PART FOUR

Social and Political Development

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CONSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

The Port Phillip District was settled in the mid to late 1830s, first from Van Diemen's Land by pastoralists who sought pasturage for their flocks and who were prepared to ignore the law which put this area out of bounds, next by overlanders from the Sydney settlement following Major Mitchell's track, and then by migrants attracted directly from the British Isles. Within a decade of Edward Henty landing at Portland nearly one thousand squatters with about two million sheep had occupied almost all the accessible area of the District, and had forced the Aboriginals back out of the region or had herded them into reserves. Many of the squatters were Scottish farmers' sons ; most of them were men of some education and standing ; a very few of them, including some former army officers, were gentlemen in a strict sense. Many of their pastoral servants were emancipated convicts or those on " ticket-of-leave ", while some of the Scots had brought out Gaelic-speaking highlanders as shepherds. These were reinforced by a flow of State assisted migrants, largely from the agricultural counties of England and Ireland. A strong group of Anglo-Irish gentry migrated in the 1840s ; they included the lawyer William Stawell, authoritative administrator of the early gold rush period and Chief Justice, and Redmond Barry, first Chancellor of the University of Melbourne and a patron of culture and the arts.

The squatters were dominant : Melbourne until shortly before the gold rushes was little more than the " head station of the Port Phillip run ". Unlike New South Wales there were only a few of the landowning gentry type; these formed agricultural estates at Heidelberg and near Geelong. Agriculture, centred on Geelong, was slow to develop, though pockets of Irish farmers later formed at Port Fairy and Kilmore ; fewer than half a million acres had been sold by 1850. Inspired by the ideal of yeoman farming, John Pascoe Fawkner led the campaign against squatter control, and business interests in the growing town of Melbourne joined him. Artisan migrants of the Geelong area, encouraged by the Reverend J. D. Lang, formed democratic Chartist-type organisations. Townsmen led the campaign, which became the first Australian national cause, against the revival of convict transportation ; 1,700 convicts with conditional pardons, " exiles " or " Pentonvillians ", were landed in the Port Phillip District between 1844 and 1849. Eventually Superintendent Charles Joseph La Trobe refused

to accept a shipload and sent it on to Sydney. Another great uniting cause was the campaign for separation from New South Wales; representation in its Legislative Council from 1843 proved to be farcical since few candidates could be found who were prepared to spend long periods in Sydney. Protests swelled through the 1840s, and Port Phillip's contribution to the year of revolutions was to elect Earl Grey, resident in England and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to represent it in Sydney. Relief from the " tyranny " of New South Wales was at last provided by an Act " for the better Government of the Australian Colonies " of 1850, and the Colony of Victoria was proclaimed on 1 July 1851.

The impact of the gold rushes was remarkable. Over a decade Victoria produced one third of the gold mined in the world during that period. The Colony's population rose from 80,000 to 540,000—46 per cent of all those in Australia and more than the entire European population of Australasia in 1851. An almost unknown pastoral backwater became the most famous and wealthy British colony and an advanced, modern, largely self-governing community. The early colonists on the spot prospered most, for the greatest yields were won before the influx of overseas migrants from mid-1852. Though many men made a competency, few large fortunes were won directly from gold; more men did well behind a counter or from selling land than from digging. Many migrants, especially merchants and professional men, neglected the goldfields and exploited the opportunities open to early comers in an expanding, prosperous community. Although Lieutenant-Governor La Trobe and his inexperienced officers, and the new Legislative Council, had to struggle to reduce chaos to order, within two years the Government was broadly in control. However, a fundamental miscalculation allowed perpetuation of an inequitable licence system which, together with central and local ineptitude, provoked the tragic Eureka revolt. Later, when the bushrangers and other criminals had been suppressed, the most notable feature of the diggings was the prevailing orderliness, restraint, and respect for law. Within five years an advanced system of democratic local and industrial self-government was operating in the mining areas.

This one generation of young migrants, swamping the existing society, controlled and set the tone of Victoria for almost the rest of the century. Victoria, unlike all the other colonies, was overwhelmingly peopled by migrants who had not been brought out under State financed schemes but who had paid their own fares. State-assisted migration, largely of females, continued through the 1850s and 1860s, mainly in order to redress the lack of balance of the sexes, but was virtually suspended between the mid-1870s and 1907. The quality of these gold migrants in terms of economic skills and education was extraordinarily high. Most were working men, but there was a large leavening of middle class people and skilled artisans. The great majority was churchgoing and in 1861 Victoria had one of the lowest proportions of illiterates in the world, relatively far fewer than England, Scotland, or any of the colonies. The high proportion of readers and letter-writers goes far to explain the subsequent closeness of touch with Britain and the marked imperial loyalty of Victorians. The respectable nature of these migrants led them to be especially sensitive to the convict taint ; lasting efforts were made to keep out and suppress convict elements, and in the 1860s Victoria led a fervent campaign to end transportation to Western Australia.

The great majority of the adult male migrants of the 1850s had not had the vote in Britain and took the Chartist points for granted as desirable. Most of them worked for at least a few weeks on the goldfields where social relationships were entirely egalitarian ; the usual social order was even reversed to the extent that the skilled navvy tended to be most respected for his ability. " The equality system here would stun even a Yankee ", a migrant wrote home in 1853, " all are mates ". The mercenary ambition to make a fortune, and fraternal generosity and camaraderie were common characteristics. Men of all backgrounds learned to endure hardship, developed qualities of self-dependence and self-control, and acquired a wider tolerance from mixing with men of many nations and classes. They were also often schooled in the democratic processes of self-government in diggers' movements against the authorities, in subsequent controversies about local mining law, and in spontaneous movements to maintain order in the absence of constituted authority. The men of the 1850s, like nearly all migrants, had transferred themselves to the new world primarily in the hope of bettering their material condition and of each becoming his own boss, no longer dependent as was the wage earner in the industrial towns and agricultural counties of Britain.

Such hopes appeared increasingly delusive as the surface gold ran out, the diggings contracted, and mining became more a routine wage earning activity of a company employee. Gold production declined steadily from 1856, but the largest number of miners at work was in 1858. Victoria by now simply could not provide economic opportunities for its inflated population; painful adjustment followed by means of emigration to the gold rushes in New Zealand and to the other colonies. Great gold discoveries were still to be made, especially in the deep alluvial rivers of Ballarat and the deeper quartz reefs of Bendigo. But the basic change in the nature of Victoria in the 1860s and 1870s was the decline over twenty years of the number of miners from 80,000 to 35,000 and the increase of agricultural and pastoral workers from 53,000 to 123,000.

Early during the gold rushes the Government had brought forward considerable quantities of land for sale, especially near the goldfields, at a minimum price of £1 an acre. But the mass demand was for cheap or almost free land, as in the United States and Canada. The intense land hunger of so many migrants, the urgent need to find employment for the Colony's bloated population, and the envious determination to upset the squatters' near-monopoly forced the passing of radical land legislation : this aimed at converting the bulk of the land from pastoral to agricultural use, and acknowledged the poor migrant's right to land against the first occupiers and those with capital. However, the Selection Acts of the early 1860s were unfortunate in their effects. The Nicholson Act of 1860 enabled the Western District squatters to consolidate their hold, and the Gavan Duffy Act of 1862 proved completely ineffective. Squatters' dummies and sham selectors waiting to be bought off were almost as numerous as genuine selectors, and perjury, corruption, and widespread evasion of the law became commonplace. J. M. Grant's Act of 1865 was more successful, and the 1869 Act, which Grant drafted, at last proved to be almost knave-proof. About 11 million acres were alienated in the 1870s ; the country north of the Great Dividing Range, apart from the Mallee, was then effectively and permanently

occupied. Most of the large pastoralists gave way, except in the Western District, and pastoral expansion was transferred to the Riverina and Queensland. Wheat-growing moved almost entirely inland; the population of the Wimmera (including many originally from South Australia) and northern Victoria increased by 70,000 in the 1870s while the earlier settled rural areas lost population. New townships began to grow rapidly, Horsham and Shepparton being conspicuous among them. The Sale and Bairnsdale areas made good progress, and the first clearings were made in southern Gippsland. The family-unit farm became the rule ; only a small minority of farmers employed other than seasonal or casual labour. In 1877 Victoria at last became self-sufficient in wheat and began to export ; railway extensions in this period go far to explain the growth in production. Despite this, perhaps half the selectors failed utterly and abandoned their blocks or were absorbed by their neighbours. During the 1880s especially, the process developed of running sheep and growing wheat on the larger farms, while many selectors moved on after exploiting their land. The assumptions of self-sufficiency died hard ; life was difficult for the farmer without capital, supplementing his income by casual work on fencing, dam-sinking, or road-making, and unable to graduate to the business of specialised production. The capture in 1880 of the Kellys, the last of the bushrangers, indicated the close of the pioneering period and the final establishment of law and stability in rural areas.

One method of providing employment to hold the gold rush migrants was to foster local industries by tariff protection, but the political battle over protection was drawn out too long and the immediate effects of limited tariffs were too small for this to have had more than a marginal impact. The tariffs of 1866 and 1867 were the first with protective elements, but there were no increases to substantially protective levels until 1871 and 1879. David Syme in the *Age* (bitterly opposed by the free-trade *Argus*) and migrant craftsmen campaigning for opportunities to follow their trades were the chief propagandist forces. Victoria's manufacturing population did grow markedly in the 1860s, but the increase was essentially in response to needs for food, shelter, and clothing: mills, bakeries, breweries, tanneries, quarries, brick yards, and sawmills grew naturally; the developing clothing and footwear industries were especially helped by protection, while foundries, agricultural machinery works, and carriage manufactories were aided to some extent. The first woollen mills and glass and paper manufactories were established in the 1860s and 1870s. An industrial base was being laid, and from the late 1870s more men were working in factories than in the mines.

The newly received constitution, settled from 1853 to 1855, gave almost unqualified powers to an Upper House narrowly based on wealth. Immediately the first Parliament assembled, manhood suffrage for the Assembly was passed and property qualifications for members were abolished ; the secret ballot had already been made law by the old Legislative Council. However, manhood suffrage was effectively restricted by an Act of 1863 which provided for automatic electoral enrolment of ratepayers and qualification of others only by payment of a fee and strict residential requirements. Payment of members, an essential for democratic representation, was fought over bitterly for more than twenty years before it was made permanent in 1886. Until about 1880

Victorian politics may best be seen as a clash between the new men of the gold rush period and long-established pastoral, mercantile, and banking interests protected by the Legislative Council. From time to time the miner, selector-farmer, and manufacturer-artisan interests coalesced on a programme of land reform, protection, reform of the Council, and legislation in the mining interest, such as the right to mine on private property which the Council rejected almost annually for nearly thirty years. Over long periods between 1860 and 1880 radical coalitions protested vainly against the veto of the Legislative Council ; in the intermediate periods of comparative calm, governments concentrated on the agreed business of channelling finance for developmental policies. These class conflicts sometimes reached an extreme pitch of bitterness as in the late 1870s. After the National Reform and Protection League (with 150 branches it was the first approximation to a modern political party) had returned Graham Berry with an overwhelming majority in 1877, conflict degenerated almost into an incipient civil war situation. The naked defence of property by the powerful Council reduced much of the Assembly's proceedings to futility. The Constitution was ill-adapted to the political assumptions of the great majority of the community. The conflicts of the late 1870s ended with the Council widening its electorate but retaining its powers intact. Nevertheless, liberal though not democratic views prevailed over a wide area. The assumption behind land legislation was that every man should have an equal opportunity ; it was agreed that wide diffusion of wealth and property was desirable ; the equality of religious denominations was recognised and the State subsidy to religion was with-drawn ; the " free, compulsory and secular " Education Act was passed in 1872 which, after the inefficiency of clerical competition in education had been demonstrated, encouraged the growth of State schools organised by a Department of Education, and abolished financial support for church schools. The Catholic Church opposed this solution, and the conflict between liberals and Catholics was for long reflected in politics.

About 1880 the Australian colonies differed from each other more, perhaps, than at any other time. Practical isolation was so great that Victoria had possibly been more closely connected with New Zealand than with New South Wales. The colonial economies were largely separate from each other; and few businesses were carried on in more than one colony, although businessmen and politicians were sometimes acquainted with their opposite numbers in the other colonies. In many respects Victoria was much more like South Australia than New South Wales or Queensland in economic balance, religious affiliations, and the background and attitudes of its population. Compared with New South Wales, Victoria had a large gold mining group but virtually no coal miners; its farming was far more developed while its pastoralism was of relatively minor significance; and its manufacturing was more advanced. Victoria relatively had many more Presbyterians and non-conformists and hence a much stronger sabbatarian movement. Its population included relatively few assisted migrants and ex-convicts (although some of the latter had immigrated, mainly from Tasmania). It was still dominated by the one generation of migrants, whereas New South Wales had a more even balance of migrants and native-born of different periods. Above all, Victoria was in very close touch with the " home country " and her people were more fervently loyal to the Crown and Empire than were many other Australian colonists.

Victoria was in most essential respects a migrant society—rather like another huge English county with a Birmingham or Liverpool as capital, but with a strong Scottish and Irish mixture and local features produced by a new environment. British institutions had been adopted automatically, new voluntary societies were quickly reproduced, and the latest trends of thought " at home " were speedily taken up. The gold towns, where so many famous Australians of the next generation were born and educated, were of at least as high a quality in their intellectual and cultural life as was Melbourne. Victorians inherited the rich musical tradition of the British Isles, read the same books and magazines, admired the same great actors of the day when they toured the colonies, regarded Shakespeare and Tennyson as their own, and revelled in performances of Gilbert and Sullivan. Yet at the same time, Tom Roberts, Arthur Streeton, and others were founding a national school of art, Henry Handel Richardson and Joseph Furphy were preparing themselves for their great literary interpretations of the Australian experience, and a native code of football, which was to become a local obsession, was developing.

The 1880s were years of marked material advancement when most people prospered, and working men achieved as high a standard of living as perhaps anywhere in the world. Capital flooded in from Britain on a scale, it has been suggested, relatively several times greater than overseas inflow of capital to modern Australia; immigrants from overseas and from the other colonies followed close behind; and coalition ministries headed by James Service and Duncan Gillies provided unaccustomed political stability. The lavish private capital available was ploughed into pastoral investment in New South Wales and Queensland, into Queensland sugar plantations, and especially into land speculation, into the rebuilding of Melbourne city, and into the outward spread of suburban housing. The Government lavishly extended railways, water supply, and other public works. The Broken Hill mining boom of 1887 and 1888 was immediately followed by excesses in suburban land speculation inspired by numerous new land banks and other land finance companies. The Centennial Exhibition of late 1888 marked the peak of the joyous extravagance of the boom. Even when the banks pricked the speculative bubble late in the year, the myriad other financial institutions found more capital in Britain with which to sustain an Indian summer of the boom in 1889. Economic prospects were grim, for wool and wheat prices were falling, the balance of trade gap was widening, government expenditure was rash, and the economy was becoming grossly distorted. Many of the recently floated financial companies were either corrupt or based on outlandish optimism. Yet the Government and nearly all the leading businessmen were carried away by assumptions of limitless progress and were blind to the yawning chasm ahead. The gullible public, investing as never before in land and on the stock market, assumed that dreams of making their golden fortunes were at last coming true.

The boom produced " Marvellous Melbourne ", but neither the farmers nor the provincial towns shared in the prosperity. Melbourne's population grew from 283,000 in 1881 to 491,000 in 1891, and it became one of the major cities of the world—about thirtieth in terms of population (seventh in the British Empire) and much higher, of course, in terms of wealth. In this period, when Melbourne's proportion of Victoria's population rose from 33 per cent to 43 per cent, criticism of the rise of the " great

wen " became sharp. The preponderance of the metropolis, which was so unusual at the time, was based on the low labour requirements of the Australian pastoral and agricultural industries, the absence of natural inland trading junctions supported by lasting rich mineral assets, the lack of alternative natural ports, and the early development of a railway network channelling into the capital.

Late in 1889 there were many signs of alarm, and in the following three years it became clear that Victoria was financially very unstable. The rash and sometimes grossly culpable activities of many financiers led them to adopt desperate measures to stave off the insolvency which was frequently unavoidable ; land finance companies and many building societies collapsed one after the other; a minority of the banks had irrevocably jeopardised their position by extravagant credit on paper-thin security; and the over-extended railways began to incur large deficits.   World economic trends exposed the unbalanced Victorian economy, and growing loss of confidence in Victoria by British investors led to a decline of capital imports. As genuine and speculative demand fell away, the huge building industry was almost wiped out. The crash eventually came in May 1893 when all but four of the banks closed their doors and had to adopt schemes of reconstruction. In the end, public panic in withdrawing deposits destroyed several of the major banks which were fundamentally in a sound position ; inept political measures increased the seriousness of the crisis. The ensuing depression was the most severe in Victoria's history and recovery was slow. For the second time in its history, Victoria suffered a major loss in its work force, mainly to the Western Australian goldfields and to other colonies, none of which were affected so severely as was Victoria. The proud, leading colony was humiliated and had to endure bitter days ; the old age of many of the remaining migrants of the 1850s was desperately sad. New South Wales, which had caught up in population by 1892, forged ahead to a commanding lead ; Sydney passed Melbourne in about 1902. Victoria's proportion of the Australian population fell from 36 per cent in 1891 to 30 per cent in 1906. The Turner Government from 1894 to 1899 set out to balance budgets by imposing stringent economies ; such was the wisdom of the day. The brightest features in a period of gloom were the development of the dairying industry through technical innovations such as refrigeration which made exporting possible, the mild revival of gold mining, and some slight development of the Gippsland black coal fields.

Almost since the 1850s Victoria had been, in practice though not in theory, virtually self-governing in her domestic affairs. Governments showed no desire to challenge imperial control of external affairs until European powers became active in the Pacific in the early 1880s. In 1883 and 1884 Victoria led an unsuccessful campaign to persuade the British Government to prevent Germany occupying part of New Guinea; similarly from 1883 to 1887 sustained efforts were made to prevent French occupation of the New Hebrides, possibly as a convict colony. In 1885 the imperial government pledged itself in future to consult colonial governments on matters of regional interest. Victoria was also most prominent in building up its local defences—navy, militia, and fortifications ; it was ever wary of the possible threat of Russian attack, and anxious to take its part in any imperial war which might break out. Chiefly because of the foreign threats James Service

as Premier supported a campaign for immediate Federation which Victorian governments kept up throughout the 1880s. After agreement at an inter-colonial conference in 1883 the Federal Council of Australasia (created by an Imperial Act in 1885) first met in 1886, but New South Wales was never to join and South Australia belonged only briefly. Moreover, the Council's powers were so puny that it never became an active or influential body. It is probably true that national feeling and sensitivity to threats to the Empire, both of which made for Federal sympathy, were more developed in Victoria than elsewhere. Victorian businessmen had more intercolonial interests and contacts than businessmen in other colonies and were more aware of the hindrances to trade caused by tariffs and differing laws relating to business ; Victorian manufacturers, moreover, were hoping to capture the national market when border duties were eliminated by Federation. From the mid-1880s the Australian Natives' Association acted as a powerful inspirational group. In the concluding stages of the campaign in the late 1890s, Victoria remained the colony most committed to Federation. The *Age* was lukewarm, and some farmers who worried about the economic effects of Federation were hostile, but the proportion voting for the Bill at both referenda held was higher in Victoria than in the other States. For twenty-seven years after Federation Melbourne was the seat of the Commonwealth as well as the State Parliament. The national tariff eventually adopted protected the interests of Victorian manufacturers. Immediately after Federation the " Kyabram movement " demanding economy succeeded in reducing by a quarter the number of State politicians. The State Government retained a considerable degree of financial autonomy and relative freedom of action at least until the effect of the uniform taxation agreement of 1942 became clear. The question of when Victorians began to regard themselves primarily as Australians and to look with more interest to the Commonwealth than the State Government is unanswerable; perhaps this was not demonstrably true of the majority until 1914.

From the early 1890s the organised Labor movement gave a new slant to politics. Trade unions of skilled artisans had developed in the 1850s when their greatest achievement was the eight hour day in the building and some other industries. In the late 1870s and through the 1880s trade unionism developed rapidly in a period of high prosperity. By 1890 about 50,000 unionists were affiliated with the Melbourne Trades Hall Council ; including those tied to provincial trades halls, perhaps a sixth of the work force belonged to unions. The numerically strongest unions were the Amalgamated Miners' Association and the Australian Shearers' Union, both having W. G. Spence as secretary and headquarters in Creswick. Despite major strikes between 1882 and 1886 by tailoresses, bootmakers, and wharf labourers, harmonious recognition of common interests generally prevailed between employers and unionists. The massive Australian contri-bution to the relief of the London dockworkers in 1889, two thirds of which came from Victoria (the greater part was donated by the public and not by the unions) is one of the most extraordinary events in Victorian history ; it demonstrated both colonial ideals of social justice and a deter-mination to identify Victoria with the problems of the "mother" country. The maritime strike of 1890 was a crucial turning point which led to the foundation of Labor parties in Victoria and elsewhere. However, for ten

years or more the Victorian Labor Party was neither as successful nor as militant as Labor in New South Wales and Queensland. The Labor members were barely distinguishable from the liberals and there was considerable criss-crossing between the two groups. Nevertheless, the lasting effect of the maritime strike was the polarisation of politics on a class, rather than a tariff, basis; class hostility eventually wiped out the liberal notion of the harmony of interests between employer and employee. The railway strike of 1903 also helped to shape twentieth century political attitudes.

Meanwhile, Victorian politics had been dominated by radical liberals who were determined to stand between, and find rational solutions for, the conflict between capital and labour.   The gold towns especially were unwilling to accept the notion of economic class as the chief political determinant. The radical liberals had set the tone of Victorian politics : the high-minded inspiration of George Higinbotham, the determined leadership of David Syme in the *Age* and of Graham Berry, and the creative vision of Charles Pearson were taken up in the 1890s and 1900s by Alfred Deakin, H. B. Higgins, Isaac Isaacs, George Turner, and others in State and national politics. John Murray, Alexander Peacock, and W. A. Watt co-operated in State politics after 1900 in elaborating the network of legislation begun by the Factories Act of 1896 which had established the Wages Boards as a solution to " sweating "; and the New Protection, basic wage, and conciliation and arbitration systems of the Commonwealth tried to create a system of social justice by which the employee shared fully in the profits of industry. The Victorian liberals set the tone of the first decade of Commonwealth politics, but in both Federal and State politics were squeezed out of existence by Labor and conservative anti-Labor groups and ultimately also by the Country Party which emerged after the First World War to represent the rural settler.

The most remarkable aspect of Victorian government in the period around 1900 came to be the extent and variety of State enterprises. Victorian " state socialism " was the product of the combination of the need for the State to step in and conquer problems arising from distance, the lack of rural resources, and of the weakness in Australia of the philosophy of *laissez-faire* individualism. By 1910 State enterprise in Victoria was on a remarkable scale and involved pioneering the use of various State instrumentalities, especially the statutory corporation. The Railways (a Commission since 1883), the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission (1905), the Melbourne Harbor Trust (1877), the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works (1890), the Country Roads Board (1913), the Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board (1918), the State Electricity Commission (1919), the Housing Commission (1938), and the Gas and Fuel Corporation (1950) are some of the major authorities. One of the most important functions of State politics came to be the allocation of finance between these competing authorities.

Victorian farming was greatly diversified by the development of dairying (especially in Gippsland), mixed farming, fat lamb production, and irrigation. The Chaffey settlement at Mildura, which began in the late 1880s with high hopes, almost collapsed in the 1890s when the promoters were bankrupted and the community was riven with internal disputes. However, progress was rapid after 1900, and 20,000 people were settled in the area

by 1920. Meanwhile the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission had steadily been extending a network of channels, mostly across northern and north-western Victoria. The wheat belt was enlarged by the slow and arduous settlement of the Mallee from the late 1880s. State schemes to encourage closer settlement and occupation of marginal areas met with mixed success. Few of the scores of "village settlements", which were created partly to cater for the unemployed in the 1890s, produced success-ful farmers. In response to a keen demand to break up pastoral freeholds, legislation of 1898 provided for State purchase of these lands on a volun-tary basis, and later legislation introduced compulsion. Until 1918 rather more than 4,000 farmers were settled on a little more than half a million acres ; the schemes had been gravely limited by administrative and political difficulties. Between the wars 3 million acres, largely in the Mallee, were settled by returned soldiers and others, but by the late 1930s a large proportion had abandoned their holdings. Farming as a whole became prosperous only after the Second World War with the application of greater capital, mechanisation, the trend towards larger holdings, higher prices for primary products, greater scientific knowledge and readier appli-cation of it by farmers, and skilled administration of soldier settlement. But by 1970 this prosperity started to waver, this time because of adverse world markets.

By the early twentieth century Victoria had become a markedly agri-cultural and manufacturing community. The numbers employed in gold mining fell from 25,000 in 1903 to 3,000 in 1923. The factory population doubled between 1900 and 1914 and grew two and a half times again by 1950, and until about 1930 was markedly ahead of that in New South Wales. Victoria's great deficiency, however, which prevented much growth of heavy industry, was black coal ; the limited Gippsland deposits were worked from the 1890s and a State coal mine was founded at Wonthaggi in 1908. Eventually the power problem was solved by the State Electricity Commission's exploitation of Gippsland brown coal whose use had long been delayed by technical problems; Yallourn was "turned on" in 1924. This was made possible by adopting the techniques of brown coal mining from the brown coal workings near Cologne in Germany. The Government had sent some experienced technicians there after the First World War for this purpose. Limited hydro-electric schemes were added later. Melbourne's manu-facturing development was mainly in light industry with textiles and clothing prominent, although specialised foundry, engineering, and agricultural machinery works retained an important place; paper, chemicals, and in the 1920s, motor vehicle assembly also became important. Melbourne re-mained the financial capital of the nation ; in 1940 it was still the headquarters of twice as many of the major companies as was Sydney.

As elsewhere in Australia, Victoria developed a dual system of primary education; by 1900 the Catholic church was providing almost entirely for its adherents outside the State system. Compared to New South Wales, Victoria was slow to develop State secondary schools ; Melbourne High School was founded in 1905 and legislation in 1910 cleared the way for other high schools. However, from late in the nineteenth century Victoria had taken the lead in encouragement of technical education. Church secondary schools have been important historically and of a high quality in

Victoria. Their products, at least until recent years, have dominated the professions and the high executive posts in the business world. Six of the seven Australian Prime Ministers educated in Victoria attended the major " public schools ".

After a long history of peace, the First World War exposed Australia to its first major international conflict. With negligible exceptions the community accepted the obligation to fight, but as the war continued, deep divisions grew over the attempts to introduce conscription, the methods of suppression of the 1916 rebellion in Ireland, and the wisdom of fighting the war to a finish. The bulk of the Catholics, led by Archbishop Daniel Mannix, and the Labor movement combined to defeat both conscription referenda narrowly. The people of Victoria voted for the first attempt and against the second. The split in the Labor Party on the issue wrecked it as a political force for a decade, while Protestant–Catholic hostility was given a new lease of life. But perhaps the chief result of the war was the development of a sense of nationality which incidentally gave the Commonwealth new authority over the States.

The 1920s developed into a minor boom period with marked industrial growth, a further relative shift of the population to Melbourne, and resumption of large scale immigration from Britain. Unemployment, however, remained a constant problem, as it had been since 1890 except during the war period. When the world-wide depression struck, the Australian economy was highly exposed, for it still depended largely on world prices for primary exports. In 1933 the number of those unemployed rose to about one third of the total work force and remained high for the rest of the decade. The Second World War followed as the third major crisis of those whose life-span covered the first half of the century. Casualties were lower than in the First World War, but in many ways the impact on the community was greater for Australia was directly threatened and the apparatus of total war had to be adopted. For the first time, as a consequence of becoming an American base, Australia had a temporary mass influx of overseas troops. As during the First World War, some of the lasting major consequences of the war were a boost to industrial development and the further entry of women into the work force.

The development of public health services by the Department of Health has perhaps been the most notable advance in the field of public welfare under State control. The Pure Food Act of 1905 and the inauguration of school medical services in 1909, of infant welfare services in 1917, and of school dental services in 1921 were notable landmarks. The formation of the Hospitals and Charities Commission in 1948, the Tuberculosis Branch of the Health Department in 1949, and the Mental Hygiene Authority in 1950 marked new stages of development.

In the first century of its self-governing constitution, Victoria had sixty-one governments. The advent of the Country Party in 1920 after 40 years of incipient predecessors signalled perhaps the most unstable of all periods of government. The farmers, the " middle class ", and the " working class " now had roughly equal numbers of representatives in the Legislative Assembly, in which no party had a majority between 1924 and 1952, let alone control of the Council as well. Inevitably the period was one of compromise government. Following the premiership of Sir Harry Lawson between 1918 and 1924, the only other period of comparatively stable govern-

ment was provided by Sir Albert Dunstan of the Country Party who ruled with varying support from the other parties from 1935 to 1943; the Country Party was aided by electoral distribution which made the country vote worth twice as much, and at some periods almost three times as much, as the city vote. The Labor Party's voting power was as great as in other States, but it was more concentrated in the industrial metropolis and any hopes of success were ruled out by the nature of electoral distribution, until divisions in the Liberal Party in 1952 enabled the formation of the first Labor ministry with a majority in the Assembly. The "two for one" redistribution, based on Federal electorates, was then carried out and country and city votes were restored to rough parity. However, the preferences of the new Democratic Labor Party have ensured the return to power of the Liberal Party since 1955. Sir Henry Bolte had the longest record for an individual term as Premier and his ministries provided by far the longest term of stable government which Victoria has experienced. The introduction of adult franchise for the Legislative Council in 1950 has also tended to bring the two Houses into closer political sympathy.

Despite all incentives to decentralise, Melbourne's population has continued to grow beyond two millions to more than two thirds of the State's population. Throughout the quarter century since the Second World War it has sprawled out into farmland, orchards, and bush. By the 1960s, however, the density of population of some of the inner suburbs was increasing as flats extensively replaced houses ; only about 1,000 flats were built in Victoria during 1955, but the 1968 figure was 13,000. Long overdue city planning began after the enactment of the Town and Country Planning Act in 1944 and legislation in 1949 which enabled the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works to draw up a scheme for the metropolitan area. This interim Metropolitan Planning Scheme of 1954 was not finally approved until 1968, but in the meantime its proposals had largely been followed by industry and public authorities before it was amended in 1971. Major developments have included the growth of new outer suburban industrial complexes and regional shopping centres, and new bridges and the first freeways to meet rapidly increasing traffic problems. Meanwhile, Melbourne city had been extensively rebuilt. The sixteenth Olympiad of 1956 saw the greatest festival and largest influx of foreign visitors in Melbourne's history. Geelong has grown markedly since 1945 to over 100,000. Ballarat has also revived, while Shepparton, Swan Hill, Traralgon, Horsham, and Portland are among the faster growing rural centres, and Dandenong has become part of the Melbourne industrial conurbation.

The 1950s and 1960s saw massive qualitative changes in the development of Australia and Victoria. Wider prosperity, full employment, and more welfare benefits succeeded the mass poverty, industrial unrest, and social conflicts which had been endemic since 1890. New wealth has been more widely distributed, although industrial tensions and pockets of poverty remain. General rural prosperity prevailed until the late 1960s when world-wide rural markets became restive. Developments of recent years have included the discoveries of oil and natural gas ; ironically, however, Victoria is now an unfavoured minerals producer. The population has been basically diversified by the influx, for the first time in large numbers,

of non-British Europeans with their various heritages. Consciousness of Australian national identity has grown, and dependence on, and sense of identification with, Great Britain has markedly declined, while American influence has increased. The long standing political balance has been upset by the split in the Australian Labor Party and the emergence of the Victorian based Democratic Labor Party. Class tensions have nevertheless lessened as the class structure has become more complicated with the growth of managerial and new skilled and semi-skilled occupational groups. Religious sentiment and formal affiliations with the churches have declined, while traditional puritanical strength has been eroded by permissiveness ; Tattersall's sweeps, the Totalisator Agency Board, Sunday newspapers, and late closing of hotels (after almost half a century of six o'clock closing) are evidence of changing views. Prosperity has produced an educational revolution, for a large proportion of children remain at school for several more years than previously; the new Monash and La Trobe Universities and the Victoria Institute of Colleges help to cater for the swelling demand for tertiary education. In 1970 the Government appointed a committee to investigate the establishment of a fourth university. Another far-reaching social change of the last generation has been the employment in large numbers of married women. Growing cultural sophistication has been reflected in the new Arts Centre in St Kilda Road.

Behind many of these developments lay the changing balance of Commonwealth and State financial obligations, a factor whose ramifications would become more clearly apparent in the late 1970s.

PARLIAMENTARY DEVELOPMENT AND FRANCHISE

Regular administration of the Port Phillip District, then part of the Colony of New South Wales, began in 1836 with the appointment of Captain William Lonsdale as the first resident Police Magistrate. The growing settlement soon needed a more adequate system of administration, and in 1839 Charles Joseph La Trobe was appointed Superintendent of the District with the powers of a Lieutenant-Governor.

As early as 1840, the settlers of the Port Phillip District began public agitation for a separate representative government, and addressed memorials embodying their demands both to the New South Wales authorities and to the House of Commons. The District was granted a small measure of representation when the Legislative Council of New South Wales was enlarged under an Imperial Act of 1842. An Act of the New South Wales Legislative Council gave the District six elected members (including one for the Town of Melbourne) in a Council consisting of twenty-four elected and twelve nominated members. The election of the six members in June 1843 was the first held in the District. Both electors and candidates had to possess certain prescribed property qualifications. Of the six members only Henry Condell was a Melbourne resident, and he was elected for the Town of Melbourne. The Legislative Council met for the first time on 1 August 1843 in Sydney.

Agitation for Separation continued until an Imperial Act of 1850 created the Colony of Victoria, which was then given a Legislative Council of thirty members—ten appointed and twenty elected. Victoria was divided into sixteen electoral districts, each returning one member except the City of Melbourne (three members), the Town of Geelong (two members),

and the Northern Division of the County of Bourke (two members). Writs for the election were issued in July 1851 ; this marked the separation of Victoria from New South Wales. Polling took place from 10 to 18 September. Only men over 21 with a stipulated property qualification could vote, and the voting procedure was simple. On nomination day the returning officer called a public meeting, and if the election was contested he called for a show of hands for each candidate and then declared the winning candidate elected. If, however, any candidate or six electors demanded a poll, a written poll was held on the appointed day, when the voter had to deliver to the returning officer or his deputy a ballot paper showing the name of the candidate of his choice, his own name, and the location of the property appearing in his name on the roll. Charles Joseph La Trobe was installed as Lieutenant-Governor on 15 July 1851. The Council held its first meeting in St Patrick's Hall, Bourke Street, on 11 November 1851.

The Act of 1850 gave the Legislative Council the power to draft a new constitution for the Colony, subject to the Royal Assent. A Select Committee of twelve members of the Council was set up to prepare a draft Bill ; the Report of the Committee and its draft Bill were presented on 9 December 1853, and the Bill passed its third reading on 24 March 1854. The Bill, with some amendments required by the Imperial Government, received the Royal Assent on 21 July 1855. Proclaimed in Victoria by the Governor on 23 November 1855 and known as The Constitution Act, it gave the people of Victoria responsible self-government. This took the form of a Parliament comprising a Legislative Council or Upper House of thirty members and a Legislative Assembly or Lower House of sixty members, with a Ministry responsible through Parliament to the people. Membership of the Houses was elective, but property qualifications were prescribed for both members and electors. Also, persons possessing certain educational or professional qualifications were eligible to vote for the Legislative Council. The first step towards self-determination had been taken.

The *Electoral Act* 1856 set out detailed procedures for the conduct of the elections under the new constitution. It provided for voting by secret ballot, and in the elections to the two Houses held between August and October 1856 the first secret ballot was held in the history of British communities. Candidates' names were listed alphabetically on the ballot paper and the voter struck out the name or names of candidates for whom he did not wish to vote. The polling official inserted on the ballot paper the voter's roll number, and it was made an offence for any such official or any scrutineer to attempt to discover how any person voted or to disclose this information if it came to his knowledge in the course of his duties. There were 60,021 electors on the rolls for Legislative Assembly districts, and 134 candidates for the sixty Assembly seats.

The new Parliament met for the first time on 21 November 1856 in the partially constructed Chambers in Spring Street. The first Act passed by both Houses was the *Privileges Act* 1857, which defined the privileges, immunities, and powers of the Legislative Council, of the Legislative Assembly, of committees, and of members ; these were to be the same as those enjoyed and exercised at that time by the House of

Commons. The provisions of the *Privileges Act* 1857 were re-enacted, with slight alteration in form only, in consolidations of constitutional law ; the current consolidation is now enacted as *The Constitution Act Amendment Act* 1958, which consolidates all constitutional and electoral legislation passed by the Victorian Parliament. Perhaps the two most important privileges enjoyed by members of Parliament are freedom of speech and freedom from arrest on civil process. Among the privileges of Parliament collectively are the power to deal with acts constituting a contempt of its authority and to punish offenders, and the right to determine its own code of procedure without being responsible to any external authority for its rules.

The restrictive qualifications for electors and members were universally criticised, and nowhere more vehemently than on the goldfields where the miners' demands included manhood suffrage, the abolition of property qualifications for members and electors, and the payment of members. The rapid increase of population following the discovery of gold in 1851 necessitated an increase in the number of members of the Council to fifty-four in 1853 and to sixty-six in 1855, the proportion of appointed to elected members being maintained at one to two. The provisions of The Constitution Act, with regard to the Legislative Council and to electoral qualifications, allowed a disproportionate influence to landed interests and left about 80,000 diggers unrepresented there. An Act of November 1856 approved by the Legislative Council provided for universal manhood suffrage for electors for the Assembly, (though tempered by requirements regarding residential qualification); and in August 1857 the property qualification for membership of the Assembly was abolished. Plural voting (namely, the grant of votes to owners of property in every electorate where their property was located) was not abolished until 1899. For the Legislative Council the process of reform was more gradual. In 1869 and in 1881 the property qualifications for members and electors were reduced.

The years which followed the establishment of parliamentary government were a period of great prosperity for Victoria, and the population continued to increase rapidly. Between 1856 and 1871 the population almost doubled, increasing from 380,000 to nearly 740,000. This growth was reflected in some measure in increasing parliamentary representation. In 1858 the number of members of the Assembly was increased from sixty to seventy-eight (while tenure of office was reduced from 5 to 3 years in 1859) and the number of Electoral Districts was increased from thirty-seven to forty-nine. In 1878 the number of members rose to eighty-six and that of Electoral Districts to fifty-five, while in 1888 the number of members was increased to ninety-five and that of districts to eighty-four. There was similar expansion of the Council though the changes came more slowly. In 1881 the number of members was increased to forty-two from the original thirty, and Provinces increased to fourteen (at the same time, tenure was reduced from 10 years to 6 years). In 1888 the number of members was increased to forty-eight.

Payment of members of Parliament was the subject of fierce debate from 1862 onwards. Members of the Assembly received payment from 1871 to 1880. Payment then ceased until 22 July 1886, when it was revived permanently. Payment to members of the Council did not begin until 1922. Other recipients of official salaries had been the Speaker and the Chairman

of Committees of the Council (from 1851 to 1856), and from 1856 the President of the Council, the Speaker of the Assembly, and the Chairman of Committees of each House. On the formation of a two-House Parliament, the Speaker of the Legislative Council assumed the title of President of the Legislative Council, whilst the Presiding Officer of the Legislative Assembly became known as the Speaker. Party leaders, Deputy Leaders, and Party Whips also received special payment because of their positions.

The formation of a Federation of Australian States had profound and lasting effects on the history and development of all the Australian colonies. As early as 1847 Earl Grey had remarked on the need for some method by which the various legislatures could co-operate in enacting laws necessary to regulate the common interests of the territories, and the Privy Council committee, which in 1849 recommended the separation of the Port Phillip District, also advocated the formation of a "General Assembly of Australia" to deal with these common interests. Discussions during the next half-century were few, sporadic, poorly supported, and generally unproductive. Yet one fact stands out clearly : Victoria, though indifferent in 1849, was later always the leader in the process of achieving union. From 1870 onwards, from Duffy to Deakin, there was always some political leader in Victoria advocating Federation. Victorians played a prominent part in the Federal Conventions of 1891 and 1897–98 and it was in fact a Victorian Premier, James Service, who called for a convention to discuss this subject as early as 1883 ; this led to the creation of the Federal Council. On 9 July 1900 Royal Assent was given to an Act of the Parliament at Westminster declaring that on and after 1 January 1901 the Colonies of Australia should be united in a Federal Commonwealth. Melbourne was selected as the temporary seat of government and continued to be so until 1927, when some buildings had been erected for a Federal capital at Canberra.

After Federation, which gave Victoria representation in the bicameral Federal Parliament and transferred a number of functions from the State to the Commonwealth Government, it became necessary to reform the Victorian Constitution. *The Constitution Act* 1903 reduced the numbers of the Assembly to sixty-eight and of the Council to thirty-five. For the Assembly, Victoria was divided into sixty-five Electoral Districts, each electing one member. In addition, public officers and railway officers were granted separate representation, the former electing one member and the latter two members. For the Council, there was an increase in the number of Provinces to seventeen, each electing two members. One additional member representing public and railway officers was also provided for. In 1907 the separate representation of public and railway officers was abolished, and the membership of the Council and of the Assembly was reduced to thirty-four and sixty-five, respectively, until 1955 when the membership of the Assembly was increased to sixty-six. In 1967 this was increased to seventy-three, while the membership of the Council was increased to thirty-five in 1967 and to thirty-six in 1970.

In 1908 the Adult Suffrage Act gave women over 21 the vote for the Assembly and Council elections on the same conditions as were then applicable to men, and by 1923 they were eligible to be candidates of either House. Full adult suffrage for the Assembly was introduced by the *Electoral Act* 1910, which abolished the "elector's right", a qualification electors

previously had to acquire before they could vote ; it also gave permanent form to the postal voting provisions, initially introduced in 1900 for a three year period. In 1911 the system of preferential voting was adopted for elections to the Assembly, and was later extended to Council elections. The *Compulsory Voting Act* 1926 made it compulsory for electors to vote at every election for the Assembly. This was extended to elections for the Council in 1935. Finally in 1950 the Legislative Council Reform Act provided adult suffrage for elections to the Council and the same qualifications for membership as for the Assembly. In 1935 an Act gave public servants and railway officers the right to contest any Victorian State parliamentary election without having first to resign from their employment, and in 1953 reinstatement in the government service was authorised for former State servants who ceased to be members of the State Parliament ; in 1955 the provisions of the 1953 legislation were extended to authorise reinstatement of those former State employees who had ceased to be members of the Commonwealth Parliament. In 1958 there was a consolidation of constitutional and electoral legislation in the form of *The Constitution Act Amendment Act* 1958. Between 1958 and 1969 more than forty Acts were passed bearing on some aspect or other of the 1958 Act.

The post-Federation increase in membership of the Victorian Parliament has been much slower than before Federation. For a population of approximately three and a half million, Victoria in 1971 had only 109 members as compared with 103 in 1904 when the population of the State was less than one and a quarter million.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AND CABINET GOVERNMENT

The Imperial Government appointed a Governor as the Monarch's official representative in each Australian Colony when it was founded. Provision was also made for an Executive Council of four or five members whom the Governor could consult on important matters. The highest and most important officials were usually appointed members. The first Executive Council of the Colony of New South Wales was established in 1825. Governor Darling received instructions notifying him of this decision and of the appointment of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Chief Justice, the Archdeacon, and the Colonial Secretary as members. The instructions further set out the relationship between Governor and Council as well as matters of procedure.

The Port Phillip District, from its foundation until Separation, came within the sphere of the Executive Council of New South Wales. Victoria was established as a separate colony in 1851, and La Trobe was appointed as Lieutenant-Governor. La Trobe's instructions then informed him of the establishment of an Executive Council with a maximum of four members, of whom the Crown had appointed three ; the Crown Prosecutor or Principal Law Officer, the Sub-Treasurer or Treasurer, and the Collector of Customs or Principal Collector of Customs. La Trobe made the provisional appointment of the Colonial Secretary as the fourth member. Whereas in New South Wales the establishment of an Executive Council preceded a partly elected legislature by 18 years, in Victoria the two came simultaneously in 1851. Thus the Executive Council in Victoria came into being under less autonomous circumstances than its predecessor in New South Wales. In October 1851, when nominating the ten non-elective members of

the new Legislative Council (five official and five non-official), La Trobe nominated the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney General, the Surveyor General, and the Master in Equity. Of these officials, the Colonial Secretary and the Attorney General were already Executive Council members. The five officials constituted a kind of Ministry, but one responsible to the Governor and not to the Legislative Council. Real power lay with the Governor and his Executive Council. In April 1854 membership of the Executive Council was increased to six on the recommendation of La Trobe, who had impressed on the Secretary of State the advantage of having the heads of the Finance and Police Departments on the Council.

When Hotham was appointed Lieutenant-Governor in 1854 his Commission authorised him to appoint an Executive Council of six members including the Senior Military Officer. Hotham's second Commission on his appointment as Governor in 1855 gave him authority to appoint the Executive Council and simply required him to transmit the names to the Colonial Office. His authority under the earlier Commission had been limited to making temporary appointments until the pleasure of the Imperial Government was known. The new Commission also removed the limitations on the number of members and their term of office. *The Constitution Act* 1855 was proclaimed on 23 September 1855. On 12 December 1855 Hotham appointed a new Executive Council of eight members, one being the Senior Military Officer and the other seven being officials whom the Governor had already nominated as *ex officio* members of the Legislative Council. Excluding the Governor and the Senior Military Officer, the Executive Council (or Cabinet, as it might be regarded) was now identical with the Ministry (or group of official members of the Legislative Council). It would be a natural step forward for the latter, under responsible government, to be transformed into a real Cabinet.

On the introduction of responsible government under the new Constitution in 1856 the Governor appointed the members of the first Ministry to be Executive Councillors. When changes of Ministry began to occur, the question arose as to the status of Executive Councillors on their ceasing to belong to the Ministry in office. It had been the understanding that in such circumstances they would resign their seats in the Executive Council, but resignations were not forthcoming (even when requested by the Governor, e.g., late in 1859). This question and its implications became the subject of lengthy discussion between the Governor and the Secretary of State in dispatches exchanged from 1857. A similar question had arisen in New South Wales, and the Governor of that Colony, while adopting as an interim measure the practice of summoning to his Council only those Councillors who belonged to the Ministry in office (as the Governor of Victoria had also begun to do), impressed on the Secretary of State the view that Governors be given the power of withdrawing appointments to the Executive Council. In 1858 new Royal Instructions were issued which gave Governors this power, but for reasons of expediency the power was never exercised in Victoria in connection with changes of Ministry. Ministries, whatever their political complexion, were unanimous in the view that the tenure of the office and the title of Executive Councillor were permanent.

Governor Barkly was of the view that the " honorary connection " between the Governor and former holders of important offices of State was of value, and was anxious to retain as Executive Councillors former Ministers who had given long and distinguished service and whom he considered a source of stability in a period of frequent change of government. He further visualised a larger and permanent body composed of Executive Councillors and analogous to the Privy Council, to be summoned in emergencies and to which, or to committees of which, specific functions might be assigned, such as advice on appointments to the magistracy and on capital sentences. The Secretary of State, while insistent that only members of the Ministry in office should form the Executive Council, had no objection to the retention of the nominal rank of Executive Councillor and the title " Honourable ", but saw little practical value in this proposal. In his view, questions about the constitution of the Executive Council and its functions were matters for the public opinion of the Colony, which the Governor should therefore settle in consultation with his responsible advisors, and if necessary, the Legislature of the Colony. Meanwhile, certain practices had become established in Victoria and were accepted by the British Government. These were :

1.   Only Executive Councillors who were members of the Ministry in office were summoned to meetings of the Executive Council.
2.   Members of an outgoing Ministry retained the title " Honourable " and the nominal rank of Executive Councillor.
3.   Former Ministers who returned to a Ministry did not need to be sworn in to resume their seats in the Executive Council.
4.   Former members of the Government who were Executive Councillors took precedence after Executive Councillors of the Ministry in office.

Section 15 of *The Constitution Act Amendment Act* 1958 provides that officers appointed as responsible Ministers of the Crown shall also be members of the Executive Council, and provision for their appointment appears in the Letters Patent constituting the office of Governor. The quorum of three, usually meeting weekly, comprises the Governor and at least two Ministers. Where it is provided in statutes that the Governor in Council may make proclamations, orders, regulations, appointments to public offices, etc., the Governor acts with the advice of the Executive Council.

Victoria has followed the system of cabinet government evolved in Britain. The Queen's representative in Victoria, the Governor, acts, by convention, upon the advice of a Cabinet of Ministers, the leader of whom is called the Premier. Although there is no mention of Cabinet, as such, in Victorian statutes, section 15 of *The Constitution Act Amendment Act* 1958 as amended by the *Constitution Act Amendment (Responsible Ministers) Act* 1970 provides that the Governor may from time to time appoint up to sixteen officers, who are either members, or capable of being elected members, of either House of Parliament to be Ministers ; no Minister shall hold office for a longer period than three months unless he is, or becomes, a member of the Legislative Council or the Legislative Assembly. This Act further provides that not more than five such officers shall at any one time be members of the Legislative Council, and not more than twelve shall be members of the Legislative Assembly. In practice a

Ministry remains in office only while it has the support of a majority in the Legislative Assembly, and when a change of Government occurs and a new Ministry is to be appointed, the Governor " sends for " that member of the Legislative Assembly who he thinks would be supported by a majority in that House, and asks him whether he is able and willing to form a new Government with himself as leader. If that member can assure the Governor accordingly, he may then be commissioned by the Governor to form a Ministry. The names of those persons who are chosen to serve in his Ministry are then submitted by the Premier-elect to the Governor for appointment by him as responsible Ministers of the Crown. In commissioning a Ministry, the Governor acts on his own initiative, and not on the advice of the Executive Council then in office.

The Cabinet is responsible politically for the administrative acts of the Government. As such it has no corporate powers. Government administration includes departments under direct ministerial control as well as certain public statutory corporations which are subject to varying degrees of ministerial direction. Ministers are sworn in with appropriate portfolios, which indicate their particular responsibilities. Cabinet normally meets weekly or as the occasion requires, in secret and apart from the Governor, to consider an agenda made up of matters submitted by the Premier and other Ministers. The Premier's Department prepares a draft agenda for each meeting, but the Premier himself is responsible for the final agenda and the order of items. There is, in practice, no Cabinet secretariat, but *The Constitution Act Amendment Act* 1958 provides for the payment of a salary to any member of the Council or Assembly who is recognised as the Parliamentary Secretary of the Cabinet. The recording of decisions is primarily the responsibility of the Parliamentary Secretary of the Cabinet. There is no special machinery for circulating Cabinet minutes. In general Cabinet decisions are given legal effect by the appropriate Minister.

The constitutional powers as set out in The Constitution Act and other Acts are vested in the individual Ministers and the Governor in Council, namely, the Governor acting with the advice of the Executive Council. The Executive thus provides a final check on the accuracy and legality of the Draft Orders submitted by the Minister concerned.

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

During the first few years of settlement in the Port Phillip District of New South Wales there was no marked official activity other than such necessary governmental activity as the maintenance of order, land surveys of various kinds, and the demarcation of land areas to be occupied under various forms of settlement. When Captain William Lonsdale arrived as the Resident Magistrate in 1836 several officers of departments whose head offices were in Sydney followed him. They received their orders from Sydney ; Lonsdale had no direct jurisdiction over them, but was instructed to make confidential monthly reports on the condition of the settlement. Charles Joseph La Trobe, on arrival as Superintendent in 1839, exercised more direct control of the administration, since all those whose appointments were purely local were responsible to him ; those whose orders came from Sydney were obliged to keep him informed of their instructions and the means they intended to use to carry them out. The establishment of a Sub-

treasury in July 1839 gave him some financial resources, but there was no local control of " territorial " revenue which was the main source of money ; it consisted chiefly of rentals of pastoral runs and proceeds of sales of land. The establishment of the Sub-treasury was typical of a number of offices, each dealing with a separate phase of administration within the Superintendent's organisation ; these contained the seeds of many of the later departments.

Changes in the administration of New South Wales were often reflected in the Port Phillip District : when the Colonial Architect's Office in Sydney accepted responsibility for roads, bridges, and ports in 1844 its local representative in Melbourne also undertook those duties ; and the formation of the Denominational and National Schools Boards in New South Wales in 1848 was quickly followed in Port Phillip by an extension of their activities in encouraging the establishment of schools. Municipal government developed early ; Melbourne was incorporated as a town in 1842, and Geelong in 1849, but the scattered population prevented a planned formation of district councils. A judicial system was also found necessary, and the first needs of 1836 were met by a petty sessions court followed soon after by quarter sessions, and in 1841 by the appointment of a resident Supreme Court Judge.

With the passing of an Imperial Act " for the better Government of the Australian Colonies " in 1850 came the separation of Port Phillip from New South Wales and the creation of the Colony of Victoria; this brought an immediate major change in administration. La Trobe became Lieutenant-Governor and was no longer personally responsible for the details of day to day business. The Superintendent's Office was abolished, and its work was taken over by the Colonial Secretary, who became the head of the administration. An Executive Council was appointed to assist and advise La Trobe, and heads of particular sections of the administration subordinate to the Colonial Secretary became its members. " Territorial " revenues remained subject to the Imperial prerogative, and the Lieutenant-Governor used them according to the directions of the Colonial Office. There was also a Legislative Council of nominated and elected members. As members of the Executive Council were members *ex officio,* they formed virtually a Cabinet, but they were responsible to the Governor, not to the Legislative Council, which had the power to refuse to pass legislation submitted by the Governor or the Executive Council, but which had no other check on the administration.

