with summary details for years 1962 to 1971.

Summary details of the Victorian population, and marriages, divorces, births, and deaths registered.

The title of this publication was changed from *Demography: preliminary statement* to *Demography: summary statement* commencing with the 1974 issue.*32: Population trends***3201.2 ESTIMATED RESIDENT POPULATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS***Annual; latest issue: 30 June 1982; 10 pp.*

Series commenced with 1955 issue.

Census and estimated total resident population for each statistical division, statistical district, and local government area together with area in square kilometres.

**3202.2 POPULATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS, REVISED INTERCENSAL ESTIMATES***To follow each census; latest issue: 1976 to 1981; 11 pp.*

Population counts in local government areas for the current and preceding census, together with a revised series of intercensal estimates.

*33: Vital statistics***3302.2 CAUSES OF DEATH***Annual; latest issue: 1982; 24 pp.*

Series commenced with 1968 issue.

Causes of death classified according to the World Health Organization's International Classification of Diseases, by sex and age group. Causes of death by number and rates; deaths by statistical division; deaths from accident, poisoning, and violence. Main causes of death in age groups. Infant deaths by cause, sex, and age.

**3305.2 BIRTHS, VICTORIA***Annual; latest issue: 1982; 15 pp.*

Series commenced with 1981 issue.

Detailed statistics on births and confinements showing live births registered by month of occurrence, nuptiality, plurality, age group of mother previous issue, birthplace, relative birthplaces of parents, relative ages of parents, duration of marriage. Also shows the crude and age-specific birth rates, fertility and reproduction rates as well as numbers of legitimations and adoptions.

**3306.2 DEATHS, VICTORIA***Annual; latest issue 1982; 19 pp.*

Series commenced with 1981 issue.

Detailed statistics on the numbers of deaths registered according to age, sex, marital status, occupation (for males aged 15 to 64 years), month of occurrence, and cause of death. Also shows age-specific death rates by sex and infant deaths classified by age at death and cause.

**3307.2 MARRIAGES, VICTORIA***Annual; latest issue: 1982; 11 pp.*

Series commenced with 1981 issue.

Detailed statistics on the number of marriages registered according to relative age of bride and groom, previous marital status, country of birth, category of celebrant, and month of occurrence. Also shows age-specific marriage rates and mean/median age of brides and grooms.

## 3308.2 DIVORCES, VICTORIA

*Annual; latest issue: 1982; 12 pp.*

Series commenced with 1981 issue.

Detailed statistics on the number of decrees granted for dissolution of marriage classified by relative ages of parties at date of decree made absolute, date of marriage, duration of marriage, previous marital status, relative ages of both parties, number of children, relative birthplace, and age of youngest child. Also shows age-specific dissolution notes, crude divorce rate, and median age at marriage and at decree made absolute.

4: *Education and health*42: *Education*

## 4201.2 PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION (PRELIMINARY)

*Annual; latest issue: 1983; 2 pp.*

New title from 1979; previously *Primary and secondary education; preliminary statement*.

Series commenced with School Census, August 1971 issue.

Number of schools registered, number of pupils enrolled, year of education of pupils, and age of pupils, all by type of school.

## 4202.2 PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

*Annual; latest issue: 1982; 38 pp.; \$1.00, \$1.70 posted.*

Series commenced with 1967 issue.

Primary and secondary education: numbers of schools, teachers, and pupils by various characteristics, statistical divisions, and local government areas. Higher School Certificate examinations: number of candidates and subjects passed. Government student assistance schemes: number of students receiving assistance.

5: *Public and private finance*55: *Public finance*

## 5501.2 LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCE

*Annual; latest issue: 1981-82; 64 pp.; \$1.50, \$2.20 posted.*

Series commenced with 1958-59 issue.

Details by local government area of population, area, rateable properties, and rates; ordinary services, revenue, and expenditure; loan fund receipts and payments; business undertakings, income, and expenditure.

6: *Labour force and employment conditions*62: *Labour force*

## 6201.2 LABOUR FORCE

*Monthly; 15 pp.*

Series commenced with August 1978 issue.