A number of offices such as Treasurer, Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, and Colonial Architect became necessary because of the newly received Constitution. The offices of Colonial Architect and Colonial Engineer were merged as the Colonial Engineer's Department to carry out urgently needed public works, and a Director of Public Works was appointed. A Supreme Court was set up in 1852; it replaced the earlier arrangement of having a resident Judge in the Colony. The following year the Colonial Engineer was appointed to the control of the Central Road Board. This worked largely through a new set of local government bodies known as District Road Boards which were financed partly by tolls with assistance from local rates and partly by grants from the Central Road Board. In 1854 a Central Board of Health was formed and permanent quarantine facilities

established ; but for its other duties relating to sanitation, and the supervision of food standards and noxious trades, the Board of Health followed the pattern of the Road Board and relied on local groups, each known as a local board of health. When gold was discovered in 1851 the administration of the goldfields was carried out by the Colonial Secretary acting through Gold Commissioners on the pattern of administration which had supervised the activities of the squatters since the earliest days of settlement. The series of disturbances leading up to the Eureka affray in December 1854 convinced the Government that a new form of control was necessary, and the Commissioners were replaced by Wardens who, acting with elected Mining Boards, decided the conditions of claims, adjudicated on disputes, and allotted claims according to a firm set of rules.

These changes were a preliminary to the granting of responsible government with two legislative bodies, elected on different electoral qualifications. Almost all men in the Colony had the right to vote for the Lower House ; the *ex officio* members of the Executive Council ceased to be members, returning to the position of heads of their respective departments ; and a Cabinet was formed of Ministers responsible to Parliament for the policies of their own departments. Legislation safeguarding the miners and legislation reflecting the change from surface alluvial to deep lead and quartz mining by companies was also enacted. Other important changes related to land revenue and administration. The Crown Lands Commissioners, previously responsible to the Governor only, were placed within the jurisdiction of the Surveyor-General, and all " territorial " revenue was paid into the Treasury. A minor change was made in the title of the Colonial Secretary, who became the Chief Secretary. He still exercised a very wide authority, but other members of the Ministry were on equal terms with him.

The 1860s saw a period of administrative experiment. The work of the Surveyor-General and the Director of Public Works had been co-ordinated by the creation of a Board of Land and Works in 1857, and the Post Office was transferred from the Chief Secretary to the Treasury and thence to a separate Minister. The Board of Land and Works was soon found to be unwieldy and the two components reverted to independent existence, but the Board remained the formal statutory authority for more than 100 years. It was also thought desirable that the Government should actively encourage and direct other activities, and a Board of Agriculture was created in 1859 with the main functions of distributing grants to local agricultural societies and conducting an experimental farm ; after eleven years it was abolished. In 1860 the first Commissioners for Mines and for Railways were appointed, a belated appointment in the case of mining but timely for the rapidly expanding railways. In the same year a series of experiments began to determine how best to settle small to moderate sized farms under various forms of " selection "; this led to a change in the organisation of the department which ultimately became Crown Lands and Survey. In 1862 there was an attempt at co-ordination of works through the appointment of a Commissioner for Railways and Roads. His responsibility extended from railway and road construction to sewerage and water supply, with a general oversight of local government as well; there was still some confusion, as water supply and drainage schemes were also carried out by

the Mines Department and by some local municipalities. On the other hand, there was more unified control of education. The rivalries between the National and Denominational Schools Boards and the proliferation of small and inefficient schools led to the merging of the two Boards into the Board of Education. All schools were then called " Common Schools ", and they still depended on local initiative for their formation and maintenance, but there was a steadily increasing pressure for efficient teaching and better standards of education. In 1863 steps were taken to improve the standing of local government by raising road boards to shires as they developed financial strength, and boroughs were formed in country towns, with the prospect of a higher status as their population and wealth increased. The importance of mining was also further recognised by the appointment of the first Minister of Mines.

A new pattern of social services and conservation of resources also emerged in this period of administrative experiment. Social services received some attention in 1864 when the relations between the Government and privately established hospitals and charities, which were continually asking for finance and land grants, were placed on a regular basis by the Act to regulate their management. This ultimately resulted in the establishment of the present day Hospitals and Charities Commission. As the impact of settlement, whether in the form of pastoral occupation or of mining, became obvious in drastic changes in the landscape, some of the conditions created by it had to be checked, regulated, or reversed. The Department of Crown Lands and Survey took the initiative in 1865 by establishing a Forests Branch to preserve State forests as a source of timber supply. For some time subsequently forest control was administered by the Mines Department because of the need for large timber supplies in mining districts ; the Agriculture and Lands Departments have also had charge of it at different periods. The growing need for better water supplies led to authority being given for the appointment of local Commissioners for Water Supply, under a large measure of municipal control, in country districts ; this followed the pattern set earlier of seeking the greatest possible local initiative and co-operation.

Many of the rather loose arrangements surviving from the early days, and the multifarious duties laid on single offices or departments, had to be re-arranged as the Government took on a greater responsibility for the direction of activities within the State. Education was one of the first fields to experience this new direction. In 1872 it became " free, secular and compulsory ", and the State took complete responsibility for establishing and maintaining its schools. In the same year a branch of the Royal Mint, financed by the Victorian Treasury, was opened ; protective tariffs, first developed from the 1860s, further consolidated the position of the Treasury. An attempt was also made to control conditions of employment, wages, and hours (at first in the 1873 Factories Act only for women and children, but later in the 1885 Act for all employees), and as there was no organisation specifically directed toward such regulation, the Central Board of Health was charged with this responsibility ; this function has gradually developed into the present Department of Labour and Industry. The Melbourne Harbor Trust was formed in 1877 to give greater drive and impetus to the establishment of good port facilities for Melbourne.

Much had been done in the earlier period in snagging, widening, and dredging the river and in building wharves, but the total commerce passing through the port was increasing too rapidly for intermittent attention to be effective. An extensive programme of port construction was carried out within the next few years, and the development of facilities still continues.

The Commissioner for Railways and Roads transferred his responsibilities for roads, water supply, sewerage, and local government to the Roads and Bridges Branch which was formed within the Public Works Department in 1877. The provision of water for domestic purposes, mining, and irrigation, with attendant problems of sewerage and drainage, was becoming more important, and by 1880 warranted the attention of the first Commissioner of Water Supply ; this post later became a Ministry. The powers of local municipalities were strengthened by the formation in various districts of waterworks trusts with their own borrowing powers ; in most cases they were closely linked with the local municipality. In 1883 irrigation trusts were set up on a similar basis. In the same year the ambivalence of the Chief Secretary being also the Premier or First Minister (though not always *vice versa*) led to the establishment of a Premier's Department. This was to deal with matters distinctly the province of the head of the Government, such as representing the Government externally to other colonies and other governments (a matter of rising importance), and dealing with matters submitted by the Council or with rulings by other Ministers. Until then the distinction between the two offices of Premier and Chief Secretary had often been administratively blurred; the modern Premier's Department was not fully established until 1936. The Department was also to deal with any matter which may relate to the Public Service as a whole, not merely to a particular division or department, and to issue Cabinet circulars and generally attend upon the Cabinet and " any matter which, on future experience, it may be decided that it is desirable to attach to the Premier's Office ".

In several sections of the administration it was becoming increasingly necessary to separate the Parliamentary heads of departments from the day to day conduct of their business so as to leave them free to concentrate on policy, as well as decrease the dangers of political patronage in appointment. The railways were the first to achieve this separation in 1886 by the elevation of the Commissioner for Railways to the rank of Minister. A Minister for Health was appointed in 1890. Another aspect of re-organisation was the transfer of registration of land from the Department of Crown Lands and Survey to the Law Department's Titles Office in 1887. In 1890 the Agricultural Branch of the Crown Lands and Survey Department was elevated to its own departmental status and concentrated on research and advice to farmers. In the following year the administration of the Public Service Act became the responsibility of the Premier's Department ; three years later it returned to the Chief Secretary's Department when the Premier's Department became an office within the Chief Secretary's Department. Following severe industrial strife, labour questions came under review, and Wages Boards were authorised for a number of industries in 1896. A Minister of Labour was appointed in 1900, relieving the Central Board of Health of a number of marginal responsibilities.

With the establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901,

An opening of the Victorian Parliament by the Governor in the Legislative
Council Chamber in the 1960s.

Gordon De'Lisle

Procession in Geelong to celebrate the relief of Mafeking, South Africa, on 17 May 1900.

Members of the Federation Conference held in Melbourne in 1890. Standing: A. J. Clark (Vic.), Captain Russell (N.Z.), Sir Samuel Griffith (Qld.), Sir Henry Parkes (N.S.W.), T. Playford (N.S.W.), A. Deakin (Vic.), D. S. Bird (Tas.), and G. H. Jenkins (Conference secretary). Sitting: W. Macmillan (N.S.W.), Sir John Hall (N.Z.), J. M. Macrossan (Qld.), Duncan Gillies (Vic.), H. A. Cockburn (S.A.), and Sir James Lee-Steere (W.A.).

V R

THE MELBOURNE

MORNING HERALD
EXTRAORDINARY.

GLORIOUS NEWS!
SEPARATION
AT LAST!!

SEPARATION HAS COME AT LAST!!
The Australian Colonies' Bill,
WAS AGREED TO IN THE COMMONS ON THE 1ST AUG.,

THE LAW OF THE LAND.

INDEPENDENT COLONY.

GENERAL JUBILEE.

New-born Colony!

God Bless the Queen!!!

A poster acclaiming the constitution of Victoria as a Colony independent of New South Wales.

La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria

Voter's certificate issued to commemorate the referendum on the Federation of the Australian Colonies in 1899.
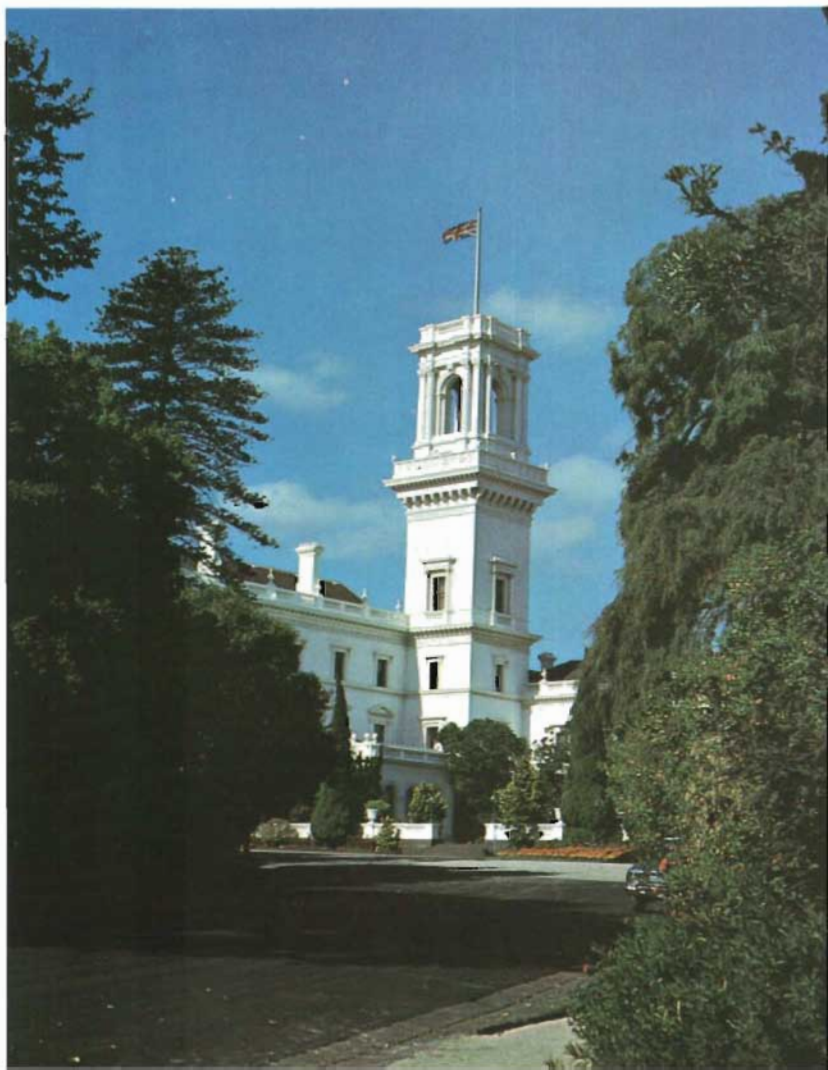
Miss M. McCormack

The Old Treasury Building in Spring Street, designed by John Clark.

Gordon De'Lisle

Government House, designed by William Wardell and set in the Domain, Melbourne.

Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics

The Exhibition Building, designed by Joseph Reed to house the 1880 Exhibition, and since then the scene of many brilliant occasions, including the opening of the first Commonwealth Parliament.

Australian Council of National Trusts

The Supreme Court Library, designed by Alfred Smith.

Australian Council of National Trusts

The original Brighton Borough Offices during the 1860s
Brighton Historical Society

The modern council chamber of the City of Altona
City of Altona

Examining M.M.B.W. planning proposals for the Melbourne metropolitan region.
Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works

Local government authorities co-operate with statutory authorities in protecting the natural environment, such as the planting of Marram grass to help prevent wind erosion.
Soil Conservation Authority

Police search and rescue squad in action at the Wannon falls in western Victoria.
Victoria Police

Troopship leaving Melbourne during the First World War.
La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria

Buglers sound the *Last Post* at the first Anzac Day commemoration service to be held at the Shrine of Remembrance during the Second World War.
J. J. Nixon

Troops embarking for service overseas during the Second World War.
La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria

certain powers such as external affairs, customs, post office, and defence were transferred to the Commonwealth ; residual powers, mostly concerning internal affairs, remained with the State. Working in a more restricted field the State Government turned its earliest attention to education. A commission into education had made a wide range of proposals for improvement, and an extensive reorganisation occurred in 1901. Mining, which had changed greatly from the days of prospectors panning for gold and even from companies sinking shafts, was in need of a new style of administration, and the elected Mining Boards were reconstituted in 1904 to make them more suitable for changed conditions. Land settlement was also changing in character ; the emphasis was on the more intensive use of land, and this involved either the voluntary subdivision by owners of large areas of freehold or the purchase of such areas by the Government, and their later subdivision. A Lands Purchase and Management Board formed in 1904 to carry out this policy of repurchase and subdivision eventually became the Closer Settlement Commission.

In 1904 responsibility for patents, trade marks, and copyright passed from the State Treasury to the Commonwealth. In 1905 the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission was constituted to develop water supply schemes in country areas, and a Council of Public Education was formed to register private schools and their teachers, and to advise the Education Department on developments in teaching. Children's courts were established in 1906 and in the following year a State Forests Department was created. In 1909 the responsibility for almost all rural water supply finally passed to the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission ; it was to administer all legislation relating to the Department of Water Supply. Two years later flood protection was added to its responsibilities, and in 1948 came responsibility for river improvement. All these duties were usually carried out in co-operation with local trusts. Increasing road transport and unsatisfactory conditions of many main roads made it necessary to establish the Country Roads Board in 1913 ; it was to improve roads and exercise some control over road transport. On the other hand, mining had diminished so much that the Mining Boards were abolished in 1914 as unnecessary.

When the First World War ended there was much activity in establishing statutory authorities. The State Electricity and Forests Commissions date from 1919, and the Commission of Public Health replaced the Central Board of Health in 1919. The establishment of Commissions represented a more technical and specialised approach to the particular subject. In 1928 the Crown Law Department was relieved of responsibility for insolvency when this jurisdiction was transferred to Commonwealth control, and in the same period political ramifications led to the Premier's Office being transferred from the Chief Secretary to the Treasury since the Premier then usually also occupied the position of Treasurer ; this reflected the central importance of finance to all sections of administration. The depression years caused some aspects of administration to take a new direction. A board to adjust debts of farmers, many of whom owed large amounts for land being purchased through the Closer Settlement Commission, was set up in 1931, and in 1933 the Minister for Labour was made responsible for unemployment relief. This economic recession checked the impetus towards closer settlement, and within a few years the Closer Settlement

C. 2784/69.—**16**

Commission was abolished, the residue of its business being taken over by the Department of Crown Lands and Survey. When similar schemes were revived after the Second World War they were carried out through the Soldier Settlement Commission, later amalgamated with the Rural Finance Corporation to become the Rural Finance and Settlement Commission.

Road transport was increasing so rapidly by 1932 that a Board was appointed to report on the co-ordination of all forms of transport; after it had presented its report it was reorganised in 1933 as the Transport Regulation Board. Its work was mainly concerned with the regulation of commercial road transport, but it also had powers of advice regarding the opening and closing of railway lines, and of co-ordination of all forms of transport including that by air. Mining was reviving in a new form as the search for oil intensified, and in 1935 the authority of the Department of Mines was extended to deal with this development. After 50 years of uncertainty the Premier's Department finally became independent in 1936. Since then the trend has been for new activities of government to originate within it, rather than with the Chief Secretary. An example is the Division of State Development of the Premier's Department which was formed in 1950 to deal with the decentralisation of industry and eventually became the separate Department of State Development in 1971. Slum clearance and building of low-cost housing became the responsibility of the Housing Commission which was established in 1937 ; its activities have extended over most of the larger towns of the State and have involved major demolitions and re-building programmes in areas close to the city centre of Melbourne during recent years. After the Second World War the Ministry of Electrical Undertakings was set up ; as conditions changed within the power and fuel production industries, this became the Ministry of Fuel and Power in 1965. Increased interest in mental health and projected large scale developments in gas production led to the establishment of the Mental Hygiene Authority and of the Gas and Fuel Corporation in 1950, and new Ministries of Transport and of Labour and Industry where set up in 1951 and 1953. The Departments of Health and of Local Government (formerly a branch of the Public Works Department) were established in 1956 and 1958, respectively. In 1951 the *Solicitor-General Act* 1951 provided for the appointment of the first Solicitor-General who was not a responsible Minister of the Crown, and in 1964 the Board of Lands and Works was abolished. More recently a Ministry for Aboriginal Affairs and a Ministry of Social Welfare have been created.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Local government in Australia is founded on the traditional English municipal system, but is much more limited in scope ; many responsibilities of English municipalities are, in Australia, the responsibility of the central governments. In England, the local governing authorities had regulated in all aspects the everyday life of the people in their respective districts for centuries before the central government became interested in such matters. In Australia the position was reversed. Outside of what is now Sydney the population was too scattered and transitory to maintain any local government organisation ; the rural population itself considered that the central government should develop the country with revenue received from land sales, and

at first tended to oppose any system of levying local rates and charges.

In Victoria some local government institutions have existed since before Separation as elective statutory bodies charged with the performance of general or specialised governmental functions on a local basis. Such bodies have been elective by constitution, and their aims of providing local services have been partly or wholly financed by funds raised in their local areas. Specialised local government bodies have operated to provide services, including roads, markets, water supply, sewerage, cemeteries, tramways, and electricity. Sometimes these specialised functions have been absorbed by general local government bodies, and sometimes by the central administration. The relationship between general local government bodies and the specialised local government bodies or the State Government must be noted. Indeed, most Victorian municipalities were preceded by specialised bodies created to maintain roads. Nevertheless, the constitutional development of municipalities has been determined by enactments of the State legislature.

In 1841 the Melbourne Market Commissioners and the Heidelberg Road Trust were established, and these two specialised bodies were the first local government institutions in the Port Phillip District. For the election of eight market commissioners, Melbourne was divided into four wards after a public meeting under the provisions of a New South Wales Act of Council. The Commissioners, Victoria's first local government body, were elected, and recommended that general, hay, and cattle markets be established on separate sites. Within twelve months the Melbourne Corporation had been established, and it took over control of markets. A New South Wales Act of 1840 had provided for the creation of elected trusts, to receive revenue and repair and maintain a parish road in their area where local landowners so desired. One such trust was set up in 1841 for the Heidelberg road, and during the period from 1846 to 1851 about eight miles of road were improved. The two members of this trust, who appeared before the Select Committee on Roads and Bridges in late 1851, both looked to central government finance for future road development. Although the Heidelberg trust seems to have been the only such body set up in Port Phillip under the 1840 Act, about ten similar committees were operating, evidently on an *ad hoc* basis, when the Central Road Board was founded in early 1853. The Central Board used these bodies as agents for the repair of local roads by assisting them financially ; the Board also authorised and financed local road construction by a police magistrate in one area, by a goldfields commissioner in another, and even by private individuals in others. But the local road committees were important, because both institutionally and functionally they were precursors of later local government bodies.

The Act incorporating the Town of Melbourne provided for the election by the " burgesses " of three councillors from each of four wards, with an executive comprising a mayor and four aldermen elected by the council. The council was empowered to raise revenue from rates and other sources, and was given wide functions : police ; town lighting ; the formation and repair of streets, drains, and sewers ; the construction of waterworks ; and the regulation or control of offensive trades, prostitution, bathing, street trading, gambling, and waterways. The council first met in December

1842. The Town of Geelong was incorporated about seven years later, using almost identical legislation. The first attempt at rural local government in the Port Phillip District occurred in 1843 when district councils were set up for areas based on the counties of Bourke and Grant, which included Melbourne and Geelong, respectively. The same Imperial Act which enlarged the Legislative Council in New South Wales in 1842 also allowed the Governor to incorporate the inhabitants of counties into districts within which councils were to be elected according to a formula which linked district populations with the number of seats on the councils, and several of these were established in various parts of New South Wales including the two in Port Phillip. Their powers were quite wide and covered roads and bridges, public buildings, finance, judiciary, police, and the financing of schools. They were subject to central control, and the Governor and Executive Council could disallow any by-law which a council might make. The areas covered by the councils of Bourke and Grant were larger than the respective counties. For this and other reasons the councils were not a success, and met irregularly. The 1850 Act which separated Victoria from New South Wales permitted the district councils to continue, though those in Victoria were now to be subject to the Victorian Governor and Legislative Council, and the obligation of district councils to contribute towards the cost of police was abrogated. Two years later a Legislative Council Select Committee was appointed to investigate the councils ; among the reasons assigned for their failure were inadequacies in the financial provisions of their charters, and the fact that they had been given duties far more comprehensive than they could manage. But the Report reasserted the principle of local control of public works, and indeed advocated the extension of the council system, but on the basis of much smaller administrative areas, and without added duties such as the support of education and the police. The system of road districts established a year later in 1853 was a step towards the fulfilment of the recommendations.

As well as establishing a Central Road Board of government nominees, an Act of Council in 1853 allowed landowners in any locality to elect from five to nine of their number as a District Road Board. This was the first local government legislation passed by a Victorian Parliament, but it was no innovation, for the 1849 Main Roads Act of South Australia had established a similar structure in that Colony. In Victoria the District Road Boards were to have authority to raise money by tolls and rates, to own property and materials, to employ officers, and to survey, construct, and maintain roads and bridges within their proclaimed road districts. Nevertheless, the Central Road Board was to have overall control. Less than a month after it began operations in March 1853, the Belfast road committee inquired about the establishment of a road district and board in their area, and the Belfast Road District was proclaimed three months later; it was the first to be established. The scheme was slow in its early growth, however, for only nine further districts had been proclaimed by the end of 1855, mainly in the Western District or in the vicinity of Melbourne. But this early reluctance was soon overcome, and by 1863, when the legislation was altered, over one hundred additional road districts had been set up in many parts of Victoria, and the foundations of rural local government firmly established.

By 1854 a number of Melbourne suburbs and the goldfields towns and country seaports had grown to a size where local government authorities could be expected to succeed although the district councils may have previously failed. The Act for the establishment of municipal institutions in Victoria (1854) permitted the incorporation of any area not exceeding 9 square miles and having a population of at least 300, upon the petition of 150 resident householders. Provision was made for increases in area, and the usual powers and duties of municipalities were set down. This Act, rather than the special incorporation of Melbourne and Geelong, may be regarded as the beginning of urban self-government in Victoria. In 1863 two Acts further developed municipal institutions and distinguished in name between urban and rural municipalities. The urban municipal districts were now to be known as boroughs, while the rural road districts could continue or be elevated to the status of shires. The jurisdiction of boroughs was increased in affairs such as markets, slaughter-houses, baths, and refreshment licences. A subsequent feature of this legislation was the introduction of a property qualification for electors, and with it, plural voting. A road district was now required to have an area of over 40 square miles, and rateable property of an annual value of at least £5,000. The powers of the road districts were confined to road-making, financed by rates, tolls, and government grants. However, there was now to be scope for greater municipal development in rural areas. Any road district of at least 100 square miles which had a paid sum of £1,000 under its last general rates could be proclaimed a shire. Shires were to be governed by an elected council with a shire president, and they were to have extended powers and duties, including the power to borrow for permanent works. The distinction between road districts and shires disappeared between 1869 and 1875 : first, an Act of 1869 allowed ratepayers in road districts to petition for their district to be proclaimed a shire; an amendment of 1870 allowed the Governor to make this proclamation without waiting for a petition ; and the few road districts which lingered on when the *Local Government Act* 1874 was passed were, by absorption or elevation into shires, eliminated. In this way the basic distinction between two forms of local government authority began, and it is the same today. Constitutionally, there are two forms : the rural shire with its president, and the urban municipality (a borough, town, or city, depending on size) with its mayor. Another feature of the 1869 Act was that subsidies from the central government were to be made available to both existing and new shires for a period of five years. As the 1869 Act extended to shires many powers previously reserved to boroughs, this extra financial provision was much needed.

All existing laws for local government, except those to do with Melbourne and Geelong, were consolidated in the *Local Government Act* 1874. Districts were classified into boroughs and shires, both being termed municipalities. Under this Act cities and towns were deemed to be boroughs and the remaining road districts were eliminated. Provision was made for the main town of a shire to become a borough when 300 householders occupied fewer than 9 square miles, for boroughs to become towns when the annual revenue reached £10,000, and for towns to become cities when revenue reached £20,000. Since the passing of the 1874 Act there have

been numerous amendments and consolidations. The *Local Government De-partment Act* 1958 set up a Local Government Department responsible for the administration of legislation covering municipalities, town planning, the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, and many minor statutes.

The establishment of the Local Government Department in 1958 further strengthened the oversight and co-ordination of local authorities which began when the Central Road Board was set up in 1853. The Central Road Board was abolished in 1857 when the Board of Land and Works was created and vested with the powers of the Commissioner of Public Works (an office created with responsible government in 1855) and of the Surveyor-General. From 1862 until 1877 the Commissioner of Railways and Roads, who was also Vice-president of the Board of Land and Works, administered local government legislation. In 1877 the Roads and Bridges Branch was formed in the Public Works Department, and through this the Commissioner of Public Works was responsible for the Board of Land and Works and local government legislation. This continued until 1958, although the responsibility for main roads and bridges had passed to the Country Roads Board on its creation in 1913. The local government section of the Public Works Department was separated from that Department in 1958 and became the Local Government Department. The Department administers the Local Government Act, the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works Act, the Town and Country Planning Act, and numerous others which affect local government authorities. The Governor in Council on the recommendation of the Minister for Local Government has power to constitute new municipalities, to sever parts of one municipality and annex them to another municipality, to subdivide municipalities into wards or ridings, and to declare municipalities to be boroughs, towns, or cities. An advisory board of three persons investigates these matters and advises the Minister on them. Action must, however, be initiated by the council or ratepayers except where revenue falls below a specified figure. As well as providing for the creation of new municipalities, local government legislation allows for the dissolution of existing bodies. A municipality may be united with an adjoining municipality or divided into portions, which are then annexed to adjoining municipalities. Over the period, thirty boroughs, two towns, and several shires have lost their status. Most of these were in areas where the population decreased greatly with the decline in mining ; others were in areas where rural depopulation has followed increases in farm size or the disuse of uneconomic lands. All of the former boroughs and towns were situated in the gold mining areas of central Victoria, the north-east, and western Gippsland, except for the Borough of Flemington and Kensington and the Town of North Melbourne, which were absorbed by the City of Melbourne. A former goldfields borough in the present Shire of McIvor, Graytown, now has only a dozen inhabitants. Most of the vanished shires were also in central Victoria, though two, Howqua and Walhalla, were in eastern Victoria. Several former shires on the edge of the Melbourne metropolitan area have also disappeared due to the expansion of the suburbs and the creation of new municipalities to cater for them.

ARMED FORCES

Before Federation

So long as the presence of the Royal Navy in Australian waters discouraged foreign intruders the colonies had little need to provide their own defence. Following the discovery of Port Phillip Bay by Lieutenant Murray, R.N., early in 1802, a convict settlement under Colonel David Collins of the Royal Marines was established near the present site of Sorrento in October 1803 to forestall the French founding a colony. The guard of Royal Marines constituted the earliest garrison in this part of the Colony of New South Wales, but the settlement was subsequently transferred to the Derwent in 1804. In 1826 Governor Darling attempted to found a settlement at Western Port, ordering a company of " The Buffs " under Captain Wright to man Fort Dumaresq on Phillip Island, but later moving them to a site near present-day Corinella. This settlement was abandoned in 1828 and the party returned to Sydney. With the establishment of permanent settlements, detachments of the British Army in Australia were stationed continuously in the Port Phillip District, the earliest being from the 4th King's Own Regiment in January 1839 at Melbourne and Geelong.

During the half century between Separation and Federation the Colony developed from total dependence for defence on Great Britain to active participation in Britain's wars. The cause and effect of this development are clearly seen in the series of events during this period. The Victorian colonists provided their own navy and army, and enthusiasm flared and waned in sympathy with the international crises and the economic climate. Following the rise in importance of Melbourne after the gold discoveries in the early 1850s, and because of its more central location, the British Government decided that the headquarters of the General Officer Commanding the British land forces in the Australian Colonies be transferred from Sydney to Melbourne, and in August 1854 Major-General Sir Robert Nickle arrived with his staff and established his headquarters in Collins Street. The building of Victoria Barracks commenced in St Kilda Road, and the construction of two coastal artillery batteries was begun at Sandridge (Port Melbourne) and Williamstown. The British regiments were employed mainly on guard duties, operations against bushrangers, and in the escort of gold to the Treasury in Melbourne. In 1854, the year of the miners' insurrection at Ballarat which was defeated by troops and police, the 12th and 40th Regiments were stationed in Victoria, with detachments at Ballarat, Castlemaine, Sandhurst (Bendigo), and Geelong.

The Ballarat miners' grievances about gold licences had led to exasperation ; they raised their flag above the crude defensive breastwork known as the Eureka Stockade, and prepared to fight. Within were fewer than two hundred miners armed with rifles, revolvers, and pikes, and many were asleep when at 4.30 a.m. on 3 December 1854 a force of two hundred and seventy-six soldiers and police marched to the Stockade, which was rushed by a storming party of sixty-four men. In the first volley several fell on both sides, but the miners were soon forced to surrender. Captain Wise and four soldiers were killed and about a dozen others wounded ; sixteen

miners were killed, at least eight died of wounds, and over a hundred were taken prisoner (including their leader, Peter Lalor). Ballarat was placed under martial law, and thirteen miners were held for trial for high treason but were acquitted in 1855.

The news of the outbreak of the Crimean War led to the raising of local units under the Volunteer Act of 1854—the Melbourne Volunteer Rifle Regiment, the Geelong Volunteer Rifle Corps, and a mounted unit, the Victorian Volunteer Yeomanry Corps. In 1859 thirteen new rifle companies were authorised in the metropolitan area and at Portland, Belfast (Port Fairy), and Warrnambool, with naval volunteers at Williamstown. There was little to fear from hostile natives and the main threat was an attack from hostile naval forces. Additional coastal batteries were constructed around Hobsons Bay and at Queenscliff; the isolation of Victoria from the main British concentration of warships based at Sydney caused the colonists to provide their own local naval defence. In January 1854 a Select Committee of Parliament recommended that the British Government provide a ship of war, and the first vessel of the Victorian Navy, H.M.V.S. *Victoria,* arrived on 31 May 1856.

In 1860 the Second Maori War was in progress, and British troops were called from their Australian stations to fight in New Zealand, their places being taken by the locally raised volunteer units. In 1862 various cavalry troops, with names such as the Castlemaine Dragoons, were amalgamated into the Victorian Volunteer Light Horse (Hussars) and detachments located in Melbourne and at country centres. Settlers were also enrolled in Victoria for service with British forces in New Zealand, seeing action as part of the Waikato Regiments. There were no official Victorian military units, but men in an Australian colonial uniform saw action for the first time in this campaign when *Victoria* was accepted for service off the New Zealand coast, a quarter of a century before the New South Wales contingent was dispatched to the Sudan. *Victoria* transported troops and stores, carried dispatches, and landed a party which manned a blockhouse and stormed a Maori pa.

The need for stronger harbour defences in Victoria became apparent when in January 1865 the American Confederate raider *Shenandoah* appeared in Hobsons Bay. It was in need of repairs and was slipped at the dockyard at Williamstown. After protests from the United States Consul, the Governor ordered work to be suspended and a composite police and military force was sent to prevent launching. The ship's captain threatened to fight his ship from the slip if need be, but the officers and crew were generally fêted and the ship was eventually relaunched. It had recruited several local volunteers in Melbourne and, heading northwards, sank American vessels in the North Pacific after the end of the Civil War. In 1872 the " *Alabama* claims " (as the American grievances against the Confederate raiders were known) were heard at Geneva; the Victorian Government was declared negligent and Great Britain was declared liable for all acts committed by the *Shenandoah* after its departure from Melbourne.

In May 1866 G. F. (later Sir George) Verdon, the Treasurer, was sent to England to discuss defence problems among other matters, and obtained permission to acquire an ironclad vessel and a wooden training ship. The latter was the old man-of-war *Nelson* and the ironclad was

H.M.V.S. *Cerberus,* considered to be the most powerful ship in the southern hemisphere on its arrival in April 1871. A new Victorian flag was adopted to distinguish vessels of the Colonial Navy—a Blue Ensign with the five white stars of the Southern Cross in the fly. Although *Cerberus* acted as guardship for the port, its guns were never fired in action.

The Victorian Government's reaction to the British Government's possible removal of British troops in time of war was to raise and maintain a military force, preferably artillery, under its own control. After discussions and correspondence between the Victorian and British Governments about costs of maintaining British regiments in Victoria, Britain decided to withdraw its troops and to allow the Colony to provide for its own land defence. On 2 August 1870 the last British garrison in Victoria, troops of the 18th Royal Irish Regiment, marched out from Victoria Barracks to Port Melbourne where they embarked for England. From then on Victoria relied on volunteers and a small disciplined force—garrison and field artillery, infantry, and engineers, and alone among the colonies Victoria established, in November 1883, a separate Ministry of Defence. In June 1877 Colonel Sir William Jervois and Lt Col P. H. Scratchley, both officers of the Royal Engineers, had recommended that Port Phillip be protected at the Heads by a fort at Point Nepean, a battery and keep at Queenscliff, and batteries at Swan Island and elsewhere ; these became effective in about 1885, making this the most heavily fortified British area south of the equator.

The fear of war with Russia in 1877 had stimulated recruiting for the volunteer force, but a scheme drafted later by Lt Col Sir Frederick Sargood, who was the Colony's first Minister for Defence, resulted in the disbandment of the volunteer forces and the substitution of a paid militia under the new regulations of the Discipline Act of 1870, the Victorian Mounted Rifles being formed in 1885 and the Victorian Rangers in 1888. The Victorian Horse Artillery (commonly known as The Rupertswood Battery) was partly privately maintained from 1885 to 1897 ; rifle clubs were formed on the Swiss model ; and Easter camps of continuous training were held more frequently from 1884 onwards. When the Sudan campaign stirred national feelings in the 1880s Victoria offered a contingent, but this offer was declined by the British Government.

The Victorian Navy in 1884 consisted of the flagship *Nelson,* the ironclad *Cerberus,* the gunboats *Victoria* (second of the name) and *Albert,* the torpedo boats *Childers, Nepean,* and *Lonsdale,* the torpedo launches *Customs* and *Commissioner,* and the Harbor Trust steamers *Batman, Fawkner,* and *Gannet.* Together with the Naval Brigade the force had a total of seventy-two guns extending in calibre up to the 10 inch muzzle loading guns of *Cerberus. Victoria, Albert,* and *Childers* had arrived from England in June 1884. On their voyage to Victoria they had been lent to the British Naval Forces at Suakin (near Port Sudan on the Red Sea), but as there was little activity they had continued their voyage to Melbourne. Another torpedo boat, *Countess of Hopetoun,* was added in 1892. In the 1890s some land forces were enlarged, including the formation of the Hastings 40 Pounder Battery Victoria Rangers (drawn by bullocks), but retrenchment of the Armed Forces became necessary during the economic crisis early in the decade. The *Nelson* was sold out of the service and *Victoria* and *Albert* laid up. The Victorian Mounted Rifles were called out

during the maritime strike of 1890 to maintain order.

In 1891, with the changing nature of warfare, the scarlet and blue uniforms were replaced with khaki. The Victorian Mounted Rifles had adopted the slouch hat, although looped up to the right. Units of Army Service, Army Medical, and Veterinary Corps details augmented the combatant units. There was a revival of interest in military affairs in Victoria in the late 1890s, but defence recommendations were delayed pending Federation, although the Victorian Scottish Regiment was formed in August 1898. The deteriorating situation in South Africa was watched by the colonists and offers of assistance were made some months before hostilities began. All colonial military commandants met in Melbourne in September–October 1899 to decide whether to dispatch an Australian force, including mounted troops.

Five contingents were sent from Victoria, the first departing on 28 October 1899 and comprising one company of Victorian Mounted Rifles and one of Victorian Infantry which was later mounted. The colonial units had been restricted by the War Office to one hundred and twenty-five men each with a preference for infantry, and this was regarded in the colonies as acceptance of the fact that token forces would not impede the British Army in what was expected to be a short war. The need for skilled mounted irregulars soon became apparent and the larger 2nd contingent, the 3rd " Bushmen " and the 4th " Imperial Bushmen " contingents, all mounted, were dispatched in 1900, and the 5th Victorian Mounted Rifles relieved the early units in 1901. About two hundred Victorian officers and three thousand four hundred men served in this campaign ; thirteen officers and one hundred and thirteen men were killed or died on service; and over one hundred decorations were won, including two Victoria Crosses. Victorians distinguished themselves at places such as Colesberg, Diamond Hill, and Elands River, and harassed the enemy in the guerilla operations from the Western Cape to Zululand. After Federation, calls for more men resulted in the dispatch of Victorian companies or squadrons of the 2nd (part), 4th (part), and 6th battalions of what became the Australian Commonwealth Horse.

Meanwhile in 1900 a naval unit of two hundred men drawn from *Cerberus* and the Victorian Naval Brigade were sent with a similar New South Wales contingent and the South Australian vessel *Protector* to China to form part of an international force to suppress the Boxer Rebellion. It arrived at Tientsin in September after the British garrison had been relieved; it remained to perform police duties. A company of Victorians was chosen as part of a punitive expedition to Pao-ting, destroying arms and ammunition and causing virtual cessation of military operations in northern China. The contingent returned in April 1901.

After Federation

After Federation, defence ceased to be a State responsibility and the history of the Armed Forces in Victoria necessarily follows the pattern throughout Australia, although the early history of all three services has close links with developments in Victoria. Federal Parliament sat in Melbourne from 1901 until 1927, and from 1901 Victoria Barracks, Melbourne, was headquarters for the Commonwealth Military Forces as well as for the central administration of the Department of Defence until these transferred to

Canberra in the late 1950s. After Federation, Major General Sir Edward Hutton of the British Army was given the task of reorganising the State military forces into a unified Commonwealth Military Force; he was appointed General Officer Commanding late in 1901. The *Defence Act* 1903–1904 provided for voluntary enlistment in peacetime with power to call out all males aged between 18 and 60 years in time of war. Military Districts were established and they corresponded roughly with State boundaries, Victoria eventually becoming the 3rd Military District; in 1939 it became Southern Command. By 1909 the diplomatic attitude of Germany was arousing concern. Acts were passed to require universal training but not universal service, and in 1910 Lord Kitchener reported on Australia's military defence scheme. In August 1914 the Australian Imperial Force was raised, ultimately comprising seven divisions, including the equivalent of two divisions of Light Horse.

Naval developments after Federation involved the transfer to the Commonwealth of vessels of the former colonial navies, including *Cerberus, Countess of Hopetoun, Childers, Lonsdale,* and *Nepean.* The system of Royal Naval subsidy had been unpopular with the colonies, and finally the Imperial Conference on Naval Defence in 1909 recommended establishment of an Australian fleet unit paid for and controlled by Australia. After much discussion and revision of plans by the Australian and British Governments, the ships of the Royal Navy on the Australia Station were replaced with Australian ships, the first torpedo boat destroyers *Yarra* and *Parramatta* arriving in Australia in December 1910, joined later by other vessels including *Australia, Melbourne,* and *Sydney.* The title Royal Australian Navy (R.A.N.) was grant on 10 July 1911. In 1912 Flinders Naval Base was established, and in 1913 the Royal Australian Naval College was officially opened in temporary premises at Geelong, but was transferred to Jervis Bay in 1915.

In 1914 military aviation in Australia began with the opening of the Central Flying School at what later became Point Cook. The Australian Flying Corps, then an arm of the Australian Imperial Forces (A.I.F.), went overseas on active service in 1915. It was the only Dominion air force of the First World War.

The Victorian infantry battalions in the First A.I.F. were numbered 5 to 8, 14, 21 to 24, 29, 31 (part), 37 to 39, 46, and 57 to 60; the Victorian Light Horse regiments were 4, 8, 9 (part), and 13 ; and training camps were established first at Broadmeadows, and later at Seymour and elsewhere. The first British shot of the war was fired by the Royal Australian Garrison Artillery from a 6 inch gun at Fort Nepean to prevent the escape of the German steamer *Pfalz.* Victorians fought in New Guinea, at Gallipoli (where, combined with the New Zealanders, Australian troops earned the famed name " Anzac "), in France and Belgium, Sinai and Palestine, and at sea, winning five Victoria Crosses at Gallipoli, ten on the Western Front, and one in the Middle East. Of the Victorian leaders produced during the war, General Sir John Monash was outstanding.

Between the wars, reorganisation led to the adoption of battalion numbers of the A.I.F. by militia units to attempt to retain A.I.F. traditions. The strength of the militia fell during the depression but began to recover in the late 1930s because of recruitment drives. With disarmament policies, the battle-cruiser *Australia* and some older ships were scrapped, *Cerberus* acting

since 1926 as a breakwater at Half Moon Bay ; but new cruisers were added in the years before the Second World War. The R.A.N. College was transferred from Jervis Bay to Flinders in 1930 as an economy measure. The Royal Australian Air Force became a separate service on 31 March 1921 although no new units were formed until two squadrons were established at Point Cook in 1925. By 1939 there were ten Royal Australian Air Force (R.A.A.F.) squadrons throughout Australia.

In the Second World War the Second A.I.F., a specially raised expeditionary force, served in Great Britain, the Middle East, northern Africa, Greece and Crete, Malaya and south-east Asia, and with militia units, in the South-West Pacific Area. Some traditional units were formed in Victoria, training at Puckapunyal, Bonegilla, and elsewhere, but State affiliations were less clear by the end of the war. Personnel of the R.A.N. and R.A.A.F. served throughout in the major theatres of war ; Victoria Crosses were won by two Victorian soldiers and one airman in Papua and New Guinea. Fort Nepean again fired the first British shot of this war, this time at an unidentified vessel approaching Port Phillip Heads. German minelayers operated off the Victorian coast, and their mines, and torpedoes fired from Japanese submarines destroyed Allied shipping off Cape Otway, Wilsons Promontory, and Gabo Island. Following his escape from the Philippines, General Douglas MacArthur of the U.S. Army established his headquarters as Commander-in-Chief of Allied Forces in the South-West Pacific Area in Melbourne on 21 March 1942.

From March 1942 the Commander-in-Chief of the Australian Military Forces was General Sir Thomas Blamey, who was born in New South Wales but lived most of his life in Victoria ; he was to become Australia's only officer of General rank to be promoted to Field Marshal, an event which took place in 1950, a few months before his death.

Since 1945 the Australian Regular Army has gradually been expanded as a field army and has taken over this role from the Citizen Military Forces. The three Armed Services have served with the British Commonwealth Occupation Force in Japan and have taken over from Britain an increasing role in assisting Commonwealth and allied countries in south-east Asia. The service has involved active participation in hostilities in Korea, Malaya, Borneo, and Vietnam by Regular and National Service personnel. The R.A.N. College has returned to Jervis Bay, the Army Staff College is now located at Queenscliff, and the Officer Cadet School at Portsea. The R.A.A.F. College was founded at Point Cook in 1947, to become the R.A.A.F. Academy in 1961, affiliated with the University of Melbourne. At present Australia's foreign policy requires the acceptance of international responsibilities far removed from parochial loyalties, but if traditions hold their place in history, they owe much to the early developments in Victoria.

2

LAW AND JUSTICE

LEGAL DEVELOPMENT

When Governor Bourke proclaimed the new territory of Port Phillip open for settlement in September 1836, the settlers were subject to laws emanating from various sources. Port Phillip, being part of New South Wales, was within the area in which the Legislative Council of New South Wales could exercise its limited law-making powers. In addition, the Parliament at Westminster could enact measures extending to the infant settlement as part of the Colony of New South Wales. The settlers in Port Phillip were also subject to so much of the English common law and statutes passed before 25 July 1828 as could reasonably have been applied at that date to New South Wales. On 25 July 1828 the Australian Courts Act of the Imperial Parliament had come into force to indicate those parts of the English common law and statutes which were applicable to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. Questions can still arise concerning particular pre-1828 English statutes, and whether they had been " received " as part of the law of New South Wales in 1828 and so became part of Victorian law. The work of Sir Leo Cussen in drafting the *Imperial Acts Application Act* 1922 did much to reduce the uncertainty on this subject. He isolated those pre-1828 Acts which had not been impliedly or expressly repealed by the legislature of New South Wales before 1851 (the date of Victoria's separation from New South Wales), and by the legislature of Victoria after that date. Some were enacted as part of Victorian legislation ; others were transcribed or enumerated ; and the question of whether they had been received was left for judicial determination if and when it arose. All pre-1828 Acts not otherwise dealt with were repealed.

The common law as declared by English courts from the thirteenth century provided the settlers with a coherent body of legal principle which was basic to the patch-work of enacted law. Despite the increased activity of legislatures in the period under review, it remains true in Victoria that case law is the basis of the legal system. There has been only one attempt to introduce a code of law for Victoria. A code drafted by W. E. Hearn, Dean of the Faculty of Law in the University of Melbourne, was introduced in Parliament in 1885, but it did not get beyond the first reading. Consolidation of statute law has, however, been a feature of Victorian legislation. Victoria had complete consolidations in 1865, 1890, 1915, 1928, and 1958. As the volume of statute law grows it is unlikely that another general consolidation will ever be attempted. The practice of reprinting a particular Act with the

incorporation of any amending provisions has been recently adopted under the authority of the *Amendments Incorporation Act* 1958 and these reprints provide a useful alternative to consolidation.

Although after 1828 no decision of a court in the hierarchy of English courts had imperative authority in Australia, a long continued desire to keep common law decisions uniform with those of England gave English decisions persuasive authority. The opinions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council have been, and remain, imperatively binding, since it is the highest appellate tribunal for a large range of litigation begun in the Victorian courts, although its jurisdiction to hear appeals in Federal matters has recently been reduced. As recently as 1943 the disposition to keep the unenacted law of Australia uniform with English law was so strong that Sir John Latham, Chief Justice of the High Court of Australia, could say that in cases of clear conflict between a decision of the House of Lords and a decision of the High Court, the latter and all other Australian Courts should follow the House of Lords upon a matter of general legal principle. More recently, however, a trend towards greater independence has become evident. In 1963 the High Court indicated that when a decision of the House of Lords was thought to be misconceived the High Court would not follow it, and since then several decisions of the House of Lords have been rejected as not representing the manner in which the common law has developed in Australia since 1828.

The dependence of Victorian law on English decisions has its counterpart, but to a lesser degree, in the development of Victorian statute law. During the nineteenth century in England some parts of the common law were recast in statutory form and the Victorian legislature followed suit : the Goods Act and the Partnership Act are two examples in the field of commercial law. Similarly, the Victorian legislation on companies for a long time closely followed the legislation enacted in England, although the pre-eminence of mining in Victoria's nineteenth century economy called for the creation of a new form of no liability company. The distinctive feature of a no liability company is that the acceptance of shares in the company is not to be deemed a contract on the part of the shareholder to pay calls, and, though his shares may be forfeited, he is under no liability to pay calls or to contribute to the company's debts. The Victorian *Companies Act* 1958 contained a number of new provisions which put it in advance of English and other Australian legislation ; when later the other States resolved to pass uniform company legislation, the Victorian measure provided an up-to-date model. This uniform legislation was also to be substantially adopted in Malaysia and Singapore.

Victorian legislation concerning chattel securities for credit followed in broad outline the English law about bills of sale, but local farming conditions required the development of new types of security in the form of statutory liens on crops and wool, and stock mortgages. Hire purchase transactions demanded regulatory legislation which differs in important respects from its English counterpart. Some parts of commercial law are now governed by Commonwealth legislation which prevails over any inconsistent State legislation. For example, promissory notes, cheques, and bills of exchange used to be governed by the Victorian Instruments Act which contained provisions based on the English Bills of Exchange Act 1882. From 1910 the

Commonwealth Bills of Exchange Act has occupied this field. The subjects of life insurance and insolvency have similarly been taken under Federal cognisance.

In land law the adoption of the Torrens system of title registration in 1862 provided Victoria with a system of land conveyancing which assures the landowner of reasonable certainty of title with a minimum of delay in obtaining registration. The law governing wills is still largely based on the English legislation of 1837, and there are parallels in the Victorian and English laws of intestate succession. Following New Zealand's example, Victoria found it necessary in 1906 to limit a testator's power of testamentary disposition, by making his dispositions subject to the power of the Supreme Court which could order provision, out of the estate, for the widow, widower, or children, if the testator had failed to make adequate provision for their maintenance and support.

Victoria made a notable contribution to the law of industrial relations with the passing of the *Factories and Shops Act* 1896 ; this Act instituted the system of Wages Boards, following an investigation of poor working conditions in a number of industries. Wages Boards have functioned efficiently in laying down minimum rates of remuneration and working conditions for workers in trades which are not covered by Federal awards. They work with a speedy procedure from which legal technicalities are absent. The larger issues of basic wage rates and standard hours are, however, worked out by the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Commission. In 1948 a committee appointed by the Victorian Government to investigate industrial arbitration systems recommended, by a large majority, that the Wages Board system be retained.

In divorce, Victoria followed the changes made in England in 1857 by enacting in 1861 the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act. State law alone continued to regulate this subject until the Commonwealth Parliament in 1945 exercised its concurrent power with respect to divorce and matrimonial causes and provided for the institution of matrimonial causes by persons domiciled in Australia. The Commonwealth has since passed further legislation, so that the law covers marriage and matrimonial causes to the exclusion of State law.

In the 1960s there has been a quickening of law reform in England and Australia. Victoria has been served by two bodies which ensure that the law is kept up to date, namely, the Chief Justice's Law Reform Committee and the Statute Law Revision Committee. The former body, composed of members of the judiciary, together with representatives of the Bar, the solicitors, and the University law schools, has promoted many changes ; the other committee, a group of parliamentarians, has carried out investigations of various parts of the law and has secured legislative changes from time to time.

SOCIAL FACTORS AFFECTING LEGAL DEVELOPMENT

The differences between Victorian and English law are not fundamental, but largely peripheral, and have been conditioned mainly by economic and social factors. In the early period of settlement, the infant community in Victoria could not create a completely new legal system, and, generally, when new colonies were settled colonists from Britain took the common law

with them. Victoria, on separation from New South Wales, adopted English law as at 1828, and the law of New South Wales as at 1851.

In the development of the common law, Australian courts have been bound by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, although they are not technically bound by decisions of the House of Lords and the English Court of Appeal. Nevertheless, it was emphasised repeatedly that, in the interests of uniformity, decisions of the House of Lords should be regarded as binding, and those of the Court of Appeal should be given due consideration. Hence, whatever the social factors influencing the law, the professional attitude of the lawyer tended to keep the decisions of the courts in line with English authority. There have, however, been exceptions : the High Court in the 1960s, for example, refused to follow a House of Lords decision dealing with murder. With the development of maturity, it is possible for a more independent approach to be taken, but the desire to retain uniformity still exists, except where an English decision is regarded as erroneous. One interesting development has been the increasing citation of Australian cases (especially those of the High Court) in English reports, and it has happened that an English decision of a lower court has been over-ruled by the House of Lords after an analysis of a High Court decision. But in general, while there are interesting differences in some lines of authority, it is not possible to find entirely new areas in the development of the common law. It is in statute law that the effects of social pressure are clearly seen.

Victoria, as a State within a Federation, wished to surrender as little power as possible to the Commonwealth, but financial power has made the Commonwealth the dominant partner. At the beginning of this century Australia showed great legislative initiative in this area (e.g., secret ballot and universal suffrage), but more recently has sometimes been slow in adopting legislative amendments which have been passed in England : Victoria was, for example, the last State in the Common-wealth to impose liability on the Crown for tort, and although in 1889 Victoria secured what was, for the nineteenth century, a liberalisation of the grounds for divorce, subsequent reform of this law was long delayed. The most significant developments due to social pressures relate to land tenure, protection of farmers' interests, and industrial law. The opportunity was available for Australia to create a new system of land law, but the tendency was to apply English law as far as possible. The law of copyholds was not adopted, however, and marriage settlements were rare. One great advance was the development of the Torrens system, which, by the use of registration of title, made proof of ownership a relatively easy matter compared with the complex rules of English conveyancing. Whenever a Crown grant was made after 1892 minerals were reserved to the Crown. Victorian law naturally did not concern itself greatly with " poaching " rules.