Employment status of the civilian population aged 15 years and over; age distribution of the civilian labour force; and aspects of unemployment in Victoria derived from monthly population surveys.

7: *Agriculture*71: *General agriculture*

## 7111.2 PRINCIPAL AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES, VICTORIA (PRELIMINARY)

*Annual, first issue: 1981-82; 8 pp.*

Advance statistics on area and production of principal cereals for grain; area intended to be sown to barley, oats, and wheat for all purposes; farm stock of cereal grains; livestock numbers, shearing, and wool production.

72: *Livestock and livestock products*

## 7221.2 LIVESTOCK AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS, VICTORIA

*Annual; latest issue: 1982-83 50 pp. \$1.00, \$1.70 posted.*

Number of cattle and sheep classified by age, sex and purpose; number of pigs and poultry; lambing; livestock slaughterings; production of meat, livestock and dairy products; beekeeping; wool statistics; value of livestock slaughtering and products. Agricultural

enterprises by selected ASIC industry class; number and area of establishments by size of meat and milk cattle herd, sheep flock and pig herd.

73: *Crops*

7321.2 CROPS AND PASTURES, VICTORIA

*Annual; first issue: 1981-82; 40 pp. \$1.00, \$1.70 posted.*

Area of agricultural establishment; area, production, and yield per hectare of crops, vegetables, pasture, and grasses for hay and seeds stocks of major grains and hay; production and stocks of silage, gross value of production of crops; imports and exports of crops and crop products; structural and financial data for crop industries.

7322.2 FRUIT, VICTORIA

*Annual; first issue: 1981-82; 12 pp.*

Number of trees, area, production, yield per tree of orchard fruit; area, production, yield of tropical fruit; value of fruit and grape production; imports and exports of fruit/vine products; estimated consumption per head of fresh and processed fruit and grapes; structural and financial data on the fruit industry.

74: *Agricultural land-use and selected inputs*

7411.2 AGRICULTURAL LAND-USE AND SELECTED INPUTS, VICTORIA

*Annual; first issue: 1981-82; 8 pp.*

Area and land utilisation of agricultural establishments, employed persons in agriculture classified by sex birthplace and occupational status; area and type of crops and pastures artificially fertilised, quantity and type of fertiliser used, aerial agricultural operations and fuel usage.

75: *Agricultural financial statistics*

7501.2 VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES PRODUCED

*Annual; latest issue: 1981-82; 8 pp.*

Series commenced with 1981-82 issue. New title from 1978-79; previously *Value of primary commodities produced (excluding mining)*.

Number of agricultural establishments, gross valuation of crops, slaughterings, and livestock products by local government area and statistical division.

8: *Manufacturing, mining, internal trade, and building and construction*

82: *Manufacturing industry*

8201.2 MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS: DETAILS OF OPERATIONS

*Annual; latest issue: 1981-82; 48 pp.; \$1.00, \$1.70 posted.*

Series commenced with 1968-69 census issue.

Manufacturing establishments giving summary as well as full details of employment, wages and salaries by industry class; turnover, stocks, purchases, etc., and fixed capital expenditure by sub-division.

8202.2 MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS: SELECTED ITEMS OF DATA CLASSIFIED BY INDUSTRY AND EMPLOYMENT SIZE

*Annual; latest issue: 1981-82; 22 pp.*

First issue 1968-69; annual from second issue 1974-75.

Manufacturing establishments by employment size and industry class; numbers employed by employment size and industry group; wages and salaries paid by employment size and industry group; turnover by employment size and industry group; value added by employment size and industry group; number of establishments, employment, wages and salaries, turnover, and value added by employment size and industry sub-division.

8203.2 MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS: SMALL AREA STATISTICS

*Annual; latest issue: 1981-82; 48 pp.; \$1.00, \$1.70 posted.*

Series commenced with 1968-69 census issue.

Manufacturing establishments—summary of operations: in statistical divisions and statistical districts by industry sub-division; in Melbourne Statistical Division by industry class and by industry sub-division by local government area; by local government area.

#### 8204.2 MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS: USAGE OF ELECTRICITY AND FUELS

*Annual; latest issue: 1980-81; 33 pp.; \$1.00, \$1.70 posted.*

Series commenced with 1969-70 census issue.

Manufacturing establishments showing usage of electricity and fuels purchased by: industry class; statistical division and statistical district; and local government area in Melbourne Statistical Division.

#### 8205.2 MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS: SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS BY INDUSTRY CLASS

*Annual; latest issue: 1981-82; 20 pp.*

Series commenced with 1968-69 and 1969-70 issue.

Number of manufacturing establishments, employment, wages and salaries, turnover, stocks, purchases, etc., value added, rent, etc., and fixed capital expenditure by industry class of Victoria and summary for Australia, States, and Territories.

#### 84: *Mining*

##### 8401.2 MINERAL PRODUCTION

*Annual; latest issue: 1980-81; 4 pp.*

Series commenced with 1966 issue. New title from 1977-78 issue; previously *Mining and quarrying commodity statistics*.

Mining and quarrying commodity statistics giving quantity and value of minerals and construction materials produced.

#### 86: *Internal trade — service establishments*

##### 8601.2 TOURIST ACCOMMODATION

*Quarterly; 18 pp.*

Series commenced with September quarter 1975 issue. New title from December quarter 1977; previously *Survey of tourist accommodation establishments*.

Hotels and motels with facilities: number, capacity, occupancy rates, and takings from accommodation by statistical division and principal tourist area caravan parks; number, capacity, site occupancy rates, and takings from accommodation by statistical division and principal tourist area.

#### 8608.2 CENSUS OF RETAIL ESTABLISHMENTS AND SELECTED SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS: SELECTED SHOPPING CENTRE STATISTICS, MELBOURNE STATISTICAL DIVISION

*Irregular; first and latest issue: 1979-80; 56 pp.*

Statistics of retail establishments in selected shopping centres in the Melbourne Statistical Division showing selected items by shopping centre by industry group; type of employment at 30 June by shopping centre by industry group; number of selected retail establishments, employment, retail sales, turnover, and floorspace by shopping centre by turnover size group.

#### 8622.2 CENSUS OF RETAIL ESTABLISHMENTS AND SELECTED SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS: DETAILS OF OPERATIONS BY INDUSTRY CLASS, VICTORIA

*Irregular; first and latest issue: 1970-80; 38 pp.*

Contains details by industry of employment, wages and salaries, turnover, stocks, purchases, value added, fixed capital expenditure, and floorspace.

#### 8623.2 CENSUS OF RETAIL ESTABLISHMENTS AND SELECTED SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS: INDUSTRY DETAILS FOR STATISTICAL RETAIL AREAS, VICTORIA

*Irregular; first and latest issue: 1979-80; 70 pp.*

The number of retail establishments, the value of their turnover and their floorspace is tabulated by statistical retail area, industry class, and group. Retail and selected service establishments, employment, wages and salaries, turnover, and floorspace for each local government area. Number of retail establishments and value of retail sales by statistical retail area and commodity item.

**8624.2 CENSUS OF RETAIL ESTABLISHMENTS AND SELECTED SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS: HOTELS AND ACCOMMODATION ESTABLISHMENTS, VICTORIA**  
*Irregular; first and latest issue: 1979-80; 190 pp.*

For each type of establishment, details of numbers of establishments, persons employed, wages and salaries, turnover, stocks, purchases, transfers in and selected expenses, value added, fixed capital expenditure less disposals, and accommodation capacity.

**8625.2 CENSUS OF RETAIL ESTABLISHMENTS AND SELECTED SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS: COMMODITY SALES AND SERVICE TAKINGS, VICTORIA**  
*Irregular; first and latest issue: 1979-80; 74 pp.*

Contains details of the number of establishments, the value of sales of commodity items and items of other income, by industry class.