The importance of water led to special legislation: instead of riparian owners holding title to their half of the bed of a river, as in England, the river bed was vested in the Crown by the *Water Act* 1905. There are relatively few laws relating to fishing rights. The State Rivers and Water Supply Commission has the power of controlling the use of streams. Crown leasehold was an interesting development, whereby those farmers who could not afford to buy land were allowed to make improvements on their leaseholds. The

proportion of land held in this manner has at times risen to 40 per cent. The conditional purchase lease is perhaps realistically a sale on long terms, but there are conditions attached which attempt to secure the adequate development of the land. The so-called " perpetual leasehold " is formally a contradiction in terms, but here again various conditions must be met or the lease may be forfeited. Legislation to protect the interest of farmers exists in relation to the prevention of erosion, the destruction of vermin, and the eradication of noxious weeds. As the country is subject to droughts, bush fires, and floods, and as fluctuating world prices may mean financial hardship for primary producers, legislation to protect the economic asset of the farm has developed. Closer settlement schemes have encouraged the full exploitation of the land ; a depression or a poor crop may lead to a moratorium on farmers' debts ; and marketing boards have been created to render the primary producer less vulnerable in international markets. New forms of security such as liens on growing crops and wool and stock mortgages have been created, even though the Secretary of State in Britain attacked them in 1843 as being opposed to the fundamental principles of the common law.

The economic conditions in the early days of Victorian development did not encourage private enterprise to provide capital for railways which would not be reasonably profitable for many years, and, therefore, in common with the other States, government instrumentalities were established to administer services such as the railways.

THE COURTS

Supreme Court

The Supreme Court was established in 1852 by the Victorian Parliament under powers believed to have been conferred by the Separation Act and following a Commissioner's report on the judiciary. The Court was given the common law jurisdictions of the three superior courts at Westminster : the criminal jurisdiction of the Court of Queen's Bench and of the Central Criminal Court in London ; the equitable, common law, and domiciliary jurisdiction of the Lord High Chancellor; and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, including the power to grant, in effect, probate and letters of administration, in accordance with the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, but with somewhat wider powers. However, there were grave doubts about the Court's validity. The Separation Act had reserved establishing powers for the Imperial Parliament, although it appeared that the Home Government did not intend to use them. The Victorian Government's initiative was ratified in 1865 by the Colonial Laws Validity Act which provided, *inter alia,* that every colonial legislature should have, and be deemed at all times to have had, the power within its jurisdiction to establish courts of judicature.

The Court commenced with a Chief Justice and a puisne Judge who were appointed in January 1852. A third Judge was appointed six months later, and gradually from 1856 to 1945 the number was increased to seven. Since then, the number of members of the bench has been increased from time to time, and in 1972 it comprised the Chief Justice and sixteen puisne Judges. The first Judges were appointed during the Royal pleasure, but the English Parliament, in passing *The Constitution Act* 1855, changed the tenure to one of good behaviour; this has continued since. In 1861 authority in divorce

and matrimonial causes increased the Court's jurisdiction following the English Act of 1857, and enabled the Full Court to grant decrees for dissolution of marriage on certain grounds. This power was transmitted to a single judge in 1883. It remained a matter of State legislation until 1961 when the Commonwealth *Matrimonial Causes Act* 1959 came into force and made divorce a Federal matter but enabled the Supreme Court to administer the jurisdiction in Victoria. In 1915 a Full Court of the Supreme Court was given a general appellate jurisdiction in criminal matters.

The High Court of Australia was set up in 1903, and became a new appellate court, in addition to the Privy Council, from judgments of the Supreme Court. At first envisaged as an " abode of learned leisure ", its activity has so far increased that it has largely encroached on the Supreme Court as the ultimate interpreter of State law in Australia.

Changes in Supreme Court procedure mostly took place in the earlier years. In 1856 modifications were made in the arrangement of judicial business. The *Judicature Act* 1872 vested the Court's criminal jurisdiction in the new Central Criminal Court, but this was short-lived, and in the sweeping administrative reforms effected by the *Judicature Act* 1883 criminal jurisdiction was restored to the Supreme Court. That Act followed the English Judicature Act of 1873, but stopped short of creating divisions of different jurisdictions within the Court. In technical matters of litigation in the broadest sense, rules of Court have, from time to time, effected minor modifications in legal procedure, but the Court is still functioning mainly upon procedural lines laid down in 1883.

County Court

County Courts were instituted in England in 1846, and the establishment of similar courts for New South Wales and its dependencies was considered by a Commission set up with extensive powers in 1849 to report on law court practice. Although the Commission did not favour their creation, the new Victorian Parliament did, and by an Act of 1852 Courts of Requests were abolished and superseded by the new County Courts, a name peculiar to Victoria in the Australian States. These courts were local and civil and had a limited jurisdiction. However, the influence of the Courts of Request remained, for in all cases below £10 the judge was the sole judge in the issue on questions of law as well as fact, and in cases above £10 the office of assessors survived. Encouraged by the success of these courts, the legislature extended their jurisdiction in 1854 and gave a right of appeal to the Supreme Court. Today their monetary jurisdiction includes up to $6,000 in ordinary civil matters and $12,000 in " running down cases ". Since 1865 it has also received additional but limited jurisdiction in other matters. In 1869 assessors were abolished, a jury was introduced for trial in certain issues, and a limited equitable jurisdiction was conferred. In certain miscellaneous matters it acts as an original court from which a right of appeal exists to the Supreme Court, and, when exercising Federal jurisdiction, to the High Court.

In 1968 local County Courts were abolished and one County Court for the whole of Victoria was established. In the same year, Courts of General Sessions, which exercised a purely criminal jurisdiction, were abolished, and their jurisdiction was vested in the County Court. The County Court

has therefore become a general court, exercising civil, criminal, and special jurisdictions, and in fact carries out the greater part of State judicial business.

Courts of Petty Sessions and Magistrates' Courts

The history of Courts of Petty Sessions is inextricably bound up with the office of justice of the peace. Courts of Petty Sessions were first mentioned by name in the New South Wales Act of 1832 in relation to penal jurisdiction. Small civil claims were then contested in the Courts of Requests, but as settlement increased this system became inadequate, and in 1846 the legislature established Courts of Petty Sessions to aid Courts of Requests in the settlement of small claims. In 1851, immediately after Separation and pending local re-organisation, existing Victorian commissions and appointments were confirmed. The following year Courts of Requests were abolished, and County Courts set up. The same Act also recognised Courts of Petty Sessions which were, however, to cease jurisdiction as soon as a County Court was established in any area. The situation remained unaltered until 1857 when a County Court Act raised the jurisdictional limit of those courts to £250. As this far exceeded the amount then justiciable in any small debt court, a limited jurisdiction was given to justices as such. Since then the jurisdiction of Courts of Petty Sessions has increased continuously. In 1928 an important extension conferred a general but restricted jurisdiction in contract and in tort. There have been no further developments, except for occasional monetary increases in justiciable matters, and a change of name in 1970 to Magistrates' Courts.

Miscellaneous courts

Courts of General Sessions were instituted in 1852. In substance they took over from the older Courts of Quarter Sessions which had operated in New South Wales and had been established in the District of Port Phillip in 1840. By the time the Courts of General Sessions were abolished their jurisdiction had been increased to include all but a few kinds of criminal offences. The first nominate Court of Insolvency was set up in New South Wales in 1841. Previously the Supreme Court had exercised some insolvency functions, and Commissioners were appointed for individual districts. In 1869, however, a Court of Insolvency was established, and this remained the basis of insolvency law for over fifty years. In 1924 the Commonwealth Parliament passed a Bankruptcy Act which made uniform provisions for the whole of the Commonwealth, and the State Court administered the Act as a Federal Court. In 1930, however, a new Federal Court of Bankruptcy was created, virtually terminating the old Court of Insolvency. The mining courts of Australia are unique and practically autochthonous*, having been established when gold was first discovered in New South Wales. A proclamation by Lieutenant-Governor La Trobe in 1851 initiated a system of Victorian mining law, from which developed a hierarchy of minor courts with their own special procedures, the highest being a Court of Mines. They still continue.

LAW DEPARTMENT

Although the Law Department was not created until the separation of Port Phillip from New South Wales, the foundations of law enforcement

* Original, indigenous (C.O.D.).

upon which it is based were laid as early as 1836 when the Port Phillip settlement was established. In 1836 disputes between John Pascoe Fawkner and Henry Batman were decided by three arbitrators, and by 1851, the year of Separation, a judicial system had been in operation for some years. Its administration had been one of the functions of the Superintendent of the Port Phillip District, Charles Joseph La Trobe, from his arrival in 1839 until he took up duty as the first Lieutenant-Governor of the new Colony of Victoria in 1851. Captain William Lonsdale, who had governed the settlement until the arrival of La Trobe and who afterwards continued in the office of Police Magistrate, was appointed the first Colonial Secretary for the new Colony when La Trobe was appointed Lieutenant-Governor. He had conducted the administration of the judicial system until Separation, when the departments of the public service became separately responsible and answerable, through a permanent head, to a Minister.

In 1851 two Ministers were appointed to administer the Law Department, William F. Stawell as Attorney-General and Redmond Barry as Solicitor-General, and the Department began to function three years later. Although, for the period from 1861 to 1890, a third Minister of the Crown under the title of Minister of Justice assisted in the administration of the Law Department, it continued under dual administration until the passing of the *Solicitor-General Act* 1951, which provided for the appointment of the first Solicitor-General who was not a Minister of the Crown. Since then the Department has been administered solely by the Attorney-General. By the late 1880s the Law Department, in addition to the staffs of the Supreme, County, General Sessions, Insolvency, and Petty Sessions Courts, also included the branches of the Registrar-General (with sub-branches concerned with matters relating to Companies ; Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriages ; and Patents, Trade Marks, and Copyrights) and the Titles Office.

Many changes in the composition of the Department have since taken place, the following being the most notable :

1893. The Registrar of Births, Deaths, and Marriages sub-branch was transferred from the Office of Registrar-General to the Office of the Government Statist.

1904. The Patents, Trade Marks, and Copyrights sub-branch of the Office of Registrar-General was transferred to the Commonwealth.

1906. The first children's courts were created under the *Children's Court Act* 1906.

1927. The office of Public Solicitor was created under the *Poor Persons Legal Assistance Act* 1927.

1931. The office of Curator of Estates of Deceased Persons was transferred from the Treasury to the Law Department.

1930 to 1932. The office and functions of Collector of Imposts were transferred from the Registrar-General's Office to the Treasury.

1939 and 1940. The office of Curator of Estates of Deceased Persons was absorbed by the newly created office of Public Trustee.

1940. The functions of Master in Lunacy were transferred to the Public Trustee.

1948. The office of Master of the Supreme Court was created under the *Master of the Supreme Court Act* 1948.

1950. The Raffles Advisory Board was created. The Discharged Service-

men's Preference Board, the Discharged Servicemen's Employment Board, and the Patriotic Funds Council were transferred from the Premier's Department to the Law Department.

1962. The Companies Branch, formerly a sub-branch of the Registrar-General's Office, became a branch of the Law Department.

1964. The Legal Aid Committee began to operate a legal aid scheme to supplement the assistance provided by the Public Solicitor for persons unable to afford private legal assistance. While not a branch of the Law Department, the Committee is within the area of the Attorney-General's administration. The Appeal Costs Board was created to provide financial aid where extra legal costs are incurred in special circumstances.

1965. The Consumers Protection Council was created.

1968. The administrative control of the Consumers Protection Council was transferred to the Department of Labour and Industry.

REGULATORY FUNCTIONS OF THE CHIEF SECRETARY'S DEPARTMENT

It is common to distinguish between several classes of government functions, namely regulation, conservation, development, social welfare, and other services both to the government and to the public. Many departments, corporations, or other government agencies exist solely to perform one function or perhaps several closely related functions. However, this is not true of the three " omnibus " departments, the Chief Secretary's, the Treasurer's, and the Premier's. This diversity of activities under one portfolio is particularly noticeable in the case of the Chief Secretary's Department, which has always comprised many widely differing branches and has the responsibility of administering an unusually large number of statutes. The reason for this diversity is historical : the Chief Secretary's Department grew from the Superintendent's Office which existed before Separation and the advent of representative government, and at that time was responsible for nearly all government activity at Port Phillip. Separation, closely followed by the gold rush period, led to an increase in government activity and new departments and branches were set up to meet the Colony's needs.

Thus, by 1857 the Chief Secretary's Department was, as it is now, one of a number of departments, but one having a " residual " role, being responsible for those governmental activities not allocated to other specialised departments. The basic pattern of the Department's activities was already established, and among these the regulatory functions were most obvious, absorbing the largest share of the staff and budget of the Department. Apart from the police and gaols, the goldfields commissioners and wardens of mining districts at first came within the Chief Secretary's portfolio. In addition, the Chief Secretary's Department was responsible for a number of non-regulatory offices, functions, or services including the Registrar-General, the botanic gardens, geological and meteorological investigations, the public library, the protection of Chinese and Aboriginals, Parliament buildings, and official shorthand writers. These areas of responsibility are recognisable as the core of the activity of the Chief Secretary's Department today. Of the trends which can be isolated one is the growth of social welfare activities, and within this area a transformation of activities from the regulatory to the social welfare sphere has occurred. Where once the role of the Chief Secretary's officers may have been to punish " criminal children ", their role has gradually changed to that of

providing child and youth welfare services. In 1960 these activities were incorporated into the Social Welfare Department, a branch within the Chief Secretary's Department. In 1970 a separate Ministry of Social Welfare was established to carry out these functions.

Some regulatory agencies have passed out of the control of the Chief Secretary's Department; for instance, the Factory Inspectorate which operated in the late nineteenth century later grew into the Department of Labour and Industry, the Weights and Measures Branch came under the Local Government Department, and the Gas and Explosives Branch under the Mines Department. The enforcement by the Police Department of the Crimes Act and associated Acts and the Motor Car and Road Traffic Acts stands out as its chief regulatory activity, but the Chief Secretary's Department also administers approximately eighty Acts covering such widespread activities as elections, insurance, and liquor licensing.

VICTORIA POLICE

At the time of the first settlement of Victoria there was no centrally organised police force to serve the scattered population. Government administration was in the hands of a number of officials each of whom held the rank of police magistrate, and each having his own police whose jurisdiction was confined to the area of the magistrate's authority. Melbourne's police force was established in 1836, when Robert Day was appointed District Constable. He was succeeded the following year by Henry Batman, who was promoted to Chief Constable. Geelong established its police in 1837 when a magistrate and three constables were appointed from Sydney. In 1837 an attempt was made to form a native police force to maintain order between white settlers and Aboriginals. This force lapsed, was revived in 1842, and continued until 1852, when it was finally dissolved as the need for it had passed and its recruitment had been unsuccessful. Crown Lands Commissioners controlling the occupation of Crown lands started a force of Border Police in 1838, and in the same year a detachment of the Mounted Police, a semi-military organisation, was stationed at Benalla on the overland route from New South Wales. In 1841 a Water Police force was established under the control of the Harbour Master to check desertion and improper conduct by seamen. The first step towards centralisation of control was taken in 1850 with the appointment of a Superintendent in charge of police in Melbourne and the County of Bourke. Immediately after the separation of Victoria from New South Wales, two other police forces were organised—the Goldfields Police, under the direction of the Gold Commissioners, and a Gold Escort. In addition, to meet the increase in rural population, a Rural Bench Constabulary was established. This was an unsatisfactory arrangement, especially as many police had resigned to search for gold, and La Trobe had to use enrolled pensioners from Van Diemen's Land in order to have enough men to carry out a minimum of the duties necessary. He also recruited, particularly for the Mounted Police, " cadets ", men of some education and good connections who were virtually officer trainees.

In 1852 the Legislative Council appointed a Select Committee to inquire into the operations of the various groups of police. It recommended that the separate forces be combined into one, that a depot be established near Melbourne to receive recruits and attend to police horses, that 200 men

should be obtained from England under contract, that a cadet organisation be formed, that there should be a police barracks and regularly spaced stations, and that a Reward and Superannuation Fund should be established to pay awards for meritorious service instead of paying informing constables half the amounts of fines. The *Police Regulation Act* 1853 adopted most of these recommendations, abolished the office of Chief Constable, combined all the forces under a Chief Commissioner, and removed them from the authority of magistrates. William Henry Fancourt Mitchell was appointed the first Chief Commissioner, and in May 1853 Inspector Samuel Freeman, of the London Police, arrived with three sergeants and fifty men on ten year contracts to form the nucleus of a British civilian-type police force. Victoria was divided into a number of police districts, each under a Superintendent. As well there were several special branches, such as the detectives, first formed in 1848, which were also under the control of a Superintendent. This organisation is substantially the same today. There have been frequent changes in boundaries of districts and new branches have been formed, but most developments have stemmed from efforts to achieve better internal discipline and efficiency.

Mitchell was succeeded within a short time by Captain McMahon who in 1858 produced a police code for the guidance of members of the force. A police depot was established in the police paddock surrounding the present Melbourne Cricket Ground, and when this site became inadequate, the depot was transferred to St Kilda Road. In 1858 the Detective Branch was reorganised and the first Russell Street police station and barracks were built in 1859. Fluctuating populations, the large areas to be covered, and the ease with which lawbreakers could reach areas remote from police supervision, frequently made police work very difficult, especially as the growth of the force lagged very seriously behind that of the population. Even though a Royal Commission in 1882 was very critical of some aspects of police work and of a number of individual officers, no new Police Regulation Acts were passed until 1890. The police strike of November 1923 was followed by action within the Department to remove causes of discontent, but there was no new legislation until 1928. A Superannuation Board was formed in 1928 and a Police Classification Board in 1946. Long service leave provisions were also introduced in 1946.

A comprehensive course of training was introduced in 1920. Previously, except for a few lectures, training had consisted of a course of drill. This newer course was widened in 1926. In 1936 the Government asked the Chief Inspector of the London Metropolitan Police, A. M. Duncan, to make an investigation of police organisation in Victoria. He set out a number of reforms he considered necessary, and was appointed Chief Commissioner in the following year.

Several interesting features of police work have been developed within recent decades. Among them have been the introduction of women police, wireless patrols, a communications centre, traffic control patrols, and a junior police corps. Since the first two women were appointed as police agents in 1918, the activity of women police has gradually increased ; in 1924 the first women were sworn in as constables, and by 1971 there were 109 women police in a total force of 4,945. Wireless patrols were first used successfully in 1923, and their use has steadily increased

until now many patrol cars are in constant communication with head-quarters. The communications centre has grown from a small 2 kW transmitter to the present D24, which connects with all parts of Victoria. Road patrol activity is designed to detect traffic offences, to check the roadworthiness of vehicles, to educate drivers, and, particularly by means of " courtesy " cars, to control traffic problem areas. The junior police corps was formed in 1955 with the aim of raising police strength by ensuring a steady flow of recruits. Trainees have no police powers and are not bound to serve in the force. In 1971 the Government received a report on the Victoria Police from Sir Eric St Johnston, whom it had commissioned to assess the role of the force amid changing social conditions.

The Police Department has always been a branch of the Chief Secretary's Department and is responsible for the administration of the following Acts : the Police Offences Act, Police Regulation Act, Road Traffic Acts, Second-hand Dealers Acts, Motor Car and Motor Omnibus Acts, the Firearms Act of 1951, Hawkers and Pedlars Acts, Licensing Acts (in part), the Marine Stores Act of 1928, and the Pawnbrokers Act of 1928. Statutory bodies within the Department having reference to the Police Department are : The Police Classification Board and Police Discipline Board, both constituted by the *Police Regulation Act* 1946 ; the Traffic Advisory Committee, con-stituted by the *Road Traffic Act* 1935 ; and the Liquor Control Commission constituted by the Licensing Acts.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL

Until 1951 the office of Solicitor-General was a Ministerial office held by a member of Cabinet. The Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General, in addition to carrying out the traditional advisory functions of the law officers of the Crown, were jointly responsible for the administration of justice in Victoria and for the functions of the Law Department. In some years the office remained vacant, and between 1943 and 1951 the offices of Attorney-General and Solicitor-General were both held by the one Minister. In 1951 the office of Solicitor-General underwent a radical change with the passing of the Solicitor-General Act. That Act provided that the Solicitor-General should no longer be a Minister of the Crown and provided for the appointment by the Governor in Council of one of Her Majesty's counsel to the position. The Act made consequential amendments to other statutes, with the object of relieving the Solicitor-General of political responsibility. The duties of the holder of the office were prescribed as acting as counsel for the Crown and of performing such other duties, as counsel, as the Attorney-General should direct. The role of the Solicitor-General is, therefore, that of counsel and not solicitor ; he takes precedence among legal practitioners next after the Attorney-General. He has no right of private practice.

The Solicitor-General appears for the Crown in important constitutional, civil, and criminal cases, and advises the Government on legal matters referred to him by the Attorney-General. In addition, he has the important function in the administration of the criminal law of advising the Attorney-General in all cases regarding the discontinuance of criminal proceedings on indictment. The Solicitor-General also directs the activities of the permanent prosecutors for the Queen and authorises, in appropriate cases, the accept-

ance by the Crown of pleas of guilty to offences other than the principal offence charged on indictment. The Solicitor-General advises the Government on matters of law reform and is an *ex officio* member of a number of committees and other bodies connected with law reform and legal education. These include the Chief Justice's Law Reform Committee, the Council of Legal Education, the Board of Examiners, the Supreme Court Library Committee, and the Council of Law Reporting in Victoria.

LEGAL PROFESSION

Lawyers made their first appearance in the District of Port Phillip some three years after the arrival of the first settlers ; the first attorney or solicitor, William Meek, came in 1838, and the first barrister, E. J. Brewster, in 1839. The original rolls of barristers and of attorneys, still kept at the Supreme Court, show that by 1851 when the Colony of Victoria began its separate existence, thirteen barristers and fifty-seven attorneys had been admitted to practice. A judicial system had been created between 1839 and 1841. One of the earliest acts of the newly created Council of the Colony of Victoria was to set up a Supreme Court and a County Court in 1852. At Separation in 1851 only a few barristers were actually practising at Port Phillip. When the Supreme Court of Victoria was created, à Beckett, who had been Resident Judge in Melbourne of the Supreme Court of New South Wales, became its first Chief Justice. With the appointment of two barristers (Barry and Williams) to the Supreme Court and one (Pohlman) to the County Court, and with the filling of the posts of Attorney-General and Solicitor-General from the Bar (Stawell and Barry), the Bar was entirely denuded of barristers. However, with the discovery of gold in 1851 the population soared, and one result was to attract many lawyers, some of whom no doubt cherished the hope of finding fortunes on the goldfields. Between 1851 and 1860 just over 100 arrived in Victoria and were admitted to practice here, though not all practised. By 1863 the number of practising barristers according to the Law List was about fifty. The number of attorneys also increased rapidly in the ten years following Separation. The number admitted between 1850 and 1860 is given as 343, though again not all went into practice in the Colony. The earliest volume of the Law List, published in 1863, gives the names of about 270 attorneys in practice, almost equally divided between the city and the country towns.

In 1854 the Supreme Court enacted its first rules. These preserved the distinction which had existed in New South Wales (and still does today) between barristers and attorneys. They provided that persons admitted to practice in either capacity in England, Scotland, or Ireland might be admitted in a like capacity here, and set up two Boards of Examiners to deal with those who had no such qualification and had to qualify by examination. One of these Boards was concerned with the admission of barristers and the other with the admission of attorneys. The rules also contained a prohibition against acting in a capacity other than that in which the practitioner was admitted, a prohibition largely disregarded by barristers who set up in practice outside Melbourne. Although the organisation of the Bar was often proposed, nothing was done until 1884, when, under the threat of amalgamation, a set of rules was drawn up ; these appear to have ceased to operate within two or three years. Similar attempts had been made

several times between 1843 and 1859 for attorneys, but it was not until the latter year that the present Law Institute was founded. It had only forty-six members in 1859, and in 1863, fifty-seven city and fifteen country members.

From 1851 many proposals were put forward for the amalgamation of the two branches. Between 1870 and 1891 a Bill with this object in view had been introduced into the Legislative Assembly on many occasions and invariably passed, but had always been rejected by the Legislative Council. In 1884 the Council heard evidence on the proposal, but barristers and solicitors alike were most fearful of the consequences. However, in 1891 the Legal Profession Practice Act was passed making every past and future barrister also a solicitor, and every past and future solicitor also a barrister ; each was legally entitled to practise in both capacities. The word " solicitor " replaced the word " attorney " in ordinary use and there was a common qualification for admission of barristers and solicitors, irrespective of which branch of the profession they might pursue. Those who thought, as many did, that the Act had abolished the Bar, proved to be wrong. Immediately after the passing of the Act, many members of the Bar formed a Bar Association, intended to preserve the Bar as before, but in face of strong public and political hostility the Association was abolished. However, except that a few solicitors also did court work, everybody continued to practise as before. It is worthy of note that in 1896 a barrister was president of the Law Institute and that another barrister was for some years its honorary secretary. In 1900 the Bar set about the task of becoming properly organised ; rules were made, a committee appointed, and a Bar Roll established to be signed by all who wished to join. By signing the Roll, barristers undertook to practise exclusively as barristers, and not to hold a brief with any person who had not signed the Roll. By these means a *de facto* Bar was established which has lasted ever since. At first some resentment was felt by the solicitors at the refusal of barristers to appear with solicitors in court, where the solicitors were legally entitled to appear, but these and other complaints were eventually forgotten.

The achievement of Federation in 1901 was most important for the legal profession, which was asked to interpret the new political instrument. There were far-reaching consequences. Almost half a century was to pass before the volume of litigation returned to the high level of the late 1890s, as the economic depression of the 1930s, together with two world wars, affected the profession. When in the 1950s and 1960s the amount of litigation rose, it reached unprecedented heights, largely because of the greatly increased claims for damages for injuries sustained in traffic accidents. Work in other spheres also expanded, and led to more students seeking to enter the profession. The growth of the Bar in recent years has been quite remarkable. In 1902 there were eighty-two barristers on the Bar Roll, and it remained fairly constant until after the First World War. It reached 166 in 1931, 271 in 1954, and over 370 in 1971. The membership of the Law Institute grew to 995 in 1948, when it became compulsory for solicitors to obtain each year a practising certificate, the fee for which is applied also in payment of the subscription for membership of the Institute. Membership in 1971 exceeded 2,200, and practically all solicitors are members.

Both the Bar and the Law Institute have in recent times acquired

premises of their own. After 1852 the Bar began to come together in Temple Court where most members had chambers. In 1882 most of the Bar moved into the newly built Selborne Chambers at 462 Chancery Lane, and remained there or in adjacent buildings until 1961 when Selborne Chambers was sold and a new building was erected in William Street and named Owen Dixon Chambers. This now houses most of the Bar and associated services ; four storeys were added to the original nine in 1964. In 1923 the Law Institute acquired a building in McKillop Street to house its secretary and the Institute library. In 1961 it erected a new building in Little Bourke Street opposite the Law Courts. The Bar and the Law Institute have not only furthered the interests of their members but have also protected the clients of their members and have taken an interest in law reform beneficial to the community ; their views on specific matters are often sought by the Attorney-General ; they have been active in legal education ; and they have been very interested in providing legal assistance to poor persons.

LEGAL EDUCATION

The first Rules for " colonial admissions " to practise in Victoria as barristers, attorneys, solicitors, proctors, and conveyancers were made in 1854 by the Supreme Court. They provided for two Boards of Examiners, one for barristers and one for attorneys, etc., and prescribed certain law subjects for each, all practitioners except barristers being required to serve five years' practical training under Articles. Although the University of Melbourne was established in 1853, law subjects were not offered there until 1857. In 1854 all members of the profession in Victoria had been admitted in the United Kingdom, where reforms were being effected in legal education, then largely provided by the Inns of Court and the Law Society. Despite British influence in Victoria the University of Melbourne was encouraged to provide law teaching for all candidates ; part-time lecturers were made available from the profession, and until 1950 they taught the majority of law subjects required for both degree and non-degree qualifications. In 1860 the University established a degree of Bachelor of Laws (LL. B.), and since then Rules of the Supreme Court have exempted applicants with a degree from being examined in the prescribed subjects by the appropriate Board of Examiners ; no separate academic requirements for LL.B. graduates seeking admission as barristers or solicitors exist, although the Supreme Court Rules prescribed slightly different examinations for each non-degree applicant until 1892.

In 1865 the Rules of the Supreme Court were altered : a LL.B. applicant to the Bar was required to serve as a " student-at-law " for one year, and other applicants to the Bar were to serve for two years ; and all applicants for admission, whether as barrister or solicitor, were to matriculate at an acceptable university. This principle, except in the case of managing clerks, has continued in Victoria without change. In 1873 the Faculty of Law at the University of Melbourne was established, in anticipation of which the Supreme Court Rules of 1872 required all candidates for admission to the Bar to obtain a LL.B. degree at an acceptable university. This requirement continued until 1892. The 1872 Rules required LL.B. applicants for admission as solicitors to be admitted on serving three years' Articles, and other applicants

on serving five years' Articles, as before. The *Legal Profession Practice Act* 1891 amalgamated the practice of both barristers and solicitors, and there has since been one form of admission, although both branches have continued to be practised separately. Intending barristers were, therefore, required to serve Articles, and, in deference to the previous higher standard of Bar requirements, intending non-degree solicitors were required to pass certain non-legal university subjects. Provision was also made for admission of managing clerks, whose secondary educational standard did not reach matriculation level.

The *Legal Practitioners Reciprocity Act* 1903 established a Council of Legal Education which represented the profession and, in place of the Supreme Court, accepted responsibility for all academic and practical legal training. The Council's first Rules, which have undergone only minor changes since 1905, provided for admission of LL.B. graduates with one year's Articles, and of four years' articled clerks. In 1932 it was prescribed that all applicants should pass all the substantive law subjects of the LL.B. course at the University of Melbourne, and since then the only difference between LL.B. graduates and articled clerks has been the non-legal or non-substantive subjects in the degree course. Until 1947 degree students and articled clerks were required to pass Latin at matriculation level, but since then there have been no pre-requisite subjects for law students. Since 1965 a LL.B. degree from Monash University has been recognised. There has been considerable variation between the examination subjects prescribed by the Boards, the University of Melbourne, and later the two universities, although all courses have taught the fundamental principles of law at standards comparable with those in Britain.

In 1945, as a result of suggestions from the Law Institute of Victoria, the Council of Legal Education first prescribed certain practical subjects important in professional practice, some of which, although taught in the University Law School, were not compulsory for a LL.B. degree. Since then there has been a steady enlargement of legal subjects, owing to the increased administrative complexities of the law. Since 1946 the student–teacher ratio has improved and the number of full-time teachers in Victorian law schools has increased from one in 1930 to two in 1940 and sixty-eight in 1971. Contact with overseas universities has been encouraged and law teaching methods have been influenced particularly by American schools.

In 1962 the University of Melbourne imposed a quota of 330 on the number of first year law students, and the rules were therefore changed so that matriculants excluded by the quota could attend a course, comparable with that provided by the University for articled clerks, but administered by the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology. Lecturers, tutors, and examiners are appointed by the Council of Legal Education, which also supervises examinations. Apart from the system of Articles little organised education in professional skills of legal practice has ever existed in Victoria. From 1941 until 1966 the University of Melbourne provided drafting tutorials for degree students, and in 1958 established an organised Moot Court. The Law Institute of Victoria and the Victorian Bar made submissions in 1968 to establish a school to provide training in professional skills, and a limited scheme was approved in principle by the Council of Legal Education, but awaits implementation.

3

EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

At Separation Victoria inherited from New South Wales a dual system
of educational administration whereby all church schools receiving financial
assistance from government sources were administered by a Denominational
Schools Board, and all schools owned and operated by the Government
were administered by a National Schools Board. This cumbersome and
inefficient system represented two compromises the Government had had
to make in order to reconcile the conflicting claims of church bodies,
and at the same time to reconcile the principle of local responsibility
with the reality of local incapacity in the Australian colonial environment.
From 1833 on, successive governors had been forced to the first compromise
as they realised that the churches, hampered by poverty and further weakened
by rivalry, could not be expected to provide a network of schools to
cover the Colony's thinly scattered, partly nomadic population of mixed
religious affiliations. The governors' final answer was to supplement the
church schools with a system of schools (based on the Irish National
System) which provided moral and secular instruction for all pupils in
common, and separate denominational instruction, for those whose parents
requested it, at specified times in the school week. In the same period the
governors had been forced to the second compromise as they came to
realise that in the country areas it was impossible to expect an uneducated,
working-class population to provide either the money or the administrative
competence to establish and maintain schools. The Government therefore
agreed to initiate schools by providing part of the money and most of the
administrative machinery, but paid lip-service to the principle of local
authority by leaving some administrative responsibility with the local boards
of patrons established for each National School.

The disappointing outcome of these compromises was, as several select
committees and commissions of inquiry showed, an insufficient number
of schools irrationally located, frequently ill-sited and badly built, and in
general inefficiently conducted by incompetent and unsupervised teachers.
This had become apparent almost from the day the dual system had begun
in 1848, but with the discovery of gold in Victoria and the consequent
great increase in population the system proved completely inadequate, and the
1850s were filled with partisan attempts (frequently at the parliamentary
level) to destroy one school board in order to aggrandise another. The
same decade also witnessed a substantial growth of secular feeling and a

consequent decline in sympathy for the church bodies which, by insisting on a dogmatic denominationalism in their schools, were preventing the establishment of a system of universal elementary education. In this mood the Victorian Parliament passed the Common Schools Act in 1862, designed to bring all government subsidised schools under the one authority; but it was essentially only a compromise, for the Act was only as secular as the Government dared make it in the face of a declining but still powerful denominationalism. Thus, while the Act provided for the amalgamation of schools in districts where rivalry had established too many, the powers left with the churches enabled them to delay or circumvent this intention by resort to legal and administrative obstruction. In 1867 Victoria's Attorney-General found, after a Royal Commission, that " the present system of education is inadequate in its scope and extent . . . inefficient in kind . . . enormously and disgracefully expensive ". Two years later, dismayed by the churches' response to his appeal for further compromise and co-operation, he swung over to a secularist viewpoint, and in a memorable resolution called upon the Victorian Government to end all compromise. In the light of the current " ecclesiastical rivalry and dissensions " he declared, " . . . the establishment of a public system of secular instruction, free from the interference of the religious sects, and under the direction of a Minister of the Crown, responsible to Parliament, is urgently demanded by the highest national interests, and calls for the immediate attention of the Legislature ".

This mood of over-reaction which inspired the Education Act of 1872 has, in all essentials, informed and influenced every later Act. It did not follow that in order to remove the churches from their obstructive rôle the State had to commit itself to a rigid neutrality in denominational matters, nor did it follow that local or institutional groups had to be removed from all administrative responsibility for education because the churches had been obstructive. However, this was what was enacted. A few trivial chores rather than responsibilities were left with local school committees, but in everything that mattered—finance, curriculum, textbooks, and the supply and training of teachers—the newly-created Department of Education was given complete responsibility. Within a very few years it was obvious that there were dangers inherent in this centralised system, and as a Royal Commissioner pointed out in 1877, " the leading principle . . . has been to substitute supervision from Melbourne for local co-operation . . . The Department has been over-trustful in itself ". However, even when complacency, inefficiency, and economic retrenchment during the 1890s had combined to make the Department a public scandal, the members of the very powerful Royal Commission established in Victoria (the Fink Royal Commission, 1899 to 1901) determined to strengthen the Department's hand, believing apparently that greater efficiency would come from greater authority. The administration of public education in Victoria for many years after 1901, especially in primary and secondary schools, remained remarkably unchanged. However, due to various demographic, social, and educational developments, especially since 1945, there have been important changes in tertiary education (described elsewhere in this chapter) and a more gradual re-appraisal of primary and secondary educational needs since the mid-1960s, which are noted in the following sections.

PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION

In 1908, when the first organisation for pre-school education in Victoria was established, four free kindergartens existed and were maintained by voluntary effort. In 1971 over 600 kindergartens were recognised for subsidy by the State Department of Health. This development in facilities was accompanied by changes in the educational emphasis in programmes and by a marked expansion in teacher training.

In the late 1890s only a few private kindergartens existed in Melbourne. Free kindergartens originated in the crowded inner suburbs. The first was opened in Carlton in 1901. Seven years later the Burnley, Carlton, Collingwood, and North Melbourne kindergartens united to form the Free Kindergarten Union which, together with several church organisations administering their own kindergartens, pioneered Victorian pre-school education.

From their inception, kindergarten programmes gave attention to all major aspects of children's development, approaching education in line with Froebel methods, through play rather than formal instruction. Responding to community needs at that time, they stressed improved physical care and the need for affection, and provided a variety of educational play materials, interesting surroundings, and the stimulation of contact with other children and trained teachers. Early programmes were rather formal in organisation, following a set routine for the day.

The first course for pre-school teachers (one year) was started by the Free Kindergarten Union in 1916. Previously, the State Education Department had collaborated with the Union in training students. The Kew site of the Kindergarten Training College (K.T.C.) was purchased in 1921 and the College opened in 1922, and in 1925 a three year course was instituted. In 1965 the name was changed to the Melbourne Kindergarten Teachers' College.

Voluntary committees gradually opened new centres with the help of the Free Kindergarten Union and other organisations. In 1910 the Union received its first State Government grant of £1,000 for one year. This grant was renewed and gradually increased. Parents were encouraged to make small donations, but attendance was otherwise free and voluntary groups took major responsibility for providing buildings, equipment, and salaries. From 1931 younger children, from two years of age, were enrolled. Many attended for three or four years, and an after-school guild was sometimes instigated for children who had left for primary school. By 1943 there were 33 kindergartens affiliated with the Free Kindergarten Union. Union policy was expanding and the separation of responsibility for teacher training from that of the development of field work became necessary. Pre-school services provided by church organisations also increased and in 1939 the Nursery Kindergarten Extension Board was formed to advise groups in the more prosperous suburbs where kindergartens were spreading about buildings, equipment, and programmes and to provide a supervisory service. (This work now forms part of the pre-school responsibilities of the Department of Health.)

A combination of events brought national support to State efforts. In 1937 a report on the care of pre-school children in Victoria, submitted through the Department of Health, was considered at the first meeting

of the National Health and Medical Research Council. The Commonwealth financed a demonstration pre-school centre in each capital city and the Melbourne Lady Gowrie Child Centre was opened in 1940, influencing the standard of building and staffing of other kindergartens. In 1939 the formation of the Australian Association for Pre-School Child Development (now the Australian Pre-School Association) united voluntary and professional workers on a national level. In 1944 the position of Chief Pre-School Educational Supervisor was created within the Infant Welfare Department of the State Department of Health, and State Government subsidy on a *per capita* basis was introduced ; it was £4 per annum. Capital grants were made available in 1948 and by 1950 were on a £2 for £1 basis up to £2,250. Centres affiliated with voluntary bodies such as the Free Kindergarten Union and church or municipal councils received their government subsidy and additional professional supervision through these organisations.

By 1970 there were 399 metropolitan and 291 country subsidised kindergartens, an increase which had created a serious shortage of qualified pre-school teachers. State Government bursaries for training of teachers since 1948 and the appointment in 1959 of a Wages Board for kindergarten teachers helped to some extent with recruitment.

As preference in pre-school admissions is often given to children nearest school age, attendance at a pre-school centre is reduced to about one year for most.

Committees of parents, rather than interested people outside the district concerned, have now taken the initiative for establishing pre-school centres; therefore, in areas where most families lack educational and economic advantages, children are less likely to be able to attend a kindergarten. More recently, however, government departments, universities, pre-school organisations, and foundations have co-operated in initial efforts to provide pre-school services in some of these areas, as well as in giving attention to the educational needs of particular groups such as Aboriginal children.

State Government subsidies now cover the salary of a trained teacher. In June 1971 the basic salary for a teacher in charge of a single unit centre ranged from $64.90 weekly to $93.20 in the eleventh year of experience. In each subsidised centre, a minimum of 40 children per full-time teacher is required. The average teacher–child ratio is approximately one teacher to fifty children who attend in two groups for morning or afternoon sessions. A non-professional assistant, and frequently parents, help the teacher. Subsidies are also subject to certain conditions concerning buildings and programmes.

Capital grants now stand at a maximum of $6,000 (on a $2 to $1 basis) for single unit centres with an additional maximum of $4,000 (on a $1 to $1 basis) for a second unit.

In 1965 the Free Kindergarten Union granted autonomy to the Training College which then became the Melbourne Kindergarten Teachers' College. Capital grants through the Education Department totalling $574,000, supplemented in 1968 by a Commonwealth capital grant of $210,000 (pending a building permit), by personal donations, and by donations by trusts, provided greatly increased training facilities for students. Estimates indicate, however, that even full use of these will do no more than keep pace with the current rate of expansion of pre-school centres rather than reduce the

A rural primary school and teacher's residence of the type built in the 1880s.

Interior of an early primary school.
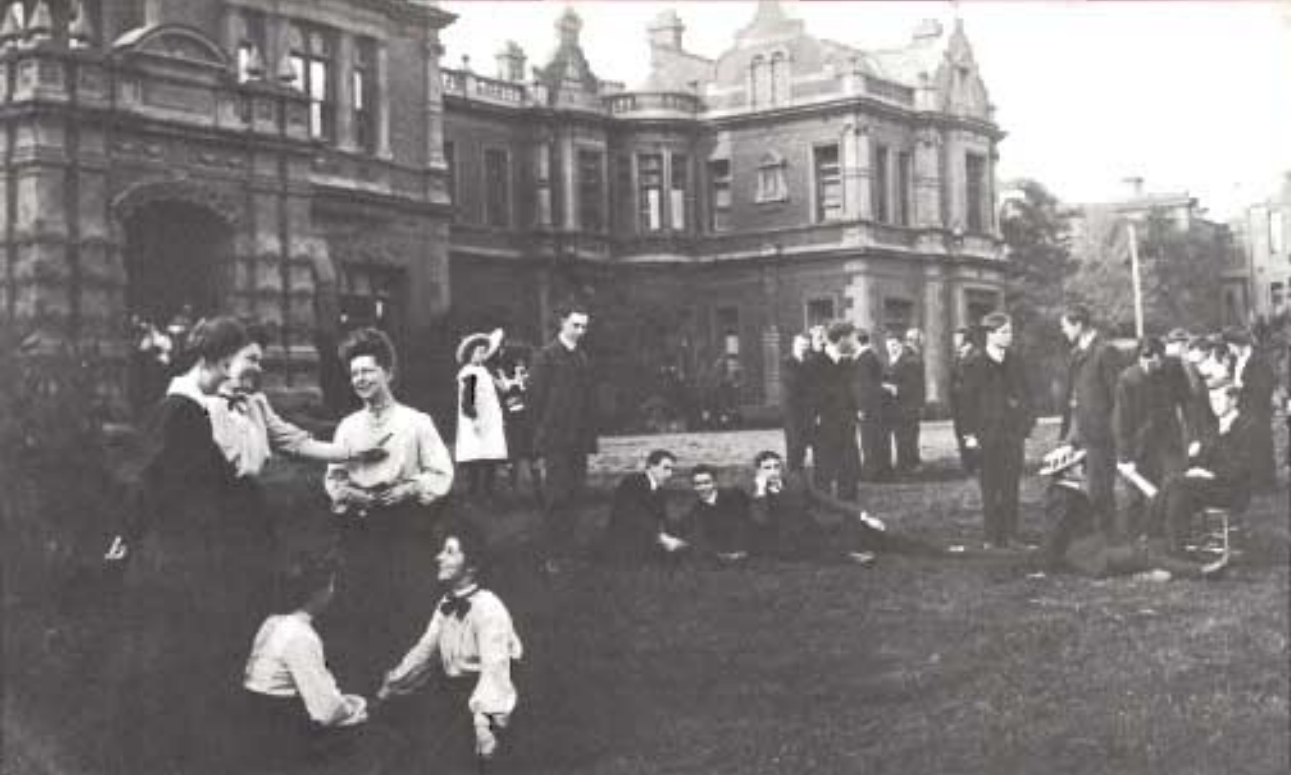
An early photograph of the Melbourne Teachers College.
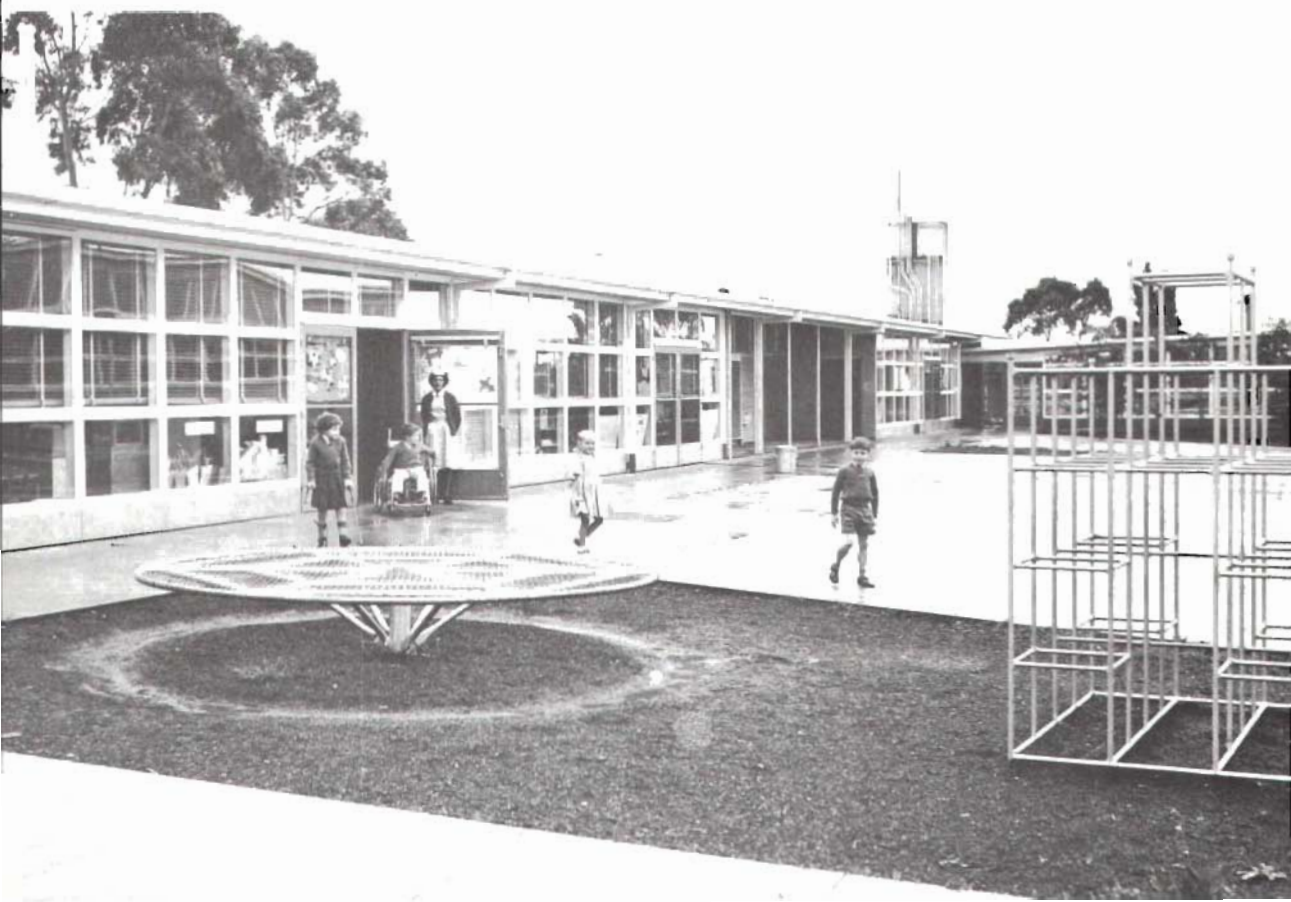*Education Department*

Visual aids now being used in primary education.
Education Department

Music group at the Glendonald School for the Deaf.
Education Department

Yooralla Hospital School for Crippled Children, with playground equipment.
Education Department

The Presbyterian Ladies College, East Melbourne, prior to demolition.

La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria

An art lecture at Mount Scopus College is telecast to four other classes by closed circuit television.

Australian News and Information Bureau

Students playing cricket in the grounds of Melbourne Grammar School.

Gordon De Lisle

Manual arts training at a secondary technical school conducted by the Christian Brothers.
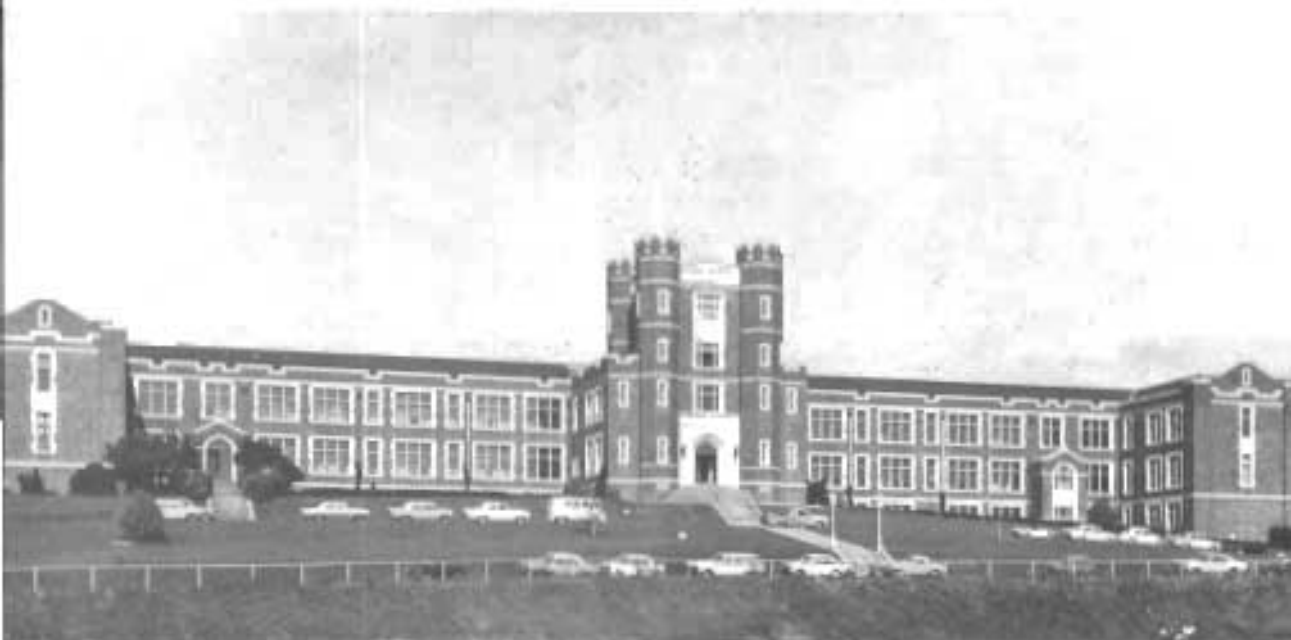
Advocate Press

Typing class at a State secondary technical school

Education Department

Melbourne High School in South Yarra.

Education Department

Electrical engineering laboratory at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology.

Victoria Institute of Colleges

An early surveying field class at the Working Men's College.

Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology

The main building of the Ballarat School of Mines and Industries, built in 1899

Ballarat School of Mines and Industries

Secondary students sitting for examinations
at the Exhibition Building in the late 1950s.
Australian News and Information Bureau

The old Wilson Hall at the University of
Melbourne. It was destroyed by fire in
January 1952.
University of Melbourne

The Baillieu Library, the main library at
the University of Melbourne.
University of Melbourne

Students outside Glenn College at La Trobe University, with Menzies College in the background.

La Trobe University

A view of the Monash Forum from the Bio-medical Library.

Monash University

severe shortage of qualified pre-school teachers. State Health Department student bursaries in 1971 provided a yearly living allowance of $1,100 (country students) and $550 (metropolitan), and an additional amount for tuition fees. A small number of additional bursaries is provided by municipal councils, church organisations, and other local groups. The full course is approved for Commonwealth Open Entrance and Later Year Advanced Education Scholarships. From 1965 a full-time post-diploma course of one year has been offered by the College to teachers holding a K.T.C. diploma and who have at least four years of teaching experience with young children. Those completing the course receive the Diploma of Advanced Studies in Education.

Programmes within the kindergartens are flexible to provide for local needs and for the educational needs of the particular children attending. Continuing contact between the home and the centre is therefore necessary, and programmes reflect developments in the community in general. They also take into account the results of research in child development. In the 1940s, when studies of physical maturation led to an emphasis on physical readiness for learning, programmes catered for the needs and interests attributed to different age groups.

As psychology became more concerned with mental health, practices thought to increase stress in children, such as eating and sleeping in groups away from home, were discontinued. More thought was given to procedures for the initial separation of children from parents, and to the ease with which children mixed ; also to understanding children's feelings and to some therapeutic aspects of play.

Research is now directed more towards intellectual development. While resisting exclusive concern with this, which would ignore knowledge previously found to be significant, pre-school teachers have been challenged to revise the generalisation that play necessarily results in positive learning. More direct adult stimulation is now given to help children organise knowledge and develop language and thinking processes. This is mostly done, however, in the course of purposeful activity rather than in periods of formal instruction, and the freedom which play provides for the creative use of what has been learned has been preserved. Scientific studies which have shown clearly the impact of environment on development have influenced awareness of teaching opportunities. Behaviour and intelligence are now seen to be more open to influence ; knowledge previously used to understand behaviour is now used more actively to facilitate positive change.

The contemporary scene is one of much controversy and increasing diversity in the types of programmes offered and in the cultural background of families involved. There is greater concern with learning right from birth and with understanding the shared responsibilities of parents and teachers. Attention is also being directed to the educational needs of children who are cared for while their mothers work. Greater public awareness of the importance of early education has brought not only support but also a rapid increase in the educational responsibilities to be met. This is severely straining existing resources. Therefore, in April 1971 the Australian Pre-School Association, Victorian Branch, requested, through the Minister of Health, that a Committee of Inquiry be set up by the Government of Victoria to examine questions of organisation, finance, and future policy

for the development of pre-school education throughout the State. Later in the year the Government decided to appoint such a committee.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

One of the first public buildings in Melbourne was a small wooden school erected not far from the corner of William Street and Little Collins Street in 1837. Though not the first school in the Port Phillip District it was perhaps the most important of the early schools for it demonstrated that education was to be a matter of public concern.

Education became a matter of public dispute as the churches struggled to establish their rights and the National Board tried to gain a foothold. The disputes, particularly those involving denominational schools and religious instruction, might not have been so bitter if the protagonists had not agreed that some form of elementary education was essential. Had the school been thought of little importance, governors, politicians, and clergy, who already had enough to divide them, would have avoided raising the problems at all. But the young settlement, struggling to build houses and to feed itself, did trouble itself over schools, even when it became evident that many of those for whom the schools were intended were not interested and that parents would have to be compelled to send their children to school. Those who, in the years before the passing of the 1872 Act, spoke or wrote on educational issues or played an active part in organising local schools came from the ranks of doctors, lawyers, clergymen, journalists, merchants or smaller businessmen, civil servants, or members of parliament, that is, from the ranks of those with influence in the community and with some (though not necessarily great) wealth. The less wealthy, for whom the schools were primarily intended, do not seem to have played a very vigorous part in obtaining them.

The early colonial schoolmaster, whatever his views on the religious question and whether he taught in a church or a government school, emphasised order, tidiness, obedience, and respect for authority, often to the neglect of the " sterner " intellectual virtues. He taught the " three Rs ", very narrowly defined: sufficient reading to ensure that a newspaper could be read; writing, which often meant penmanship or " handwriting ", and all too rarely was extended to cover composition ; and arithmetic, the fairly rigid, almost ritualistic performance of the basic processes of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division, with, since it was important in office work, a little elementary book-keeping. The colonial schoolmaster gave what was, in fact, a basic education or, to use the term by which the primary school was then called, an elementary education. From its inception the Victorian primary school was given a task of developing mental skills and influencing behaviour and, when in accordance with the 1872 Act the State developed its own Education Department, this tradition continued. The narrow basic curriculum continued as did the assumption, practically universal before 1872, that those who attended the elementary school (whether it was run by the State or by a church) would receive no other schooling. The belief continued that teachers could be adequately trained by a system of apprenticeship where, after completing primary schooling, the future teacher was attached to a " master " teacher from whom he learned the techniques of the teaching profession during the day ; at night

he studied for what passed for his secondary education. The system of payment by results, introduced in 1863 from England where it had been established the previous year, was also to remain. Under it a teacher's salary was dependent in part on the results his pupils obtained in an examination which was confined principally to the three Rs. The mistrust this system fostered remained for many years, teachers trying (with their financial future at stake) to outwit inspectors who, believing that the Education Department faced problems which could best be solved by hard work, watched to ensure that the classrooms of the State were scenes of stern endeavour.

By 1890 most of the fervour which had marked the attempt to expand Victorian elementary education had passed. Schools were now accessible to all children; a central administration had been established and had developed procedures which, though rigid, had resulted in improvements ; the religious question had been resolved, if not to the satisfaction of all parties at least to a degree which had reduced controversy. With the advance, there was still much that was depressing : teachers were poorly trained and defectively educated, the curriculum was narrow, methods of teaching were stereotyped, and the Education Department either suppressed or ignored criticism. The state of primary education became worse during the depression of the 1890s. The Teachers College in Melbourne, the only training institution in the State, was closed ; senior teachers were demoted or compulsorily retired ; schools were amalgamated and class sizes increased ; the few tentative experiments which had been begun were ended ; and the dissatisfied teachers became more disheartened and their distrust of the Department increased. However, the very depths to which the system had sunk by the mid-1890s increased the vigour with which it was attacked by critics, of whom the most prominent representative was Frank Tate— inspector, then Teachers College principal, and from March 1902, Director of Education. Their efforts, and those of others, contributed to the setting up of the Fink Commission, which first widened its warrant so that it covered all aspects of education (and not just technical education as was originally intended), and then produced a report which criticised severely the administration and general efficiency of the Education Department.

Using the report's recommendations as a guideline, a thorough overhaul was begun of the primary school system, and in fact of the whole Department. The pupil–teacher system, though not abolished completely, was largely reformed, and the Teachers College was made an integral part of a primary teacher's professional preparation so that, when secondary schools were gradually expanded, it became possible to recruit trainees with a reasonable general education. Payment by results ceased, teachers were encouraged to experiment with new techniques, and the curriculum was extended. The three Rs, for example, were liberalised until they came close to what would be expected in a primary school today ; history and geography were given greater prominence; nature study and manual training were established as ordinary subjects and not as " frills "; and physical education was encouraged. Tate worked on these and allied changes particularly vigorously in the early years of his directorate, and introduced into Victorian primary schools the theories and methodology which, in England and the United States, had been called the New Education. Confusions and ambiguities in the theory and

practice of the New Education were not articulated, but Tate faced these problems with enthusiasm, administrative skill, and political adroitness to accomplish his task. By the time of his retirement in 1928 he had succeeded in remodelling the primary school system.

For the next decade there was little change in the attitudes and methodology of the primary schools. The curriculum was revised, most noticeably in 1934, and the improvement in teacher training which had been begun was carried further. The New Education had run its course and the curriculum and methodology it introduced tended to become progressively more rigid. On the whole it was a time of stagnation. The most significant change was administrative. As the State secondary schools slowly expanded after the passing of the 1910 Act, they forced a reconsideration of the function of the primary school ; in fact it became, for the first time, a primary school as such. Only a minority of primary school students went on to the State high schools, but by 1934 the primary school had reached a discernable stage in the educational process ; previously primary education (or, to use the more correct term, elementary education) had been terminal.

The dramatic expansion of Victorian primary education after the Second World War caused considerable strain. Insufficient teachers, meagre accommodation, and the stretching of scarce resources so preoccupied the administrators that school activities received scant attention ; the reforms which the New Educationists initiated early in the century and slightly modified later continued to provide the basic procedures. Overseas visitors found the Victorian primary school of the 1940s and 1950s conservative, stiff, formal, offering a narrow curriculum, and over-concerned with that maintenance of order, neatness, and respectability which had been a preoccupation of the Victorian primary schools in the 1850s. Inspectors, though no longer examining for payment by results were still (correctly) regarded by teachers more as assessors than as advisers. The interest in experimentation, which had followed the New Education and was evident again for a short time in the 1930s, had disappeared, and there was little difference between the curriculum and methodology of 1950 and those of 1920. Since the early 1950s, however, the curriculum has lost some of its rigid stratification ; handwork has turned into art ; history and geography have been amalgamated to form social studies ; the teaching of science has replaced nature study; and arithmetic has changed gradually into mathematics. Methods have also become more flexible, and more effort has been made to cater for the differences between children, and alternatives to the class lesson have been sought. It has proved possible to expand teachers colleges so that a three year course is now universal. One hundred years after the 1872 Act the Victorian primary school is in a process of change ; dissatisfied with what it has achieved, it has, in the last twenty years particularly, begun a search for a new role.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

On 3 March 1841 Thomas Henry Braim, Victoria's first secondary school headmaster of any significance, landed at Melbourne with his wife and three children. He had come from Hobart, where he had previously opened the Hobart Town Grammar School, but irked by the somewhat

exclusive policy of the trustees, had resigned after three frustrating years
to teach for a further three years in other schools. He then opened
a private school, only to be faced with strong competition from a
government school established by Governor Arthur. In 1839 he took
charge of a proprietary school, and was making progress when Governor
Franklin announced the establishment of the Queen's School. With an
educational outlook formed from the ideas of Pestalozzi, of Thomas Arnold
of Rugby, and of the headmasters of English middle class schools such as
Cheltenham and Wellington, he tried to attract pupils to a superior school
in the Wesleyan Chapel, Swanston Street, after his arrival in Melbourne.
The attempt failed and he departed for Sydney, where he became headmaster
of Sydney College. Enrolments fell off seriously with the economic depression,
and in 1844 he resigned and went to England. Returning in 1846, he
accepted the invitation of William Rutledge, a large landowner of Belfast
(Port Fairy), to open a superior school with the aid of a State subsidy. The
school progressed; in 1848 he was ordained deacon by Bishop Perry (and
priest in 1849), and continued to establish schools in the Belfast area until
his collation as Archdeacon of Portland.

The lessons of Braim's frustrating experiences as a private school
master, and those of others such as he, were not lost upon the Government
and the educational leaders in Victoria in the 1850s and 1860s. Realising
that the private school was likely at best to eke out a precarious existence,
the Government between 1853 and 1856 set aside a sum of £40,000 for
the use of the churches in founding secondary schools. Scotch College
(1851), St Patrick's College, East Melbourne (1854), Geelong Grammar
School (1857), Melbourne Grammar School (1858), Geelong College
(1861), and Wesley College (1867), received grants of land, and finance
from the government fund. There were hesitations in some quarters, notably
among the Presbyterians who were divided on the question of State patronage,
but after 1851 the opposition to the acceptance of grants declined.
By 1872, when the Education Act made elementary education a responsibility
of the State, the secondary schools had developed a decidedly public
character. They had moved away from any kind of exclusive policy
and had admitted pupils without regard for the religious affiliation of
their parents. They had become the recognised institutions for preparing
students for the Colony's two notable public examinations, the Civil Service
examination, and the Matriculation examination of the University of
Melbourne. In 1871 the Government empowered the Department of Public
Instruction to award annually eight exhibitions tenable at the secondary
schools to selected State scholars; in 1881 the number was raised to eleven;
and by 1900 more than 260 in all had been awarded. There were good
reasons why the leading secondary schools should have earned the appellation
of " public schools ".

The Act of 1872 in Victoria, unlike the 1880 Act in New South Wales,
did not mention State secondary schools. A recommendation for State high
schools was made some five years later by C. H. Pearson in his capacity
as a Royal Commissioner inquiring into the state of public education in
Victoria, but it drew no marked response from the Government or the
community. Secondary education remained a field for public and private
initiative. The churches, especially the Catholic Church, took advantage

of the rising population and continuing prosperity to found more schools. The Jesuits founded Xavier College, Kew, in 1878; the Christian Brothers, who had earlier opened a school in Victoria Parade in 1868, founded a second school in St Kilda in 1878; in 1889 the Holy Ghost Fathers founded the school in Ballarat which became St Patrick's College, controlled after 1893 by the Christian Brothers; and in 1893 the Marist Brothers founded schools at Kilmore and Bendigo. Secondary schools for girls were also founded. The first to prepare girls for Matriculation were the Presbyterian Ladies College, East Melbourne, and Mary's Mount, Ballarat, both founded in 1875. Then followed the Methodist Ladies College, Kew, in 1882, and the Catholic Ladies College, East Melbourne, in 1889. By the turn of the century the Presentation, Mercy, and Brigidine orders of the Catholic Church had established schools in the country as well as in the metropolitan area to prepare pupils for secondary school examinations.

It was rare for local government bodies to show initiative in the founding of secondary schools. There was one outstanding example, however, shown by the Sandhurst (Bendigo) Borough Council. In 1870 it established the Sandhurst Corporate High School with a former vice-principal of Scotch College as headmaster. Although the Council severed its formal connection with it in 1873, the school carried on; it remained in existence until 1912, when the Education Department, taking advantage of a special transfer clause in the Education Act of 1910, took over the lease of the school from the two headmasters. The driving force behind the Bendigo venture was a Scottish chemist who was familiar with the practice of municipal support for town grammar schools in Scotland. Private initiative manifested itself wherever there was a promising concentration of population not already served by a church school, and provided for the foundation of schools which were later to be incorporated and to develop into substantial institutions. Among these were Caulfield Grammar School, Camberwell Grammar School, Brighton Grammar School, Haileybury College, Hamilton College, Clarendon College, Ballarat, Fintona College, Melbourne, Girton College, Bendigo, Queen's College, Ballarat, and Ruyton and Tintern in Melbourne. Other schools, like Ararat Grammar School, Bairnsdale College, and Williamstown Grammar School were the forerunners of State high schools. There were over 100 private schools presenting students at the University's Matriculation examination in 1900, and some 340 such schools have been identified in Victoria in the period 1890 to 1910; the largest was South Melbourne College.

The State entered the field of secondary education with the establishment of continuation schools. The first to be established was in Melbourne in 1905; it was followed in 1907 by similar schools in Ballarat, Bendigo, Warrnambool, and Sale, and in 1909 by schools in Shepparton and Wangaratta. The Director of Education, Frank Tate, represented the continuation schools as the means whereby the State primary schools would be provided with junior teachers. However, following a visit to Europe and America in 1907 he began to see them, at least those in country areas, as agricultural high schools, providing " such an education as will enable a boy ultimately to become an educated, intelligent, practical farmer ". His observation of the part played by the schools of Europe in the development of scientific agriculture and of the impact of the belief in the virtues

of rural living on educational thought in America, and his experience of the drift of population from the country to the city during his seven years as an inspector of schools in the Charlton district, had united to produce a vision of the State high school as the prime means for the reconstruction of country life. The Act of 1910, which empowered the Education Department to establish high schools and higher elementary schools, therefore contained a specific provision for courses in experimental agriculture at a school farm and in such industrial subjects as had a bearing on the industrial requirements of the districts in which the schools were located. By 1925 Victoria had thirty-three high schools, thirty of them in country areas.

Tate made a bold attempt to find a truly national purpose for schools, which he regarded as national institutions, and he succeeded in building a system of State high schools and higher elementary schools, but he failed to develop the rural and local elements in the curriculum. His most difficult problem was to modify the traditional idea of the nature of secondary education. Since 1855 the curriculum of the schools had been largely, though not wholly, governed by the University's Matriculation examination, which had exercised a markedly conservative influence in education. Most of the changes which had taken place had flowed from the efforts of schoolmasters. Dr Alexander Morrison of Scotch College played a leading part in having French and German added to the list of matriculation subjects in 1862; the study of literature was prescribed in the matriculation course in English only after Ballarat College (1864) and Scotch College had demonstrated for some years that it could be taught successfully ; and the heads of the leading schools in Melbourne and Geelong battled for ten years to have the physical sciences made matriculation subjects, finally succeeding in 1881. At the turn of the century the schools were still conscious of a gap between matriculation requirements and the insistent educational needs of the schools. The University persisted, for example, in prescribing Euclid instead of a modern geometry text, and it held out against proposals to make Agriculture a matriculation subject. The establishment in 1906 of public examinations distinct from the Matriculation examination was of some help in modifying the school curriculum, but Tate believed that the solution to his problem was to obtain effective participation in the formulation of university policy on Matriculation and public examinations. This was achieved in 1912 when the University established the Victorian Schools Board to control its public examinations. This Board was representative of the Education Department, the Registered Schools, the University, and the business community. The new Board, which was to control public examinations until 1964, proved itself reasonably responsive to suggestions coming from the schools, both State and Registered, and steadily increased the opportunities for individual pupils to pursue their special interests. It was responsive, first to the demand for the teaching of the commercial skills, then to the demands for technical subjects such as domestic science and mechanical drawing, and then to the movement which was pressing for art, musical appreciation, general mathematics, general science, and social studies. The number of Leaving Certificate examination subjects rose to thirty-one.

In 1964 the Schools Board was superseded by the Victorian Universities and Schools Examinations Board. The opening of Monash University in

1961 and the establishment of La Trobe University in 1967 had made it necessary to reconstitute the Board. The representation of interests on the new Board is remarkably similar to that of its predecessor. The universities' representation is proportionately slightly larger; that of the State education authorities, the Registered schools, and business interests much the same. The absence of change in the proportionate representation of the State and Registered schools is interesting in view of the tremendous growth in the number of State high schools after the Second World War; they numbered 190 when the new Board was constituted. The Registered schools, however, sent up a disproportionately large number of candidates to the public and Matriculation examinations and to the universities. The State and Registered representation is, consequently, less remarkable than the great increase in the number of State high schools might suggest. Since 1964, however, the number of State high schools has risen to over 250; these together with higher elementary schools, central schools, and others brings the total number of State secondary schools to more than 270.

The new Board has been responsive to the needs of the schools. In 1967 it abolished the School Intermediate Certificate examination, which had been made obsolete by a marked increase in the numbers of pupils staying on at school to complete five or six years of secondary education. This action presented the schools with the problem of organising a new curriculum for the junior secondary years. The Education Department appointed a representative Curriculum Advisory Board to provide information and advice, and in 1968 took the further step of throwing responsibility for devising new curricula and courses of study on headmasters and staff. While these moves were under consideration special attention was paid to the problems of the senior secondary school. In 1966 the Department evolved a plan for two-year regional senior high schools organised to meet the special instructional needs of senior pupils and guided in their corporate practice by a recognition of the fact that Australian adolescents were maturing earlier into young adults. Though the plan was opposed by secondary school teachers and subsequently shelved, departmental study of the reorganisation of secondary schooling has continued; high schools have been encouraged to introduce experimental courses in science brought from America and general studies courses along lines pioneered by English grammar schools. After 1968 the Examinations Board extended the benefits of examination by classroom teachers for the School Leaving Certificate to a larger number of pupils. In 1970 the Board replaced the Matriculation examination by a Higher School Certificate examination. The liberating effect of the changes made since 1966 has been considerable, but the problem of reconciling the legitimate demands of higher education and those of the general run of secondary school pupils was no less acute in 1972 than it was in the 1850s, when Melbourne headmasters decided that they would accept gladly the discipline of the Matriculation examination but would refuse to be limited by it.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Colonial society was very conscious of the various uncultured elements of origin and behaviour to be found in the young Australian community, and the mechanics institute movement of Britain was quickly adopted

in Australia. Only three years after the establishment of the London Mechanics Institute in 1823 a move was launched for the formation of similar bodies in the Australian colonies, and institutes were formed in Hobart in 1827, Sydney in 1833, and Melbourne in 1839. The Melbourne Mechanics Institute was launched under the auspices of the master builders of the young city, who called for " the promotion of science in this rising colony ; particularly among the young as well as the operative classes ". One of the most frequently stated aims of the mechanics institutes was to instruct working people in the " principles of science underlying their trades "; the intention was not to teach trades themselves, as this would have been unpopular both with working men proud of their crafts and with employers jealous of their trade secrets. However, the educational value of the institutes was very limited, and their appeal to working people lay more in their social and broadly cultural functions than in any direct teaching they could do.

After the gold rushes technical education proper started to become a popular theme, partly because mining posed increasingly complex technical problems, partly because it was held that education should be offered to all and that technical education was the only kind likely to be of value to the working class and their children, and partly because of a growing feeling that the separate colonies, and Australia as a whole, were facing a world of increasing trade rivalry in which success would go to the skilled. The result of these concerns in Victoria was the formation of the Technological Commission in 1868. It was not a successful organisation as its activities were largely confined to setting up a number of part-time drawing schools, and it was terminated in 1890. The schools of mines were far more successful than either the mechanics institutes or the Technological Commission. Australia's first technical college, the Ballarat School of Mines, was opened in 1870. This was followed by the Bendigo School of Mines in 1873, and then later in the 1880s by numerous similar institutions ; it became a matter of pride for a Victorian country town to have a school of mines or technical college.

The schools of mines were often set up with little forethought, and to their founders one of the disappointing things about them was that they seldom effectively fulfilled the function of training young people for trades and technological work. They were far more successful in their role of poor men's grammar schools, offering a variety of courses, from telegraphy to Latin and from watercolour drawing to book-keeping, to an ambitious young generation leaving the primary schools and seeking the taste of a broader secondary education. They were often criticised for not fulfilling their primary function and after the onset of the depression of the early 1890s fell on hard times. So too did the Working Men's College (now the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology), which was opened in 1887 with the help of generous donations from philanthropist Francis Ormond. The Working Men's College was far more efficient and effective than most of the other technical institutions scattered throughout Victoria, and it experienced immediate success, both in the trade training it provided and in its broader curriculum. However, the depression of the 1890s stopped its expansion and it did not revive effectively until well into the twentieth century. As a result of the failures and problems of technical education, a Royal Commission was set up

in 1899 under the chairmanship of Theodore Fink. Although no immediate reforms were made in technical education, the Commission's thinking epitomised a change in attitude which had been taking place both about technical education in particular and about working-class education in general ; it was felt that federated Australia needed many workers specifically trained for specific jobs, and the nineteenth century aim of providing general education and the opportunity for cultural and personal advancement through the technical schools died away.

Until 1911, when Donald Clark was appointed the first Chief Inspector of Technical Education, the Victorian technical schools remained unreformed and inflexible. Clark had been director of the Bairnsdale and Bendigo schools of mines, and he felt " something akin to despair " when he investigated the state of technical education after he commenced his work as Chief Inspector. Over the next twenty years Clark transformed the role of technical education and infused it with a new self-respect. He created junior technical schools in 1912 to act, not always successfully, as feeders of the senior technical colleges; he launched for the first time a number of new senior colleges directly under the control of the Education Department; and he fought for high standards and prestige for his institutions and the teachers in them. Despite some advances, such as the passing of the Apprenticeship Act in 1927 and the institution of day-release for apprentices in 1932, technical education remained poorly supported until the Second World War. Equipment and accommodation were frequently unsatisfactory and out of date, and the colleges did not always succeed in meeting the demands of the developing industries which radio and automobiles brought into being. The Second World War brought new challenges to Australian industry and education, and rapidly increasing numbers of students attended technical colleges under war-time and post-war training schemes. This led to expansion in many areas and improvements in staffing, financing, and equipment.

It was not, however, until after the report of the Commonwealth Government's Martin Committee in 1965, that quite new developments occurred in technical education. As a result of the report a division has been made between the tertiary level or " diploma " work of the technical colleges, and the " certificate ", trade-training, and secondary school work which has also traditionally been called " technical education ". The Victoria Institute of Colleges has been established as an independent authority to co-ordinate and guide the overall development of what is now called the " advanced " sector of higher education. Together with this there has been a great expansion of buildings and courses, the rationalisation of standards and awards, and increases in salaries and prestige. The financing of technical education is no longer the sole responsibility of the State Government, and for the first time technical education shows signs of filling the role in national development which was envisaged by its founders. The section on Non-university Tertiary Education (pages 501-2) describes this.

<div align="center">TEACHER EDUCATION</div>

During the 1840s educationists such as the Rev. James Forbes had strongly recommended the establishment of a Normal School or training institution for teachers. At this time the shortage of teachers was alarming

and some who were employed were scarcely literate. There is evidence, however, in a letter of Dr Charles Perry, Bishop of Melbourne, that diocesan training schools existed in 1849. The Commissioners of the National Board appointed in 1852 recommended to Lieutenant-Governor Charles La Trobe that a Normal School should be established. Out of this proposal, and inspired by school inspector Hugh Childers, came the first State-aided system of training teachers in Victoria. In July 1854 Mr and Mrs A. Davitt, who were selected by the Commissioners of National Education, Dublin, Ireland, arrived to take charge of the Model and Normal School situated in East Melbourne. In May 1855 the first teacher training institution in Victoria opened with the admission of twelve students. The National Board established a salary structure and standards for accrediting its teachers, and in January 1856 seventy-one candidates, including fifty-nine teachers from the National Schools in the metropolitan area, submitted themselves for examination and classification. In the same year the first residential students were admitted and regulations were framed for a co-educational institution.

Despite a successful beginning, the National Board in 1859 decided to discontinue the training institution because of government retrenchment, and it also terminated the services of the principal and his wife. At this stage the Denominational Board, under the guidance of Richard Hale Budd, appointed Mr Stephen C. Dixon to be principal of St James' and St Paul's Training Institution which was open to all denominations and provided more than 300 teachers for Victorian schools before its closure in 1869. From 1870 teacher training for the government service returned to its original home in Spring Street under Dixon who, with the passing of the Education Act in 1872, became an officer of the Education Department. The accreditation of teachers trained under the previous authorities, the National and Denominational Boards and the Board of Education, was now rationalised in a schedule which is clearly recognisable as similar to that in operation in the State service today. The course of training was two years in duration, the first being spent in an associated school under the headmaster or associate. Those who qualified were admitted to the training institution for the second year. The associated school system was abandoned in 1893 and its relationship to the pupil-teacher (later, junior-teacher) system, which began in 1854 and continued for 100 years, is clear.

In 1877 Frederick John Gladman, a notable author of pedagogics, succeeded Dixon as principal. The next decade was chiefly characterised by vigorous inquiry into the condition of education and by the recommendations and positive action of C. H. Pearson, Minister of Public Instruction from 1886 to 1890. Although a number of the objectives were not achieved in the immediate years, a new college was built at Carlton, and the minimum college training period was set at two years (later reduced to one year) ; model rural schools were created for teaching practice ; and special training was provided for teachers of infants. Gladman's successors carried out the establishment of the Melbourne Teachers College (now part of the Melbourne College of Education) on the Parkville site in 1889, but in 1893 the Government closed the college under the pressures of the financial crisis. It did not re-open until 1900. Frank Tate, a former student of Gladman, was responsible for a new impetus in education and was a lead-

ing advocate for the re-opening of Melbourne Teachers College ; he became its first principal. The scathing comments on its closure which came from the reports of the Royal Commission on Technical Education, which inquired from 1899 to 1901, strongly supported Tate's cause. In February 1900 when the College re-opened it had fifty-seven students. Within three years Tate took up the new post of Director of Education for Victoria and Dr John Smyth from New Zealand became principal; he remained from 1902 to 1927, and continued what Gladman, Pearson, Tate, and others had begun.

Opportunities were offered for students to specialise in manual training, drawing, kindergarten work, and domestic economy. The provision of university places in 1901 for second year students marked the greatest advance in teacher education until this period. In a few years students were able to complete a first degree and conclude their preparation with a postgraduate year for the Diploma of Education. This latter qualification followed from the appointment of Dr Smyth in 1903 to a university lectureship in pedagogy ; his elevation to a chair in 1918 established Education as a faculty of the University of Melbourne. One of the great changes from 1900 was the growth of the corporate spirit fostered by social and extracurricular activities encouraged by Professor Smyth. As much as any other change this quality marked the advance into the new century. Principals who followed Smyth at Melbourne worked under the serious difficulties created by economic recession and later the Second World War. In 1926 two new State teachers colleges were opened, one at Ballarat and the other at Bendigo.

In 1921 the Associated Teachers Training Institution, now generally known as Mercer House, had opened in two rooms in a city building. Its present establishment at Armadale had an enrolment of 157 students in 1971. A three year course for a primary diploma and one year of professional preparation for those who have completed certain courses at a university or technical college are available. Most of these graduates enter private schools. The other independent college was the previously described Melbourne Kindergarten Teachers' College.

For the third time in the history of Victoria, an economic depression at the beginning of the 1930s produced the same government reaction— closure of teachers colleges. Ballarat and Bendigo ceased operations at the end of 1931 ; Melbourne escaped closure but lack of finance eliminated a number of courses, students' allowances, and university places. Recovery was slow, but by 1939 the re-establishment of Manual Arts, Domestic Arts and Infant Teachers courses began, and T.P.T.C.* students prepared to pay their own way were granted extensions to study university subjects. Of 378 students in college, 300 were one year primary entrants. Although new buildings were completed in that year, hopes for further development were stifled by the outbreak of war.

Re-opened and new colleges indicate the measures taken to meet the phenomenal rise in school population after the Second World War. The list of these colleges is impressive. The establishment of State teachers colleges occurred in the following order : Bendigo (re-opened 1945) ; Ballarat (re-opened 1946) ; Geelong (1950) ; Secondary (Melbourne) (1950) ; Domestic Arts (1950) ; Toorak (1951) ; Technical (1952) ; Burwood

* Trained Primary Teacher's Certificate.

(1954) ; Centre for Training Teachers of the Deaf (1954) ; Coburg (1959) ; Frankston (1959) ; Monash Secondary (1961) ; and La Trobe Secondary (1970). In 1971 the number of students in training was approximately 14,000. In recent years Catholic colleges have been developed to provide for the staffing of Catholic schools. Christ College at Chadstone, Mercy College at Ascot Vale, and the Christian Brothers' Teachers College at Box Hill provide three-year courses of teacher preparation. In the universities Monash has had an expanding Faculty of Education and La Trobe commenced courses in 1970. Melbourne in conjunction with the Secondary Teachers College commenced a B.Sc. (Educ.) course in 1968.

In the 1960s there were decisive developments in the training of teachers : the minimum preparation of a primary teacher was raised from two to three years ; each year an increasing number of secondary students was engaged in concurrent four year courses ; the range of specialist courses was widened ; the objectives of teacher preparation became concerned more with the personal education of the student rather than the production of classroom technicians ; there were new plans for in-service education ; and there was a revival of the teachers colleges building programme and an infusion of Commonwealth funds into this development.

By the beginning of the 1970s teacher education was receiving the benefit of Victoria's high pupil retention rate in secondary schools and the continued high level of investment in facilities. It became the only State where students admitted to all courses had qualified to matriculate. As a result pressures increased for recognition of courses as degrees and the inclusion of colleges within the university framework. The solution to this problem of the place and status of teacher education and its implementation will be the major concern of the 1970s.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

The University of Melbourne was founded in 1853 when the Colony of Victoria was drawing up a Constitution. The University was established, incorporated, and endowed by an Act of the Legislative Council, with a Council of twenty to govern it. When the University had one hundred graduates with higher degrees a Senate was to be formed to elect members to vacancies on the Council and review the Council's legislation. The Council chose Sir Redmond Barry as Chancellor and Hugh Childers as Vice-Chancellor. Childers, the Auditor-General, had sponsored the University Bill. Barry, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, who had been in the Colony since 1839 and was now a Judge of the Supreme Court, remained Chancellor until his death in 1880. He wished for the University both a moral and an intellectual influence and he urged the selection committee in England, when choosing the first four professors, to nominate men of exemplary gentlemanly ways. The University began with an Arts course of three years. Two years of Greek and Latin, and one of geometry and natural philosophy were compulsory. For Barry, a vision of classical civilisations afforded by the study of their literature was the University's best contribution to the refinement of intellect, taste, and manners in the new colonial society.

The first Matriculation examination required six passes among the eight subjects: Greek, Latin, English, arithmetic, Euclid, algebra, history, and

physical geography. Sixteen students enrolled at the opening of the University in April 1855. J. P. Wilson, a senior Wrangler, Fellow of St John's, Cambridge, and Professor of Mathematics at the new Queen's College, Belfast, became Professor of Mathematics. Frederick McCoy, Professor of Mineralogy at Queen's College, Belfast, a palaeontologist who had published important work and had classified much of the Woodwardian Museum, Cambridge, was appointed Professor of Natural Science. W. E. Hearn, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, Professor of Greek at Queen's College, Galway, in the Queen's University of Ireland, was Professor of Modern History and Literature and Political Economy. The first Professor of Classics died before the University opened. M. H. Irving, a first class honours graduate in Classics at Oxford, then became Professor of Classical and Comparative Philology and Logic. He arrived in 1856. Professional courses followed rapidly. A Law course of two years, comprising subjects from the Arts course and some subjects given by a part-time lecturer in Law, began in 1857. A course in engineering, the first at an Australian university, leading to a Certificate of Civil Engineering, began in 1860 and consisted of the mathematics, physics, and " natural sciences " of the Arts course, and map drawing and surveying, taught by a part-time lecturer. The English apprenticeship tradition in engineering accepted in Victoria meant that university qualifications were not recognised, and there were few students. It was not so with the Medical School founded in 1862, and soon medical students outnumbered all others in the University. G. B. Halford, a professor at the Grosvenor Place Medical School, London, was the first Professor in the Medical School.

Though the University was metropolitan and professorial, drawing obvious comparisons with the University of London and the Scottish universities, the small numbers of students meant that teaching was tutorial and intimate. The four original professors lived in apartments in the quadrangle with a room set aside in each for lectures. Lecture theatres and a library were on the north side of the quadrangle which was completed in 1856. The grounds were landscaped and became a favoured place of public resort. In 1863 McCoy managed to have the National Museum, of which he was Director, built in the university grounds. It was a new gothic building, with a great hall modelled on the Oxford Museum. Many thousands visited the Museum each year. Gravelled paths led by the lake to the Medical School building with its graceful columned portico. The original Wilson Hall, named after its pastoralist donor, opened in 1880.

The University Senate, constituted in 1867, made possible a parliamentary type of politics for those interested in university reform. In the Senate and the Council a " caucus " composed mainly of schoolmasters constantly challenged Barry's administration. In 1879 admission was gained for women students. In 1882 new chairs in natural philosophy, engineering, pathology, chemistry, and English (which included the French and German languages), and the addition at matriculation level of natural science subjects and an honours standard, marked the culmination of ten years of agitation. A chair in biology was founded in 1887. However, this triumph of university reform in the 1880s was somewhat of an anti-climax. The new subjects proved of little vocational relevance in colonial Melbourne. The first Bachelor of Science degree was awarded in 1887, but a B.Sc. was hardly better as a trade

certificate than a B.A. and only eleven students took examinations at any level for the three-year B.Sc. degree in 1903. Engineering students remained few in number.

The Act of Incorporation of the University of Melbourne provided for " the affiliation to or connexion with the same of any college or educational establishment ". Residence, ancillary teaching, religious nurture, and clergy training seemed to have been the assumed functions for the colleges, a solution which had been decided upon at the foundation of Sydney University. The University was to have no religious test for staff or students, no religious teaching or observances, no clergymen among the staff and no more than four on its Council, and it maintained an anxious neutrality in religious and political controversy. The college reserve was divided equally between the Anglican, Presbyterian, Wesleyan Methodist, and Roman Catholic churches in 1860. Anglicans raised funds to open Trinity College in 1872 having achieved, with University help, the desired degree of independence after a governmental attempt to assert control. Other than the land on which they were built the colleges did not receive government assistance. Gifts from pastoralist Francis Ormond enabled the Presbyterians to establish Ormond College in 1881. The Methodists opened Queen's College in 1888. In the last years of the nineteenth century the three colleges under their distinguished heads, Leeper of Trinity, MacFarland of Ormond, and Sugden of Queen's, appeared to a number of professors as dangerous aspirants to the University's role. Attendance at university lectures was not compulsory and college tutorials could be attractive alternatives. There was even speculation that the professors might surrender their examining monopoly to Examination Boards. College heads, men on the spot, were considered to have undue influence on the University Council. It was thought that the colleges diverted alumnus sentiment and private giving from the University. When Professor Strong chose to live in Ormond College in 1881 he was rebuked by the Professorial Board. A more confident University after 1904, however, had lost these misgivings about the colleges. Janet Clarke Hall grew out of a hostel for women students established by Trinity in 1886. The Catholic Newman College and St Mary's Hall, later St Mary's College, were opened in 1918 and the non-denominational Women's College in 1937. St Hilda's, Whitley College, Ridley College, Medley Hall, International House, Graduate House, and the R.A.A.F. Academy have become associated with the University of Melbourne in recent years.

After the boom of the 1880s, when eight large houses for the professors and new medical, biology, and natural philosophy buildings displayed signs of government goodwill, the depression of the 1890s caused the University to suffer from reduced funds. The Arts course was at its lowest ebb ; some professors found their classrooms almost deserted. A Royal Commission from 1902 to 1904 under Theodore Fink examined the purpose of the University and tried to indicate its future. The emphasis of the Commission fell on the University's training role for specific occupations. Reorganisation schemes for the engineering, medical, and law courses were provided ; recommendations were made for a chair of pedagogy, a degree in education, and the " further recognition . . . by the Education Department to holders of degrees in Science, Arts and Education " to revive the languishing Science and Arts courses as quasi-professional schools; a School of Mining

Engineering, the affiliation of the Dental College and Hospital, and a research role for the University especially in relation to government departments were also advocated. Thomas Bent's Ministry responded in 1904 by doubling the statutory endowment and promised £12,000 if private giving would equal it; this was done within a year. The creation of subgraduate diplomas was a feature of the post-Fink years. By 1912 the University offered diplomas in Agriculture, Analytical Chemistry, Architecture, Education, Metallurgy, Mining, Music, and Public Health. Between the publication of the Fink Report and 1914, the University created Chairs of Botany, Agriculture, Anatomy, and Veterinary Pathology, and developed courses in dentistry and in mechanical and electrical engineering. No chairs were created in Arts between 1886 and 1938, when the Chair of French was created.

The Government became directly involved in university affairs by stipulating expenditure on projects such as agricultural studies and evening lectures and from 1904 had nominees on the Council. The University Act of 1923 reconstituted the Council as representative, by nomination or election, of various interests, and the graduate body no longer had responsibility for choosing the University's governing body. In 1935 R. E. (later Sir Raymond) Priestley became the first permanent salaried Vice-Chancellor, a position whose proposal dated from the 1880s, and the management function of the early chancellors ended.

From 1859 it had been possible for students to enrol and pass examinations without attending lectures but examinations could only be taken in units of a full year's work. From the early years of this century the University undertook to train the part-time student gaining his qualification, often by a subject or two at a time, especially in Arts and Education, and in the Commerce School established in 1923.

The years after 1945 saw a great change in all Australian universities, because a far greater proportion of the community than ever before endeavoured to obtain degrees. An early warning of the coming pressure occurred in the late 1940s when ex-servicemen swelled the student numbers to the highest figure to that time. The University of Melbourne erected many war-time huts and other temporary buildings to meet immediate needs, and for the most crowded three years also used a former Air Force camp at Mildlura where first-year students lived in. A few years of respite followed this post-war rush, but crowding soon reappeared in consequence of both the higher birth rate after the end of the depression of the 1930s, and a greater proportion of boys and girls completing secondary education. The position would have become hopeless without financial help from the Commonwealth. This came in 1958, after the Murray Committee had been invited to survey the scene and had reported and advised the Government on the urgency of the need. New multi-storey buildings transformed the face of the University of Melbourne during the 1960s. At the same time the Committee recognised that the University had not the space to cope with the flood of students, and recommended that a new university should be created. Later the Commonwealth's advisory body, the Australian Universities Commission, recommended a third university. The two new universities were Monash, opened in 1961 and La Trobe, opened in 1967. Both of these have grown with remarkable speed, reaching 11,000 and 3,000 students, respectively, in 1971. Even so, they could not keep abreast of the number of applicants,

and quotas have been established in each university to keep the numbers to a level which can be handled with the available space and staff. By 1970 the Government had appointed a committee to investigate the founding of a fourth university in the State.

Another post-war change was the recognition of postgraduate training as a major part of a university's task. Doctorates of Philosophy were first awarded by the University of Melbourne in 1949, and Ph.D. students are now found in all three universities. Commonwealth scholarships and awards have been extended to a large proportion of students, both undergraduate and postgraduate. At the University of Melbourne numbers have stabilised at about 15,000 (including students for higher degrees). The intention is that the newer universities will reach a similar figure. These newer universities have been built far enough away from the centre of Melbourne (to the south-east and the north, respectively) to ensure ample space on the campus. Both of them aim at covering the bulk of university subjects, but some restrictions are made : for example, medical courses are available only at Melbourne and Monash, and agriculture only at Melbourne and La Trobe.

EXAMINATIONS

The first external examination in Victoria was the Matriculation of the University of Melbourne conducted in 1855 and intended primarily then as now as a qualification for entry and to maintain university standards. It also established a relationship between the University and secondary schools, created an authoritative and independent arbiter of secondary school standards, and preceded a school " system ". Until 1905 the demands of the University and society upon secondary education were reconciled by changes within the Matriculation examination alone : the range of examinable subjects was increased, alterations were made in university prerequisites, and after 1901 the examination could be taken at either pass or honours level. In 1905 the Primary, Junior and Senior Public, and Junior and Senior Commercial external examinations were established, details being prescribed by the Professorial Board and the Board of Public Examinations on behalf of the University. They were designed to encourage secondary enrolments, to establish school standards, and to certify the educational achievement of school leavers, and they brought the Victorian system into line with existing practice in New South Wales and South Australia. Between 1906 when the separate Matriculation examination was abolished and 1944 when it was re-instituted, matriculation simply meant the registration and admission as a university undergraduate via the public examinations. However, until 1917 students could matriculate without full secondary education, by means of the Senior Public Examination, by the Junior Public with three distinctions, or by a prescribed combination of the two.

In 1910 control of the public examinations was vested in two new boards whose composition and functions were defined a year later. The Schools Inspection and Examinations Board (not to be confused with the Schools Board of later years) consisted of four members elected by Council and four by the Professorial Board. The Board of Public Examinations was responsible for the details of the public examinations : the majority of its members represented the University, but it included five representatives of business interests, five secondary teachers, and two representatives of

technical education, as well as the Director of Education and the Principal of the Melbourne Teachers College. In 1915 the newly established Schools Board, the direct precursor of the present Victorian Universities and Schools Examinations Board, became responsible, subject to approval by the Professorial Board, for school studies, inspections, and examinations. Its twenty-eight members still had a slight university majority, but the growing importance of State primary and secondary education was reflected in the increased representation of the Education Department and secondary teachers, in contrast with the declining representation of business interests. By 1918 the Professor of Education was a member of the Schools Board.

Also, in 1917 the Schools Board abolished the Primary and Commercial Public examinations, and after 62 years ceased conducting public examinations bi-annually. The Junior Public became the Intermediate Certificate, designed for secondary pupils of about 16, and the Senior Public became the Leaving Certificate, to be taken two years after completing the Intermediate. Matriculation was either by the Leaving Certificate, or by any other examination recognised by the Professorial Board on the Schools Board's advice, a practice which arose from the 1917 system of accrediting approved schools for public examinations. In 1919 Schools Board inspectors could recommend remission of external examination requirements still operative on accrediting schools. In the same year the Leaving Certificate was divided into two stages : a Leaving Certificate which constituted Matriculation, taken one year after Intermediate, and Leaving Honours, regarded primarily as a preparation for faculty prerequisites, taken two years after Intermediate. Thus, except for the Proficiency Certificate established by the Education Department in 1938, all secondary examinations from 1908 to 1944 were public examinations and from 1917 were controlled by the Schools Board. Matriculation was obtained by passing the School Leaving Certificate Examination, either by taking the external examination or by taking it internally in a school accredited by the University. This alternative method of gaining Matriculation which obtained until 1944 was a landmark in examinations procedures. In 1944 the Leaving Honours was replaced by a University Matriculation examination for the first time since 1906, thus reverting to the system of 1905, with subjects prescribed by the Professorial Board, although a prescribed pass in the Leaving Certificate was a prerequisite. The 1944 system of two public examinations and one University examination was retained, with minor modifications, until 1967 when the external Intermediate Certificate examination was abolished, permitting schools more freedom with curricula and assessment.

The Education Department has been responsible for secondary education not directly related to university studies, such as commercial, technical, and domestic science courses. The Departmental Proficiency Certificate, established after 1936 and developed as a substitute for the Schools Board's Intermediate Certificate whose usefulness was being questioned, became a Third Form examination when the Intermediate Certificate was retained. Primarily the Department was concerned with assessing elementary education as completion of the compulsory period of schooling and as qualification for entry to State secondary schools. In 1905, when compulsory education ended at the

age of fourteen, the Department provided a certificate for Standard 5, and a Certificate of Merit for Standard 6. In 1912, when the six standards of elementary education were divided into eight grades, the Qualifying Certificate at the end of Grade 6 provided entry to secondary education at Form 1, and the Merit Certificate on completion of Grade 8 gave entry at Form 3. As secondary schools began to accept pupils on the primary headmaster's recommendation, the Qualifying Certificate disappeared by 1937, although the Merit lingered until the raising of the compulsory attendance age and the system of automatic promotion rendered it redundant. Alongside the public examinations system there was the technical schools examinations system. This was limited to the technical schools, but large numbers of pupils in fact went through this particular system, obtaining the Technical Leaving Certificate which could lead on to entrance at a Technical College for diploma studies.

In 1961 Monash University was opened and a third university seemed certain. In June 1964 the Schools Board was abolished. A new examining body was established : the Victorian Universities and Schools Examinations Board, which, being responsible for the public and Matriculation examinations, could also incorporate the requirements of the universities. In 1971 the Board comprised thirty-nine members, of whom thirty-one were appointed annually ; eight were members *ex officio* representing the three universities, the Director-General of Education, the two Faculties of Education, and the directors of secondary and technical education. Of the annually appointed representatives, fifteen represented the universities ; eleven represented the Education Department, the Registered secondary schools (other than Catholic), and the Catholic secondary schools ; two represented industrial and commercial interests; and three, one of whom was the President of the Victoria Institute of Colleges, were appointed by the Board. In 1965 the Board moved its headquarters to St Kilda Road, consolidating its function as an independent forum for teachers, universities, and the Victoria Institute of Colleges.

The Board assumed responsibility for the public and Matriculation examinations established by the Schools Board. Later in 1967 it abolished the external Intermediate Certificate examination. The only public examination it now conducts is the external Leaving Certificate for a decreasing number of non-accrediting schools. In 1970 the sixth form Matriculation examination, originally established in 1944, was renamed the Higher School Certificate, and a letter-grading system was introduced.

In retrospect, the most important long-term trend in the development of Victorian examinations appears to have been the growing emphasis on internal assessment of secondary education to try to keep pace with the changing needs of schools and society.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

After Victoria became a separate Colony in 1851 the Army financed and conducted courses for teachers of physical training in government schools. Drill and Swedish exercises formed the content of courses for both teachers and children. The aim was primarily precision of movement, and the work had little educational or developmental value. Swimming was introduced into schools in 1898 ; an officer in charge of swimming was appointed in 1909,

and in the following year Frank (later Sir Frank) Beaurepaire was
appointed to assist in the development of the swimming programme. In
1915 the State Schools Amateur Athletic Association was formed, and within
three years regular inter-school competitions took place at primary and
secondary levels in swimming, football, cricket, rounders, and women's
basketball (seven to a side).

In 1910 the Education Department appointed a female organiser of
physical education, and renewed its arrangement with the Army, which
continued to be responsible for the preparation of teachers of physical
training; it was at this stage that physical training tended to become physical
education. Although the organiser and her assistant were always accompanied
by an Army instructor responsible for men's work when they travelled
throughout the State to conduct training courses, the emphasis was never-
theless shifting from drill towards movement designed to promote the well-
being of the child. In 1931 the Education Department dispensed with Army
assistance, and the Organiser of Physical Education for boys and girls
became responsible for physical education. In 1934, with a Royal visit
approaching, a teacher was seconded to assist in the presentation of a massed
physical education display; he also organised and conducted an intensive
course at Melbourne Teachers College. In 1946 a syllabus of physical
education was published in book form outlining physical education for
Victorian schools. In 1964 the title of Organiser of Physical Education was
changed to Supervisor of Physical Education.

In the early 1960s great advances were made in physical education;
some decentralisation was effected with the creation of divisional advisers,
existing posts were up-graded, and new posts were created. The first open-air
school was established at Blackburn in 1915, and the first remedial
gymnasium was opened in 1944. Victoria now has three remedial gymnasiums
(a feature still unique in Australia) where for many years some 900 children
have followed courses of remedial treatment, through exercise, each week;
these children were referred to the gymnasiums by physicians of the School
Medical Service. In 1970, following a change of policy, physicians ceased
to refer children for remedial treatment, and the number attending for
remedial treatment began to dwindle.

In 1937 the first physical education department in Australia was estab-
lished at the University of Melbourne, and a two year subgraduate diploma
course was established. Specialist teachers of physical education for
both government and registered schools in Victoria are trained at the
University of Melbourne. A small number of physical education specialists
find employment outside education in fields such as rehabilitation, national
fitness, and industry. In 1939 a further agency concerned with physical
education was created with the establishment of the National Fitness Council
of Victoria. Close co-operation exists between the University, the National
Fitness Council, and the Education Department. For many years there
were no covered activity areas at the University of Melbourne for physical
education; in 1954 Sir Frank Beaurepaire's gift of $400,000 provided
facilities for the Department of Physical Education. During the 1960s
a gymnasium has come to be recognised by the Education Department as an
essential school requirement and a swimming pool as a desirable one.

In recent years there has been a gradual increase in the range of activities

offered in the University of Melbourne diploma course and at schools. The same type of expansion is evident in the work of the National Fitness Council and the universities' sports union clubs. At all levels and in all places fast growing interest in outdoor adventure type activities has also been apparent.

NON-UNIVERSITY TERTIARY EDUCATION

In 1868 a Technological Commission was established in Victoria to promote technological and industrial education, but it was not to spend more than £100 a year on technical instruction. Two years later the first technical school, the Ballarat School of Mines, was opened, followed by the Bendigo School of Mines in 1873 ; Ballarat awarded, in 1897, the first engineering diploma granted in Australia. In 1882 a scheme was begun for the founding of the Working Men's College, out of which the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology developed, and three years later the Gordon Technical College was established, followed in 1908 by the Eastern Suburbs Technical College (later Swinburne), and in 1915 by the Prahran Technical Art School. The Commission was hampered by lack of funds and in 1890 its activities ceased. The Royal Commission set up under Theodore Fink to report on technical education completed its inquiries in 1901, and reported that ten schools of mines, five schools of art, and three other technical colleges were in existence. It considered that government aid had been inadequate and that more technical schools should be established. A period of reform began with the appointment in March 1902 of the first Director of Education, Frank Tate.

The Education Act of 1910 provided the basis for higher State education and made possible the establishment of district high schools, higher elementary schools, and technical schools. All technical schools established after 4 January 1911 were to be controlled by the Education Department, and some of the smaller country technical schools, previously controlled by school councils, were transferred later. The six major senior technical schools and their councils (R.M.I.T., Swinburne, Ballarat, Bendigo, Gordon, and Prahran) remained largely autonomous, although certain controls passed gradually to the Education Department. Substantial progress was made : junior sections were established for both boys and girls; school attendance became compulsory for apprentices ; special trades schools were established ; full-time professional diploma courses were increased in number and content ; a Technical Teachers College was set up ; and Repatriation Training, Youth Employment Training, Defence Training, and Reconstruction Training Schemes took place. In addition, senior technical schools were established by the Education Department at Caulfield, Footscray, Preston, and Yallourn, and at several other country centres as extensions of junior schools, though on a smaller scale. By 1964 there were fifty-two technical schools in the Melbourne metropolitan area and thirty-three in the country; also, one high school had a technical section. There were also five registered technical schools (Catholic), and the Victorian Railways Technical College staffed by the Education Department. While providing a sound general education, these schools were undertaking full-time, part-time, and correspondence tuition in a wide range of technical subjects in art, commerce, science, trade, and professional courses.

Government sponsored investigations into tertiary education led to the Ramsay Report (1963) and the Martin Report (1965) as a result of which the Commonwealth Government introduced matching financial grants to colleges of advanced education and established the Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Advanced Education to recommend the levels of such grants. The Victoria Institute of Colleges, a statutory authority, was established in June 1965 to co-ordinate and develop tertiary education within the framework of those colleges which were affiliated with it. It thus represented an alternative system of tertiary education to that provided by universities. In December 1967 an amended Act extended the powers of the Institute. It became responsible for controlling college staff establishments, and recommending staff salary scales to the Governor in Council, and the approval of major financial and building programmes ; the governing councils of the affiliated colleges were also authorised to exercise autonomous control over their daily affairs. Through its Board of Studies the Institute maintains a general oversight of academic standards. The colleges are controlled by independent councils which have the responsibility for enrolment and instruction, the appointment of staffs, the organisation of courses, and financial management within the allocated budgets. The colleges at present award diplomas, and the Institute has the authority to award degrees to students of affiliated colleges if they have completed approved courses. The first degrees, for Bachelor of Pharmacy, were awarded to Institute candidates of the Victorian College of Pharmacy on 5 June 1968. Eighteen degree courses were approved by the Council of the Institute in 1970 for introduction by the colleges in 1971 in engineering, applied sciences, business studies, and architecture. Sixteen colleges were affiliated with the Institute in 1971. The Melbourne metropolitan colleges are : Prahran College of Technology, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, Swinburne College of Technology, Victorian College of Pharmacy, Victorian School of Speech Science, Occupational Therapy School of Victoria, the Physiotherapy School of Victoria, the College of Nursing, Australia, and also the Preston, Caulfield, and Footscray Institutes of Technology which were formerly Education Department colleges. The affiliated country colleges are the Ballarat Institute of Advanced Education, the Bendigo Institute of Technology, and the Gordon Institute of Technology (Geelong), together with two others which were also former Education Department colleges, the Warrnambool Institute of Advanced Education and the Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education (Churchill). A total of over 25,000 full-time and part-time students, of whom 12,500 were full-time, were enrolled in 1971 in professional courses at affiliated colleges.

LIBRARIES

Apart from the enterprise of individuals such as John Pascoe Fawkner and Redmond Barry, who dispensed books from a hotel and from a private residence, respectively, library development in Victoria began with the opening of the Melbourne Public Library in 1856 after two years of construction work. This institution, which in 1869 was incorporated with the National Gallery and Museum, dominated library services for the public until 1946 when the Free Library Service Board Act was passed. The Melbourne Public Library later became known as the Public Library of

Victoria, but since 1960 has been named the State Library of Victoria. From the beginning the Library was financed by the Colonial Government, and the early trustees attempted to serve the whole of Victoria, not just the city area. Thus, in 1859 Victoria became a pioneer in the use of travelling libraries, whereby cases of books were sent to mechanics institutes and other centres on extended loans. This service was confined to institutions within ten miles of Melbourne until 1867 when this limit was abolished. In 1892, after a deputation from the Trades Hall, a separate lending library was opened for metropolitan residents, and extended to country areas in 1920. The metropolitan section closed in 1971.

In its early years the Library collected books in all fields, but special emphasis was given to general and British history, classical literature, theology, and particularly to science and its applications. At present general and historical bibliography, fine arts, music, history, biography (including genealogy and parish registers), military history, languages, and law are the main subjects covered. There is also a large amount of material relating to Victoria, and, under the "legal deposit" provisions of the Copyright Act of 1869 and subsequent legislation, one copy of all works published in the State must be deposited in the Library. This collection of books, newspapers, maps, pictures, and objects of historical interest, together with other Australiana and material on New Guinea, the South Pacific, New Zealand, and the Antarctic, is now housed in a special wing called the La Trobe Library which was opened in 1965. The same building houses some of the Library's Archives Section which was created in 1955. It holds the State Government departmental and semi-government records, which are selected and accessioned and then organised for administrative and research purposes. The Archives Section is available for government agencies and departments or any person interested, depending upon access instructions.