**8626.2 CENSUS OF RETAIL ESTABLISHMENTS AND SELECTED SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS: INDUSTRY AND COMMODITY DETAILS BY SIZE OF ESTABLISHMENT, VICTORIA**  
*Irregular; first and latest issue: 1979-80; 74 pp.*

Contains selected statistics classified by retail sales, employment, and turnover size.

**87: Building and construction**

**8731.2 BUILDING APPROVALS**

*Monthly; 12 pp.*

Series commenced with April 1959 issue.

Value of private and government building approvals by type of building in the Melbourne Statistical Division and the rest of Victoria; number of new houses and other dwellings approved by statistical division; original and seasonally adjusted total new dwelling approvals.

**8732.2 BUILDING APPROVALS BY LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS**

*Quarterly; 15 pp.*

Series commenced with June quarter 1967 issue.

Number of new houses and other dwellings and value of new houses, other dwellings, additions and alterations of \$10,000 and over to dwellings, commercial industrial, and other buildings approved by statistical division, statistical district, and local government area.

**8752.2 BUILDING ACTIVITY**

*Quarterly; 20 pp.*

Series commenced with June quarter 1950 issue. New title from September quarter 1980, previously *Building operations*.

Number of new houses and other dwellings and value of additions and alterations of \$10,000 and over to dwellings; value of different types of buildings commenced, under construction, and completed in Victoria; value of work done during period on different types of buildings; number of new houses and other dwellings commenced and completed by statistical division, statistical district, and local government area; details of houses commenced according to material of outer walls. Seasonally adjusted figures for total new dwellings and total value of work done during the quarter.

**8740.2 DWELLING UNIT COMMENCEMENTS REPORTED BY APPROVING AUTHORITIES (PRELIMINARY)**

*Monthly; 4 pp.*

Series commenced with July 1983 issue.

Preliminary estimates of the number of houses and other dwellings notified as being commenced by approving authorities by statistical division.

**8741.2 DWELLING UNIT COMMENCEMENTS REPORTED BY APPROVING AUTHORITIES**

*Quarterly; 19 pp.*

First issue covered period January 1981 to June 1981.

Number of new houses and other dwellings commenced each month by statistical division and local government area; number of new dwellings commenced by ownership and type of dwelling in Victoria; number of new houses commenced by material of outer walls, ownership, and statistical division.

**9: Transport****93: Stock of motor vehicles****9301.2 MOTOR VEHICLE REGISTRATIONS**

*Monthly; 8 pp.*

Series commenced with July 1955 issue.

New motor vehicles registered by type; total new registrations by make; makes of new trucks registered by gross vehicle weight; makes of new articulated trucks registered by gross train weight; other new vehicles registered; and total motor vehicles on the register.

**9302.2 MOTOR VEHICLE CENSUS**

*Irregular; latest issue: 30 September 1981; 36 pp.*

Motor cars, station wagons, utilities and panel vans, trucks, buses, and motor cycles on register, by make, by year of model, by tare weight, per 1,000 of population; number of tractors, plant and equipment, caravans, and trailers on register.

**94: Motor vehicle accidents****9401.2 ROAD TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS INVOLVING CASUALTIES**

*Quarterly; final issue December quarter 1981; 8 pp.*

Series commenced with June quarter 1952 issue.

Number of accidents and persons involved; type of road user involved and extent of injury; type of accident and extent of injury; type of vehicle, age and sex of road user involved in casualty accidents by extent of injury; time of occurrence by date of week; extent of injury by location of accident; types of vehicles involved.

**9402.2 ROAD TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS INVOLVING CASUALTIES**

*Annual; latest issue: 1982; 40 pp.; \$1.00, \$1.70 posted.*

Series commenced with 1952 issue.

Number of accidents, persons killed, persons injured by month of occurrence; road user involved by sex and type of road user, by age of road user, by age and type of road user; nature of accident; type of vehicle involved; day of week; time of day; traffic control; road character; statistical division; road condition; light condition; number of vehicles; atmospheric condition; movement of vehicles; extent of injury by area; time licence held; age of vehicle; make of vehicle; age of driver involved; type of driving licence; accident rates.

## Appendix F

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