As in other States, the provision of free libraries by local government bodies was retarded, mainly because of the lack of tradition in local government and the habit of looking to the central government for initiative and funds in educational matters. The Melbourne Mechanics Institute, founded in 1839, provided a library, and gradually mechanics institutes and other subscription libraries were established in most suburbs and country towns. By 1913 there were over 500 of these institutions, but they were never free public lending libraries, and after 1890 their quality declined. However, a few municipalities such as Collingwood, Hawthorn, Fitzroy, Northcote, and South Melbourne did provide a free library service, while Prahran was the first municipality in Australia to establish a children's library.

In the second decade of this century professional organisations of librarians and, later, persons such as the late Sir John Latham, Chief Justice of the High Court of Australia, began a campaign against deficiencies in library service, and the Munn-Pitt Report in 1935 created enough interest for action to be taken. In 1940 the Library Service Board was established, and following its report in 1944 the State Library was separated from its affiliated bodies; in 1947 a separate Free Library Service Board was set up to promote, subsidise, inspect, and organise public library services throughout the State. Lionel McColvin (Librarian of the City of Westminster, London) made detailed recommendations in 1947, and emphasised the need for suitably trained

librarians to staff the new libraries, with the result that in 1948 the Library Training School was established in the State Library. It was being phased out in 1971 when courses became available elsewhere. The Jungwirth Report of August 1964 stressed the need for co-operation and co-ordination to develop library services in Victoria, and accordingly the *Library Council of Victoria Act* 1965 set up a single council—the Library Council of Victoria— to carry out the functions of the Free Library Service Board and those of the State Library Trustees.

With the establishment of the Free Library Service Board a new system of State Government grants had been instituted, which subsidised munici- palities' running costs on a dollar for dollar basis. In 1958, however, the subsidy was limited to 40c a head for metropolitan municipalities at which level it remained until the early 1970s. In 1962 the limit for non-metropolitan municipalities was set at 50c a head, but this was raised to 80c a head in 1970. There are no capital subsidies, but there are small annual special grants to children's libraries, country free libraries, and regional library systems. Both official inquiries into library services had stressed the need for regional library systems so that the resources of municipal councils and of the central government could be used to the best advantage. In 1966 the Local Government Act was amended to enable local government authorities to pool their resources and establish regional library committees to administer such systems.

In recent years special attention has been given to the libraries of government departments and State instrumentalities, which since 1958 have been staffed from the State Library. Their improvement and co-ordination have contributed to the activities of the various establishments while adding significantly to the library resources of the State. In 1969 the Library Council of Victoria adopted a State plan for library development which included the establishment of major regional reference libraries, a revised basis of subsidy, and a closer integration of the State Library of Victoria in the public library system of the State.

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF VICTORIA

In 1853 the Legislative Council decided to establish the Museum of Natural History, which began its work in the following year. The founders were influenced partly by the prevailing popular interest in natural history in the United Kingdom where voyages of discovery had stimulated private collections, and partly by their desire to discover the natural resources of their new environment. Owing to financial stringency, the Museum was established in the rooms of the Assay Office in La Trobe Street on 1 March 1854. In the same year William Blandowski was appointed Zoologist, and he set out on a field expedition to central Victoria on 27 June. Collections were rapidly accumulated, and in 1856 they were removed to the University under the care of Professor (later Sir) Frederick McCoy who was appointed Director in 1858. A second field expedition was carried out by Blandowski in 1856 to the Murray River, and three years later a taxidermist was appointed, an indication that much zoological material was being collected. Over 30,000 visitors were recorded for 1859.

Professor McCoy augmented local collecting by purchasing specimens and models from Europe. He was also palaeontologist to the Geological

Survey, and had its office transferred to the Museum in 1862. An assistant was appointed in 1864. Costs increased and McCoy had difficulty paying for the collections he had purchased ; in 1867 the staff took out writs for their salaries. In spite of these difficulties the number of recorded visitors steadily rose, and in 1868 the Museum was awarded a prize in the Intercolonial Exhibition. The following year, when visitors reached 85,000, it was incorporated in a Public Library, Museum, and National Gallery Act, under which the first Trustees were appointed in 1870. McCoy's chief scientific contributions were the *Prodromus of the palaeontology of Victoria* (first Decade published in 1874), and the *Prodromus of the zoology of Victoria* (first Decade published in 1878). In 1885 visitors numbered over 100,000, and collections made by various expeditions and research workers were being presented. The mineral collection, originally with the Industrial and Technological Museum which was opened in 1870, became a part of the National Museum in 1899, the year McCoy died.

The turn of the century was an important period for the Museum. Professor (later Sir) Baldwin Spencer, who became Professor of Biology at the University of Melbourne in 1887, was appointed a Trustee in 1895, and Honorary Director in 1899, the year in which the Museum was removed from the University to its present location. His notable researches in natural history and ethnology were recognised by his election to the Royal Society in 1900, and he made excellent field collections of biological and ethnological specimens for the Museum. The first edition of *Memoirs,* a publication which still reports research, was published in 1906. In that year also, the new wing on the Russell Street frontage was opened. Conservation has always been a principle of Museum activity, and as early as 1907 Baldwin Spencer suggested a committee for advising the Government on fauna protection and national parks. Basic to the Museum's function has been the acquisition of collections of scientific value on which much of its service of identifications, its research, and its exhibitions depend. In addition to the specimens collected by the staff, large numbers of collections have been received from natural history expeditions (e.g., the Horn Expedition into Central Australia, and several Antarctic expeditions) and from private collectors, for example, bird skins from John Gould in 1858 and H. L. White in 1917, mammals, reptiles, and anthropological artefacts from Spencer and Gillen from 1900 to 1916, sponges and polyzoa from Bracebridge Wilson in 1886, hydrozoa from W. M. Bale in 1923, insects from H. J. Carter in the same year, mollusca from Gatcliff in 1935, the Mann collection of Aboriginal artefacts in 1927, the collection of fossils from George Sweet in 1902 and from F. A. Cudmore in 1937, and in 1948 the E. J. Dunn collection of minerals, including diamonds and gold.

During the Second World War many specimens were removed to the country for safe keeping. In 1945 an Act was passed instituting its own Trustees for the Museum, and in 1948 the old Observatory site in the Domain was reserved for the construction of a new Museum which is now being planned. Since 1963 trained teachers attached to the Museum have taught school children in an education service; the service also lends teaching aids. The rapid post-war development of Melbourne together with the development of new sciences such as genetics and ecology have influenced work at the Museum, requiring a larger range of specimens needing greater space.

Dioramas showing species in their natural environments are now standard exhibits.

In 1970 an Act replaced the Trustees with a Council which has the status of a body corporate.

SCIENCE MUSEUM OF VICTORIA

In October 1870 the Science Museum of Victoria, then known as the Industrial and Technological Museum, commenced courses of technical education covering the subjects of chemistry, physics, physiology, and geology, and within a year enrolments reached a total of 2,216. These courses continued until the work was taken over by the newly established Working Men's College in 1887. Seventy more years were to pass before any formal educational services were to be resumed in the Museum.

In 1957 a temporary part-time lecturer was appointed to cater for the needs of visiting school groups, and in 1959 a full-time permanent appointment was made. These services proved to be so popular and demanding that an appeal for teacher secondment was made to the Education Department, and in March 1962 the first teacher in the Science Museum took up duty. By 1971 the education officer strength had been increased to seven, three full-time and four half-time. The annual number of school children receiving lectures and demonstrations has increased to about 45,000 from all primary and secondary levels, including a total of 30,000 receiving instruction in astronomy at the H. V. McKay Planetarium.

An important feature of the new education service is the thoroughness of its planning and execution. School parties are pre-booked, and escorting teachers nominate in advance the topics to be covered. The visits are now much more than guided tours, areas being set aside for children to operate and experiment with specially provided technical equipment ; also, a wide variety of printed information is available for distribution. These services have proved to be a valuable supplement to classroom study.

ADULT EDUCATION

Adult education in Victoria originated in the mechanics institutes, over 500 of which were founded, the first in 1839. Typically, each had a library, subscribed to newspapers and journals, organised lectures, and served as a centre for community decision making. Each one was a separate voluntary organisation, and as only the premises were subsidised, when financial problems arose and policy decisions had to be made, most of the institutes declined. In 1891 the University of Melbourne set up a University Extension Board on the Oxford model at the instigation of men such as Judge Henry Bournes Higgins. Their philanthropic aim was to make available to the less privileged some of the benefits of university learning, and they ignored the mechanics institutes as being insufficiently intellectual. The 1893 depression badly hindered the scheme, which had to be self-financing, and the cost of its university teaching was so high that only a few hundred students could be served. By 1910 the movement had virtually come to an end.

In 1913 Albert Mansbridge visited Australia, and disseminated the ideals of his voluntary Workers' Educational Association, which he suggested should organise working-class students, for whom the University would supply tutorial classes. Subsidies were expected from the State, as popular democracy depended on politically efficient citizens. The First World War hindered the scheme; the Workers' Educational Association lost its early capable and influential leaders; organised labour refused to support it; and the rigours of the tutorial class system proved idealistic. By 1921 this movement, too, had deteriorated. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s a diluted Extension and Tutorial Classes movement continued to help a few thousand students a year but the work was hindered by the depression and uncertain policies. There were three university inquiries into the working of the Extension Board during this period. In 1939, however, the appointment of a Director of Extension who had a leaning towards popular as against academic adult education ensured a new direction of policy which became established by 1945. In 1946 the Minister of Public Instruction set up an advisory committee on adult education. It recommended the formation of a statutory body, and in May 1947 an Act came into force establishing the Council of Adult Education as part of the State educational system. The cost to the taxpayer was to be nominal.

Since that time the Council has developed diverse educational activities and helped other agencies implement adult education. The Council has always adopted a " liberal " and " open " approach, expressed in its metropolitan class programme, its discussion groups, its occasional schools, seminars, and workshops, its community arts activity, and its library services. During the early 1950s with its travelling theatre it brought music, drama, and ballet regularly into over 100 Victorian and border country towns, and later, with the National Gallery, art exhibitions as well. The advent of television, and the Council's encouragement of local voluntary drama groups throughout the State, terminated this policy in 1956.

In the 1960s the Council helped to establish adult continuing education centres in Wangaratta, Benalla, Shepparton, Warragul, and Yallourn in conjunction with the Education Department, using local schools and having local planning and financial autonomy. It has also aided the adult education scheme under the Geelong Regional Library Committee.

A recent and notable development has been the engagement, in the education of adults, of various agencies. The University of Melbourne provides many lectures open to the public, and organises specialist courses for graduates and others. The Adult Education Association of Victoria, working with the C.A.E., arranges conferences, weekend schools, and other activities, and assists many groups concerned with aspects of adult education, such as the Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A., National Fitness Council, National Gallery Association, National Trust of Australia (Victoria), Arts Council of Australia (Victorian Division), Victorian Drama League, and many churches. The Australian Council of Trade Unions has an education officer whose work is largely concerned with adult education.

4

THE ARTS

PAINTING

Painting in Victoria originated before the arrival of John Batman on the Yarra River; apart from the drawings and decorations of the Aboriginal inhabitants, the first pictorial records were made in the service of the sciences of classification by exploratory voyagers. Indeed, between 1750 and 1850 a great deal of artistic talent both professional and amateur was engaged in the recording of botanical, zoological, and topographical information on the new territories. The pattern of development of the visual arts in Australia is typical of that of European colonisation; in Australia and in Victoria one can trace the movement through " Colonial ", " Provincial ", and " Cosmopolitan " eras and styles. The Colonial period is characterised by its derivation from European models largely British in origin, and is co-existent with the pastoral development of the country. Victoria was settled in the mid-1830s, and by 1850 Melbourne with a population of 23,000 was already evidencing the Australian concentration of population in the capital cities. However, the time was not yet ripe for the emergence of the fine arts. Despite the fact that the pioneers included many men of cultivated taste and intellectual discernment, the rigours of settling the land largely precluded local artistic production. The separation of Victoria from New South Wales in 1851 coincided with the discovery of gold. The subsequent gold rush immigration brought an influx of men of learning from many parts, and physically transformed Melbourne from a township to a city. It is in the 1850s that the history of painting in Victoria really begins.

Artists of this time devoted themselves either to the depiction of the turbulent society of the times or to landscape, though these activities necessarily overlap. Samuel Thomas Gill (1818–1880) is the representative artist of the gold rush. As a young Englishman Gill had come to Adelaide with his parents in 1839. The lure of gold brought him to the Victorian gold diggings in 1851, and in 1852 he published in Melbourne the folio of lithographs, *A series of sketches of the Victorian gold diggings and diggers as they are;* such work was sought after both in Australia and abroad where gold rush migration fever was at its height. In his extensive travels Gill recorded the life of the digger, the pastoralist, and the towns in their period of early growth. He introduced into the repertory of Australian art genre subjects of the everyday life of his times, a theme later taken up by artists of the 1890s and 1940s, notably Tom Roberts (1856–1931), Fred McCubbin (1855–1917), Russell Drysdale (b. 1912), and Sali Herman

(b. 1898). A notable collection of Gill's work is housed in the La Trobe Library. The landscape tradition as a means of pictorial expression is probably the most fruitful in Victoria's history to date. Contemporary with the settlement of Australia, landscape as an independent art form became the dominant mode of expression in Europe. Thus the natural impetus inspired by the novelty of the countryside was reinforced by the prevailing tide of metropolitan art, and it is little wonder that Australian painters have long sought and continue to seek their utterance in landscape painting.

A little known painter of the colonial period is Thomas Clark (1814–1883) ; it is the scarcity of his work and not its quality which has led to this lack of recognition. He came to Melbourne in 1857 at the age of thirty-nine with a fine reputation as artist and teacher in England, and entered fully into the life of the community ; in 1861, the year of the founding of the National Gallery of Victoria, he was urging the Victorian Government to create a National School of Arts. When evening art classes were eventually established at the Artisans' School of Design in 1867 he there taught figure drawing, and artists of the later generations including Tom Roberts owed him much. In the year of his arrival Clark painted *The coast near St Kilda,* a delightful picture with landscape and genre harmoniously wedded.

Nicholas Chevalier (1828–1902), a Swiss who came to Victoria in 1854, and Eugène von Guérard (1811–1901), an Austrian who arrived in 1853, typify the informed taste of this period in Victoria ; both were highly trained in the European academic manner of the nineteenth century. Both favoured picturesque views of the still primeval countryside, and they painted these landscapes with a meticulous linear exactitude, embellished with typical aspects of the Antipodean scene, and its flora and fauna ; such work appealed to the local pastoral and professional aristocracy. Still largely British in origin, their aim was to recreate in Victoria the social refinements of contemporary metropolitan England. The National Gallery of Victoria, of which Guérard was first curator, has a fine example of his work, the *Valley of the Mitta Mitta, with the Bogong Ranges,* 1866. Marcus Clarke's opinion of Chevalier's prize-winning *The Buffalo Ranges, Victoria,* 1864 is interesting ; he called upon the public to notice how the artist had conveyed " in a very brilliant manner the effect of the sylvan sunlight peculiar to our clime ". This theme was to occupy the attention of artists in Victoria for the next 50 years ; their main objective was to master the art of landscape painting and to create a new visual convention capable of interpreting in artistic terms the original beauty of the newly found country.

In 1865 there arrived Louis Buvelot (1814–1888), an artist whose influence was crucial to this development ; it is difficult to overestimate the importance of his work in Victoria. He was an artist of great ability and sensitivity, who introduced a new poetic concept to the emerging landscape tradition. He favoured the simple rural scenes of the French " Barbizon " school, so known from a group of artists who worked at that village in the forest of Fontainebleau during the mid-nineteenth century, their aim being a direct, unadorned rendering of peasant life and scenerv. Buvelot's most famous landscape is *Waterpool at Coleraine,* 1869. This is a farming scene of a waterpool reflecting the setting

sun, beneath two great gums which quite fill the central plane of the picture. The twilight hour gives a uniform low tone, a harmony of gold-browns, tans, and russets. It must be remembered that this district did not in itself reflect the wilder aspects of the primeval countryside. Thus in rejecting the exotic, Buvelot found plentiful subjects in the Port Phillip farmlands for his quiet artistry.

Buvelot's achievement influenced the formation of the " Heidelberg School ", whose predominant position in the history of painting in Victoria must be considered in relation to a rapidly emerging colonial culture. The 1880s climaxed a period of economic expansion which made possible a local patronage to encourage a native school of painters. During the late 1860s schools of design were founded under the stimulus of the Trades Hall. By 1875 the National Gallery Art School in Melbourne had forty-one students, amongst whom was Tom Roberts (1856–1931). The flowering of the " Heidelberg School " was fostered by the Art School and fathered by Roberts. Mainly native-born or having lived in this country from youth, these artists created that style which is most commonly regarded as Australian landscape. They forged their individual approach to a national style when the Australian States were moving towards Federation.

Tom Roberts was their inspiring leader. After his studies in Melbourne, he visited England and the continent for some four years from 1881. When he returned in 1885 he brought back a doctrine of painting directly from nature, seeking momentary impressions of light and shade. In short, it was with a motif of " truth to nature " that they started to interpret the countryside anew. With Fred McCubbin (1855–1917) Roberts set up a painting camp at Box Hill, then a nearby village and now a suburb of Melbourne. When they were joined shortly afterwards by Arthur Streeton (1867–1943) and Charles Conder (1868–1909), the " Heidelberg School " of Australian impressionists had come into being. Though Roberts was the central figure, it is rewarding to examine the novel qualities of this style, not in the work of Roberts himself, but in a painting by his younger colleague, Arthur Streeton. For it is the manner of Streeton which dominates the painting of landscape in Australia for the ensuing forty years. In 1896 Streeton painted his large picture of the Hawkesbury River, called *The purple noon's transparent might*. Its most striking feature is the high tone key to capture the modifications of local colour under intense sunlight. Another is the broad impressionist brushwork of this canvas which was painted out of doors on a hillside overlooking the river valley in two days during a shade temperature of 108 degrees. This romantic painting with its intense visual excitement sums up the optimistic mood of the period which saw Australia as a pastoral paradise.

The buoyant years of the 1880s were followed by economic depression, which in turn was followed by drought and industrial troubles. In these conditions most of the rising artists looked towards Europe for the fulfilment of their ambition ; by the turn of the century Paris had attracted many artists who could afford to travel. During this decade members of the Lindsay family grew up at Creswick and subsequently their careers found expression in water colour, line drawing, book illustration, and other fields. Typical artists of this Edwardian era were Rupert Bunny (1864–

1947) and E. Phillips Fox (1865–1915), both of whom painted scenes of elegant middle class leisure in garden settings in a form of modified impressionism. Fine examples of their work in the National Gallery of Victoria are Bunny's *Les endormies,* 1911 and Phillips Fox's *The arbour,* 1911. Parallel to their crisp light-toned salon impressionism there ran another tradition in the painting of the Edwardian era.

In 1892 an English artist, L. Bernard Hall (1859–1935), became director of the National Gallery of Victoria. Hall favoured the European tradition of tonal illusionism, and under his influence students came to admire most the work of the Spanish painter Velazquez (1599–1660). They reverted to the use of the darker toned palette which their predecessors had discarded, and placed a greater emphasis on portraiture. The two finest artists of this school were Hugh Ramsay (1877–1906) and Max Meldrum (1875–1955). Ramsay, a most gifted artist, died young. On the other hand Meldrum lived to found a school of painting loosely called "Meldrumism", whose influence persists in Victoria to the present day. During his studies in Europe from 1899 to 1913, Meldrum developed a theory of objective vision with an emphasis on the analysis of tonal values. Two fine examples of his work in the National Galley of Victoria are *Picherit's farm,* 1910 and *Portrait of the artist's mother,* 1913.

The years following the First World War saw the development of a strange situation. The daring innovators of the 1880s and the consolidators of the Edwardian era had returned to Australia from their studies abroad. Upon their return, these erstwhile innovators formed an artistic establishment to maintain the existing traditions, either of impressionism or of tonal illusionism. Consequently the advent of the influence of European "Post-Impressionism" was long delayed in Victoria. However, during these years of social and economic unrest there grew an interest in "modern" art, which to that generation meant largely the art of the Post-Impressionists, Paul Cezanne (1839–1906), Paul Gauguin (1848–1903), and Vincent van Gogh (1853–1890). In Melbourne that interest was crystallised in 1932 by two artists making common cause to found a school of painting, championing the new principles. These artists were George Bell (1878–1966) and Arnold Shore (1897–1963). By their own work both these artists have contributed to the history of painting in Victoria. The impetus their example and that of their colleagues gave to the development of a modern movement was all important. In the years immediately preceding the Second World War, the Melbourne *Herald* brought out the first extensive exhibition of contemporary French and British art to Victoria. The combined tradition of the Shore–Bell school and the controversial influence of this exhibition led to the formation in 1939 of the Contemporary Art Society in Melbourne under the chairmanship of Bell.

The Second World War disrupted the artistic life of the community as had the First. Not merely did this happen during the war, but also in the aftermath of so many lives lost and others spiritually and creatively injured who could not recover the years of youth's endeavour. However, there emerged new tides in painting in Victoria, one school devoting itself to illuminate man in his environment, the other to pursue a new vision of this country in landscape painting. To illustrate these developments only a few artists must suffice. John Brack (b. 1920) depicted with

elegant dispassion and classic composition the life of suburbia. His best known picture of his early period, *Collins Street, 5 p.m.,* with its anonymous figures cast in similar modes, reveals the repetitive nature of the city workers released from the day's employment. Sidney Nolan (b. 1917) took his themes from history to create his own mythology, most notably in the series on the theme of Ned Kelly as the symbol of man in a hostile, unsubdued, and almost primeval landscape. Fred Williams (b. 1927) created a new vision of the land with its disorder, its ragged and wilful pattern of gumtrees bursting like fireworks on the horizon, and the asymmetry of the bush. Many other artists of great individual achievement and varied attitudes to both form and content enriched the art of the 1940s and 1950s. Among these were Arthur Boyd (b. 1920), Albert Tucker (b. 1914), and John Perceval (b. 1923).

As the influences from the great metropolitan centres of culture changed in fact and in style and place, many artists turned to abstract expressionism or to symbolic abstract compositions. However, Victoria remained the centre of figurative art, and one exhibition of 1959 (The Antipodeans), in the introduction to the catalogue, stated a credo defending figurative art. Nevertheless, the young artists of the 1960s turned more and more to minimal art, and this movement was summarised in the exhibition which was held to open the new National Gallery of Victoria in 1968. At that exhibition (The Field), the art was difficult to describe, but the words " hard edge ", " unit pattern ", " colour field ", " flat abstraction ", and " conceptual " have been used in discussing it. The Field exhibition marked a watershed as history moved into the 1970s.

A significant feature of the art of the past two decades has been the emergence of professional commercial galleries and the increasing interest of the public in art and its collecting. With the building of the new National Gallery Victorians will continue to be able to assess, support, and acquire the paintings of their contemporaries in whatsoever form it is manifest as the very categories of two dimensional, three dimensional, and environmental become less clearly defined.

<center>SCULPTURE</center>

In the middle of the last century architectural sculpture began to emerge in Melbourne with the arrival of John Simpson Mackennal. Typical of his work are the sculpture groups to be found above the porticos of the Windsor Hotel in Spring Street and the Railways Building in Spencer Street, Melbourne. His son Bertram became Victoria's first R.A., and was knighted for his services to art. The equestrian statue of King Edward VII in St Kilda Road, Melbourne, is an example of his work in this State. Charles Summers, the son of a stonemason and a graduate of the Royal Academy, arrived here at about the same time as Mackennal ; towards the end of 1853 he secured the position of a modeller, and in this capacity he executed the figures adorning the ceiling of Parliament House. A later work of his is the huge monument honouring the ill-fated Burke and Wills expedition. This statue in Spring Street, Melbourne, is one of the largest bronzes modelled and cast in Australia ; the standing figure of Burke is 13 ft high. These two examples of sculpture reflect a tradition which was to continue well
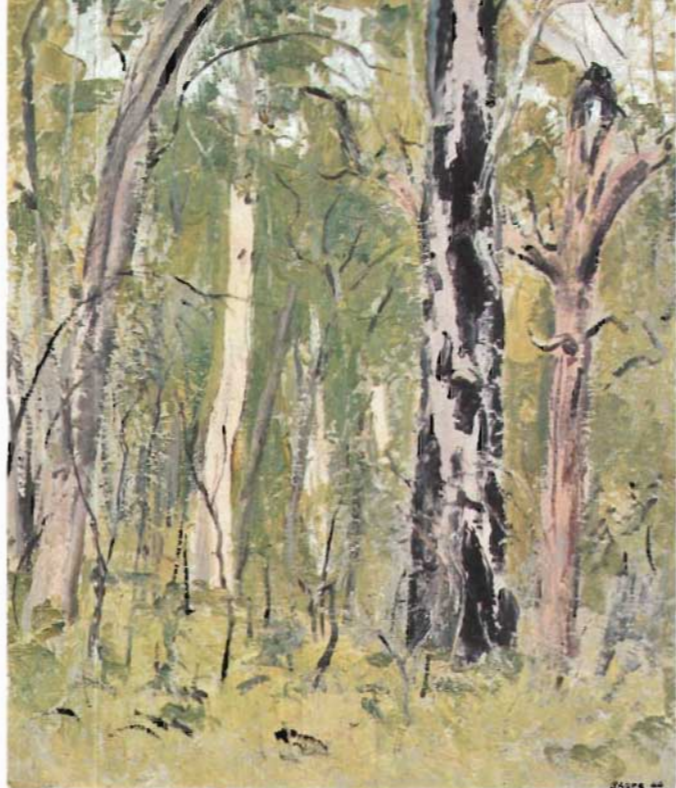
George Lambert *A sergeant of Light Horse* (1920, oil on canvas, 77.1 x 61.2 cm).

Tom Roberts *Coming south*
(1886, oil on canvas, 63.8 x 50.5 cm).

Louis Buvelot *Between Tallarook and Yea* (1880, oil on canvas, 106.7 x 161.? cm).

Arnold Shore *The bush* (1946, oil on canvas, 62 x 51 cm).

Russell Drysdale *Moody's pub* (oil on wood panel, 50.8 x 61.6 cm).

Thomas Clark *The coast near St Kilda, Melbourne* (1853, oil on canvas, 48.2 x 94 cm).

Sidney Nolan *Sergeant Fitzpatrick and Kate Kelly* (oil on hardboard, 63 x 76 cm).

S. T. Gill *Surveyors* (lithograph, 17.5 x 25.4 cm).

Walter Withers *Spring on the Lower Plenty Road, Heidelberg* (1907, oil on canvas, 35.6 x 51 cm).

Fred McCubbin *North wind* (1891, oil on canvas, 90.2 x 146 cm)

Eugène von Guérard *A view of the Snowy Bluff on the Wonnangatta River*, 1864 (oil on canvas, 93.2 x 152.4 cm).

Rupert Bunny *Self portrait* (oil on canvas, 65 × 50 cm).

Arthur Boyd *Irrigation lake, Wimmera* (resin and tempera on hardboard, 81.3 × 129.1 cm).
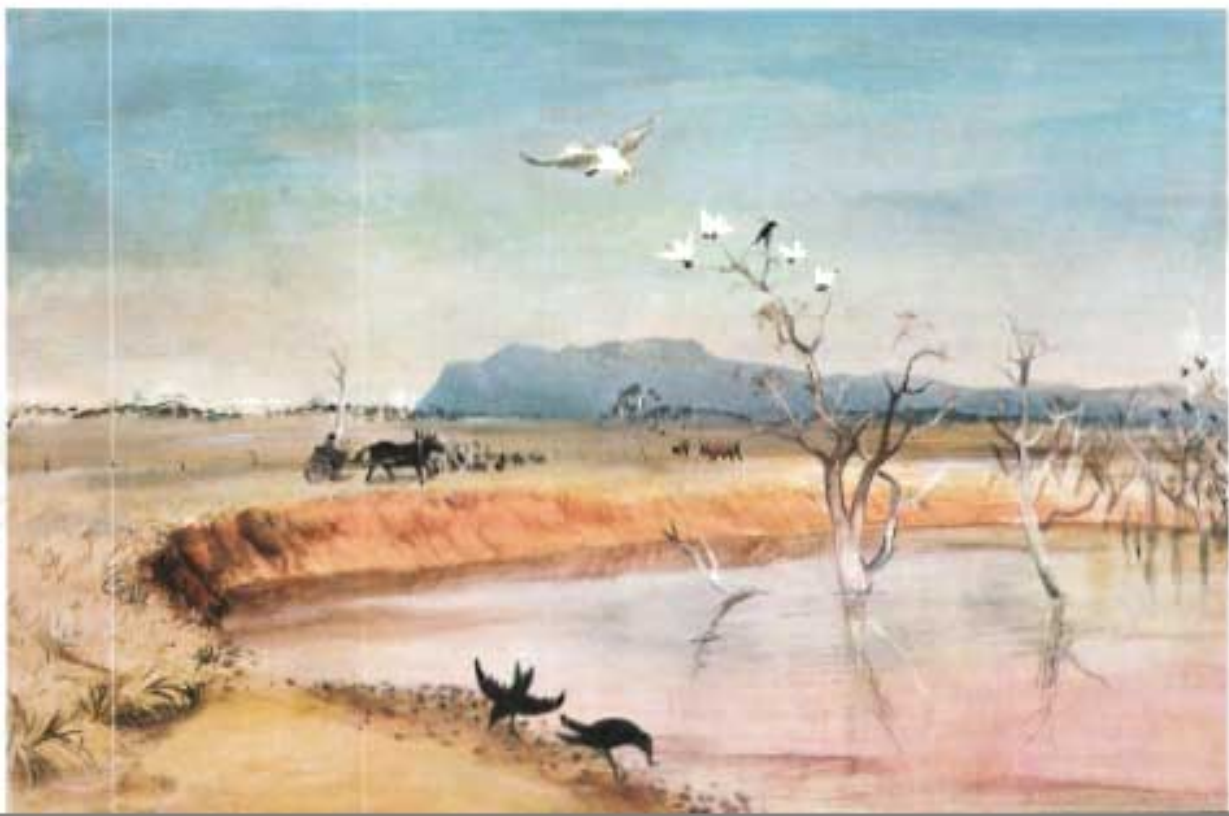
E. Phillips Fox *Moonrise, Heidelberg* (oil on canvas, 75.8 x 126.5 cm).

John Brack *Collins Street*, 5 *p.m.* (1955, oil on canvas, 114.6 x 162.9 cm).

into the early twentieth century. As far back as 1893 a group was formed which called itself the Yarra Sculptors Society. The original members were C. Douglas Richardson, C. Web Gilbert, W. C. Scurry, C. Y. Wardrop, J. McDonald, J. Fawcett, Margaret Baskerville, and E. S. Smellie.

The sculptures erected around Melbourne conformed to a pattern established in Britain and Europe during the nineteenth century, a movement to classicising the human figure together with concern for exact naturalistic representation ; the results were entirely without individuality and consequently Melbourne's sculpture was very uniform in character, the only differences being the skill of the sculptor in his rendering of naturalistic forms. The historical development of sculpture in this State between the two world wars emphasises the naturalistic tradition common to nineteenth century English sculpture as seen in commemorative busts and statues. It was generally of private works such as portrait busts or small bronzes, and public work which was either to commemorate the First World War or to embellish public gardens. Melbourne's leading citizens were immortalised in bronze, as exemplified by the statue of Thomas Bent by Margaret Baskerville at Brighton, and an avenue of the busts of Australian Prime Ministers in Ballarat was commenced by Wallace Anderson. The biggest commission granted was the sculpture to be included on the Shrine of Remembrance and this has been the only attempt in Melbourne's history up to the present day to ally sculpture and architecture on such an ambitious scale. Paul Montford won the final commission for the Shrine and was able to employ seven sculptors and assistants to help in its completion.

In the 1930s a few sculptors began to exhibit works in group exhibitions, although these were frequently appended to a painting exhibition. Critiques of the exhibitions were usually devoted to the paintings ; the only hint that sculpture was included was an all-embracing sentence and a list of the sculptors involved. In April 1933 the first group exhibition of sculpture to be held in Melbourne was organised by the local sculptors Orlando Dutton, Leslie Bowles, Wallace Anderson, Ola Cohn, George Allen, and Charles Oliver. Arthur Streeton enthusiastically welcomed the exhibition and expressed surprise that Australia, which had a clear atmosphere and a suitable climate to show sculpture to its best advantage, did not bear witness to this fact. To the contrary, Australian authorities tended to place items of sculpture among trees or in other rather inaccessible areas. Most of the major commissions for sculpture were associated with the First World War. Monuments were erected all over the country to commemorate Australia's first international adventure, and to laud the unique qualities of the Australian soldier in such titles as *Digger over the top, The gunner,* and *Call of the sword.* Due to the limited amount of commissions available it was deemed necessary to form the Australian Sculptors Society in 1933. The foundation members named above were later joined by others. This Society existed until 1939 when the outbreak of the Second World War forced it to disband.

Since the Second World War the whole field of sculpture has changed, and indeed the content of sculpture has altered markedly. Many influences are acting upon the Australian scene. There is the influence of new materials such as welded metal, plastics, fabricated material, and concrete which in

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many ways have tended to replace the traditional marble, bronze, and stone. One of the greatest influences has been the arrival in this country since the Second World War of sculptors with a wider and different background, a background influenced by the changing forms to be found in Europe since the early twentieth century. There are also Australian sculptors who, having spent some time overseas and having encountered similar experiences, have contributed to Victorian and Australian sculpture on their return. One of the most influential bodies of sculptors has been the Centre 5 group. The group was formed to increase the community's awareness of sculpture, and although exhibiting together, each member has maintained an individual style. Lenton Parr, Teisutis Zikaras, Clifford Last, Inge King, Vincent Jomantas, Julius Kane, and Norma Redpath were all responsible for exerting a profound influence during the mid-1960s by public lectures, studio visits, and major exhibitions interstate. As well as the influence of Centre 5, there have also been some major awards and competitions designed to foster sculpture, such as the Mildura Triennial, the Transfield Prize, the Comalco Aluminium Award, the Flotta Lauro Travelling Scholarship, and the Alcorso-Sekers Award.

There have been several significant contemporary works of sculpture. Norma Redpath's very large bronze *Relief* in the Theatre Lobby of the BP Building in St Kilda Road is typical of her work ; the *Relief* in the Administrative Building of the BP Refinery at Crib Point on Western Port is another major work of hers, as is the work over the main entrance of the National Gallery, based on the Victorian coat of arms and designed with the accent on integration with the facade. Clifford Last and Andor Meszaros are two other leading sculptors who work at sculpture as a full-time occupation. The former is represented by his *Family group* in the CRA Building, Melbourne. This work, completed in 1966, stands approximately 5½ ft high. Cast in aluminium in two sections it represents three figures. The forms are the forms of a carver, but they have been simplified somewhat to suit the character of the medium. Another example of Last's work can be found in the new Administration Building at the University of Melbourne.

A very good example of integration of sculpture and building can be seen on the new Customs House in William Street, Melbourne. This huge screen form was designed by Lenton Parr. Some other examples of his work included the *Fountain* in front of the General Motors-Holden's building at Fishermens Bend, a sculpture at the Chadstone Shopping Centre, and the four balustrades on the northern exterior wall of the Union Theatre at the University of Melbourne. Another worker in welded metal is Inge King. Her *Wall sculpture* produced in 1968 for the B.H.P. Research Laboratory at Clayton has been electrically welded, sand blasted, sprayed with a protective coating of bronze, and then oxidised black and rubbed with a wire brush to achieve its metallic sheen. Other of her wall reliefs can be seen at Ballarat Teachers College (1965) and Frankston Teachers College (1961); there is also a free standing metal sculpture *Euridice* produced in 1965 for the courtyard of the B.H.P. Research Laboratory at Clayton. A wall relief of great interest is to be found at the State Savings Bank, 186 Bourke Street, Melbourne. Cast in aluminium and bronze in many sections, it was produced by George Baldessin and

includes those organic forms he uses in his etchings and paintings ; it is actually two pieces of sculpture, but both pieces are closely related.

Two other major commissions executed in 1969–70 have been Peter Corlett's Arts Centre *Playground sculpture* and Clement Meadmore's huge iron composition on the Plaza of the AMP Square, William Street, Melbourne. It is interesting to contrast Meadmore's work with the ICI fountain by Gerald Lewers who died in 1962. Lewers travelled extensively in Europe and the Far East. This work reveals his emphasis on movement. Other examples of contemporary interest include Teisutis Zikaras, *Post Office Place fountain;* Tom Bass, *Judgment of Socrates,* Wilson Hall, University of Melbourne ; Stanley Hammond, *Chadstone sculpture,* Shopping Centre, Chadstone ; and Andor Meszaros, the facade of the Biology Building, University of Melbourne.

Sculpture in Victoria by the beginning of the 1970s was an accepted part of the community's artistic activity and in retrospect the developments of the previous twenty years appeared to exceed those of preceding decades.

NATIONAL GALLERY AND ARTS CENTRE

In May 1860 the Trustees of the Melbourne Public Library, encouraged by the increasing prosperity of the developing colony, decided that an art museum should be established. The sum of £2,000 was voted for the purchase of a foundation collection consisting of casts, medals, coins, gems, and other objects from England ; these were housed in one small room adjacent to the Public Library. Known as the Museum of Art, it was officially opened in May 1861 by Sir Henry Barkly, Governor of Victoria. On 24 December 1864 a picture gallery, hung with a group of works by contemporary British and European academic painters, was opened to the public. These pictures had been selected for Melbourne by the painter Sir Charles Eastlake, President of the Royal Academy and Director of the National Gallery in London. Under succeeding directors the collections have increased in extent and importance, and although many rooms and galleries had been added to the original building, by the early 1940s the lack of adequate display facilities and of suitable and uncrowded storage areas severely hampered art appreciation and represented a threat to the safety of the works. In 1943 a Government appointed committee recommended that a new National Gallery be built with a separate identity from the Public Library and other institutions at Swanston Street, and in 1946 the 7¼ acre Wirth's Park site in St Kilda Road at the southern boundary of the inner city was reserved. In 1956 a building committee of nine was appointed to raise funds and supervise the project. Three years later the architect was commissioned and, with the director, travelled extensively overseas to gather ideas ; by this time the project had been expanded. In 1961 the master plan for an Arts Centre—with a theatre and auditoria complex—was released, and an appeal, to which the public responded with great generosity, was launched.

Four years later the foundation stone of the new National Gallery, the first stage of the Victorian Arts Centre, was laid, and on 20 August 1968 the spacious bluestone building was officially opened by the Premier. The National Art Gallery and Cultural Centre Building Committee estimated the

cost of the Gallery building in St Kilda Road to be $14m. In 1971 the number of staff organising and maintaining the building, minding the collections, and attending to visitors was 170. Currently about 400,000 people visit the Gallery annually. As well, 60,000 children see the building and special exhibitions each year, through the work of the Gallery Education Section.

The Gallery's collection is now considered to be worth about $30m, although this figure can only be regarded as approximate, the value of almost every object having risen considerably since its acquisition. From 1861 until 1866 funds for purchase of material for the Gallery were provided by government grant. From that time donations and bequests have also been available. Some, such as the John H. Connell Bequest, were donations of objects, and others, such as the Felton Bequest, were pecuniary donations. Alfred Felton, one of the most important benefactors, migrated to Australia from England in 1853, and in 1866 joined in founding the house of Felton, Grimwade and Co., wholesale druggists. He died in 1904, and the residue of his estate amounting to £383,163 went to form a fund, the income from which was directed to be held upon trust in perpetuity. One half was for charitable objects and the other half for the purchase of works of art for the Gallery. The first purchases from this fund were acquired in 1905, and to June 1971 over $3,300,000 has been spent on works of art.

The next considerable bequest was made by John H. Connell, a well-known Melbourne citizen. A collection of china, glass, silver, furniture, paintings, engravings, and other objects of art was donated in 1914, and further items were added in 1929. These were mainly European pieces and it was not until 1938 that the Gallery acquired a large collection of Asian objects with the presentation of a collection of Chinese ceramics, furniture, and bronzes by Mr and Mrs H. W. Kent. In 1939 a collection of pictures, drawings, bronzes, textiles, china, furniture, ivories, and other works was bequeathed by Howard Spensley to the National Art Collections Fund of London, to be presented to the Government of Victoria. This was followed in 1942 by Mrs Colin Templeton who presented a collection of English porcelain covering the period from 1745 to about 1820 from Bow, Chelsea, Worcester, and Derby, as well as other English factories. In 1968, under an endowment made by William and Margaret Morgan, two hundred examples of English glass from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were presented from the famous collection of Mr Gordon Russell of Sydney. There have also been numerous smaller bequests of high quality.

One of the important aspects of the Gallery has been its school of painting. First recommended in 1861, it was established at the Swanston Street site in 1868. Among many well-known heads and teachers have been Eugène von Guérard and Fred McCubbin, and the school's connection with many leading artists indicates its significance in the history of Australian art. Its new building, on the south-west corner of the Arts Centre site, was completed in 1970.

ART EDUCATION

Programmes covering the practice and appreciation of the visual arts are included at all levels of education in Victoria. The expansion of these programmes has largely resulted from changes in art education overseas ;

they were implemented and interpreted to suit local conditions. Such adaptation has often been carried out within a particular age level or area, but there has been an increasing overall understanding of the role of the visual arts in relation to communication and education.

The first free kindergarten was opened in 1901, and in 1908 the Free Kindergarten Union of Victoria was established. By 1916, when training for pre-school teaching was undertaken in a separate institution, many of the media now employed in pre-school centres were already in use. While painting was more formal, free periods for two and three dimensional activities always gave opportunity for exploration, and no uniform result was expected. The freedom of finger painting was also enjoyed by pre-school children long before its value was realised at more senior levels. Pre-school centres recognise that commitment to constructive action, which is often evident in children's play, is the basis of all work, and they encourage this innate creative ability. From 1930 onwards an understanding of children's art as distinct from adult forms was assisted by the discoveries of Cizek (Europe) and Viktor Lowenfeld (U.S.A.). The Bauhaus influence became evident in the study of materials during the 1950s, and in the following decade there was greater recognition of the fact that children can only use the opportunity to be creative if their previous experiences have provided sufficient stimulus.

Manual arts lessons were given in primary schools before 1900, some schools at this time employing visiting teachers to teach drawing; pupils were often charged a small fee. In the late 1930s there was considerable discussion about the art syllabus, which had remained unchanged for many years, and as a result, a revised syllabus was issued in 1943 to encourage and preserve individuality and to extend qualities of perception and imagination. Since the appointment of a Supervisor of Art for primary schools in 1958 a composite art and craft syllabus has gradually developed. This has removed the previous rigid distinction between art and craft as separate subjects, permitting a more imaginative approach to materials and placing less stress on the production of " useful articles ". This new course was launched during 1967 through a State-wide television programme, which, in three twenty-minute films, showed classes of primary school children working creatively and with self-discipline ; the programme was viewed simultaneously by groups of primary school teachers throughout the State. Explanation and discussion followed each film ; this experimental introduction paved the way for more intensive in-service training. Now numbering about 250, art–craft centres staffed by primary teachers with a third year of specialised art training serve as focal points for advisory and in-service work within a district. This specialist oversight of art and craft activities throughout primary schooling aims at achieving continuity through all grades. Infant departments have adopted a creative course in which the self-imposed task invites visual experience.

Art education has undergone a fundamental transformation in secondary schools similar to that at the primary level, with greater scope for individual expression. Changes in the syllabus came to be closely linked with the requirements for the Matriculation examination, which date back to 1899 when the syllabus and examination of drawing were under the control of the Faculty of Engineering. Originally based on perspective

drawing from models, the subject was expanded during the next fifty years to include geometrical drawing, memory drawing, and the drawing of objects, plants, and geometrical design. The study of art history and appreciation was first introduced in 1927. Definite moves for reform in art education in Victoria were already being made when the *Herald* Chair of Fine Arts was established at the University of Melbourne in 1945. The influence of this Department has been felt not only at the tertiary level but also in its effects on secondary art and craft courses and in methods of examination and teacher training. As a result the educational status of the subject has greatly improved, and a more liberal method of examining allows students to submit examples of work done throughout the year. There have been parallel changes in junior technical schools where the past over-emphasis on skills alone is now balanced by a more comprehensive study of materials in which imagination and skill are seen as equally vital to design.

The education programme offered by the National Gallery of Victoria has been closely allied to courses in primary and secondary schools. In 1950 an education officer was seconded to the Gallery by the Education Department for the first time. An increasing number of appointments was made as the services expanded to include lectures to visiting classes, the organisation and staffing of country exhibitions, and the preparation of publications. In planning the new Gallery, provision was made for a much wider range of activities and the position of Chief Education Officer was established on the Gallery staff. Seven full-time and five part-time teachers seconded by the Education Department provide staff for 40,000 students requesting this service annually and for extension programmes in country areas.

Until 1910 the course for the Trained Manual Arts Teacher's Certificate largely covered woodwork and metalwork. Art was gradually grafted on to the course, and teachers with this qualification were accepted as primary teachers. It was many years before the art teacher gained recognition in secondary schools and could apply for secondary positions. The Manual Arts Certificate was discontinued in the 1930s and, for a short time before being passed to the Melbourne Teachers College, art and craft teacher training was controlled by the University. Requirements for secondary art teacher training were changed to an Art Certificate and Art Diploma in the 1950s. Following completion of a practical art course in the senior art school of a technical college, a year of teacher training at Melbourne Teachers College and the study of fine arts subjects were required before a teacher received the initial qualification of a secondary art and craft teacher. Post-diploma study was introduced in 1963, and led to an Associate Diploma qualification which included university subjects. In 1967 a revision of the course took place, and an attempt was made to stabilise the past situation where a student's time had been divided between art school, university, and teacher training college; the four year course is now taken completely within the Melbourne Teachers College, and combines practical and pedagogical studies. Teachers for technical schools carry out a four year diploma course at an art school, followed by a period of industrial experience and a year of training at the Technical Teachers College. The primary teacher is trained in the

fundamentals of art and craft, and given an understanding of the philosophies of art education. He may elect to study and practise a particular branch of art or craft in greater depth.

In 1868 a Commission was sent from England to establish technical education in mechanics institutes in Victoria, with a bias towards painting and minor crafts. In 1926 the Melbourne Technical College arranged for some teachers who were admitted as diploma students to complete their art qualifications. Following this, facilities for specialist art training at tertiary level were gradually extended with the development of art schools within the framework of senior technical schools and institutes of technology. These schools train professional artists in fine arts, crafts, and design. During the late 1960s, as in other areas of technical education, art schools gained greater autonomy with freedom to specialise and to plan individual courses. Another area of tertiary training is available in the course offered by the National Gallery Art School. In 1886 the Travelling Scholarship was established for students wishing to continue their studies overseas. Recently, printmaking and sculpture have been included in what was basically a course in painting and drawing. The Fine Arts Department at the University of Melbourne provides for students who wish to include art history subjects in their university degree courses, but does not offer a studio programme.

Late in 1972 the Government announced that it would establish a comprehensive college for the arts.

LITERATURE

Any short account of writing in Victoria must be either a mere recital of the names of authors and works, or, at the cost of many omissions, must attempt to assess what is of greatest importance in Victoria's contribution to the literature of Australia. The second course has seemed more appropriate here, and those readers who wish to follow up the subject in greater detail are referred to E. Morris Miller's *Australian literature from its beginnings to 1935* (1940), to H. M. Green's critical *History of Australian literature* (1961), to L. J. Blake's *Australian writers* (1968), to G. H. Wilkes' *Australian literature : a conspectus* (1969), and to the National Library's annual bibliographies.

Victoria has produced four of the half-dozen or so Australian novelists and one poet whose work would deserve mention in any history of world literature. "Henry Handel" Richardson (Ethel Florence Lindesay Richardson) and Joseph Furphy were born in Victoria and their best work was written out of their Australian experience ; Martin Boyd, born abroad of Victorian parents, spent the first twenty years of his life in Melbourne. Marcus Clarke came to Australia as a youth and made his literary reputation in Melbourne. The poet Shaw Neilson, possibly Australia's finest lyrist, though South Australian born, spent nearly all his working life in Victoria. In addition to these, Victoria can claim a great number of impressive writers in fiction, drama, and verse whose service to the literature within their own country is beyond dispute : the more important of these will be mentioned later.

Of the four "masterpieces", Clarke's *His natural life* appeared first in serial form in the *Australian Journal* during 1870, 1871, and 1872 and was

published in Melbourne in book form, considerably revised, in 1874 under the title *For the term of his natural life*. Based on historical sources, it crowds all the brutalities of the convict system into the life of one man, but Clarke's artistic achievement rises far above mere sensationalism. The seemingly melodramatic organisation of his narrative can be shown to be justified by his thesis that there is no depth of despair which love cannot redeem and that brutal punishment makes criminals of the men who inflict it.

Henry Handel Richardson was born in the year Clarke began publishing his novel. Her principal novel *The fortunes of Richard Mahony* (1930) was first published in three parts : *Australia felix* (1917), *The way home* (1925), and *Ultima Thule* (1929). The novel is a great prophetic parable, in the naturalistic mode, of the conflict between God and Mammon. On the surface level the tale of a restless, over-sensitive, immigrant doctor, whose fortunes fluctuate with the changing fortunes of the Victorian goldfields from the 1850s to the 1870s, it shows how the prevailing mood of an acquisitive society can work even upon an idealist ; but the symbolism of the search for gold represents also the hunger of a divided soul for wholeness of spirit, a wholeness which Mahony achieves for a moment before he is overwhelmed by physical and mental illness. The ironical school story *The getting of wisdom* (1910), set in Melbourne in the 1880s, treats the adolescent version of the same kind of character, this time in the guise of a school girl. Richardson's other novels are set outside Australia.

Martin Boyd, who died in Rome in June 1972, was one of the most passionately " committed " of all Australia's novelists : committed to the preservation of what is valuable in the Graeco–Christian tradition and uncompromisingly hostile to the cynical commercialism which has tightened its grip on civilisation since 1914. His novels are urbane, polished, and witty, but they are full of a noble rage too often ignored by critics. His most important novel *Lucinda Brayford* (1946) contains a moving and convincing portrait of a conscientious objector ; while his tetralogy *The cardboard crown, A difficult young man, Outbreak of love*, and *When blackbirds sing* (1952 to 1962), though in a sense an exploration of the hereditary vagaries of his own remarkable family, add up to a strong attack on the lust for power without responsibility which leads to the wastage of young lives in war.

Joseph Furphy (" Tom Collins ") stands quite by himself in this quartet. Self-educated and agressively Australian, he reveals in his strikingly original novel *Such is life* (1903) all the faults and virtues of a highly intelligent, humorous, but at times self-important eccentric isolated in the country. Furphy sees life metaphorically as a " search for grass " and his novel is organised around a group of Riverina bullock-drovers whose life is just that. This design enables the author, in the guise of " Tom Collins ", a civil servant who falls in with them on their wanderings, to present a vivid picture of a unique aspect of Australian life as well as to conduct a complicated argument on philosophical and political questions.

Such is life is also intended as a satire on one of the earliest Australian novels, *The recollections of Geoffry Hamlyn* (1859), written by Henry Kingsley about experiences in Victoria before the gold rushes. Furphy denounces it as romanticising, but in fact its descriptive quality at least

is high. Another early novelist of outstanding importance within Australia is " Rolf Boldrewood " (T. A. Browne) whose *Robbery under arms* (1888), " a boy's story for grown-up people ", is still one of the most exciting novels of bushranging we possess. Boldrewood wrote a large number of novels which together give an interesting picture of a wide span of Australian history.

Of lesser known Victorian novelists in both senses of the word, two women writers deserve special mention: " Tasma " (Jessie Catherine Huybers) and Ada Cambridge. Tasma's *Uncle Piper of Piper's Hill* (1889) foreshadows Martin Boyd in its treatment of the snobbery of birth and the snobbery of wealth in Melbourne in the 1860s. Ada Cambridge, the wife of an Anglican clergyman who worked in Victoria for nearly thirty years, reveals behind her apparently simple domestic novels, particularly *A marked man* (1890), a lively independent mind with some surprisingly advanced ideas. These ideas are expressed even more openly in her book of poems *Unspoken thoughts* (1887). Of the older generation of twentieth century novelists Frank Dalby Davison (Melbourne-born) and Vance Palmer, a Queenslander who lived much of his life in Melbourne, are the outstanding names. Davison wrote the first of two war-inspired works of distinction in 1931, *The wells of Beersheba.* His later novels *Man-shy* and *Dusty,* tales of animal life, and his *tour de force The white thorn-tree,* published just before his death in 1970 draw on his experience of bush and city life. The last, a long, densely-woven study of the maimed and distorted sex lives of modern suburbia, reveals its deep seriousness only with slow and careful reading.

Vance Palmer and his wife Nettie both made outstanding contributions to Victorian cultural life. At his best as a short story writer, just and shrewd as a critic, Palmer wrote a number of sensitive and perceptive novels of which the best is probably *Golconda* (1948), one of a trilogy which follows the career of a unionist until he becomes a State Premier. *The passage,* in more idyllic vein, evokes vividly the spirit of place in the Caloundra district. Palmer's Melbourne novel *The Swayne family* is less successful.

A painter-novelist whose influence on other writers has also been marked is Norman Lindsay, born in Creswick, whose family showed literary and artistic talents of quite exceptional energy. Lindsay has written straight autobiography in *Bohemians of the Bulletin* (1965) and *My mask* (1970), but much of his own story lies in his early novels, the best of which is *Saturdee* (1934), an account of boyhood both amusing and individual. Lindsay has devoted most of his energy to a cheerful tilting at " wowserism " and philistinism, though he is not always free perhaps from his own kind of concealed philistinism. However, his function as a catalyst during his long life is undisputed.

The second distinguished war-inspired work by a Victorian novelist, Leonard Mann, was *Flesh in armour* (1932), which marked the beginning of Mann's series of quiet, under-rated novels and books of verse. J. P. McKinney's *Crucible* (1935) ranges less widely than *Flesh in armour,* but is one of Victoria's most competent war novels. Among the novelists of the Second World War, Victoria produced a number who have achieved international reputations: Alan Moorehead, James Aldridge, Paul Brickhill, and George Johnston. Johnston began a new phase of his career with the

first of a trilogy, *My brother Jack* (1964).

Since the Second World War, a number of immigrant writers (some of whom grew up in Australia) have added distinction to Victoria's fiction. Chief among these are Judah Waten and David Martin. Waten's group of short stories *Alien son* (1952) introduced with insight the theme implied in the title, which distinguishes his novels such as *The unbending* (1954) and *Distant land* (1964). Martin's best novel is perhaps *The young wife* (1962), a story of Greek migrants which reveals how a tradition of primitive violence can survive in a new country.

The popular success of Morris West's novels has led critics to regard them with suspicion, but *The devil's advocate* (1959) and *Daughter of silence* (1961) deserve serious consideration. West was born in Melbourne but has lived much of his life abroad. Hal Porter, a native of Victoria, has made his mark in several genres, first in the short story ; then in novels such as *The tilted cross* (1961); in drama, with plays such as *The tower ;* in verse, *The hexagon* (1956); and in autobiography, *The watcher on the cast-iron balcony* (1963). Porter's work brings a new note of sophistication to the Australian scene, though he can be coldly mannered and self-conscious. Among novelists who have commented on the social and political *mores* of mid-century Victoria is Frank Hardy, whose *Power without glory* (1950) is interesting especially for its subject matter. Among the more outstanding novelists whose work has been done in Victoria since 1960 are G. R. Turner and Peter Mathers.

Of the short story writers, the best of the early practitioners were " Price Warung " (William Astley) and Edward Dyson. In more recent times Davison, Palmer, John Morrison, Alan Marshall, Porter, and Alan Davies are among the most distinguished. Marshall has also written a remarkable children's fairy-tale.

Though Victoria's record in verse is less impressive than in prose, the State nevertheless became the home of Australia's finest purely lyrical and truly mystical poet, Shaw Neilson, whose work often appeals more to overseas scholars than does that of the poets rated more highly here. His poems can best be studied in A. R. Chisholm's edition (1965) and in the posthumous edition selected by Judith Wright and others in 1969, *Witnesses of spring.* A contemporary of Neilson's, Bernard O'Dowd, unlike him, believed that poetry should be militant. O'Dowd's is marked by deep concern for the future of his country as a place where a new civilisation may be developed free from the mistakes of Europe, though without cutting the tap-root binding it to the older civilisation. Poems spanning the years between 1903 and 1921 can be found in *The poems of Bernard O'Dowd* (1941). All of them express a quasi-mystic aspiration towards a national ideal which does not always find adequate verbal expression. But O'Dowd's importance lay also in helping to free poetry from the limitations of the bush ballad and enlarging the scope of its subject matter. Adam Lindsay Gordon, Victoria's principal balladist (born in the Azores), who spent most of his tragically short manhood in Victoria, is still wrongly regarded overseas as Australia's most representative poet. He represents rather an attitude of mind which appeals to all adventurous young men everywhere. In modern times, John Manifold, during his distinguished career as a " serious " poet, has practised the ballad with immense success, as his most recent book *Op. 8* (1970)

demonstrates. The ballad tradition was adapted to city life by C. J. Dennis, whose *Songs of a sentimental bloke* (1915) was a best seller in its day; it depicted the life of the Melbourne " larrikin " with skill and humour, though Dennis's use of the " argot " is a good deal less than accurate.

" Furnley Maurice " (Frank Wilmot) and Hugh McCrae are two Victorian poets whose importance stretches beyond their State borders. Wilmot, in *The gully and other verses* (1929), expresses a yearning for the bush but in later poems such as *Melbourne odes,* his romantic vision is tempered by an astringent realism peculiarly his own. His poems, including the magnificent *To God from the warring nations* (1917) can best be read in Percival Serle's collection of 1944.

McCrae, the son of a minor poet widely known in Melbourne literary circles in the 1880s and 1890s, has written some of the most melodious poetry in our literature, full of a joy of life and a worship of beauty owing much to the influence of the Lindsays, yet free from any vulgarity and saved from over-sweetness by an undertone of melancholy.

Another Melbourne lyrical poet, F. T. Macartney, is a writer whose distinction has too often been overlooked. He writes with deceptive ease and grace and his verse has that rare quality, charm.

Among the more recent poets one can only single out names : Chris Wallace-Crabbe, Philip Martin, Vincent Buckley, Noel Macainsh, Alexander Craig, and one of the most interesting of all, Bruce Dawe. Examples of their work and that of still younger poets can be found in recent anthologies.

Two of Australia's best dramatists, Louis Esson and Ray Lawler, belong to Victoria, and her best essayist, Walter Murdoch, though born in Scotland, grew up, was educated, and worked in Melbourne for many years. His essays retain to this day their freshness, their robust independence of mind, contempt for cant and hypocrisy, and the wit and fun which endeared him to readers of the *Argus* and the *Australasian* in his youth. His *Collected essays* was published in 1938.

No record of literature in Victoria would be complete without reference to two magazines which have provided a forum for writers on all kinds of subjects for many years. Australian literature in general owes a great debt of gratitude to C. B. Christesen's *Meanjin Quarterly* (1940–) and to S. Murray-Smith's *Overland* (1954–). Christesen, besides being an editor, is also a competent short story writer and poet.

The strongest link between literature proper and the " applied literature " which is history is W. K. Hancock's *Australia* (1930). Still indispensable reading for those who wish to understand the basic characteristics of Australian life and temperament, its style gives the purest aesthetic pleasure ; there is no work of history in this country superior to it in wit, conciseness, elegance, and lucidity. Historical writing and chronicling have since grown in concert with greater interest in Victorian history. Phillip Brown of Geelong began publication of the Clyde Company papers with *The narrative of George Russell of Golfhill* in 1935. Books such as Edward Curr's *Recollections of squatting in Victoria* (1883), Rolf Boldrewood's charming *Old Melbourne memories* (1884), and Edmund Finn's (" Garryowen ") *Chronicles of early Melbourne* (1888), have the hindsight value of reminiscence, not the immediacy of the events. But when poet Hugh McCrae edited that delightful book, *Georgiana's journal,* in 1934 he used the fresh,

graceful, and witty comments of one who had established a family home on the Mornington Peninsula in 1840. Portland pioneers supplied the fascinating material of Marnie Bassett's *The Hentys* (1954) ; Lady Bassett is one of several historians who have specialised in early Australian history. Noel Learmonth's *The Portland Bay settlement* (1934), published for Portland's centenary in that year, also concerns the Henty family and other early settlers in the district. Dr K. M. Bowden's *Captain James Kelly of Hobart Town* (1965) recounts a sealer's circumnavigation of Van Diemen's Land, while his *Western Port and its early settlers* (1970) deals with the 1826 settlement. Distant further in time are Alan Villier's *Captain Cook : the seamen's seaman* (1967), a fine study by an experienced mariner, and Moorehead's *Fatal impact* (1966), a summation of the white man's influence in Pacific exploration. Margaret Kiddle has written the biography *Caroline Chisholm* (1948), and *Men of yesterday* (1961), a study of the social development of some landed families of the Western District from 1834 to 1890, based on the diaries of Niel Black. Percival Serle published a *Bibliography of Australasian poetry and verse* in 1925, but his greatest work was the two volume *Dictionary of Australian biography* published in 1949.

Victoria's early historians such as G. W. Rusden, Alexander Sutherland, and Henry Gyles Turner laid down a tradition of historical writing which has continued and grown. Ever since Alfred Deakin, Australia's second Prime Minister, wrote about his own political life, Victoria's historical writers have come from a variety of backgrounds, especially from the universities. They have included several academic historians such as Geoffrey Blainey, Manning Clark, R. M. Crawford, J. A. La Nauze, Sir Ernest Scott, Geoffrey Serle, and A. G. L. Shaw. This is a creditable achievement of professional historiography. It is interesting to reflect, moreover, that readers who prefer their history in fictional form will find that Martin Boyd's novel *Lucinda Brayford* covers almost the same time-span as this *Year Book* and records vividly the principal social movements of a whole century.

MUSIC

Although before the gold rushes in the 1850s music was not organised on any permanent basis, there was considerable musical activity ; recitals were given, attempts were made to form choral groups, and popular music of the time was commonly performed. Even though much of Victoria's musical activity has been centred on Melbourne, there has nevertheless been a continuing tradition of musical performances in all parts of the State, notably in the leading provincial centres. The development of this musical activity has been very much part and parcel of the social fabric of the various communities of Victoria.

In 1853 John Russell founded the Melbourne (later Royal Melbourne) Philharmonic Society, which has since performed a large repertoire of choral music for mixed voices. The Melbourne Liedertafel, established in 1868 on the German pattern for male singers, was followed two years later by the metropolitan and provincial liedertafels. They amalgamated as the Royal Victorian Liedertafel in 1903. In the years after the Second World War the Oriana Madrigal Choir and the Astra Chamber Choir, and more recently the Melbourne

Chorale, have been leaders in a significant revival of choral music and have set high standards of performance. Students from the University of Melbourne and from Monash and La Trobe Universities have also formed groups of choristers.

Francis Ormond endowed the Ormond Chair of Music at the University of Melbourne in 1891, and G. W. L. Marshall Hall was appointed as the first Professor. The University of Melbourne Conservatorium of Music was founded in 1894 ; recently a postgraduate school for higher degrees has been established. The close identification of the University Conservatorium with the Australian Music Examinations Board (established in 1918 and now examining nearly 19,000 candidates in Victoria annually) has ensured a high standard of professional music teaching. The Melbourne Conservatorium, founded by Marshall Hall, was opened in 1895 and is now known as The Melba Memorial Conservatorium of Music ; it provides diploma courses and has produced many fine musicians.

Orchestral music was prominent in early festivals and public events such as the Victorian Exhibition (1854), the Handel Festival (1859), the welcome to the Duke of Edinburgh (1867), the opening of the Melbourne Town Hall (1870), the International Exhibition (1872), the Melbourne International Exhibition (1880), the Melbourne Music Festival Association Concerts (1882), and most important of all, the Centennial Exhibition (1888) at which Frederick (later Sir Frederick) Cowen conducted an orchestra of seventy-three and a choir of 708, giving 244 concerts in one year ; his orchestra continued for a short time as the Victorian Orchestra. In 1891 Marshall Hall established an orchestra which gave subscription concerts regularly for many years.

Support was available after 1908 from The Lady Northcote Permanent Orchestra Trust Fund, which still makes annual grants for musical purposes. The Melbourne Symphony Orchestra, founded by Alberto Zelman in 1906, merged with the University Symphony Orchestra in 1932 as the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra, which was taken over administratively between 1935 and 1940 by the Australian Broadcasting Commission ; the Commission had been created by the Commonwealth Government in 1932. At the instance of the Victorian Government, the orchestra was called the Victorian Symphony Orchestra between 1949 and 1964. Permanent conductors have included many well-known overseas visitors. Besides the subscription concerts which began in 1929, and the children's and youth concerts, the orchestra gives the Sidney Myer Free Concerts, and performs at the Annual Concerto and Vocal Competitions, all of which originated within the University of Melbourne under the direction of Professor (later Sir) Bernard Heinze. Another person who exercised a decisive influence on music in Victoria was Dr A. E. Floyd, choirmaster and organist of St Paul's Cathedral from 1915 to 1947, music critic of the *Argus* in the 1930s, and frequent adjudicator of musical competitions in many parts of the State. His music programme broadcast by the Australian Broadcasting Commission on Sunday evenings was a national feature from 1940 until his retirement in 1972.

The Astra Chamber Music Society, which was founded in 1950, established a second professional orchestra in 1960. The Society's aim has been to assist young musicians and to present music by Australian composers, together with balanced programmes by Australian soloists of rarely

performed works from all periods. Two remaining chamber music groups are the Musica Viva Society, which has brought world ensembles to Melbourne and rural centres, and the Soirées Musicales Chamber Music Society, which has offered a large repertoire performed by overseas and resident musicians. The foundation of the Australian College of Organists in 1969 was the result of some years of preparatory work by a small group of Victorian musicians ; it aims to promote a high standard of organ playing and church music through diploma examinations.

The advent of radio in the early 1920s brought great changes to the musical life of Victoria. As time elapsed, professional musicians obtained positions with radio station orchestras or as soloists, and concerts by orchestras and by solo artists were broadcast to listeners throughout the State.

Between the 1890s and the 1930s many famous artists toured Victoria including the Australian-born singers Dame Nellie Melba, Ada Crossley, John Brownlee, Amy Castles, and Peter Dawson ; overseas singers Clara Butt, Galli-Curci, Chaliapin, and McCormack ; pianists Paderewski, Grainger, and Backhaus ; and violinists Kreisler and Heifetz.

With improved world travel facilities in the 1930s and later, an increasing number of artists of world renown visited Victoria and were enthusiastically received: Beecham, Ormandy, Sargent, Susskind, and Barbirolli were among the conductors; instrumentalists included pianists Rubenstein, Arrau, Schnabel, and Gieseking, as well as Australian Eileen Joyce ; and singers Lehmann, Rethberg, Crooks, Schipa, Tauber, and Kipnis, together with Australian artists such as Marjorie Lawrence and Joan Sutherland, have also been popular visitors. Chamber music ensembles, including the Budapest String Quartet and the Boyd Neel String Orchestra, were also very well received. Many of these artists appeared under the auspices of the Australian Broadcasting Commission in concerts which were often broadcast.

The musical entertainment of children and young people has been well provided for by orchestral concerts. Alberto Zelman gave the first children's concert in 1919, and in 1924 Bernard Heinze commenced regular children's concerts. These have been given since that date, and have been under the control of the Australian Broadcasting Commission since 1934. In 1927 a series of chamber music concerts for children was commenced, and about a hundred were given in schools each year during the following fifteen years. In 1932 the University of Melbourne Conservatorium commenced concert tours to country towns, giving two concerts for children and one for adults at each town. These concerts, suspended during the Second World War, were later revived and given by the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra.

Fritz Hart, then conductor of the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra, commenced giving free open air orchestral concerts in 1929. The Music for the People concerts, originally held in the Botanic Gardens, but since 1959 in the Sidney Myer Music Bowl, have always been a popular open air series.

Music in schools was greatly encouraged in 1948 when the late John Bishop organised the first National Music Camp at Point Lonsdale National Fitness Camp. Since then the National Music Camp Association has spread throughout Australia. Besides the annual fortnight residential camp which over 200 students attend to form three orchestras and perform chamber music, the Association holds non-residential camps in the winter vacations

in Melbourne and the other mainland capitals. The Association's highest expression of music for youth is the annual performance of its Australian Youth Orchestra, normally sponsored by the Australian Broadcasting Commission.

A most significant development in Melbourne during the 1960s was the instrumental " explosion " in the schools. The 1940s and 1950s had seen a rapid growth of instrumental activities in the registered schools and in the 1960s the Education Department developed similar programmes which have increased each year. Today many schools employ full-time instrumental teachers.

In 1968 the Sidney Myer Trust established a " Music in Schools Fund " to assist schools in the purchase of instruments for their orchestras. The introduction at Leaving level of music as an approved activity has given added impetus to school music. Choral and orchestral groups will be provided with needed rehearsals, not in the students' spare or free time, but during normal school periods.

Prominent Victorian composers have included Percy Grainger, Dr Margaret Sutherland, Dorian Le Gallienne, Robert Hughes, Felix Werder, George Dreyfus, Helen Gifford, and Keith Humble.

THEATRE, BALLET, AND OPERA

Theatre

In the nineteenth century the theatre in Victoria followed much along the lines of the English theatre, and offered melodrama with occasional Shakespearean plays to suit imported star players. Theatres were opened not only in Melbourne but also in the major provincial cities as these grew in importance.

The Pavilion Theatre, the first in Melbourne, was built in Bourke Street in February 1841. The magistrates at first refused a licence for performances although concerts were held occasionally, but the following year Melbourne's first theatrical attractions were staged when amateurs produced *The Widow's Victim* and *The Lottery Ticket*. Under the influence of George Buckingham, this group acquired an extension of their licence and the Pavilion became the Theatre Royal. The first professional presentation in Melbourne was in August 1842 when Mr and Mrs Knowles from Sydney staged *Monsieur Jacques* and *Naval Engagements*. Francis Nesbitt opened Melbourne's second theatre, Queen's Theatre Royal, on 21 April 1845 with *The Bear Hunter* and *Black Eyed Susan*.

However, it was not until George Coppin arrived with his company from the Olympic Theatre, Launceston, that the theatre in Melbourne was securely established. Coppin opened at the Queen's Theatre Royal with Bulwer's play *Lady of Lyons* and the farce *The Turnpike Gate* on 21 June 1845. After building two theatres in Adelaide he returned to Victoria and joined a Mr Deering who had taken over one of Geelong's theatres; they presented over five hundred performances in eighteen months. At this time the theatre in Melbourne was not as successful as in the provincial areas, particularly in the goldfields areas. Bendigo's Theatre Royal had just been opened by a Mr Carncross with *Lady of Lyons,* and the theatre at Ballarat also prospered.

Late in 1854 George Coppin arrived back from England, and introduced

Gustavus Vaughan Brooke, who was to remain in Australia for five years, in *Othello* at the Queen's Theatre Royal in February 1855. In June Coppin opened his own theatre, the Olympic (or "Iron Pot") which was prefabricated; Coppin had brought it with him from England where it had been constructed of steel at Manchester. *The School for Scandal,* presented on 6 July 1855, was the first production at the Theatre Royal, where Lola Montez was one of the most outstanding attractions; she played both in Melbourne and in the provincial centres. Black, who had built the Theatre Royal, became insolvent, and the theatre was leased by Coppin and Brooke in a partnership which eventually included the Cremorne Gardens at Richmond, the Olympic, Astley's Amphitheatre, and four hotels.

In 1862, during one of his financial crises, Coppin brought Mr and Mrs Charles Kean to appear in his newly opened Haymarket Theatre. Kean was then at the peak of his reputation and brought a new style of presentation noted for its lavish effect and attention to detail in a repertoire of Shakespeare and "superior" melodrama. When the Keans left Australia in 1864 Coppin went with them, returning from America in January 1866 to play *Coppin in California* in both Melbourne and Sydney. At the same time he brought out the remarkable Madame Celeste in *The Woman in Red.* The Melbourne Royal's pantomime of 1873 and 1874 presented an actress who was to become one of the most famous performers in Australian theatrical history. She was Nellie Stewart, who had made her debut at the Haymarket Theatre in the early 1860s as a child in *The Stranger* by Kotzebue. She later played in grand opera (Marguerite in Gounod's *Faust* in 1888), and sang the memorial ode at the opening of the first Commonwealth Parliament in 1901. In 1874 Coppin brought James Cassius Williamson and his wife, Maggie Moore, from America in their successful play *Struck Oil.* The Williamsons opened at the Theatre Royal, Melbourne, on 1 August 1874 and began a new era in Australian theatre. Their play ran for eighty performances, and the Williamsons then visited Ballarat, Geelong, and Castlemaine before leaving for Sydney. They also added Dion Boucicault's *Night and Morning* to the repertoire. After touring the world they returned to Australia in 1879 and introduced *H.M.S. Pinafore* to Australian audiences. In 1882 J. C. Williamson joined with George Musgrove and Arthur Garner, and Coppin retired from theatrical management. When George Musgrove left the partnership in 1890, Williamson bought Garner out and formed a new theatrical company.

The theatre in Melbourne flourished not only with imported attractions but also with the remarkable talent which developed locally, while the presentation of a number of locally written plays such as *Oasis* helped to establish an indigenous flavour. The most notable actress to tour Victoria in the early 1890s was Sarah Bernhardt and during these years Bland Holt presented his sensational melodramas. By the end of the century the theatre was well established in Victoria, and in Melbourne the theatres included the King's, Tivoli, Royal, Her Majesty's, Bijou, Apollo, Princess, and Athenaeum. It was in Melbourne that both Oscar Asche and Allan Wilkie first became popular, as also did Harry Rickards who in 1893 presented his first production at the Tivoli. This became a famous vaudeville theatre where a distinctive type of Australian humour was developed.

In 1911 J. and N. Tait engaged Gregan McMahon to produce repertory

Dame Nellie Melba, the celebrated coloratura soprano, who was born in
Richmond, Melbourne. The portrait was painted by Rupert Bunny and
now hangs in Her Majesty's Theatre, Melbourne

Poster for the Victoria Theatre, Ballarat, introducing Lola Montez as the main attraction in plays produced in 1856.

La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria

The Theatre Royal, Melbourne, the scene of many stage successes, including those of Lola Montez and J. C. Williamson and his wife, Maggie Moore.

La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria

Final performance in 1965 by the Sutherland-Williamson Grand Opera Company at Her Majesty's Theatre, Melbourne.

Williamson Edgley Theatres Ltd

The Sidney Myer Music Bowl, set in Melbourne's Domain.
The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd

An enthusiastic audience acclaims a Melbourne Symphony Orchestra prom concert in the Melbourne Town Hall.
Australian Broadcasting Commission

A scene from *The Display*, created for The Australian Ballet and now in the company's permanent repertoire. Sir Robert Helpmann was the choreographer, Malcolm Williamson composed the music, and Sidney Nolan was the designer.

The Australian Ballet

The parade at Melbourne's annual Moomba Festival, showing St Paul's Cathedral and the King's Domain in the background.

Australasian Post

plays. He formed the Melbourne Repertory Theatre and introduced the plays of George Bernard Shaw to Australian audiences, and in 1929 returned to Melbourne from Sydney to form the Gregan McMahon Players, who performed on a semi-professional level. The Taits took over the J. C. Williamson organisation after Williamson's death in Paris in 1913, and the company has continued to lead the commercial theatre in the years since the Second World War with such productions as *The Kiwis, Annie Get Your Gun, My Fair Lady, The Man of La Mancha,* and 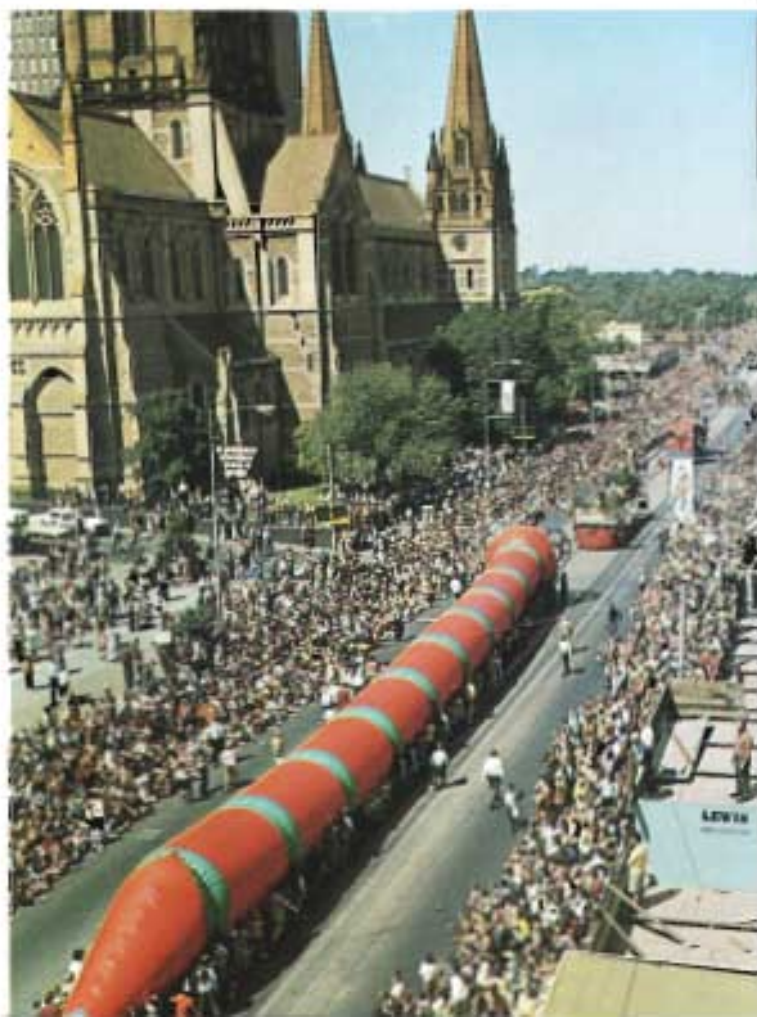*Fiddler on the Roof.* The Garnet H. Carroll management presented *Kismet,* a Ralph Richardson and Sybil Thorndike season, *Sound of Music,* and *Robert and Elizabeth.*

The first three decades of the twentieth century gave Victoria, and indeed Australia, its most vigorous period of live theatre and a comparatively wide choice of entertainment. There were more or less permanent companies in musical comedy and drama, variety, and occasional seasons of opera and ballet. Famous names included Dorothy Brunton and Gladys Moncrieff in musical comedy and actors as well as entire casts from abroad. The advent of films and radio, and much more the depression, brought this vigorous period to an end. By 1936 most of the theatres were closed or given over to the cinema; only musicals (and revivals at that) existed precariously. The more serious dramatic work was left to various repertory groups and the indigenous development of theatre and drama in Victoria in the last three decades has, in fact, been left to the non-commercial theatre companies. In the 1920s an effort was made to encourage native playwrights with the formation of the Pioneer Players, led by Louis Esson and Vance Palmer. During the 1930s two companies were formed in Melbourne on a semi-professional basis : the Melbourne Little Theatre was founded by Brett Randall and Hal Percy in South Yarra (it is now St Martin's Theatre Company), and the National Theatre was established by Gertrude Johnson. Both sought to assist local actors and playwrights, but it was not until the Old Vic Company with Laurence Olivier and Vivien Leigh visited the Princess Theatre in 1948 that the theatre once more became important in the urban areas.

The regeneration of professional adult theatre began with the visit of the John Alden Shakespearean Company in 1952. Although its performances have been criticised as imperfect, the company was important because it was indigenous. In 1953 John Sumner founded the Union Theatre Repertory Company at the University of Melbourne, which was its first sponsor. As the first non-commercial repertory company to be established in Australia on a professional level, it provided a pattern for regional theatre development and was the first to receive support from the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust, which has done much to foster theatrical art, especially among local repertory groups. The company was responsible for the first production of Ray Lawler's play, *Summer of the Seventeenth Doll,* and has contributed to the development of diverse talents displayed by contemporary Australian actors. In 1968 it became the Melbourne Theatre Company, and in 1969, after receiving an annual grant from the Melbourne City Council, presented the first production at the Victorian Arts Centre. Recently several small experimental theatres in Melbourne have fostered young indigenous playwrights.

Television has had a more telling effect on live theatre than has radio.

The plays of significance are left to the subsidised drama companies in each State ; the commercial theatre maintains its own prosperity by staging musicals and light comedies. Theatre in Victoria is likely to enter a new era with the completion of the theatre complex at the Arts Centre in St Kilda Road. Continuing support from Commonwealth (through the Australian Council for the Arts formed in 1969), State, and civic authorities will help to ensure that organisations such as the Melbourne Theatre Company develop professionally as representatives of both Victorian and Australian drama.

Ballet

The first company of international repute to perform ballet in Australia was a group headed by Adeline Genée in 1913, but it was not until the visits of Pavlova in 1926 and 1929 that ballet in Victoria received its first major encouragement. In 1934 the Dandre-Levitoff Company was introduced with Anatole Vilczak as principal dancer, and in 1936 the Monte Carlo Company gave Australian audiences the first opportunity of seeing ballets such as the *Firebird, Petrouchka,* and *Scheherazade* choreographed by Massine, Fokine, and Balanchine. In 1938, 1939, and 1940 the Covent Garden Company and de Basil Company (which previously visited as the Monte Carlo Company) were also introduced by the J. C. Williamson organisation.

The Second World War prevented further importations, and efforts were therefore made to develop local, untrained talents. In 1940 Helene Kirsova, who had remained in Australia, formed a company which played short seasons in Sydney and Melbourne. Edouard Borovansky, who had first visited Australia with Pavlova and later with the de Basil Company, settled in Melbourne in 1939 and established the Borovansky Ballet which achieved considerable success, both during and after the war. Assistance from the Education in Music and Dramatic Arts Society, formed to promote both ballet and opera, enabled Borovansky to develop the company and to introduce to local audiences Australian ballets such as *The Outlaw* and *The Black Swan.* In 1956 Margot (later Dame Margot) Fonteyn and Michael Somes appeared as guest artists of the company. After Borovansky's death in 1959, Peggy van Praagh became artistic director of the Ballet, but increasing costs necessitated the disbandment of the company in 1960.

Between 1940 and 1956 the only overseas company to visit Victoria was the Ballet Rambert, which produced works by the English choreographers, Frederick Ashton, Anthony Tudor, and Walter Gore. However, during the same period two Victorian ballet groups presented seasons in Melbourne and in the country districts of Victoria, while the Australian National Theatre Ballet, in Victoria and other States, successfully produced the Australian ballet *Corroboree* to John Antill's music. The New York City Ballet and the Royal Ballet toured in 1958. The Victorian Ballet Guild, which in 1968 became the Ballet Victoria under the direction of its founder, Laurel Martyn, presented regular seasons and conducted intensive programmes for student audiences.

The Australian Ballet Foundation was established in 1961 with representatives from the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust and J. C. Williamson Pty Ltd ; Peggy (now Dame Peggy) Van Praagh was appointed artistic director and Robert (now Sir Robert) Helpmann co-artistic director. The

Ballet first performed in Victoria during 1963, and has now developed an international reputation. Since 1964 the Australian Ballet has produced such Australian works as *The Display* and *Sun Music*. It has undertaken six overseas tours during the ten years of its continuous operation.

Opera

In November 1855 Melbourne's first four act opera, *Lucia di Lammermoor,* was presented with Maria Carandini singing the leading role. In 1860 William Saurin Lyster arrived with his professional operatic company and established his headquarters in Melbourne. He dominated productions for the next twenty years, and introduced over thirty operas not previously heard in Australia. Among these *The Huguenots* was presented for nineteen performances within three weeks at a time when Melbourne's population was only 140,000.

Victoria, like the other Australian States, has produced some world-renowned opera singers. Opera received perhaps its greatest stimulus from the Melbourne-born and internationally famous singer, Dame Nellie Melba who, before her retirement in the 1920s, made many tours throughout Australia. In the mid-1930s an opera season presented by Benjamin Fuller in Sydney and Melbourne introduced to Australian audiences *The Pearl Fishers* by Bizet ; Florence Austral was a principal singer in the series. At this time also the National Theatre Movement was inaugurated with the aim of promoting the performing arts ; while overseas, Marjorie Lawrence, who came from Winchelsea near Geelong, established a considerable reputation as an opera singer.

Although after the Second World War J. C. Williamson Pty Ltd imported two Italian opera companies, the main impetus has come from an upsurge of local talent. In Victoria the National Theatre Movement formed a local opera company in 1950, and two years later it combined with a similar group in Sydney to give seasons with John Brownlee in both cities. The most famous production of this time was *The Consul* at the Princess Theatre, with Marie Collier in the leading role. In 1956 the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust Opera Company was formed and presented for its inaugural season some operas by Mozart. In 1970 it was renamed the Australian Opera and now has a permanent orchestra and singers under long term contracts. Overseas " stars " such as Tito Gobbi and local talent including Joan Hammond, Elsie Morison, and Elizabeth Fretwell have all sung with the Company, and in 1965 Joan Sutherland returned to Melbourne to head a company which was jointly sponsored by J. C. Williamson Pty Ltd and the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust.

Conclusion

The balanced development of the performing arts has been encouraging during the last two decades. Drama, opera, and ballet have all become integral aspects of the State's cultural activities, while support from the Commonwealth, the State, and local government authorities has permitted the achievement of creditable standards. The Victorian Arts Centre, with its proposed three theatres seating 1,800 for opera and ballet, 850 for drama, and from 300 to 1,000 for experimental theatre and other purposes, will provide further incentives for improvement.

5

HEALTH SERVICES

DEVELOPMENT OF MEDICINE

Drugs

A century ago it was correct to speak of the art and science of medicine. Though art is still important in the practice of medicine, science has with increasing acceleration contributed to the advances in all branches of medicine and surgery. The sciences entering into the study of medicine used to be mainly the descriptive sciences of anatomy and botany, with rather small contributions from physics, chemistry, and physiology. The great advances in all departments of medicine have come through the newer sciences of microbiology, radiology, pathology, and biochemistry. The discoveries of physiologists have had profound effects in their applications to medicine and surgery.

The work of organic chemists in universities and in drug manufacturing firms has led to the production of many organic compounds with powerful therapeutic effects. Many of the pharmaceutical remedies used at the beginning of the century are now obsolete and the long prescriptions of many preparations derived from the vegetable world are no longer written. The first outstanding invention of a drug designed for a special purpose was Ehrlich's production in 1909 of Salvarsan, an arsenical compound for the treatment of syphilis and yaws. Another group of chemotherapeutic agents, the so-called sulpha compounds, have had a profound effect in the successful treatment of many of the infections such as pneumonia, meningitis, gonorrhoea, streptococcal infections, dysentery, and urinary infections.

Every year new synthetic drugs are produced in very great variety and close official observation is kept to evaluate them and to ensure that they have no dangerous unwanted side effects. Drugs consisting of organic compounds are now administered in tablet form or given by injection into the subcutaneous tissues, into muscles, or directly in the vascular system. The first great revolutionary change in medicine in this period occurred in surgery when Joseph Lister instituted his antiseptic system based on discoveries by Louis Pasteur. Pasteur was a chemist of genius who proved that fermentation was a phenomenon caused by microscopic living particles. Later, microscopic living things described as microbes or bacteria were shown to be causes of many specific diseases in man, in animals, and in the vegetable world. The science of bacteriology, or microbiology, was developed rapidly by Pasteur and other scientists who succeeded him. From the discoveries of microbiologists have been developed vaccines used in the prevention of

certain specific diseases, antisera used in diphtheria, meningitis, tetanus, and snake bite, and a large series of antibiotics of which penicillin was the first to be used with dramatic effect.

Radiology

Radiology owes its origin to the discovery by Roentgen in 1895 that certain emanations from a Crooke's tube falling on a sensitised surface caused fluorescence, and that some substances such as bones were opaque to these rays and cast their shadows on the sensitised surface. The discovery of these rays, now known as X-rays, was quickly applied in surgery to demonstrate injuries and diseases of bones, but later techniques were devised for using them in the examination of viscera, blood vessels, the central nervous system, and the unborn babe in its mother's womb. X-rays were found to have profound effects on living cells and so are now used in treatment of a variety of diseases, particularly malignant tumours. Radium, isolated by Pierre and Marie Curie in 1898, was found to produce similar effects. Radiotherapy (the use of X-rays and radium in treatment) is a speciality used, either alone or in conjunction with medical or surgical treatments, mainly for neoplasms. A special institution for the use of radiotherapy, the Peter MacCallum Clinic, was established in Melbourne in 1949. Specialists from the Clinic visit patients in a number of country centres. The clinic also has a nursing service for cancer patients living in their homes in the city and suburbs of Melbourne and assists Tasmanian clinics at Launceston and Hobart.

Biochemistry and physiology

Biochemistry and physiology have made rapid and profound advances in the last sixty years. The knowledge gained from these sciences is applied in every department of medicine, originally mainly by physicians but now also by surgeons, gynaecologists, obstetricians, and other specialists. In modern hospitals the biochemistry department is staffed mainly by university graduates. The number of biochemical tests used in diagnosis and treatment, already large, is steadily increasing, and the tests are becoming more complex. In the teaching hospitals the volume of work and its prompt reporting necessitates the use of automation and computers.

An understanding of various bodily functions through research into physiology has contributed greatly to the rational treatment of many conditions encountered in medicine, surgery, obstetrics, and the specialities. One of the outstanding practical applications of physiological knowledge has been the use of blood in blood transfusion. This was developed in civil practice mainly through the influence of surgeons who had returned from the First World War where they had used it with good effect on severely wounded soldiers. Blood transfusion has saved innumerable lives of all ages, from the unborn babe to the very old; it has rendered possible many surgical operations formerly regarded as very hazardous or even impossible of survival. The need for an adequate, regular, and ready supply of blood for patients was met by the establishment of blood banks in hospitals and by the Red Cross Society; the blood is supplied by voluntary donors.

Physiological research in immunology has shown the possibility of transfer of tissues from one human being to another. Examples are corneal grafting for some forms of blindness, arterial grafting in vascular disease, and

most recently, kidney grafting to counter kidney failure. Other organ transplants are posing ethical, philosophical, and financial problems.

Medicine and the role of the physician

The role of the physician has changed significantly. A century ago his means for diagnosis were limited by the patient's history of his complaint and by what the physician could find by use of his five senses of smell, taste, sight, touch, and hearing. Having made his diagnosis, his treatment in acute illness was to remove as far as possible those influences which he considered would interfere with natural recovery. In chronic diseases his treatment was confined to a great extent to relieving symptoms ; there were a few drugs suited to specific diseases such as digitalis for some heart diseases, quinine for malaria, colchicum for gout, and iron for some forms of anaemia. Most medicines were of vegetable origin and of empirical use, whereas now most are the products of organic compounds, many with specific applications; tablets and injections have superseded the traditional bottle of liquid mixture. The sciences of physiology, biochemistry, radiology, bacteriology, and electronics have had a profound and revolutionary effect on the physician's ability to make a precise diagnosis and establish rational treatment. Further aids are needle biopsies and the use of radio-isotopes.

At the beginning of the century typhoid fever incidence throughout Victoria was high with a great risk to life. With the establishment of the metropolitan sewerage system in 1897, nine years after the Intercolonial Medical Congress in Melbourne had strongly recommended it, the incidence dropped rapidly not only in Melbourne but to a large extent in country areas as well, for unsewered Melbourne had been a great reservoir of infection for all Victoria. However, the risk to life was still high as treatment had to rely largely on skilled nursing ; the later introduction of antibiotic treatment was very effective in reducing mortality, and typhoid in recent years has been rare, and has usually occurred only in newly settled unsewered areas.

Pneumococcal lobar pneumonia was a common and dangerous disease, usually fatal to people over thirty-five years of age; it has been practically eliminated since the introduction of antibiotics and sulpha drugs. Diphtheria also has almost disappeared since widespread infantile preventive vaccination has been practised.

Tuberculosis has shown a gradual decline in incidence over the century but the incidence is still too high. Mass X-ray chest examination of the whole community has been introduced progressively since 1949, and is expected to lead to the discovery of early cases and cases among those older people who spread the infection ; it is no longer predominantly a disease of people in their twenties. Sanatorium accommodation became largely redundant through the introduction of streptomycin and chemotherapy with the greatly enhanced prospects of cure resulting from their use. Infection with the bovine type of organism has diminished since administrative measures were directed against the disease in dairy cattle.

About 1908 James Mackenzie, a Scottish general practitioner, published his studies on heart diseases and profoundly altered the attitude of physicians to the diagnosis of these diseases and to their significance and their treatment. The use of the polygraph, the electrocardiograph, and X-rays have led to a more precise understanding of heart disease. The intrusion of surgery into

this, with its investigations by cardiac catheterisation and special X-ray techniques, has revolutionised modern cardiology. There is a close co-operation between cardiologist, physician, surgeon, radiologist, and technician, reaching its present climax in open heart surgery practised for congenital and acquired heart diseases.

There has not been an epidemic of true smallpox in Victoria, but odd cases occurred in the nineteenth century and in 1914 and 1921. There were a few cases of a type of smallpox, alastrim, about 1910. Epidemics of measles, chicken pox, rubella, and mumps have not been infrequent, and meningococcal meningitis made a short appearance in military camps during the First World War. Influenza epidemics of various types have at times been serious, the worst being part of the pandemic which, with heavy mortality, swept across the world towards the end of the First World War. There were outbreaks of poliomyelitis which affected a small percentage of the population but which caused great alarm from the attendant mortality and the permanent crippling of survivors. The main outbreaks were in 1925–1926 (with 169 cases), 1937–1938 (2,096 cases), 1949 (760 cases), and 1954 (569 cases), but with the widespread preventive use of Salk (and later, Sabin) vaccine since 1956 the disease has been practically eliminated.

In recent years there has been a slow increase in cases of infective hepatitis. There have been rare local outbreaks of encephalitis and other infective illnesses apparently of viral or rickettsial origin and affecting only a few individuals. Acute inflammatory diseases of the kidneys are now being treated satisfactorily by antibiotics and chemotherapy. Chronic renal failure is treated in the major teaching hospitals with the assistance of so-called " artificial " kidneys, and in some cases by transplanting a kidney from another human being. Melbourne has had a particularly successful record in this matter, but the high financial cost in staff, material, equipment, and accommodation still poses a difficult community problem.

Over the last sixty years the discovery by physiologists of hormones has led to an understanding of the causes of a number of diseases and sometimes to effective treatment of them. Goitre in some of its forms is an example. Formerly surgery was widely practised but now most forms of goitre are successfully treated by the physician ; radio-isotopes find a special application in the diagnosis and sometimes in the treatment of thyroid disease. Diabetes mellitus is another hormone dependent disease, caused by a deficiency of insulin. Formerly the treatment was by dieting, and the occurrence of the disease in children was incompatible with long life. Banting and Best produced the hormone insulin in 1922 ; Dr J. F. Wilkinson, returning to Melbourne through Canada at the time, brought with him the first insulin used in Australia. Insulin or one of its later modifications is not a cure for diabetes but it enables many diabetics to lead almost normal lives, and a young diabetic may now with its help live an active life to a good age. Endocrinology, the study of the endocrine glands and the effects on the body of their hormonal internal secretions, is a speciality of increasing importance and complexity. The discovery and use of cortisone and later of other steroids provided physicians with powerful agents employed in a variety of diseases.

Though the prevention and treatment of scurvy by the use of fresh fruit and vegetables was known as early as the early 1600s and was

practised before European settlement in Australia, the discovery of vitamins as essential accessory food factors from 1880 to 1920 had a profound influence on the treatment of vitamin deficiency diseases such as scurvy, beriberi, pellagra, some forms of anaemia, and other less well defined morbid states. The concept that some diseases were in a group characterised by peculiar immunological reactions was slow to develop. Now many diseases such as asthma, hay fever, some skin diseases, and some reactions to drugs and antisera, are grouped as allergies and are encountered in all branches of medicine. Recently the idea has gained support that some diseases are due to an auto-immune reaction of the body to some of its own cells, and active original research is being conducted in the Walter and Eliza Hall Research Institute. The association of some diseases with nervous stress has aroused wide interest in all civilised countries and the special study of this group is referred to as psychosomatic medicine.

Anaesthesia and surgery

The discovery of the anaesthetics, ether and chloroform, was followed by their wide use in extending the scope of surgical operations and later by accoucheurs in easing the pains of childbirth. Anaesthetics extended the scope of operations but the early effects were unsatisfactory because operation wounds and accidental wounds frequently were followed by sepsis and death. Following Pasteur's discovery of the effects of microbes in producing fermentation, Joseph Lister formed the idea that microbes gaining entrance to a wound were the cause of " blood poisoning " or sepsis. He applied his theory to kill microbes entering a wound (and on his instruments, hands, and dressings) by using the chemical, carbolic ; this antiseptic technique resulted in the clean, non-septic healing of the wound. The Listerian revolution in the practice of surgery had been brought about. His antiseptic technique was subsequently developed into the aseptic technique ; means were taken to kill microbes, preferably by heat, on all things which might come directly or indirectly in contact with the wound region, thus avoiding the damaging effects of chemical antiseptics in and around the wound. The techniques were slow to be adopted by older surgeons but the younger progressive surgeons spread the practice throughout the civilised world.

The first Listerian operation performed in Melbourne was by William Gillbee in 1867. Surgeons found now that they could operate with little risk of sepsis on parts of the body previously unsafe for surgery : specialities developed in surgery. Abdominal and orthopaedic surgery in particular made rapid advances. Later surgeons operated on the brain ; neurosurgery was well established as a speciality before the outbreak of the First World War. Experience gained in treating head, cranial, and spinal injuries in war-time contributed to the increased interest in this domain of surgery. Soon after the war ended, special departments of neurosurgery were formed at the three teaching hospitals in Melbourne. During the war surgeons had also been obliged to treat wounds of the thorax, and hence had become familiar with techniques applicable to the special problems of lung surgery ; they were applied especially to the surgical treatment of tuberculous lungs. Thoracic surgical units have been established in general hospitals, and thoracic surgery is a recognised speciality dealing with many intra-thoracic pathological conditions.

In earlier years, surgery of the heart was limited mainly to the results of trauma, but with improved anaesthetic apparatus and adequate supplies of blood for transfusion, deliberate operations were performed on the heart, mainly for anatomical congenital abnormalities. Such operative ventures were followed by operations on the interior of the heart ; these are called open heart surgery and are done for congenital abnormalities, as well as for the effects of antecedent disease, generally rheumatic disease affecting the valves of the heart. They need special apparatus with special technicians, and specially trained nurses and assistants, that is, a special hospital unit and carefully organised team work among many people. The investigation of patients and their preparation prior to operation also requires the services of physicians and radiologists with special skills in cardiology ; such work now tends to be concentrated in a few centres well equipped with personnel and machines. The work of the surgeons in the development of cardiac surgery has also affected the study of heart diseases by physicians, thus leading to further advances in the speciality of cardiology.

In orthopaedic surgery conservative measures have diminished in proportion to operative orthopaedics. There has been a much greater tendency to correct the displacement of fractures by open operation with the maintenance of correct position by mechanical devices such as screws, nails, plates, and other structures of stainless steel or vitallium. At the beginning of the century a fracture of the neck of the femur was likely to be followed by failure of bone union. It was a painful condition most often occurring in the aged ; nursing was difficult and the mortality rate was high. With the introduction of early reduction of the fracture deformity and fixing the corrected position by nailing the fragments, pain was relieved, nursing was rendered fairly easy, and many patients were able to be ambulatory again. Later still, metal prostheses were substituted for the head and neck of the femur.

An operative treatment which has been a boon to the elderly man is the surgical treatment of urinary bladder neck obstruction, especially obstruction by an enlarged prostate. At the beginning of the century the most that was done in treatment was the passage of a catheter to relieve retention of urine. This was rarely possible for long; in spite of all care, infection of the bladder and kidney occurred and so catheter life was short. Freyer, an Indian Medical Service surgeon, devised an abdominal operation to remove the prostate in 1901. In 1931 American urologists devised a method of removing the obstructing structure by using an electric cutting instrument passed into the bladder through the urethra. This does not require an abdominal operation, and is now a frequent specialist's operation with a very low mortality rate and requiring only a short stay in hospital.

Generally speaking, through scientific and technical advances there has been a rise in the age at which relief of any morbid condition by surgical operation with safety can be expected ; it is not age but the patient's general condition which now determines operability. Diseases affecting blood vessels have been successfully treated to an increasing degree in the last quarter century. Some of these operations involve opening or excising large arteries and sometimes substituting natural arterial or artificial grafts. Aortic aneurisms, formerly inevitably fatal, are frequently now successfully treated surgically.

Plastic surgery is one of the oldest surgical practices, but it received impetus as a speciality after the First World War when surgeons were called upon to treat many soldiers for disfigurements caused by wounds and burns. It then became a recognised speciality requiring the establishment in hospitals of special units with appropriate special equipment and technicians. At first it was concerned mainly with the face and mouth but soon extended into remedying defects or the results of injuries in other parts of the body, especially the hand. Each major hospital in Melbourne has its plastic surgery department, but a larger centralised unit for more advanced plastic surgery has been established at the Preston and Northcote Community Hospital. It is staffed by surgeons who are specialists in other plastic surgery departments of various metropolitan hospitals : this is an example of rationalisation of a specialist hospital service, and is being extended to other specialist services.

Surgery is sometimes extirpative but the ideal is always to conserve the patient's normal anatomical structures. Until recently, a limb totally separated from the body by accidental injury was considered to be irretrievably lost, but now attempts are made to re-attach such amputated limbs, sometimes with moderate success. Where the amputated member is a finger or peripheral part of a limb, the blood vessels and nerves to be joined up may be so slender that the techniques and instruments of microsurgery are required. All such surgery demands the co-ordinated efforts of a team of surgeons and assistants. The results so far of attempts to conserve such useful structures encourage the hope that further use of this type of surgery will become more extensive and yield steadily improving results.

Microsurgery is a recent and especially noteworthy development in surgery. In microsurgery very small parts of human anatomy, such as small arteries and nerves and the organs of the special senses, are subjected to surgical procedures. Such procedures require remarkably fine surgical instruments and the use of specially designed operating microscopes which give magnified images of the fine structures being operated upon. The staff and technicians of the Royal Victorian Eye and Ear Hospital have been responsible for the design and construction of many of these ingenious fine instruments.

Ophthalmology

The invention of the ophthalmoscope in 1851 enabled ophthalmologists to examine the interior of the eye and thereby notice pathological conditions as causes of visual disabilities ; it also revealed appearances related to various medical disorders such as diabetes, kidney disease, arteriosclerosis, intracranial lesions, and diseases of the nervous system. This association with general medicine and surgery has increased in value over the years. Many advances in operative techniques, especially the recent " miniaturising " of instruments and suture materials, have led to greatly improved success in the treatment of cataract. There has also been technical progress in the means of examining the eye, such as by slit lamp, test glasses or tonometer, colour vision testing, and muscle balance testing.

Antisepsis, introduced by Lister in 1865 and followed later by his aseptic techniques, had a profound effect on all surgery including ophthalmic surgery. Microbiology led to the discovery that many eye diseases were of bacterial origin. A most beneficial application of microbiology was the

successful prophylactic treatment, used early this century by Crede, of ophthalmia of the new born, which up to that time had accounted for the blindness of about one quarter of the children attending schools for the blind. The incidence was soon reduced to about one in ten thousand, and the condition is now treated effectively by penicillin. Roentgen's discovery of X-rays in 1895 was applied a few years later to the localisation of foreign bodies in the eye ; treatment of these and prevention of blindness from this cause has reached a high standard in Victoria. The therapeutic uses of X-rays have been developed in the treatment of neoplasms in the eye and its environs. Encouraging results have been reported in the treatment of retino-blastoma in infants, a condition which formerly posed the difficult decision to remove both eyes in an attempt to save life. Physiological studies of the eye have led to the understanding and treatment of many eye disorders such as errors of refraction, squint, ocular muscular imbalance, and colour blindness. Organic chemical substances have found special applications in the treatment of infection, in assisting examination techniques, and in cataract operations. Physical agents such as heat in the form of diathermy, ultrasonics, and cold (cryotherapy) have added to the effectiveness of some forms of treatment of detachment of the retina.

Two Australian discoveries have aroused wide interest. One was the establishment of the connection of some congenital defects in the child with viral infection during pregnancy in the mother, and the other was the observation of the deleterious effect of excess oxygen on the eyes of premature infants—a discovery made by Dame Kate Campbell of Melbourne. Trachoma, which was common especially in country patients early in this century, has steadily diminished with improvement of hygiene and nutrition of the community and is no longer widespread. Much blindness in the community is preventable, particularly from industrial accidents, and in recent years increased attention has been given to this problem. A campaign has recently been conducted to educate the public to recognise the signs of glaucoma and to seek early treatment to prevent irreparable loss of vision.

Otorhinolaryngology

Instruments for examination of the nasal and respiratory passages and the gullet have been greatly improved. These have enabled precise diagnosis to be made by the use of the bronchoscope and oesophagoscope ; operative treatment for the removal of foreign bodies from the oesophagus and respiratory passages has been simplified through the use of these endoscopes. Complications which formerly attended such accidents have thereby been reduced. X-rays have been extensively used here as elsewhere in diagnosis and treatment. Special value has attached to X-ray diagnosis of pathological conditions of the nasal accessory sinuses and of the temporal bone. Chemotherapy and antibiotics have had a profound effect on the treatment of infections of the ear, nose, and throat. Complications of sinus infection and complications of middle ear infection are no longer the frequent serious dangers of the pre-antibiotic era. They are now largely prevented and accordingly operations on sinuses and on mastoids have greatly decreased in frequency. Studies have elucidated various causes of deafness and have led to rational treatment carried out under an operating microscope. The recently devised operation of stapedectomy in restoring hearing in certain

types of deafness has been followed by remarkable results. The Australian discovery of congenital deafness and other defects as the result of rubella in the pregnant mother has stimulated the study of the effects on the foetus of virus infection and of the use of drugs during pregnancy.

Nasopharyngeal adenoids were first discovered and submitted to operation about 1870. Operations for the removal of adenoids and diseased tonsils are probably the most common of operations in this speciality, but sulphonamides and antibiotics have greatly reduced the necessity for tonsillectomy. Also, laryngeal surgery became well established by about 1870, largely due to the work of Sir Morell MacKenzie. Improved results are obtained in treatment of cancer of the larynx by advanced surgical techniques alone or by radiotherapy or by both. Plastic surgery on the nose for the correction of deformities, whether congenital or traumatic, is of long standing ; the nose is still the site of much of the most satisfactory plastic surgery.

Paediatrics

This branch of medicine has developed during the century into a speciality wherein significant advances have been made. Many factors have contributed to these advances : physiology has been able to explain many diseases of metabolic and endocrine origin and to devise curative treatment in a great number of cases. The commoner infectious diseases have been almost completely eliminated by preventive inoculation. Acute surgical infections have responded to chemotherapy and antibiotics. Osteomyelitis, formerly carrying great risk of death or lifelong crippling and invalidism, is not now as frequent and terrible a disease as it was in the pre-antibiotic era. Epidemics of mumps and measles still occur but a beginning has been made in preventive inoculation against measles. Vaccination against poliomyelitis has been highly successful. Rheumatic fever, a potent cause of valvular heart disease, is now given long term antibiotic treatment with the good prospect of diminished risk of valvular heart disease in later years.

Public health measures have been effective in diminishing tuberculosis, especially of bones and joints ; modern drug treatment for established tuberculosis has saved many children. Infant welfare centres have been successful in keeping infants in good health so that the incidence of serious illness in the first year of life has been reduced. Dietetic treatment based on physiological and biochemical knowledge has also made advances in the last generation. For all of these reasons child mortality and morbidity have been greatly reduced so that compared with a century ago, the chance of a newborn infant surviving to adult life has improved dramatically. For 1971 the rate of infant mortality under one year was 14.7 per 1,000 live births. Paediatric surgeons have made great advances generally in operative techniques enabling them to correct many congenital defects which formerly were incompatible with survival.

Obstetrics and gynaecology

The sciences of microbiology, physiology, biochemistry, radiology, and pharmacology have been applied with beneficial effects to the practice of obstetrics and gynaecology. Microbiology and pharmacology have been applied to prevent and treat puerperal and surgical sepsis. Blood transfusion,

a development of physiology, has saved the lives of many women and their babies, and has also rendered possible operations and obstetrical procedures which would carry a high mortality risk without its use. In babies inheriting Rh factor abnormality, blood transfusion has saved lives when carried out promptly and efficiently ; techniques have been devised for giving blood transfusions to the unborn baby. Biochemistry is the basis for the prevention and successful treatment of many of the metabolic disorders formerly so dangerous in pregnant women or in their newborn babies, and radiology is used extensively in assisting diagnosis in both gynaecology and obstetrics. The physiology of the endocrine glands has found wide application in the administration of the appropriate hormone or hormones in various menstrual disorders, in the treatment of infertility, and recently in preventing conception by the administration of hormones in " pill " form.

The first medical professorial chair in a Victorian university clinical school was the Dunbar Hooper Chair of Obstetrics and Gynaecology established at the University of Melbourne by funds from the Edward Wilson Trust in 1929. In consequence the standard of teaching in obstetrics and gynaecology rose rapidly, and the present low morbidity and mortality in mothers and babies can be in great measure attributed to the excellent university training in these subjects. Concurrently with the improvement in the care of the pregnant mother, there has been closer investigation of the causes of mortality in the newborn. There are now specialists practising in the care of the newborn, and many babies are saved by the early recognition and treatment of anatomical and physiological abnormalities. Their work is a link between the practice of the obstetrician and the paediatrician. Early and continued medical care of the pregnant woman, so called " ante-natal care ", has enabled the timely recognition and correction of many of the pathological conditions which formerly made childbirth hazardous. It has helped to lower maternal morbidity and mortality, and has also diminished the death rate in the newborn. Maternal mortality in 1934 was 61 per 10,000 deliveries ; it had dropped to 2 in 1971. Special techniques of gynaecological examination have enabled diagnoses to be made more easily and at an earlier stage than formerly, and so have enabled the institution of prompt and correct treatment. This has recently had special reference to the early diagnosis of malignant disease of the uterus by the so called " smear test ", where the cytologist, by microscopic examination of vaginal fluid, is enabled to discover abnormal cells pointing to the need for further visual and other examinations for evidence of malignancy or pre-malignancy.

A century ago most births took place in the home. Gradually the advantage and added safety of being in a hospital for confinement became recognised, and now most births are in a hospital or a nursing home. Improved training of nurses in midwifery with the exclusion of the untrained midwife by the *Midwives Act* 1915 has been another factor in diminishing morbidity in childbirth.

Medical practice

Specialisation in medical practice in Victoria occurred slowly in the first half of this century but has increased rapidly since 1950, notably in anaesthesia   Medical   attention   to   the   civil   population   was   given

a century ago by general medical practitioners, most of them graduates of British or Irish medical schools. They were naturally of varying ability, but the best of them were men capable of giving good treatment in medicine and surgery and obstetrics well up to the world standards of the day. When the first medical school in Australia was established in the University of Melbourne in 1862, the curriculum was designed to equip its graduates to be good general practitioners. It was the first medical school in the English speaking world to require a five year course ; this has gradually been lengthened, and now, with a year after graduation spent as a hospital resident medical officer, a student spends seven years before he can go into general practice. There is only one form of State registration for practice and that is a general one for medical graduates qualified to practise medicine. A State register of specialists was begun in 1972.

Gradually specialist physicians, surgeons, obstetricians, gynaecologists, paediatricians, and oculists were established in Melbourne. Some of these had graduated from general practice into their specialities. Most patients in the city, and nearly all in the country, were cared for by general practitioners, and the standard of the general practitioner was a high one. Now, many students after graduating go on to some years of postgraduate study to become specialists without ever going into general practice. At first this specialist training had to be in one of the great overseas medical centres, but since the establishment of the Australasian Colleges of Surgeons, Physicians, and Obstetricians and Gynaecologists, and other institutions, excellent postgraduate training is now available in Melbourne. These post-graduate courses cater not only for Australians but also for students from New Zealand and Asia. Fellowship in one of these colleges is regarded as an essential by any practitioner setting up in Victoria as a specialist. Though it is no longer necessary to go abroad, in fact most postgraduate students do spend some time studying in Britain, Europe, or America before becoming established as specialists in Victoria. Specialists are not confined to Melbourne ; many of the larger country towns have a number of them. There are still many individual general practitioners but the tendency since 1940 has been for a number of general practitioners to form a group practice, perhaps with some degree of specialisation within the group. It has made life less arduous for the practitioner, although many patients still prefer to be attended year after year by one individual practitioner. In advanced surgery, it is no longer possible for one surgeon alone to be capable of carrying out the operative procedure. He is the chief of a team consisting of many specialists and assistants and technicians ; he is responsible for the planning of the procedure and the functioning of the team as a whole.

Until the late 1960s medical practitioners accepted the convention that patients in charitable institutions would receive free medical and surgical treatment from the visiting medical staff of the institutions. They were referred to as the honorary medical staff. In the large hospitals where medical students were receiving clinical instruction, their instructors or teachers were these honorary medical officers. For these teaching services they were not paid or at most received a small annual honorarium. These teaching services made great inroads on the time required for their private practices and the increasing complexity of modern medicine made the teaching load even greater. In the medical schools of their respective

universities they were unique in being the only university teachers acting in
an honorary capacity. Moves were under way by the early 1970s to bring
about the abolition of the honorary system both in treatment of patients and
in teaching students.

The first women students were admitted to the Melbourne Medical
School in 1887, but for many years women graduates were few and of
those who graduated many dropped out of practice. In 1896 the Queen
Victoria Hospital was established as a public hospital for women and
children, staffed by women practitioners. Later a private and intermediate
block, the Jessie MacPherson Hospital, was added, making it the
first community hospital in Melbourne. Since the First World War
the number of women graduates has increased. They became more
widely accepted in practice during the Second World War when there was
a shortage of male practitioners as so many served with the Armed Forces.

During the first half of this century there were very few salaried
practitioners; most of those were in government service. Most doctors
depended on fees from private patients or from contract practice, the so-called
lodge practice. Gradually more full-time and part-time salaried posts were
established, mainly in government services and in public institutions.
Some of the large industrial and commercial enterprises employed their
own salaried medical officers to carry out special duties for their employees.
By 1970 about 34 per cent of the medical profession were general prac-
titioners, about 21 per cent specialists, and about 34 per cent salaried officers;
the remainder practised in two or more of these categories.

DENTISTRY

The history of dentistry in Victoria can be said to date from the
foundation of the Odontological Society of Victoria in 1884. This Society,
made up of fifteen Melbourne dentists, was the first dental association to be
formed in Australia and was directly responsible for placing dentistry on a
professional basis. Its activities on behalf of the profession directly or
indirectly resulted in Australia's first dental Act, hospital, school, journal,
and Doctorate in Dental Science.

The Victorian Parliament passed the Dentists Act in 1887 which
provided for a Dental Board and a Registrar to keep a register of dentists
in the State. Persons who could prove that they had practised dentistry before
the passing of the Act could be registered. Those seeking registration after
this date were required to have completed a four year course of study
provided for in the Act and to pass an examination set by the Board.
However, it was not until 1910 that a further Act was passed preventing
unregistered people from practising dentistry.

In 1890 the Odontological Society established the Melbourne Dental
Hospital in Lonsdale Street for the treatment of the poor. Members of the
Society gave honorary service and assisted in the teaching and training of
dental students. However, formal teaching facilities were greatly needed for
students who wished to qualify for registration with the Dental Board of
Victoria. To meet this need the Society established the Australian College
of Dentistry in 1897. The College and the Melbourne Dental Hospital were
housed together but their finances were kept separate. At first the College
issued a diploma of M.A.C.D. (Member of the Australian College of

Dentistry) for students who had satisfactorily completed two years of study after apprenticeship to a private practitioner. Later, the Dental Board of Victoria issued a diploma of L.D.S. (Licentiate of Dental Surgery) on the completion of four years of study at the College.

In the same year as the College was established it published the first professional dental journal in Australia—the *Australian Journal of Dentistry*. The journal included dental news and professional papers from Societies in other States and continued to be the major professional journal in Australia. It was last published in 1955 and thereafter became the *Australian Dental Journal*, the organ of the Australian Dental Association.

Through an agreement between the Australian College of Dentistry, the University of Melbourne, and the Dental Board of Victoria, the College was affiliated with the University of Melbourne in 1904. A degree of Bachelor of Dental Surgery (later renamed Bachelor of Dental Science) was established. In 1910 the University instituted the degree of Doctor of Dental Science at the instigation of the Odontological Society of Victoria. A Chair of Dental Science was established in 1924 and Dr Frank Wilkinson was appointed as the first Professor of Dental Science.

The Australian College of Dentistry moved to a new building in Spring Street, Melbourne, in 1907 which it occupied with the Melbourne Dental Hospital until their relocation to their present premises on the old Haymarket site in 1963. In March of that year the University formally took over the teaching and staff of the College and established the present School of Dental Science of the University of Melbourne.

The Odontological Society of Victoria continued until 1920. Other professional dental societies emerged in Victoria as contemporaries of the Odontological Society, namely the Dental Graduates Society and the Alumni Society of the Australian College of Dentistry. All three societies had merged by 1922 when the Dental Society of Victoria was formed. On 20 November 1928 this body joined the newly formed national society to become the Victorian Branch of the Australian Dental Association.

HEALTH

Department of Health

The Port Phillip settlement had few health problems until the gold rushes of the 1850s. Health administration was carried out by a Colonial Surgeon, an officer of the New South Wales public service stationed in Melbourne. After separation from New South Wales, health matters were under the control of the responsible Minister. This was originally the Colonial Secretary, and after 1855, the Chief Secretary. The Legislative Council, which preceded the Parliament appointed under the Constitution, quickly introduced a number of Acts of Council to safeguard the health of the population which increased rapidly as the gold seekers arrived. Administration developed into a Medical Department under the Chief Medical Officer, who was also the President of the Central Board of Health. In 1853 Dr William McCrea, a surgeon of the Royal Navy, became Colonial Surgeon and re-organised the quarantine service, established control over water supplies, and ensured that the elementary rules of sanitation were followed.

The Health Act of 1854 introduced a system of local Boards of

The recovery room in the operating theatre block of the Royal Victorian Eye and Ear Hospital.

Hospitals and Charities Commission

Radiological techniques in use during an operation at the Alfred Hospital.

Hospitals and Charities Commission

The former Royal Melbourne Hospital building in Lonsdale Street, now the Queen Victoria Hospital

The present Royal Melbourne Hospital viewed from Flemington Road.

A training class for nursing aides
Hospitals and Charities Commission

Medical students being trained at the Monash
Medical School, Alfred Hospital.

Monash University

Laboratory production of vaccines, c. 1920.
Commonwealth Serum Laboratories

The group laundry at Bendigo for hospitals in the Loddon region
Hospitals and Charities Commission

The main block of the Repatriation General Hospital, Heidelberg
Repatriation Department

Health, with a Central Board of which Dr McCrea was the first President. The Boards had power over various matters such as sewers and drains and the general cleanliness of houses, food premises, and food. The Common Lodging Houses Act of 1854 included provisions to prevent the spread of infectious diseases, and in the same year the Vaccination Act was passed to prevent the spread of smallpox. The city sprawl was already in evidence in 1855 when the Executive Council brought in an Act to prevent pollution of the Yarra River, Melbourne's water supply, above Queen's Wharf in the City of Melbourne. At the time this Act was introduced development of the Yan Yean waterworks had begun, and in 1858 Dr McCrea was able to report that the City of Melbourne and various suburban municipalities had an ample supply of water. However, water supply still remained a problem for many years in other towns.

Laws relating to quarantine which had been adopted by the New South Wales Government continued to apply in Victoria after Separation in 1851. Until the introduction of an Act to prevent the adulteration of food and drink in 1863, legislation on public health had been aimed primarily at the prevention of disease. This Act was perhaps a sign of the development of some social conscience as it sought to prevent the sale of adulterated food even though the food was not made unwholesome by the adulteration. In 1864 the Licensed Butchers and Abattoirs Act laid the foundation for Victoria's meat supervision laws ; it enabled municipal councils to establish, operate, or supervise abattoirs and to appoint inspectors to examine meat. As the density of the population was increasing each year, the Cemeteries Act of 1864 prevented indiscriminate burials with the consequent possibility of water pollution. Proper cemeteries were established and a ban was placed upon burials except in cemeteries. Finally, in 1865, all existing health legislation was consolidated in the Health Act. This Act also incorporated special quarantine provisions replacing three New South Wales Acts which had previously applied in Victoria.

For more than twenty years after its establishment in 1854 the Central Board of Health was concerned mainly with preventing the spread of disease. Nevertheless, the Central Board was concerned with subjects such as infant mortality, and also kept abreast of overseas developments in various aspects of sanitary science. The use of police officers as sanitary inspectors, and the quarantine control of incoming vessels helped the Central Board to keep infectious disease to a minimum ; smallpox was effectively controlled by vaccination. Shortly after his appointment as President of the Central Board, Dr McCrea was appointed Chief Medical Officer for Victoria. His duties placed him in charge of the Colonial Hospital, the Orphan Asylum, and the Mental Institution, and gave him the supervision of all immigrants arriving in Melbourne. In 1861 the Surgeon Superintendent of the Mental Institution was made directly responsible to the Chief Secretary, and in 1862 was replaced temporarily by a lay superintendent until the arrival of a newly appointed Medical Superintendent from England in February 1863. The small population and the availability of dedicated staff enabled the Victorian Government to set up a complete medical department responsible for all aspects of health work, preventive and curative, and covering various branches of medicine— general medical, psychiatric, surgical, and infectious diseases. District

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surgeons employed by the local Boards of Health were also encouraged to take an interest in hospital matters and were usually employed part-time in general practice.

The Health Act of 1865 and the several amendments to it were repealed in 1883 and replaced by the Public Health Amendment Act; this re-enacted all previous health provisions concerning the organisation of the Central Board of Health and of the local Boards of Health, control of infectious diseases, quarantine, housing matters, and adulteration of food. In addition it sought to establish some measure of control over places where infants might be left by their parents. Any place taking two or more infants under the age of two for nursing and maintenance, apart from their parents, had to register with the local Board of Health and be subject to regular inspection. The Act also provided for the control of the structural safety of public buildings. The expression " public building " was used for the first time and was defined very widely to cover hospitals, theatres, churches, halls, and meeting places of any sort where numbers of persons assembled. An amendment to the Health Act in 1889 recognised the growing importance of local government, and seven representative members of the central body, known as the Board of Public Health, could now be elected by groups of councils of cities, boroughs, and shires. By 1890 urban development had greatly increased, and the public health aspects of the work of the Chief Secretary's Department warranted the establishment of a Ministry of Public Health. The new Department was responsible primarily for the many aspects of preventing injury and illness in the community. The Chief Secretary's Department retained control of mental institutions and the provision of medical services for various government instrumentalities. Child welfare administration was also added in 1890 when the Infant Life Protection Act was passed.

For the next thirty years there were no major changes in the activities of the Department of Public Health, although greater emphasis was placed upon ensuring purity of foodstuffs. However, in 1919 much of the earlier health legislation was repealed and a new Health Act established a Commission of Public Health replacing the former Board of Health; it consisted of not more than three medical practitioners and one representative from the metropolitan municipalities, one representing the cities, towns, and boroughs other than those in the metropolitan area, and one from the shires other than those in the metropolitan area. The new Act dealt with many matters which the Department had previously supervised. It recognised for the first time the need to control the operation of trades which may be dangerous to the health of employees. Among those trades listed were arsenic recovery works, chemical fertiliser works, match factories, and certain industries dealing with metal grinding, white lead, and the manufacture of acid. This was a major development in health law as it conceded at an early date the possibility of technological development in Australia and the need for protection of the workers employed.

The next important step was the introduction of the Ministry of Health Act in 1943. In many ways this Act was a return to the concept of a health service as originated by Dr McCrea in 1853 ; all health matters requiring governmental control were now under the one administration. The Ministry of Health Act established the Department of Health with a

number of branches, and provided power to establish additional branches. All Acts relating in any way to the prevention and cure of physical and mental illness, the training of persons for health services, the direction of research into all aspects of preventive and curative medicine and the publication of information concerning them, now came under the administrative control of the Minister of Health. The Act made possible the establishment of a branch responsible for maternal and infant welfare, the care of pre-school children, and the dental care and medical examination of school children. In 1948 a branch responsible for the diagnosis and treatment of tuberculosis was set up. With financial support from the Commonwealth Government, the Tuberculosis Branch has been able to reduce greatly the incidence of tuberculosis in Victoria. The functions of the former Department of Public Health were taken over by the General Health Branch of the new Department, while the Department of Mental Hygiene, formerly under the Chief Secretary, became the Mental Hygiene Branch of the Department of Health. In 1952 the Mental Hygiene Authority was created to take charge of mental health services. The authority of the Department in the control of stream and air pollution was extended, the first by the *Health (Amendment) Act* 1954 and the second by the *Clean Air Act* 1957. Both of these measures are now under the control of the Environment Protection Authority.

Maternal and child welfare

The Infant Welfare Division of the then Department of Public Health was established in 1926, when the Government undertook to subsidise municipal councils for the establishment of infant welfare centres throughout Victoria. This subsequently became part of the Maternal and Child Welfare Branch of the present Department of Health. To service sparsely populated areas, the Department established a mobile service which enabled infant welfare sisters with specially equipped vans to travel a circuit of some 200 miles. By 1970, 727 infant welfare centres and eleven mobile circuits serviced every municipality in Victoria. In 1930 a mothercraft lecturing service commenced for senior girls in secondary schools ; in 1940 a correspondence service was made available to mothers who could not be contacted through either municipal or mobile services, for example, a lighthouse keeper's family or those living in snowbound alpine areas.

A pre-natal service was established in 1946 at strategically situated infant welfare centres to provide for the medical supervision of those women who booked for their confinements in public maternity hospitals. In the same year the Department first became responsible for the subsidising and supervising of pre-school kindergartens, play centres, and day nurseries. By 1970 there were 29 pre-natal clinics and 811 pre-school centres attended by 39,121 children.

Further developments in the late 1940s and early 1950s included the appointment of a social worker, a dietitian, and a child psychologist to handle special services, and the establishment of an infant welfare service in migrant centres. In 1964 an amendment to the Health Act required that child-minding centres which enrolled more than four children be registered and all personnel approved by the Branch. The objectives of maternal, infant, and pre-school welfare services have broadened from disease prevention

and nutrition counselling to helping with developmental, emotional, and social problems among children.

Prior to the 1943 Health Act, when the school medical and dental services were incorporated into the Health Department as separate divisions, these services had operated as a branch of the Education Department. The School Medical Service began in November 1909 when the Education Department appointed three medical officers to conduct a preliminary investigation into the health of pupils in Victorian schools and their report highlighted the need for a school medical service.

Because of the difficulties of recruiting of suitable medical staff, the School Medical Service between 1943 and 1958 was able to do little more than maintain a token service in a few schools. From 1958 onwards the service sought to give each pupil three routine examinations during schooling; this included one in the third year of secondary school. By 1960 considerable staff increases brought this objective close to achievement and included a consultant paediatrician, an eye specialist, and two psychiatrists. However, due to the large increase in the school population during the 1960s, a further review of activities was needed if all school children were to receive medical examinations. Accordingly the policy was changed to limiting routine medical examination to children in Grade 1 and providing examinations of children in higher grades who required attention. During the 1960s health education programmes have been developed in teachers colleges, giving student teachers an understanding of children's health needs. The nursing staff has continued to visit schools (98 schools in 1970) and inspects children for general health standards, hearing, and vision, as well as arranging follow-up treatment where necessary. In 1971 the staff of the School Medical Service consisted of forty-one medical officers, forty-four nursing sisters, and twenty-two administrative staff. The total number of children examined was 222,588.

The School Dental Service, which commenced in 1921 following reports on the poor dental condition of school children, has also expanded its activities by the addition of extra one-surgery vans and two-surgery semi-trailer units which serve consolidated schools and large schools in country towns. In the metropolitan area, the South Melbourne dental centre was moved to larger premises in St Kilda Road, and additional centres opened in North Fitzroy and Footscray. Each of these centres has a district allotted to it. Registered schools are included in the scheme in all districts visited by the Service. Institutions, special schools, and physically and mentally handicapped children at training centres are also visited by dental officers. However, due to staff shortages, treatment of school children is limited to a group 5–8 years old at commencement, who are then treated at each subsequent visit until they reach 12 years of age. Presently there are thirty-five dental officers making dental services available to 60,000 children.

Mental health

During recent decades there has been a notable change of attitude towards the mentally ill. This has gradually produced developments from which improved assessment, hospitalisation, and follow-up services have emerged. These services are very different from the neglect and indifference to which the mentally ill and the mentally retarded were exposed before, and even since, the turn of the century.

In the late 1860s Ararat and Beechworth mental institutions were erected and opened. The old Yarra Bend institution, opened in 1848, was classified as unsuitable and marked for demolition, and it was planned that it would be replaced in the early 1870s by the Kew asylum. However, because of the population increase, the closing of the Yarra Bend hospital was not possible at that time. By 1893 the Ballarat and Sunbury asylums had been opened, and the first few detached cottages at Kew had been erected specially for " idiot " children. At that time Victoria was reported to be the only place offering accommodation and training for imbecile children resident within its borders, and in this respect the Colony was then in advance of other countries. A receiving house (now called a psychiatric hospital) was opened at Royal Park in 1907. In 1910 another large mental hospital was commenced at Mont Park. On the outbreak of war in 1914 the Commonwealth Government took over a number of uncompleted wards, finished the buildings, and established two military hospitals in the area. The return to the State of these completed wards in the early 1920s enabled mental patients at Yarra Bend to be transferred and the institution was finally closed.

In 1915 the nucleus of a new institution for the treatment of male patients suffering from psychiatric disorders attributable to war service was established at Bundoora. This new institution was at first supplemented by wards for an additional 90 patients at Mont Park, but in the 1930s additional wards were built at Bundoora.

Efforts were made from time to time to separate completely the mentally sick requiring treatment and rehabilitation or long term care from the intellectually handicapped, whose prime need has always been training by specially qualified staff in social and other activities and in sheltered industrial work. During the 1930s a hostel was established for mildly retarded girls trained to work in the community but needing leisure time supervision. Since then other facilities for the intellectually handicapped which have come into operation are the Pleasant Creek Special School at Stawell and the Janefield Colony, both of which are for educable girls and boys; Travancore Clinic, a diagnostic centre for the intellectually handicapped of all ages and a treatment centre for maladjusted children; the Children's Clinic for the diagnosis and treatment of disturbed conditions in children; and a residential centre at Bendigo for the training of mildly retarded boys of post-school age as manual or farm labourers. During the post-war years a number of day training centres for retarded children and adolescents, operated by private organisations and subsidised by the Mental Hygiene Branch of the Department of Health, were established in quick succession.

During the same period services established for the mentally sick included hostels for convalescent male and female patients, and outpatient clinics, while in the early 1940s Larundel Mental Hospital was built on portion of the Mont Park estate. However, because of the war and the resultant housing shortage the institution was not used for its designated purpose until some years later. In 1953 one section of the original Mont Park institution was attached to the newly available Larundel Mental Hospital and in 1963 the remainder of Mont Park was divided into two institutions, Mont Park and Plenty Mental Hospitals. Largely due to the Second World War it was not possible to maintain the enthusiasm responsible for the establishment and development of these institutions, and by 1951

some mental hospital buildings were in need of repair, many patients were unoccupied, food and clothing left much to be desired, and the medical and surgical staffs were inadequate to cope with prevailing needs. However, a significant development up to this time had been the appointment of the first occupational therapists, psychologists, dietitians, and social workers to work in mental institutions. Criticism and publicity brought pressure to bear upon successive governments, and finally in 1952 the newly appointed Mental Hygiene Authority was empowered to renovate and re-assess existing facilities and to plan new ones. The Mental Hygiene Authority (now the Mental Health Authority) was given statutory powers to formulate, control, and direct general policy and administration for the treatment of mental illness and intellectual deficiency; as such it has endeavoured to make good the defects of the past while incorporating its best features into the present.

Important advances have been made since 1952 in many fields. Among the most significant was the establishment of the Alexandra Parade Clinic in 1960 for the treatment and after-care of sociopaths in conflict with the law, and for alcoholic referrals. The Personal Emergency Advice Service began operating from the Clinic on a 24 hour basis in the same year, providing advice by telephone and personal contact where necessary; it depends largely on volunteer personnel who receive the requisite training from professional staff. Hobson Park at Traralgon in Gippsland was opened to cater for outpatients, day patients, and short-term admissions in 1963, while the Dandenong Psychiatric Centre for day or weekly patients, and outpatients, and St Nicholas' Hospital in Carlton, the site of the central service for the intellectually handicapped, began to operate from 1964. The Kew Day Centre for elderly citizens, the majority of whom are former hospital patients, opened in 1965, and in the following year the Glenhuntly Rehabilitation Centre in Caulfield accepted persons with psychiatric disabilities for work training and rehabilitation in an industrial setting. In 1971 there were thirty-eight day training centres for intellectually handicapped children and two such centres for autistic children in Victoria. These have all been established by voluntary bodies but receive a subsidy from the Government for construction and maintenance costs.

Following the formation of the University of Melbourne's Department of Psychiatry, the Professorial Psychiatric Unit was established adjacent to the Mental Health Research Institute in Parkville; it works in liaison with the Institute, and here medical students receive part of their psychiatric training. Research studies from the Mental Health Research Institute have resulted in extensive statistics showing the need for increased facilities for mentally defective and psychogeriatric patients, the diminished length of hospisalisation necessary for psychiatric patients, the increase in short-term patients seeking treatment, and the decline in numbers of those needing long-term care. Experience has shown that residential care is not always needed for many psychiatric disorders, and the trend in psychiatry has been to reduce hospitalisation to the necessary minimum, where possible treating the patient as an outpatient or in a day hospital where he is no longer cut off from his own environment. Provision has been made in many areas for the mildly and moderately intellectually handicapped, the emotionally disturbed, and the prematurely senile to attend outpatient clinics, rehabilitation centres, and industrial workshops.

Suitable staff recruitment has always presented a problem in administration, as has the difficulty of matching limited resources to the wide needs of mental health. During recent years many older established hospitals have been renovated and enlarged, but, to serve a growing population, additional facilities will be required.

Tuberculosis

In 1887 the recorded death rate from tuberculosis was 193 per 100,000 mean population, while in the late 1960s it was about 2 per 100,000, and new notifications were less than 20 per 100,000. Originally no special measures were taken to discover the disease ; equipment for diagnosis and treatment was crude, and all responsibility was in the hands of the private medical practitioner. The State has now accepted full responsibility for providing a comprehensive service, using advanced technical aids for prevention, case detection, and treatment.

Tuberculosis was recognised as being associated with poverty, over-crowding, and poor social conditions. Its infectious nature was suspected, but the causal organism was not isolated until 1882. This discovery stimulated public health measures, and with improving social conditions paved the way for lessening the death toll. In 1906, as a result of research into mining at Bendigo, the affinity between tuberculosis and miner's phthisis was shown. These discoveries resulted in the following control measures :

1. legislation to declare tuberculosis a notifiable disease was introduced in Melbourne in 1903 and notification was made mandatory throughout the State by 1909 ;
2. sanatoria were established under State and municipal control ;
3. laboratory facilities were made available in Melbourne in 1905 and in Bendigo in 1922 ;
4. an outpatient clinic was established in Melbourne in 1918 ; and
5. X-ray facilities were brought into use.

In 1927 the first Director of Tuberculosis for Victoria was appointed. He co-ordinated the existing facilities and set up a State controlled tuberculosis service with diagnostic facilities, clinics for outpatients, institutions for intensive care, and a home visiting service by nurses to instruct in hygiene and follow up patients and their contacts. In 1940 mass miniature radiography, developed for routine examination of recruits for the Armed Services, drew attention to the problem of unsuspected active cases among the apparently healthy members of the community. By 1947 it was adopted for case finding in the community, and in 1963 attendance at the surveys was made compulsory for adults. Free treatment for tuberculosis patients was available by 1943, and four years later the State Government introduced a special Tuberculosis Living Allowance. In 1948 this was replaced by the Tuberculosis Allowance, a Commonwealth Government benefit to encourage patients to take treatment. Developments in general medicine such as anaesthesia, blood transfusion, and antibiotics permitted more intensive surgical aid for the individual patient, and the Austin Hospital, which had been used for chronic patients since the previous century, became the hospital for specialised care.

The increasing interest in tuberculosis throughout Australia led to the Commonwealth-State Agreement of 1948 under which increased funds were provided by the Commonwealth Government ; rapid expansion followed as Victoria had a well established service. Mass miniature radiography and tuberculin testing of school children were developed, as well as B.C.G. vaccination for those at risk and leaving school. Control was strengthened by legislation in 1963 for the compulsory examination of persons with tuberculosis or of suspects, and effective chemotherapy was made available. This comprehensive policy has been continued with vigour and good progress has been made. However, once a person has become infected with tuberculosis, even early in life, the infection may lie dormant for many years before actually causing the disease through loss of resistance because of stress and advancing age. Hence, future energies will be directed to keeping under medical supervision those who have already been infected and to protecting the uninfected.

Other infectious diseases

Owing to ineffective treatment, many infectious diseases were much more serious during the nineteenth century than they are now, and they caused a relatively high death rate. Gastro-intestinal infections in particular were rife both in the metropolis and on the goldfields. From 1834 to 1851 sanitary ordinances were administered from New South Wales, but after Separation local sanitary legislation became necessary, and Victoria's first Health Act came into force on 19 December 1854. Under the Act the appearance of any epidemic, endemic, or contagious disease was to be reported to the Lieutenant-Governor ; the provisions, however, related only to Melbourne and Geelong, and it was not until 1870 that they were extended to cover all local government areas. The Act also provided for a Central Board of Health to make regulations for the prevention or investigation of such diseases, for the establishment of hospitals, and for the cleansing of houses to prevent and check infection. The vaccination of infants against smallpox also became compulsory during 1854. Later legislation permitted conscientious objection and the *Health Act* 1931 finally abolished compulsory vaccination. To combat infectious disease, it became essential to establish hospitals where patients could be isolated and treated by such means as were then available. The first isolation station in Victoria was established at Point Nepean in 1802 as an emergency measure to house, under canvas, scarlet fever victims who were on a ship which had entered Port Phillip Bay. A temporary quarantine station was set up at Point Ormond in April 1840 to tend to typhus victims on the *Glen Huntley*. Later in the 1840s a quarantine station was established in Williamstown ; the Point Nepean quarantine station, set up in 1853, was placed under Commonwealth control in July 1909. In 1872 a sum of £2,750 was voted by Parliament to establish a hospital for the isolation and treatment of smallpox and other infectious diseases. Built as the Queen's Memorial Infectious Diseases Hospital at the Yarra Bend Reserve, it is now known as the Infectious Diseases Hospital, Fairfield. The first buildings were eventually erected by 1901.

As many of the infectious disease wards formerly established in country hospitals have been closed or greatly reduced in size, almost all serious cases are now sent to Fairfield. Furthermore, many of the newly discovered

viral diseases require intensive hospital care and specialised investigation ; facilities for this are only readily available at that hospital.

Cancer

Many hospitals and research centres in Victoria treated cancer and conducted research into its causes for many years, but there was no organisation to co-ordinate the separate efforts until some advisory bodies were set up from 1929 onwards. After several abortive attempts, the *Anti-Cancer Council Act* 1936 was passed to establish an incorporated body to co-ordinate all activities related to research, prevention, and treatment of cancer, and to subsidise these activities. This body was to be called the Anti-Cancer Council of Victoria and money for its activities was obtained by bequests and donations. An appeal was made to the public for funds to establish a Cancer Registry, but the Second World War delayed further development, although in 1943, at the suggestion of the Council, the Government invited an eminent British radiotherapist to visit Victoria and report upon facilities for the treatment of cancer.

Shortly after the end of the war, the State Government and the Council co-operated in purchasing three deep-therapy X-ray machines, but adequate accommodation for a complete radiation therapy service was difficult to obtain. Following the creation of a Cancer Institute Board by the *Cancer Institute Act* 1948 a decision was made to establish the Peter MacCallum Clinic in premises formerly occupied by the Queen Victoria Memorial Hospital, in order to develop a hospital specialising in radiotherapy and chemotherapy and capable of being extended should the need arise. Since then extensive alterations have been made to accommodate modern equipment, and further modifications will be made to provide for extended services. In 1970 the State Government allocated to the Institute the rear portion of the former Royal Mint site, and a master plan for this area is now being developed. The Institute has been supported by the Government and has developed into a widely known cancer treatment centre. Its activities have included a considerable amount of clinical research which has improved methods of diagnosis and of treatment, particularly by radiotherapy, as well as some basic research in fields associated with cancer.

The Anti-Cancer Council of Victoria appointed its first full-time research officer in 1953 ; two years earlier it had sponsored its first research project at the University of Melbourne. Particularly since a very successful public appeal in 1958 and a subsequent one in 1965, the Council has been able to encourage and assist research and investigation into the cause and prevention of cancer. It has stimulated interest in cancer by public education programmes, and has made people aware of the need for early diagnosis of any cancerous condition. The Council has also operated a welfare service throughout the State to assist cancer patients to obtain treatment. In 1964, in co-operation with the Department of Health, the Council established a free service for the early detection by cytological examination of uterine cancer, one of the common forms of cancer in women. The Council has widely advertised the availability of this cell test and although the success of the campaign may not be apparent for a number of years, the discovery of a number of cases in the early operable stage has justified the establishment of the service.

By an amendment of the Cancer Act in 1960 the Anti-Cancer Council

of Victoria is now authorised to affiliate with organisations of a similar nature in other States.

Nursing

Nursing service in Victoria has followed the traditional British pattern of an in-service or apprenticeship programme of training, with public hospitals and major charitable hospitals relying heavily on trainee nurses for nursing service. The first qualified nurses came from Great Britain during the middle of the nineteenth century and established the apprenticeship type training similar to that they themselves had received. No educational standard was required for entrance, and any hospital could " offer " a training which consisted largely of a few lectures and much hard work, including both nursing and cleaning. Often the trainee was required to pay a premium and to supply her own linen and cutlery. No requirements as to length of training, curriculum, examination, or registration were laid down, and no register of " qualified " nurses was kept. This situation persisted until 1902 when the newly formed professional Nursing Association (later known as the Royal Victorian College of Nursing) drew up rules for the registration of nurses already practising, and laid down a training curriculum, conditions for the approval of hospitals as training schools, and a pattern of examinations for registration. Sixty-six hospitals were approved as training schools by 1903, and the first uniform system of training and registration of nurses was commenced. By this time the Women's Hospital had been training midwives for nearly thirty years.

In 1915 the Midwives Act, the first legislation for nursing, was passed ; it provided for the registration of existing midwives and led to the better training of midwives and regulated their field of service. The first Act relating to general nursing was passed in 1923, and through it the responsibility for standards, registration, and control of nursing practice passed from the Nursing Association to the Nurses Board of Victoria, a statutory body. Much later the *Nurses Act* 1956 co-ordinated the education and registration of all branches of nursing in the State, and other aspects of nursing ; the Victorian Nursing Council administers the Act, and exercises wide powers. Before 1958 registration was not compulsory except for those nurses employed as registered nurses. The main development since then has been the introduction of better training programmes, compulsory registration, and the requirement to hold a current annual practising certificate in the branch of nursing being practised for gain.

The educational entry requirement to general nurse training is now four approved subjects at fifth form level, although many student nurses have completed secondary schooling. A new curriculum for general nurse training has been approved and will be fully implemented by July 1974, providing 1,600 hours of formal instruction in the three year course for every student nurse commencing after that date. This curriculum is more comprehensive and better regulated than earlier nurse education programmes. There is a set ratio of education to work undertaken and students must complete a basic nursing education before carrying out nursing duties. The programme includes some psychiatric, public health, and maternity nursing, but does not include midwifery nursing for which there is an additional twelve months course for those wishing to train in this branch of nursing.

To assist in recruitment of applicants to general nursing, bursaries are

offered to students to encourage them to reach Higher School Certificate stan-
dard (the students are bonded to complete the course of general nurse
training) and officers of the Hospitals and Charities Commission visit schools
and conduct meetings throughout the State in a continuing recruitment
programme to inform young people of the opportunities in nursing.

In the early years of this century nursing practice was confined to
" curative " nursing, but since 1917, when the infant welfare movement com-
menced and led to improved infant and maternal care now recognised as a
vital factor in the prevention of infant mortality, there has been growth in
other areas of preventive nursing care, such as school health and industrial
nursing services. Training in infant welfare and post-basic areas of nursing was
established by the Nurses Board of that time. These courses, together with
the other special courses in line with modern medical technology, such as
intensive care, renal care, and coronary care nursing, are available to regis-
tered nurses. Postgraduate diploma courses in nursing administration and
teaching, commenced in the early 1930s by the Royal Victorian College of
Nursing, became the responsibility of the College of Nursing, Australia, on its
establishment in 1950 with headquarters in Melbourne. Diploma courses
are now available in most specialised branches of nursing at that College.

The nursing force is supplemented by nursing aides who undertake
a course of twelve months training including six weeks at a nursing aide
school and the remainder in hospitals and institutions approved by the
Victorian Nursing Council. There is no prescribed minimum education
standard for entry to nursing aide training at present, but successful comple-
tion of third form of secondary education is desirable.

At 30 June 1971 Victorian public hospitals employed 11,572 nurses full-
time of whom 6,976 were trained and 4,596 were students. Of these, 1,578
were trained nursing aides, 243 were registered mothercraft nurses, and 574
were student nursing aides. Because of a general shortage of nurses, hospitals
employ many nurses on a part-time basis. At 30 June 1971 there were 1,947
nurses and 329 nursing aides employed part-time in Victorian public
hospitals.

Bush nursing services

In 1909 the idea of providing a nursing service in the remote areas of
Australia was conceived by Lady Dudley, the wife of the Governor-General
of Australia. She was able to interest Sir James Barrett in the scheme, and
as a result the Victorian Bush Nursing Association was formed and the
first bush nursing centre was opened in 1911.

From the beginning bush nursing has been self supporting and founded
on co-operative responsibility; a central council of management was
established to deal with matters of common interest, and a nursing
superintendent was appointed. From the earliest days a policy of complete
decentralisation has operated. The payment of a small annual fee entitles
a person to be a subscriber to a hospital or centre. Subscribers receive free
treatment at a bush nursing centre and reduced rates as an inpatient in a
bush nursing hospital. Local committees elected from the subscribers in
each area are completely responsible for all aspects of local management.
Sir James Barrett was the secretary of the Central Council until his death in
1945, and the progress made by the Association was in no small measure
due to principles which he initially laid down.

By the end of 1920 there were twenty-eight nursing centres. Nurses worked under medical direction except in cases of emergency, but as the nearest doctor was often far removed and as communications were poor, the bush nurse of that time was frequently responsible for all midwifery and general medical and surgical nursing, and the health of the school children in her area. As country communities grew, some of the cottages which provided accommodation for the bush nurse were extended to become bush nursing hospitals ; from 1926 onwards many small private hospitals became bush nursing hospitals.

The Association continued to expand and several public trusts became interested in its work. An ambulance service was established, and using trust funds the Central Council was able to assist local communities to establish hospitals. As improved roads and transport brought the outlying areas into closer communication with the centres of population the number of nursing centres declined and the number of hospitals increased ; by 1942 there were sixty-two bush nursing hospitals and fifteen bush nursing centres.

Bush nursing hospitals are registered as private hospitals under the Hospitals and Charities Act. Each centre receives financial assistance from the Commonwealth Government under the *Home Nursing Subsidy Act* 1956. Since the end of the Second World War the work has been reviewed and consolidated. Several of the larger bush nursing hospitals have elected to become incorporated under the Hospitals and Charities Act and obtain finance through the Hospitals and Charities Fund ; a large renovation and rebuilding programme has been carried out in the hospitals remaining under the aegis of the Association. The State Government, through the Minister of Health, has made such a programme possible by subsidising approved capital works, first on a one for one basis then later on a two for one basis, and since 1963 on a three for one basis. The State Government has also assisted with the maintenance expenses of bush nursing hospitals. In 1971 there were thirty-nine bush nursing hospitals with a total of 496 beds, and eighteen bush nursing centres.

Paramedical developments

For almost a century a group of professional workers has provided ancillary medical services for doctors : these paramedical services comprise physiotherapy, occupational therapy, speech therapy, medical social work, psychology, and dietetics.

In 1890 Elizabeth McAuley, through her own work at the Melbourne Hospital, founded the practice of physiotherapy in Victoria, the value of which has been acknowledged by the medical profession, particularly in the rehabilitation of patients. Following the Second World War occupational therapy was firmly established by the techniques developed to assist the recovery of disabled servicemen. The Occupational Therapy School opened in 1948, and the aim of the therapists is to help persons who are handicapped, either physically or mentally, to return to a life of maximum independence. Speech therapy treats disorders of speech, language, and voice, and has developed steadily in Victoria since 1945 when it began at the Children's Hospital. Speech therapists are now employed at teaching hospitals, at metropolitan and country hospitals, and at special hospitals and rehabilitation centres. The Education Department also provides speech therapists for the treatment of children referred by school medical officers.

In 1966 the Victorian Government purchased Lincoln House in Melbourne ; the building now accommodates the training schools of the professions of occupational therapy, physiotherapy, and speech therapy, all of which are affiliated with the Victoria Institute of Colleges.

Professional social workers are involved in a wide field of service, including social welfare, industry, voluntary and statutory organisations, and community development, as well as health. The medical social worker makes a valuable contribution to ancillary medical service, working in close co-operation with the doctor in the fields of general and mental health.

Psychology, as a science and professional practice, is now firmly established in Victoria, where psychologists must be registered under the *Psychological Practices Act* 1965. Members of this profession are employed in the universities, the Commonwealth and State public services, commerce, industry, and private practice. They offer a wide variety of services, including teaching, counselling, vocational selection and guidance, and personnel management.

Dietetics relates scientific knowledge to nutrition in the feeding of individuals and communities in health and in illness. Late in 1920 trained nurses were first recruited for special instruction in dietetics, and the first hospital training school for dietetics was founded at the Alfred Hospital in 1931. At present there are three training schools and dietitians are employed in administration, research, industry, and teaching, and in hospital service where the medical team includes the therapeutic dietitian.

Hospitals

The first hospital in Victoria was opened in Batman's two storey house at the corner of Collins and William Streets in 1837 ; part of the house had been placed temporarily at the disposal of government medical officers. Before that date a government doctor had used a mud hut at the Spencer Street end of Collins Street as a consulting room and infirmary. In 1838 a larger hospital was built in King Street. In the same year the Government in Sydney authorised the construction of a hospital and promised £300 providing the local community raised a similar amount. In 1840 a group of citizens raised money and established the first community hospital with twenty beds and an outpatient section ; it was on the south side of Bourke Street, between Elizabeth and Swanston Streets, in a house loaned by John Fawkner. By 1844 the public had subscribed only £215 but the Government then promised a site and £200 for a new hospital. The Melbourne Hospital was opened on the north-east corner of Swanston and Lonsdale Streets in March 1848 with ten beds; by the end of that year this number had been doubled. The hospital had to cater for a rising population between 1846 and 1856; by 1856 it provided 200 beds. The second Melbourne hospital was established in 1856 ; this was the Lying-in-Hospital, now the Royal Women's Hospital.

The increase in population after 1851 meant that more hospitals were needed in country areas, and they were built at Geelong in 1852, at Castlemaine and Bendigo in 1853, at Kilmore, Warrnambool, and Maryborough in 1854, at Ballarat, Beechworth, and Port Fairy in 1856, at Stawell, Kyneton, Maldon, and Ararat in 1858, and at Amherst, Heathcote, and Dunolly in 1859. By 1862 there were nineteen hospitals with 1,037 beds in the State. In 1869, largely through the early work of Dr Andrew

Gray, a committee of citizens established the Melbourne Institution for Diseases of the Eye and Ear, now the Royal Victorian Eye and Ear Hospital. The Alfred Hospital, named after Prince Alfred, Victoria's first royal visitor, in thanksgiving for his recovery after the attempt on his life in Sydney in March 1868, was opened in May 1871 on its present site. Prince Henry's Hospital like many others began as a dispensary, beds being added later. Established in 1869 the hospital moved to Spring Street in 1876 and the dispensary was closed. It was moved to its present site in 1885, and at first functioned as the Homoeopathic Hospital; owing to difficulties in obtaining homoeopathic doctors, it became a general public hospital in 1934. The Children's Hospital was established in 1870, catering for both inpatients and outpatients; its present location is in Parkville. The Austin Hospital was opened in 1882 at Heidelberg. It originally had 66 beds and cared for patients suffering from conditions such as tuberculosis and cancer, considered incurable at the time. St Vincent's Hospital, now a teaching hospital affiliated with the University of Melbourne, was opened in a terrace house in 1893, and still occupies its original site. It was founded by a small community of the Sisters of Charity. The Queen Victoria Memorial Hospital was for thirty years the only women's hospital in Australia staffed by women doctors. Initiated through the efforts of Dr Constance Stone in 1896, its patients were first treated at St David's Hall in La Trobe Street; the hospital was opened in Mint Place in 1899 and was moved in 1946 to buildings formerly occupied by the Royal Melbourne Hospital. The year of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee was chosen for a public appeal to establish the Queen's Memorial Infectious Diseases Hospital. Some of its buildings were completed in 1901 at Fairfield, and the hospital was opened in 1904.

Generally, hospital design remained unchanged until the First World War. The so-called " Nightingale " ward, a large room accommodating about thirty patients with a fireplace and toilets at one end and a nurses' station at the other, was standard. After the First World War the awareness of infection and its dangers was reflected in design; crevices and ledges were discarded in favour of smooth, easily cleaned surfaces; the crowding of patients ceased and the danger of cross infection was therefore lessened; and laboratories and X-ray departments were enlarged. At the same time biochemical and bacteriological research and the use of X-rays increased and aseptic techniques were introduced to reduce infection hazards. The new Royal Melbourne (formerly Melbourne) Hospital, which moved to its present site in 1944, was the first Victorian hospital whose design reflected these changing conditions. Nightingale wards were discarded in favour of smaller wards for privacy and for isolation; proper and centralised facilities for sterilisation were provided; departments were planned to accommodate new developments of diagnosis and treatment; and provision was made for facilities which included management and engineering services, stores, and laundry.

Antibiotics were first used in Victorian hospitals just before the Second World War; their use has now become widespread, affecting hospitals profoundly, and many infections have been controlled for the first time. The average bed stay of patients in hospitals has been shortened; it was almost halved, from 20 days to 10.2 days, between 1931 and 1970. Laboratories have been expanded to assist in determining the best antibiotic for a

particular infection, the precise character of the infecting organism, and the amount of the particular drug necessary for control. More recently, biological medicine and endocrinology have made dramatic advances. Treatment with biological products has demanded precise assays, and the development of nuclear medicine and the use of isotopes have thrown further responsibilities on radiological and laboratory services. Diagnostic and therapeutic departments are now so planned that they can be expanded in size to accommodate increases in staff and facilities.

As public hospitals are now a service available to all regardless of income, and since patients demand privacy and quality service, changes have involved heavy expenditure. In 1970–71 hospital services were paid for from the following sources : by the Victorian State Government, 46.1 per cent ; by the Commonwealth Government, through hospital benefits and other payments, 17.7 per cent ; by the patient or through his own fund insurance, 32.8 per cent ; and from other sources, 3.4 per cent. Hospital costs have risen steeply. The daily average bed cost in Victorian public hospitals has risen from $2.67 in 1947–48 to $28 in 1970–71. Costs are likely to continue to rise owing to the application of new medical scientific procedures and to increasing salaries. Efforts have been made to rationalise hospital services, and in country districts they have been co-ordinated in each of ten regions. The Cancer Institute provides all of the megavoltage radiotherapy for the State, and much of the plastic surgery is centralised in a unit at the Preston and Northcote Community Hospital. In 1968 metropolitan teaching hospitals in collaboration with the Victorian Hospitals and Charities Commission agreed to rationalise their open heart surgery facilities in two hospitals, St Vincent's and the Alfred. Other specialities such as renal surgery and dialysis, orthopaedics, rehabilitation, neurology, and neuro-surgery are under similar examination by expert committees.

COMMONWEALTH HEALTH SERVICES

The responsibilities of the Commonwealth Department of Health in the fields of health benefits, public health, and medical and allied research in Victoria have expanded considerably since its establishment in 1921. The Commonwealth Radiation Laboratory, the Commonwealth Bureau of Dental Standards, the Commonwealth Serum Laboratories, the Commonwealth Health Laboratories in country areas, and the National Biological Standards Laboratory are only some of the establishments which have contributed, not only to an improvement in health facilities in Victoria, but in Australia as a whole. However, it was in the field of quarantine that the Commonwealth Department of Health made its earliest contribution to the health of the State.

Section 51 of the Constitution gave the Commonwealth one health function, that of quarantine, but this was not exercised until 1 July 1909 when the Quarantine Act came into force. Until then quarantine was a State function, and in Victoria quarantine powers had existed from as early as 1841. A sanitary station for the treatment of quarantinable disease had been established at Point Nepean in September 1853, with a resident Surgeon Superintendent. At the time of Federation in 1901 quarantine was performed by the State Chief Health Officer. Initially a quarantine branch of the Commonwealth Department of Trade and Customs was created under the

Commonwealth Quarantine Act of 1908, and it came into operation in July 1909. Smallpox, the most feared of quarantinable diseases, had occurred in Victoria in 1857 (16 cases), 1868 and 1869 (43 cases), 1872 (10 cases in Bendigo), and in 1884 and 1885 (56 cases). Vaccination against smallpox was first made compulsory in 1854 for every infant within six months of birth, and it was not until 1919 that a conscientious objection clause was inserted into the Victorian Health Act. From 1875 to 1900 72 per cent of children born were vaccinated. This figure gradually declined until, with the operation of the " conscience " clause in 1920, only 12 per cent of children were vaccinated.

The first Commonwealth Director of Quarantine, Dr W. P. Norris, was appointed in 1909 and Dr J. H. L. Cumpston was appointed as Chief Quarantine Officer and Superintendent of Quarantine, Victoria, in 1911.

During the First World War many national health problems were raised, particularly those associated with the medical examination of troops, their welfare and care overseas, the rehabilitation of the physically disabled after the war, and the increased realisation of the seriousness of social diseases. The nation-wide influenza epidemic of 1918 and 1919 emphasised the need for a wider development of health services, and led to the creation of the Commonwealth Department of Health in March 1921. All quarantine positions were transferred to it from the Department of Trade and Customs. The war produced difficulties in obtaining supplies of antitoxins from abroad, and caused embarrassment to hospitals and medical practitioners throughout the country. As early as 1883 a depot had been established at Royal Park, Melbourne, for the production of calf vaccine. This depot was transferred to the Commonwealth Government in 1912, and it was on this site that the Commonwealth Serum Laboratories were established in 1916. In 1961 the Commonwealth Government passed the Commonwealth Serum Laboratories Act which placed the Laboratories under the control of the Commonwealth Serum Laboratories Commission, a body responsible to the Minister for Health.

In 1920 the Director of Quarantine decided to establish diagnostic laboratories as an aid to doctors practising in country areas. With the creation of the separate Department of Health, laboratories were set up in quick succession, and one of the first of these was the Bendigo Laboratory which was established in 1922 and which still functions under the Victorian Division of the Department. The Commonwealth Radium Laboratory was set up in 1927 and expanded in 1935, eventually to become the Common-wealth Radiation Laboratory. At the time of the financial crisis of 1931 the Government reviewed the Department's functions and decided that the Department should retire from industrial hygiene, maternal and infant welfare, tuberculosis and venereal disease control activities, tropical hygiene investigations, and research generally. These changes became effective early in 1932.

After the depression many reports were considered by the Government on social security. Two of these, " A Comprehensive Health Scheme " submitted in July 1943 and again in 1945, and a report on " Commonwealth Hospital Scheme and Hospitalisation " submitted in 1944, were particularly significant. They formed the basis of the Chifley Government's approach to a national health service. Initial difficulties were experienced in the

establishment of a pharmaceutical benefits scheme and the Constitution was amended in 1946 to permit subsequent legislation. Following the change of government in 1949 the *Pharmaceutical Benefits Act* 1952 was introduced. Changes were also made to hospital benefits, the Acts of 1945, 1947, and 1948 being superseded by the Act of 1951. A wide-ranging series of discussions was held with interested parties about the introduction of medical benefits, and regulations were passed in 1953 under the existing National Health Service Acts. The pensioner medical service was initiated in August 1950 to provide a full medical and pharmaceutical service to pensioners and dependants. All of these benefit schemes were consolidated in the *National Health Act* 1953.

The Commonwealth Bureau of Dental Standards, initially attached to the University of Melbourne, became part of the Commonwealth Department of Health in 1947. The National Biological Standards Laboratory was established as part of the Department in 1958, and its virology section has been located in Melbourne since 1962.

In 1970 a new Medical Benefits Plan was introduced, based on lists of most Common Fees for the whole range of medical services. It also provided differential rates of benefits for some 340 selected medical services, depending on whether the service is rendered by a general practitioner or a specialist in the practice of his speciality. Where the Common Fee is charged the patient contribution is not more than $5, even for the most costly operation and the services associated with it.

MEDICAL EDUCATION

Medical Education in Australia began in 1862 when the first medical school opened with the entry of three students to the University of Melbourne. The connection with the University was of great importance for all future Australian medical schools. This circumstance set the pattern ; medical education was to become in this country inseparable, physically and academically, from the universities.

The University of Melbourne at this time had on its council A. D. Brownless (1817–1897), and it was mainly due to his drive that the medical school was founded. He demanded (and got) a five year medical course forty years before this was standard in the United Kingdom. In 1862 a grant of £6,000 was given by a reluctant government, and the building which resulted on the north-east corner of the campus was occupied in 1864. Halford, the first professor (a distinguished physiologist), also occupied the Chairs of Anatomy and Pathology. Even in those days Brownless fought hard for adjacent land on which to build a university hospital. Eventually in 1942 the new Royal Melbourne Hospital was built and occupied in 1944. The hospital was near the south-west corner of the University, and on this area a new complex of buildings was eventually occupied by the Faculty in 1969.

Clinical instruction was first given at the Royal Melbourne Hospital in 1864, at the Alfred Hospital in 1888, and at St Vincent's Hospital in 1909. The Royal Children's Hospital and the Royal Women's Hospital became involved with the clinical teaching in their early years. (See table on page 563.) The medical school grew slowly; a joint Chair of Anatomy and Pathology was founded in 1882 and divided in 1906. Not until 1929 was another Chair (Obstetrics) established. Professors of Medicine and Surgery

were first appointed in 1955. Nevertheless, the University influence had remained dominant, particularly in the three pre-clinical years. By 1970 there were twenty-eight professors in nineteen departments.

In the years up to 1955 all clinical teaching was given by the visiting staff. However, since 1955 at the University of Melbourne, and from the first year of clinical teaching at Monash University (1964), the clinical professors have been in charge of undergraduate teaching which they now share with the visiting staff. The end of this unpaid system is in sight although it seems certain that the dual teaching aspect will continue with payment provided by the universities.

The student body slowly increased, the demands by Victoria for medical graduates being met by Melbourne graduates, doctors migrating from the United Kingdom, and the considerable number of Victorians who graduated in London and Edinburgh and then returned home. At 20 year intervals the aggregate number of students in the course were: 3 (1862); 181 (1882); 256 (1902); 731 (1922); 702 (1942); and 993 (1962). The year 1962 represents the first combined total of Melbourne and Monash Universities, the latter having opened in 1961. The projected number (combined universities) for 1972 was 2,263.

Monash University was established at Clayton in 1958, not as a technical university as originally intended, but as a multi-faculty structure, which included the humanities, sciences, and professional courses. A compelling reason for full university status was the need for a second medical school which was to be established on the campus. Land was reserved alongside the medical school for a university hospital to be established in the 1970s. Affiliation agreements, recommended by a government committee on medical undergraduate education (Lindell Report 1960), were completed with the Alfred and Prince Henry's Hospitals in 1960. The University of Melbourne generously agreed to phase out of these two clinical schools, meanwhile establishing a new affiliation with the Austin Hospital in 1965. Monash University, in addition, established a clinical school of obstetrics, gynaecology, and paediatrics at the Queen Victoria Hospital.

The Psychiatric Hospital, Royal Park, and Fairfield Hospital, each affiliated with the University of Melbourne, were made available by their boards of management to both universities for teaching. (See table on next page.) By 1971 there was a full-time Dean and eighteen professors in eleven Departments of the Faculty of Medicine at Monash University with 936 undergraduate students.

Medical education for many years was directed towards the graduation of a sound clinician, capable after six years of training to take his place in the community as a general practitioner. The modern need for an education based on scientific principles and laboratory practice has resulted of necessity from the increasing orientation of medicine towards science; it was expected that the " undifferentiated " doctor would then move into the postgraduate training phase directed towards one of the specialities or training for general practice. The emphasis on the scientific aspects has resulted in the need for the new medical school complex at the University of Melbourne, opened in 1969, as well as the new school at Monash University opened in 1961. Each university has had to erect new clinical sciences buildings at its affiliated hospitals.

These developments have shown that undergraduate education is only a first stage in the lifelong need for continuing education. While there has been an increasing emphasis on scientific attitudes and skills, at the same time there has also been a move away from the purely mechanistic approach. It is now better understood that medicine is closely allied to the social sciences. Consequently far more emphasis is given to psycho-social aspects both at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels. The phase now emerging will see close attention being given to strong graduate training programmes in hospitals which will be recognised as appropriate for this purpose by a system of accreditation.

VICTORIA—TEACHING HOSPITALS

Hospital	Date of establishment	Date of university affiliation
UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE		
Royal Melbourne	1848	1864
Royal Women's	1856	1864 (a)
Royal Children's	1870	1870
Alfred	1871	1888–1964
Royal Park	1907	1907
St Vincent's	1893	1909
Fairfield	1904	1909
Prince Henry's	1869	1952–1964
Austin	1882	1965
Larundel	1943	1971
Mercy	1971	1971
MONASH UNIVERSITY		
Queen Victoria	1896	1963
Fairfield	1904	1963
Royal Park	1907	1963
Prince Henry's	1869	1964 (b)
Alfred	1871	1964 (b)
Larundel	1943	1966

(a) No formal affiliation—students first attended in 1864.
(b) Transferred from University of Melbourne in 1964.

PHARMACY

One of the first pharmacists to practise in Victoria was Dr Barry Cotter, who described himself as " surgeon and druggist " and conducted a pharmacy on the corner of Collins and Queen Streets as early as 1839. This was the forerunner of Hood and Co. at present located at 215 Elizabeth Street. Another early Victorian pharmacy has been operating since 1849 ; it is that of Henry Francis and Co.

The Pharmaceutical Society of Victoria was formed in Melbourne by some twenty British pharmacists in 1857 and by the end of the year there were 105 members. The Society first met in a house in Bourke Street to oppose an attempt by Dr D. J. Tierney, M.L.C., to introduce a Poisons Bill into Parliament without first consulting the pharmacists whose rights were threatened. The Bill was effectively blocked and withdrawn, and was not reintroduced for twenty years. A subsequent meeting in the same year adopted a resolution seeking a journal and " . . . a uniform system of education as shall secure to the profession and the public the safest and most efficient administration of medicine and the uniting of . . . members into a recognised and independent body ". In 1858 publication

of a journal by the Society began. Styled the *Quarterly Journal and Transactions,* it was edited by W. Johnson, who was also Government Analyst, and J. Bosisto. Frederick Cooper, who was elected first president of the Society, was also one of Victoria's first pharmacists. The early pharmacists were British and their society as well as their college were structured along the British pattern. They received great help and encouragement from the parent society, and correspondence between the two bodies was prolific. Visitations and personal contacts were few, but information was obtained from migrants. The characteristic British chemist's shop, which differed from the European style, became established in Victoria. The goldfields and the remote country areas produced some quaint variants in the type of practice. By 1861 the Society's membership had fallen to fifteen, and no records of consequence were kept until the Society was revived by legislation in 1876. During this time many incompetent pharmacists had entered practice " counter prescribing " and the so-called " consulting chemist " was commonplace ; encroachment on medical practice was widespread.

In 1876 the Pharmacy and Poisons Act became law, and the registration of pharmacists became compulsory. The first Pharmacy Board, a registering and examining body, was formed under the presidency of Bosisto, and as the effects of the Society began to be felt, the quality of pharmacists' practice also improved slowly. From 1876 pharmacists were precluded from practising medicine and surgery, except in accordance with " the rights and privileges hitherto enjoyed ". These were not precisely defined until 1927 when a Pharmacy Board inquiry stated that they were to render first aid, to give emergency treatment in case of poisoning, to prescribe for common ailments of common occurrence by judging on the symptoms in an open shop, and to refrain from practising surgery. One surgical procedure which still remains legal in the current Medical Act is that pharmacists may practice exodontia outside any city, town, or borough. This is no doubt a relic of the needs of the frontier community; so far as is known, no practising pharmacist in the State now exercises this right. Of great importance to the profession has been the long standing provision for qualified ownership of pharmacies, and the consequent proscription of the company pharmacy. After 1876 the tedious wrangle over encroachment on medical practice became insignificant.

In 1927 another pharmaceutical organisation, the Pharmacy Guild of Australia (formerly the Federated Pharmaceutical Service Guild of Australia), was founded. The Guild is a central association of pharmacy owners who must also be pharmacists ; it has its central headquarters in Melbourne and branches in all States, and practically all master pharmacists in Australia are members. It protects the commercial interests of master pharmacists, and it is the official negotiating body with the Commonwealth Government under the National Health Act. Although a sectional group, the Guild co-operates with State professional societies. It has attempted to improve the appearance of pharmacies, merchandising techniques, and professional remuneration.

The Victorian College of Pharmacy, opened in 1884, is owned and operated by the Pharmaceutical Society of Victoria and is affiliated with the Victoria Institute of Colleges. It conducts a degree course in pharmacy.

6

SOCIAL SERVICES AND WELFARE

VOLUNTARY WELFARE

It is not possible to comprehend the development of social welfare in Victoria without taking into account the special role of voluntary bodies and voluntary action. There has been voluntary welfare activity in Victoria since the earliest days of settlement, when organised care and social provision were necessary for those without private means, families, or friends. During the nineteenth century it could be said that in many areas voluntary leadership and organisation filled a gap which in other countries had been filled by local government. The names of the institutions characterise the period : the Immigrants' Home, the Strangers' Aid Society, and later, the Travellers' Aid Society. The most important of the early voluntary welfare agencies was the Immigrants' Aid Society, managed by a committee representing various religious denominations and an executive of seven. New arrivals were given information, advice, temporary lodging, storage for goods, medical aid, and financial aid if destitute ; at various times the Society was also responsible for neglected children and deserted wives. Although heavily dependent on government grants it remained under voluntary management. As the demand for immigrant aid declined it became, in 1902, The Victorian Homes for the Aged and Infirm, and is today the special geriatric hospital, Mount Royal. By the time of the 1890 Royal Commission on Charitable Institutions there were such diverse agencies for social welfare as benevolent asylums, orphan asylums, the Asylum and School for the Blind, and the Deaf and Dumb Institution.

In 1840 moves were made to establish a hospital for the sick poor of Melbourne. In the following year a small temporary building with twenty beds and an outpatient section, managed by a committee of clergymen, was opened; the first permanent hospital, later to be the Royal Melbourne Hospital, was being built in 1846. The Governor was reluctant to provide funds, fearing to establish a precedent for government responsibility ; however, from its beginning the State Treasury made charitable contributions. Throughout Victoria the Government's donations for the poor increased, and in 1881 the first Inspector of Charitable Institutions was appointed, with limited responsibility to regulate voluntary charities. When the Hospitals and Charities Commission in 1948 replaced the older Charities Board (originally set up in 1922 to collate government grants and control charities), its work was directed towards policy formation and co-ordination. Voluntary work has also been carried out by organised religious denomina-

tions, initially within the individual congregations of Scots Church, St James Cathedral, St Francis Church, and Wesley Church. Later, a number of religious institutions and societies were secularised, as when the Melbourne Orphanage (now the Melbourne Family Care Organisation) became separated from the congregation of St James, or when the Scots Church Visiting Society became the Melbourne Ladies Welfare Society. However, many activities have continued under church auspices: work concerning child welfare is particularly important, many institutions being maintained by the Catholic Church, while the Salvation Army is especially concerned with social derelicts.

Voluntary agencies in children's welfare work have co-operated with State authorities through various representative associations and have contributed to legislation, community education, and the practice of child care which has changed over the years through greater knowledge of child development. Most of the agencies have been concerned with counselling services, adoption and foster care arrangements (which were made more stringent by the *Adoption of Children Act* 1964), and as an alternative to these, residential care in various types of homes and institutions.

Voluntary bodies have emerged in many other fields of social welfare in this century. These have included the Victorian Division of the Red Cross Society, founded in 1914, which introduced its blood transfusion service in 1929 and pioneered music and art therapy for mental patients after the Second World War. Its work in helping ex-servicemen and their dependants has been matched by the efforts of other organisations such as the Returned Services League, Legacy, and Toc H. The R.S.L., founded in 1916, has provided homes, club amenities, and visits for ex-servicemen, and watches over their constitutional rights. Legacy has made itself responsible for war orphans, endeavouring to give them the help denied by the absence of a father. Toc H was originally formed in 1915 as a soldiers' club in France, and has continued its social work in the community.

Voluntary work to help the physically disabled began in 1918 and was at first confined to children—the beginning of the Yooralla School and Hospital. In 1935 the Victorian Society for Crippled Children was formed and its services later extended to adults ; in the same year work for the mentally ill was officially embodied in the Council for Mental Hospital Auxiliaries, whose activities had begun three years previously.

After the Second World War the efforts of parents of children with cerebral palsy were mainly responsible for the creation of the Spastic Children's Society of Victoria. Relatives and friends of the mentally ill formed themselves into an association in 1945 and three years later helped to establish child minding centres for mentally retarded children.

The Old People's Welfare Council was set up in 1951 to co-ordinate welfare work among the elderly, most of whom in Victoria do not live in institutions. However, various churches and philanthropic organisations provide a limited range of residential homes for them.

Owing to its wide variety, the extent of voluntary activity today is partly unknown. It may be professional or otherwise, and it may involve direct service, fund raising on a large or small scale, committee work in organisations with very large budgets or in mutual aid organisations such as parent groups connected with mental retardation, private philanthropic

activity, or the provision of additional effort related to government welfare programmes. However, it is known that organised voluntary activity plays an important part in social welfare. In 1968 the Australian Council of Social Service compiled a comprehensive list of almost five hundred Victorian welfare agencies. Some 175 of these had a paid staff of 17,187, and some 100 agencies' voluntary workers numbered 27,332; total capital and maintenance expenditure was approximately $57m of which almost 60 per cent came from government sources. Although details concerning the origins of non-governmental contributions are incomplete, contributions are not derived from private gifts alone. In 1961 a survey revealed that income from philanthropic sources was still important in some areas, including advisory services to the handicapped, recreation, family and child welfare, and the work of co-ordinating bodies in welfare. However, these services were the least costly. For the more expensive health services only 2 per cent of maintenance income was derived from charitable contributions, although gifts were rather more important with respect to capital investments. An important source of maintenance income was found in fees charged to patients and clients or against contributions to various insurance schemes. The alternative to State subsidised voluntary action might have been a network of local government welfare activities, but in the early days of settlement this was impractical as the resources, leadership, and tradition of local government were lacking. The State-subsidised welfare agencies almost became an administrative organ of government, therefore, and developed a special character. Whereas in Great Britain voluntary welfare action had been motivated largely by the dehumanised services of the Poor Laws, and in the United States of America it was thought to be an alternative to government action, in Victoria voluntary work and government activity were not considered as opposed to each other.

State development has necessarily affected voluntary activity; for example, the statutory Hospitals and Charities Commission now effectively controls the voluntary hospitals. Commonwealth Government activity has also made some voluntary work irrelevant, while many volunteers have been replaced by salaried professional staff. There have, however, been no signs of a diminution of voluntary activity, which is being channelled into new areas, often concerned with pioneering new services : one voluntary agency initiated both elderly citizens' clubs and family planning clinics and another began retarded children's centres. Self-help groups for epileptics, the mentally ill, deserted families, alcoholics, and others have also developed, and are helping to change public attitudes, provide mutual aid, and influence governmental social welfare policies. There are large numbers of volunteer committee members, serving not only on voluntary bodies, but active also on governmental advisory committees.

During the 1960s there has been evidence that voluntary action is not only continuing but is gaining in significance, and the importance of the tasks of such volunteers has led to increased demand for special courses of training. For example, the Mental Health Authority provides special courses of training for volunteers manning personal emergency centres, and the Victorian Council of Social Services has variously provided courses of training for volunteers working in citizens' advice bureaux. Although the Commonwealth Government has only recently become involved with the more personal social

services, it has tended to utilise the services of voluntary action long estab-
lished in Victoria. It has sponsored groups of volunteer workers to aid the
recently arrived migrant and has subsidised voluntary bodies in their
programmes for the aged and disabled.

CHILD WELFARE

Voluntary organisations and private individuals provided all child care
in Victoria until well into the 1850s. However, the discovery of gold in 1851
brought a large population increase in a short time, with associated social
problems. The Immigrants' Aid Society, formed in 1853, took over some
disused government buildings in " Canvas Town " where it accommodated
arriving immigrants.   By 1855 hundreds of disappointed diggers had
returned to Melbourne, mostly destitute and some   with families to
support. An arrangement was made in 1857 by which neglected
children coming under the care of the State could be kept at the
Immigrants' Home. However, because the Home itself had no legal
standing, the Superintendent of the Immigrants' Home was not empowered
to prevent relatives of the children from reclaiming them if they so
wished. There were over fifty neglected children in this Home in 1858 ;
by 1864, there were over 600, and the number coming under care was
steadily increasing. It became clear that the Government had to legislate for
the welfare of these children and the *Neglected and Criminal Children's Act*
1864 was passed by Parliament.

This Act declared that the State would open " Industrial Schools "
where the children could be taught to be useful members of society by
training in " habits of decency and order ". The existing voluntary organisa-
tions were also encouraged to open such Industrial Schools by a government
grant of 5s per week for each child they accommodated. In addition,
the Act defined those conditions under which children could be removed
from the control of their parents, along with the legal obligations of the
parents to contribute to the support of their children. At the same time it was
emphasised to parents that they should not be too eager to place their
children with the State ; in fact, the State would only intervene when the
child was " in danger ". Unfortunately, no financial assistance was available
from the State for children living in their own homes.

In 1864 the Department of Industrial and Reformatory Schools, headed
by an Inspector, was established with offices at the corner of King and
Bourke Streets. It started with 463 children from the Immigrants' Aid
Society and another 190 were committed by police during the following year.
The first Industrial School was opened near Princes Bridge. The response
from voluntary organisations was very disappointing and, because of the
demand for Industrial School accommodation, the Government was forced
to embark upon a rapid programme of development. By 1865 schools had
been opened at Sunbury, Geelong, and Ballarat. In 1866 the hulk *Nelson*
was acquired to accommodate some of the 1,560 wards then under the
State's care, and over the next four years three more hulks were com-
mandeered for use as accommodation by the Department, and joined the
fleet moored in Hobsons Bay. By 1871 only three schools were being
maintained by voluntary organisations and these accommodated only a
little over 300 children. The State at the same time had twelve schools

with 2,621 children, the largest school, at Sunbury, accommodating some 714 by 1872. It had become clear by this time that the State's hurried attempts to solve the "wandering child problem" were unsuccessful. Not only were many of the buildings used for these schools quite unsuitable and staff deficient and often ill-suited to the task, but the whole scheme of industrial training was poorly conceived.

In 1872 the Chief Justice, Sir William Stawell, presided over a Royal Commission and its findings were as expected. It found that the schools were "hurtful to health, the morals, the intellectual and industrial training of the children, and tended to sink them into a life of permanent poverty or crime. The whole system of congregated charitable schools is based on a wrong principle injurious to both the children and the State". The Royal Commission suggested "boarding out" of wards as an alternative to the institutionalised care. This system had been working with great success in South Australia for many years and is today called foster care. An amendment to the Act was passed in 1874 to enable boarding out to be introduced and, in anticipation of this and following a previous resolution from the Legislative Assembly, over 600 children had been placed in foster homes by the end of 1873. By 1880 all the State's industrial schools, and all the vessels which had been used as such, were abandoned. The boarding out system depended on district ladies' committees, the members of which were appointed by the Department. They were responsible for finding foster homes for the children, seeing the children were well settled in, and paying the subsidy of 5s per week to the foster parents. At their peak there were one hundred ladies' committees, all functioning with apparent success. Two small reception centres were maintained for receiving children from the court and accommodating them until a foster home had been found for them. These reception centres, however, had only a capacity of thirty. By 1884, 2,105 children had been boarded out in 949 homes, a figure which shows the rapid acceptance of the scheme. The *Neglected Children's Act* 1887 forbade "any interference from relatives not of good character", and boarding out regulations deprived parents of any knowledge of their children's location.

Child welfare legislation between 1887 and 1890 confirmed the position of the voluntary homes where wards who could not be boarded out were placed by the State. The *Children's Maintenance Act* 1919 provided financial assistance for families without breadwinners ; it was then possible for families to be kept together, the children not needing to be made wards to receive State assistance. Notwithstanding this, there were about 7,000 wards at the end of 1928, many of whom were boarded out. (There were only 7,260 wards in 1971.) This was the peak of the boarding out system, and from then on the decline was even faster than the acceptance of the system had been. The *Adoption Act* 1928 was responsible for some of the decrease in the numbers boarded out ; many foster parents adopted wards in their care for they then had permanent and undisturbed custody. The depression meant that many foster parents found they could not afford to maintain wards while, on the other hand, some foster parents in fact continued merely for the 7s a week they received for the service.

Between 1920 and 1940 the Government developed a system of departmental inspection of foster homes and of recruitment of full-time

foster parents. During the Second World War payments were increased to 10s per week because of the difficulty in obtaining foster parents. In 1953, when the payment was 27s 6d per week, boarding out was at its lowest point with only 12 per cent involved. Only 21 per cent of children in the care of the Department were boarded out in 1955, while 63 per cent were in voluntary homes and less than 15 per cent had been placed under supervision with their parents or relatives. By this time it was apparent that the voluntary homes could not continue to provide sufficient institutional care for all State wards unaided.

The *Children's Welfare Act* 1954 attempted to modernise child welfare legislation and the name of the Department was now known as the Children's Welfare Department, after many changes of name since 1919. The Act clarified antiquated expressions and, more importantly, it provided for the formation of a Child Welfare Advisory Council to advise the Minister on desirable alterations in practice and procedure. It left the Department with the following functions : to receive and transfer children from the courts ; to ensure that maintenance was received from parents ; to exercise certain supervisory powers over the voluntary children's homes ; and to provide financial assistance for needy children to prevent a family break-up.

In the 1950s the Department was caring for many teenagers who obviously required vastly different treatment from the very young children in its care. This situation made it imperative that a complete revision of child welfare services be undertaken, and with the passing of the Social Welfare Act in 1960 this was done. The Act created a Social Welfare Department, as a branch of the Chief Secretary's Department, with the following responsibilities : child and family welfare, youth welfare, prison administration, probation and parole services, as well as training and research. Under the *Social Welfare Act* 1970 the Department came under the control of the newly appointed Minister for Social Welfare.

SOCIAL WELFARE DEPARTMENT

A report in 1959 by the Director of Penal Services was the basis for the formation of the Social Welfare Department. It emphasised the " need for concentration on preventive social measures ", and stressed the link between the Child Welfare and Penal Departments: " It is agreed break-downs of family life are conducive to delinquency and that ineffective treatment of delinquents is reflected into the prison field ". The report stressed the prevention of social problems rather than the mere alleviation of them. With this as an objective, the *Social Welfare Act* 1960 determined the functions and established the structure of the Social Welfare Department.

The Social Welfare Department, administered by the Director-General within the administration of the Chief Secretary's Department, absorbed all the functions of the former Children's Welfare Department and of the former Penal Department. Under the control of the Director-General, six divisions were established. The Family Welfare Division is based on the recognition of the supreme importance of the family and the need for its preservation. All children under 15 years of age entering the State's care are the responsibility of this Division. The Family Counselling and the Family Assistance Sections of this Division provide professional advice and financial aid to prevent family disturbances. The Family Welfare Advisory

Council exists to perform " watchdog " activities and to advise the Minister. The Youth Welfare Division concentrates on the problems of youth. Wards over the age of 15 are placed in the care of this Division. Young offenders between the ages of 15 and 21 may be detained in youth training centres where the treatment programme given by highly qualified personnel is more important than the custodial function. The Youth Advisory Council recommends financial grants each year to privately conducted youth organisations.

The Prisons Division is responsible for all prisons, with emphasis on the rehabilitative purposes of imprisonment ; training programmes are implemented to enhance the prospect of the prisoner's rehabilitation into the community. The Probation and Parole Division supervises children and youths admitted to probation by Children's Courts and youths and adults admitted to probation by adult courts, and co-ordinates the work of the honorary probation officers throughout Victoria. The after-care assistance and supervision of such people, and the supplying of courts with pre-sentence reports are important duties of this Division. Other responsibilities of the Division include the services of the Youth Parole Board and the Adult Parole Board.

The Training Division develops and co-ordinates training in the departmental divisions and provides training for personnel from institutions and organisations working in the field of social welfare. Courses are offered for honorary probation officers, child care officers, youth officers, prison officers, and youth leaders. The Research and Statistics Division compiles statistics, and conducts and encourages research into social problems.

The *Social Welfare Act* 1970 provided for a Minister for Social Welfare and the Department ceased to be a branch of the Chief Secretary's Department. Subject to the Minister, the Director-General of Social Welfare has the responsibility of administering the Department. The Department, while maintaining its old structure, has been given additional functions and many existing provisions have been amended by the Act.

PRISONS

The first magistrate arrived from Sydney in 1836 to administer law in the Port Phillip District. The first gaol, which was a lock-up, became necessary in 1837; shortly afterwards it was burnt down by Aboriginal prisoners. After this incident a brick store leased from John Batman provided accommodation for prisoners, and sufficient space was available in an adjacent lane for holding " drunks " in stocks. In 1840 there were only twenty-seven convictions from a population of 10,000. The original Melbourne Gaol was opened in 1845 and held fifty-nine male and nine female prisoners at that time. Unfortunately, the gaol was the only place to house the insane, and in 1847 fifteen " lunatics " were held there. A treadmill had been installed for prisoners sentenced to hard labour, for it was policy then to impress on prisoners the futility of a criminal life. The gold rushes brought a crisis : the gaols were already overcrowded and a tea-tree stockade had to be constructed in the district of Pentridge, five miles north of Melbourne, along a bush track known as Sydney Road. In wheeled wooden huts it provided sleeping accommodation for eighty.

At Separation in 1851 the administration of penal establishments was transferred to the Penal Department of the Chief Secretary's Department ; the former was headed by an Inspector General. After introduction of gold mining licences in September 1851 the pressure on gaols became heavy. In 1852 Pentridge Stockade was made permanent, and stockades were erected at Collingwood, Richmond, and Williamstown in 1853. At each stockade prisoners were engaged in quarrying and road making. Also in that year the prison hulks *Deborah, Success,* and *President* were pressed into service. The men detained on the last named were kept in solitary confinement. By " industry " a prisoner could obtain a ticket of leave which gave him the freedom of one particular district ; he could not, however, leave the district, and he could be recalled for any " misconduct ". (This system was discontinued in 1860 and absolute remissions substituted.) Prisoners from the hulks were taken ashore and employed in road building and other public works. In 1857, when a number of the prisoners refused to participate in road making in Williamstown, the Inspector General, John Price, a strong disciplinarian, visited them to hear their grievances. He was set upon with rocks and shovels, as a result of which he died; fifteen prisoners were tried for his murder and seven were hanged. In the same year a Select Committee on Penal Discipline reported that the hulks were unsatisfactory and recommended that Pentridge become a proper gaol. This was done, the prisoners themselves building the outer bluestone wall of the prison.

A Royal Commission investigating the prison system in 1870 recommended that a prisoner serving a term of less than twelve months should not be detained at Pentridge, and that gaols which had previously been controlled by the Sheriff of Victoria or his deputies be transferred to the Inspector General. This was enacted by Parliament in 1871 and the Penal and Gaols Department came into being. In the early 1880s the gaols held many old, destitute, and insane people who were sent to prison on vagrancy charges " to save them dying in the streets ". Some gaols, including the Ararat gaol, were transferred to the control of the Lunacy Department in 1886 ; this was chiefly a move to alleviate temporarily the overcrowding which then existed in the asylums. The employment of prisoners on public works eased off during the 1880s and, when the Melbourne City Council cancelled its contract for bluestone in 1893, the Pentridge quarry closed down. In the following year a completely separate women's prison was established within the walls of Pentridge.

The Indeterminate Sentences Board, established in 1908 by the *Indeterminate Sentences Act* 1907, was responsible for classifying certain prisoners, determining for how long they should serve, and when they should be released, either provisionally or absolutely. The Act also provided for a number of reformatory prisons and a system of probation. The system was slightly amended in 1915 and reformatory sentences, release on parole, or release on probation were also used ; Castlemaine Prison was proclaimed a reformatory prison, and in the following year McLeod Reformatory Prison was established on French Island. The " Old Melbourne Gaol " in Russell Street was closed in 1922 and the trial and remand prison was then established in the building previously used as the Women's Division of Pentridge ; the Women's Division had been transferred to another

building. Cooriemungle Prison Farm was established in 1939. During the Second World War Bendigo and Geelong gaols were used by the Defence Department for military detention purposes.

In 1950 the Inspector General of Prisons undertook an overseas study tour, after which he reported to Parliament ; he emphasised that treatment of prisoners should be rehabilitative rather than retributive. As a result of further recommendations, Langi Kal Kal Training Centre was established for young offenders to replace Castlemaine Reformatory Prison; an educational programme was instituted; and the first entirely separate women's prison in Australia was established in 1956 at " Fairlea " with a female officer as governor. The *Penal Reform Act* 1956 abolished indeterminate sentences and established the probation and parole services in the form in which they exist today; this was the first legislation in Australia to provide for parole of sentenced prisoners. Although attempts had been made to ensure youthful offenders were not unduly exposed to hardened prisoners and their influence, sufficient facilities were not available to enforce this policy. This problem of rehabilitating young offenders was one important feature dealt with under the *Social Welfare Act* 1960.

SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

It is usual to regard the formation of the Victorian Institute of Almoners in 1929 as the beginning of social work education in Victoria, although this is only a specialised branch of social work concerned with the welfare of hospital patients. The international problem of social work education has been whether each field of social work practice (medical, family correction, child welfare, and so on) requires a distinct and separate educational preparation, or whether it is possible to have a common professional training for students in diverse fields. These developments were the outcome of a number of trends and events. There had been an increased commitment to social welfare and with this an awareness that leadership in welfare organisations required special skills and knowledge. There was also a growing body of knowledge available concerning social work and social welfare which could not be absorbed by volunteer workers, while to many who had travelled overseas it had become apparent that in other countries social work education was a growing concern. As a result, a meeting at the Charities Board in 1929 determined on the establishment of the Victorian Institute of Hospital Almoners, and a year later the newly appointed almoner at the Melbourne Hospital became the first Directress of Training. Until 1933 the Institute offered a two year course in which it incorporated some general social work education apart from its main emphasis on almoner training. In 1931 Sir Richard Stawell presided over a representative meeting of several bodies : the Council for Mental Hygiene, the Institute of Almoners, the Charity Organization Society, the Central Council of Benevolent Societies, and the National Y.M.C.A., and as a result a Committee on Social Training was appointed to investigate a general course of social work training, preferably at the University of Melbourne.

The Committee on Social Training was unable to organise a broad course of education for social work at the University of Melbourne, and instead a Board of Studies was appointed to supervise a course which

began in 1933. In June of that year a widely representative body, the Victorian Council of Social Training, took over the Committee's work and offered a two year course of general social work education, emphasising practical work in the field as well as theoretical knowledge. Both training bodies were dependent upon the support of persons prominent in academic or community affairs and there was overlapping membership between the two bodies. Eventually both courses of training were to merge and be taken over by the University of Melbourne, but before this occurred each body had operated with a limited budget. In particular, the Victorian Council of Social Training relied largely upon gifts from philanthropic individuals, industry, and trusts. Courses were developed which emphasised practical training in the field, but theoretical knowledge was included.

In 1941 responsibility for the general course offered by the Victorian Council for Social Training was transferred to the University of Melbourne, although the Council was required to guarantee finance for the first three years. In 1947 the length of the course was extended to three years to allow for specialisation in the final year. This meant that the Victorian Institute of Hospital Almoners was no longer necessary, and in 1949 the Board of Social Studies took over its training responsibilities ; shortly afterwards the Institute was closed. On its transfer to the University of Melbourne the course did not lose its practical orientation, but its academic base was strengthened. Brief courses of lectures in social philosophy, social organisation, physiology and nutrition, psychology, mental hygiene, social history, and problems of society were gradually replaced by extensive degree subjects of greater depth. Combined courses with Arts and Commerce were made available, and by 1962 the course director had been appointed an associate professor. In 1967 the University agreed in principle to establish a four year degree course as soon as adequate funds were available. By 1969 the Department had nearly 350 students, most of whom combined their social work studies with degree work in other faculties. The students represent a wide cross section of society and there is a significant growth in the number of men entering the profession. Many graduates are leaders in voluntary and public welfare, some being employed in government departments or voluntary welfare agencies, while a number have contributed to social work research.

While there have long been in-service courses within particular social agencies, general courses for social welfare personnel other than social workers have been developed in Victoria since 1950. These courses have been designed for those interested in child care, youth workers, marriage guidance counsellors, honorary probation officers, youth and prison officers, welfare officers, and volunteers in citizens advice bureaux and other community information and service centres.

A course of training for child care workers, originally sponsored by the Victorian Council of Social Service in 1955, became the responsibility of the Social Welfare Department in 1962. A professional Youth Leadership Course was begun by the Social Welfare Department in 1965 and in 1970 this became a Diploma of Youth Leadership Course. Other courses, both full-time and part-time, in youth leadership and group activities have also been developed by such bodies as the National Fitness Council, the Y.M.C.A., etc.

A growing feature of social welfare training in Victoria has been the inclusion of training for volunteer personnel. The Marriage Guidance Council of Victoria was early in this field, providing intensive courses for marriage counsellors. Courses for volunteers, including members of governing bodies, were provided by the Victorian Council of Social Service for a time, and the Mental Health Authority pioneered the training of volunteer workers in citizens advice and other information bureaux.

The Institute of Social Welfare (formerly the Training Division of the Social Welfare Department) under the guidance of the Social Welfare Training Council, now provides courses in child care and youth leadership and courses for welfare officers, workers in community information and service centres, and honorary probation officers.

An Institute of Training for Community Service was formed in 1970 for the training of certain volunteer and professional personnel in social welfare. Financial and other difficulties have, however, prevented the Institute from becoming operational.

COMMONWEALTH SOCIAL SERVICES IN VICTORIA

The Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act of 1900 gave the Commonwealth Government power to legislate concurrently with the States for invalid and old age pensions. In the same year, however, the Victorian Government enacted an age pension scheme to be effective from Federation, and it was not until July 1909 that this was replaced by a scheme, which together with an invalid pension scheme effective from December 1910, was the beginning of Commonwealth social service activity. In October 1912 the Commonwealth introduced a maternity allowance scheme but did not bring in additional social service benefits until 1941. There was a general trend of increased rates over the period except during the depression years 1931 and 1932 when rates of benefit and eligibility conditions were restricted. These amendments, however, were repealed between the years 1932 and 1937, and benefits returned to pre-depression levels. Commonwealth Government responsibilities were extended considerably during the Second World War when the foundations of the existing comprehensive social security scheme were laid. Child endowment for all but the first child in a family and for all children in institutions was introduced in July 1941, while a limited scheme of vocational training for invalid pensioners was also introduced in the same year. Widows' pensions were introduced in July 1942, with a higher rate of pension and more liberal means test provisions being available to those with dependent children. Funeral benefits for deceased age and invalid pensioners, and allowances for the non-pensioner wife and the unendowed child of an invalid or permanently incapacitated age pensioner were introduced in July 1943. The unemployment, sickness, and special benefits scheme began to operate in July 1945.

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 was no specific constitutional provision. As a result of a successful referendum held in September 1946 the Commonwealth was given power to legislate for the provision of maternity allowances, widows' pensions, child endowment, unemployment, pharmaceutical, sickness, and hospital benefits, medical and dental services

(without invading civil liberties), benefits to students, and family allowances. Constitutional validity was thus given to all existing measures, and the Commonwealth was also permitted to extend its activities. The *Social Services Consolidation Act* 1947 consolidated legislation and revised a number of anomalies. Since December 1948, when a comprehensive reha- bilitation service was introduced in place of the more limited 1941 scheme, new benefits have been introduced and many services liberalised and expanded. In June 1950 child endowment was extended to the first child, while the pensioner medical service, administered by the Department of Health and providing medical attention of a general practitioner nature, pharmaceutical benefits, and hospital benefits free of charge to eligible pensioners and their dependants, came into force in February 1951. A new type of social service began in November 1954 when the Commonwealth introduced a subsidy scheme for voluntary organisations to assist them with the capital cost of establishing homes for aged persons. The scheme was extended in September 1969 to provide a personal care subsidy for persons aged 80 years or over who receive approved personal care in hostel-type accommodation provided by voluntary organisations. In November 1963 a subsidy scheme had been introduced for eligible organisations providing accommodation for disabled people working in sheltered workshops. In June 1967 the subsidy was extended to include the capital cost of establishing the workshops and at the same time a rental subsidy for up to three years was introduced for eligible organisations which rent premises to provide sheltered employment. In June 1967 a sheltered employment allowance was introduced for qualified disabled people engaged in approved sheltered employment, while in October 1970 the subsidy scheme was expanded to include the capital cost of accom- modation for disabled people employed in normal industry as well as those employed in sheltered workshops. A subsidy towards the salaries of certain sheltered workshops staff was also introduced, as was a training fee of $500, payable to the sheltered workshop organisation in respect of each eligible employee who is placed in open employment for not less than 12 months.

Changes to existing social services in recent years have included the introduction in October 1956 of a payment for the second and subsequent children under 16 years of age of widowed, invalid, or permanently incapacitated age pensioners ; the extension in September 1963 of additional payments for children of pensioners to cover student children over 16 years up to the end of the year in which they attained the age of 18 years ; the extension in January 1964 of child endowment to include student children aged between 16 and 21 years ; and in October 1965 the provision of allowances for the wives and children of all age pensioners where there are dependent children, while additional payments for children of pensioners were extended to include student children aged between 18 and 21 years. Supplementary assistance came into operation in October 1958 for widow pensioners paying rent and for single age or invalid pensioners (and married pensioners where the spouse is not a pensioner) with limited means. A mother's allowance was introduced for widow pensioners with children in September 1963, and in October 1965 a guardian's allowance came into operation for single, widowed, or divorced age or invalid pensioners with children in their care.

Instruction in operating a lathe as part of rehabilitation training for disabled persons.
Department of Social Services

"Meals on wheels" enable many pensioners to have a daily hot meal in their own home
Brotherhood of St Laurence

Blind children using guide wires in a foot race.
Royal Victorian Institute for the Blind

Youth leader trainees being taught the construction of an emergency stretcher.
Social Welfare Department

Sabin oral poliomyelitis vaccine, produced in Melbourne, is distributed to children throughout Australia.

Australian News and Information Bureau

This specially fitted "heart" ambulance carries a complete range of cardiac monitoring equipment.

Hospitals and Charities Commission

The community centre at the Carrum Downs village settlement for elderly people.
Australian News and Information Bureau

Occupational therapy at Melbourne's Kingston Centre.
Hospitals and Charities Commission

There have also been frequent alterations in rates of pension and in the means test, A notable change occurred in March 1961 when the previously distinct tests on income and property were amalgamated into the merged means test, where a property component equivalent to $2 for each complete $20 of a pensioner's property above $400 was added to his annual income to arrive at his " means as assessed ". The rate of pension payable was reduced by $1 for every $1 of " means as assessed " in excess of $364. A further significant change took place in November 1963 when a standard rate pension for single age and invalid pensioners (or married pensioners where the spouse is not in receipt of a pension) was introduced at a higher rate than that paid to each of a married pensioner couple. In April 1967 the amount of " means as assessed ", which permits the payment of a full pension, was increased to $520 for a standard rate pensioner and to $884 for a married pensioner couple ($442 each). In 1972 the eventual abolition of the means test was announced. In June 1968 the Commonwealth introduced a scheme to assist the States in the provision of aid to needy mothers ineligible for assistance under the Social Services Act. In September of the same year a training scheme was introduced for widow pensioners wishing to undertake gainful employment. In June 1969 the Commonwealth introduced a scheme to provide financial assistance to the States on a matching basis to assist them in the development of a range of approved home care services, senior citizens centres, and nursing homes, mainly for the aged. Another notable advance was the introduction of the tapered means test in September 1969 which extended the upper limits of means at which pensions cease to be payable and enabled all reduced rate pensions to be increased by providing that only half of the amount by which a pensioner's " means as assessed " exceed the permissible amount is deducted from the pension. At the same time, a higher rate of mother's allowance and guardian's allowance was introduced for a pensioner with an invalid child requiring full-time care or a child under six years of age in her care. In January 1970 the Commonwealth introduced a subsidised medical insurance scheme for low income family units, people receiving unemployment, sickness, or special benefits, and migrants during the first two months of their residence in Australia. Eligibility for the standard rate of age or invalid pension was extended in March 1970 to each of a married pensioner couple who permanently lose the economies of living together in their matrimonial home as a result of failing health. In 1970 legislation was introduced to provide assistance on a subsidy basis to eligible organisations which provide " meals-on-wheels " services for the aged and for invalids in the community, a subsidy scheme was introduced for eligible organisations to assist them establish premises for the training and accommodation of handicapped children, and a higher rate of sickness benefit was introduced for the chronically ill.

Commonwealth Government benefits and services are available uniformly throughout the country and to segments of the population who fulfil the qualifying conditions.

REPATRIATION

Victoria occupies a special place in the Australian repatriation system for it was in this State that the Repatriation Commission was first formed

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in 1917; the Department's Central Office, established in 1918, remained in Victoria until early 1970 when it moved to Canberra. Since 1914 repatriation has embraced three essential elements: compensatory pensions, medical treatment for war-caused disabilities, and re-establishment measures. In Victoria these functions are carried out by some 2,400 employees at the Victorian Branch Office, the Heidelberg Repatriation General Hospital, and other smaller institutions in the State.

It was not until troops began to return to Australia for demobilisation after service in the First World War that the magnitude of the task of meeting their repatriation needs was fully realised. In 1917 the Australian Soldiers' Repatriation Act was passed, and in April 1918 the Repatriation Department was established to administer the wide range of benefits provided for ex-service personnel. Services provided by the Department, apart from medical care, include pensions, vocational and professional training, and loans for establishment in business.

During the First World War the Defence Department set up a number of military hospitals and institutions in the various States to treat wounded and ill servicemen. These included general hospitals, auxiliary hospitals, and artificial limb factories. By 1921 the control of these hospitals and institutions had been transferred to the Repatriation Department. A general hospital at Caulfield, Victoria, had been acquired by the Defence Department in 1915 and was known as No. 11 Australian General Hospital. New wards were constructed on the site and the first patients were admitted in April 1916. When the hospital was taken over by the Repatriation Department in July 1921 it had twenty-two wards and a bed capacity of 520, although it was possible to accommodate almost 600 additional patients if verandah space was utilised. The hospital was then re-designated the Repatriation General Hospital, Caulfield. By February 1939 the hospital grounds comprised some eighteen acres of land as in the intervening years much of the property was surplus and was transferred to various authorities.

With the outbreak of war in September 1939, it became necessary to double the number of beds at the Repatriation General Hospital to provide for the treatment of incapacitated servicemen. Five new wards were built, existing buildings were renovated, and additional premises were rented. Between 1939 and 1941 approximately 14,057 members of the forces were admitted to Repatriation General Hospitals throughout Australia and almost half of these passed through Caulfield. In 1940 a large general hospital known as 115 Australian General Hospital was built at Heidelberg by the Department of the Army to provide treatment for members of the forces of the Second World War, thus relieving Caulfield of this task. The hospital was situated in an area of 65 acres and was a combination of a multi-storey block and pavilion wards. During the latter years of the war the number of incapacitated patients being discharged from the forces increased considerably ; they became the responsibility of the Repatriation Department. In 1947 it was necessary for the Department to take over the hospital at Heidelberg; this was done gradually because of the shortage of nursing and medical staff at the time. The hospital was named the Repatriation General Hospital, Heidelberg, and the hospital at Caulfield was re-designated the Repatriation Hospital, Caulfield.

Between 1948 and 1954 most wards and buildings at Caulfield were

transferred to the Hospitals and Charities Commission for use as a convalescent home, the exceptions being those wards used in conjunction with the Repatriation Outpatient Clinic in St Kilda Road. At the request of the Hospitals and Charities Commission these remaining wards were vacated in May 1963. The chest clinic and pathology department moved to the Repatriation General Hospital at Heidelberg, and the X-ray department was transferred to the Victorian Branch Office.

The first government artificial limb factory was established by the Defence Department in 1917 within the grounds of the Caulfield Hospital; the Commonwealth Government had obtained the services of an American limbmaker for the purpose of establishing limb factories throughout Australia. The Caulfield factory was found to be too small and inconveniently situated, and in March 1919 was transferred to a site in Sturt Street, South Melbourne. A new building incorporating the latest equipment was later erected on this site.

In 1919 the Department acquired, under trust, a property with a home at Brighton. This property became known as the Anzac Hostel, and has since been used for the treatment of ex-servicemen who, although seriously disabled, do not require the full treatment facilities of a general hospital. A further departmental property, a sanatorium at Macleod, was acquired in 1920 from the Defence Department. Treatment has since been provided there for repatriation patients. An outpatient clinic established in 1920 at the Victoria Barracks was transferred the following year to the basement of a building in St Kilda Road occupied by the Victorian Branch of the Department. As facilities here proved to be inadequate a new outpatient clinic was constructed in St Kilda Road in 1937. In 1923 the Commonwealth Government established a mental hospital at Bundoora in the setting of a mixed farm. Control of the hospital was transferred to the State in 1926, and under an agreement between the Repatriation Department and the State Government, repatriation psychiatric patients who require custodial care are accommodated there. During the Second World War the Department established a restoration centre at the Rockingham Red Cross Home in Kew. This institution provides comprehensive psychiatric treatment and assists patients towards their re-establishment in civil life. There are also extensive voluntary services for ex-service personnel, some of which are mentioned on page 566.

MIGRANT WELFARE

Until 1850 the Port Phillip District lacked the organised services of the New South Wales settlement, where some of the first free settlers not only received grants of land from the colonial administration, but were also provided with cheap labour and rations. The New South Wales Legislative Council did little to help the development of the District, whose representatives had difficulty in attending meetings, and often did not agree with the remote deliberations and limited insight of the Council. However, by 1851 when Victoria had become a separate Colony, many voluntary welfare services had been introduced, mainly by the churches, benevolent and charitable societies, and similar institutions which provided shelter, food, clothing, and employment for the ill and needy.

Victoria's population had increased to such an extent that the 1861 Census, apart from 1,694 Aboriginals enumerated, recorded a total of 538,628 persons, mostly free settlers who had come following the discovery of gold in 1851, either as gold seekers or to find employment in expanding rural and commercial fields. While some were able to stay on their ships for a few days or in old barracks while seeking employment and lodgings, most lacked adequate shelter at first, particularly large families and young women encouraged to migrate in an attempt to obtain a balance between the sexes. However, although the colonial administration subsidised welfare services to some extent until 1872, it was not directly involved. One of the first women to practise individual social work was Caroline Chisholm, known as "the immigrants' friend", who came to Victoria in 1854 to organise assistance for distressed families and individuals in the goldfields areas. Similar work was later continued by various church workers, especially Selena Sutherland of Scots Church. During the 1880s many Melbourne churches became involved in the distinctive feature of church social work known as "rescue work". In the meantime, welfare services became concentrated upon Melbourne to provide assistance for the many miners and other migrants returning from country areas or coming from other Colonies seeking employment or medical attention.

Assisted immigration programmes were discontinued from the early 1880s until Federation when it was agreed that the Commonwealth would select and assist migrants to travel, and the States would retain the responsibility for nominating the numbers and categories required and arranging accommodation and employment on arrival. In 1921 the Commonwealth took over all aspects of migration work in the United Kingdom, and together with the States launched the unsuccessful large scale rural group settlement of British migrants in 1922. The depression of the 1930s accentuated the serious social problems caused by the irregular arrival of large numbers of poorly selected migrants, especially in periods of economic decline, and until the outbreak of the Second World War, when migration ceased, estimates of Australia's absorptive capacity had tended to be extremely cautious.

To undertake the task of post-war reconstruction and future national development, the Commonwealth Government embarked on a very large immigration programme in 1945, with the co-operation of the States, and established the Commonwealth Department of Immigration. Following the recommendations of the Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Committee in 1946, the Premiers' Conference agreed that the Commonwealth would control recruitment, processing, movement, and placement in employment of assisted British migrants, and the States would handle their nominations and arrange for their reception, accommodation, and after-care. Federal Cabinet later decided that immigration reception and training centres would be established at Commonwealth expense for non-British migrants to provide accommodation from which individuals could be assisted towards employment and where basic English instruction could be given. The formation of the Commonwealth Immigration Planning Council in 1949 to advise the Minister for Immigration on matters referred to him relating to planning, national development, and migrant accommodation and employment, marked the formal introduction of long-term economic

planning to the overall immigration programme. The Council comprises members of the community who are recognised leaders in the fields of industry (both trade unionists and employers), economics, science, and public administration.

Between 1947 and 1950 the Commonwealth Department of Immigration took over former R.A.A.F and Army camps and other establishments and converted them to holding centres. By 1951 three reception centres and twenty holding centres had a total capacity of 47,000 migrants ; the seven of these situated in Victoria were at Bonegilla, Rushworth, West Sale, Maribyrnong, Mildura, Benalla, and Somers. Later the Department of Labour and National Service provided hostels (centres) to enable migrants to live near their place of work until they could obtain private accommodation. As the Displaced Persons Migration Scheme became obsolete the need for these centres diminished, and by 1960 few remained open ; the last one, at Bonegilla (established in 1947), closed in December 1971. During 1952 Commonwealth Hostels Limited was formed and took over the administration of all migrant hostels from the Department of Labour and National Service; in June 1971 there were nine migrant hostels in Victoria controlled by this company. In March 1967 the Commonwealth decided to introduce self-contained flats to supplement transitory accommodation hostels for newly arrived Commonwealth-nominated families. Since that time one hundred and four flats have been completed at East Burwood, Oakleigh, Braybrook, Maribyrnong, East Preston, and West Heidelberg. A programme to replace outmoded migrant hostel accommodation (mostly Nissen huts) with modern masonry buildings was introduced during 1967 and a large number of these improved dwellings has now been completed. The latest hostel, designed to accommodate a thousand persons, was opened at Spring-vale in 1970.

The Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council was established in 1947 to advise the Minister for Immigration on the sociological implications of migration and to make proposals in the interests of the new settlers. Members provide a broad cross-section of Australian public opinion. At its March 1971 meeting the Council agreed to change the existing framework from five standing committees (on naturalisation, established migration policy, social patterns, migrant youth, and migrant women) to three (on social patterns, migrant education, and citizenship). The Council also endorsed the practice of appointing *ad hoc* committees for specific tasks. Studies already undertaken by the Council cover crime among migrants, mental illness, the assimilation and progress of migrant children, the balance of the sexes, migrant youth in the Australian community, and the departure of migrants from Australia. In 1949 the Commonwealth Minister for Immigration announced that a nation-wide " Good Neighbour Movement " would be introduced in the following year to promote among migrants a deeper appreciation of the privileges and obligations of Australian citizenship, to encourage migrants towards naturalisation, and to co-ordinate the work of churches and voluntary organisations concerned with the reception and after-care of migrants. As a result the Good Neighbour Council of Victoria was established in 1950, superseding the Victorian Immigration Auxiliary which was formed four years earlier as a voluntary co-ordinating organisation to assist with reception and after-care of British migrants. By

mid-1971 the Council was supported by numerous voluntary workers, and it had about 150 centres of operation and 130 affiliated organisations.

Between 1947 and 1970 Victoria received approximately 800,000 new settlers from Britain, Germany, Holland, Italy, Greece, Malta, Austria, Spain, Denmark, Eire, Finland, France, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Yugoslavia, and the United States of America, and from Central and South America. The diversity of migrant nationalities, contrasted with the predominantly British immigration before the Second World War, involved the Commonwealth Department of Immigration in new functions relating to the welfare of migrants. The variety of cultural patterns and the special needs of individual migrants caused the Department to establish its own special assimilation services. A social welfare section was established within the Department in 1949, following a survey of migrant assimilation in the previous year. The section is staffed in each State by trained social workers who assist migrants with their settlement problems. These workers and other welfare personnel provide a skilled counselling and referral service, especially in relation to problems of marital and family discord, physical and mental illness, employment and accommodation, delinquency, and social and cultural maladjustment. They work closely with the Victorian State Department of Immigration and community bodies involved in migrant welfare. In addition, they visit Commonwealth migrant hostels as well as country areas where problems of settlement arise. However, the greatest number of problems come from Melbourne and the near metropolitan area. The International Social Service assists the Department by providing casework service where more than one country is involved ; a Commonwealth grant is paid to this agency. By late 1952 three social workers had been appointed to the Commonwealth Immigration Office at Melbourne, and later three welfare assistants joined the staff. There is now an establishment of five social workers and six welfare officers. As the balance of the sexes has been a matter of concern, programmes include both selection for the passages and after-care of single migrant girls. A welfare officer of the Integration Section at the Melbourne Office meets young women on arrival, providing accommodation and assistance generally during their first few weeks in Victoria. In 1968 the Department introduced a scheme whereby selected voluntary community welfare agencies could be provided with Commonwealth Grant Funds, to enable them to employ qualified social workers to work with migrants. In this way a service can be established over a wide geographic area. By early 1971, eight grants had been approved for Victoria.

With the commencement of large-scale migration from Europe at the end of the Second World War, English language training began in pre-embarkation assembly areas, followed by classes on ships, in reception and holding centres, and later, in capital cities and country towns. Correspondence courses, geared to lessons broadcast over the national network of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, were also commenced. In 1951 the Migrant Education Section within the Victorian Education Department was established in Melbourne by agreement between the Commonwealth and Victorian Governments. By 1971 the Migrant Education Section was conducting over four hundred and fifty classes throughout

Victoria. The intensive form of instruction in the English language using language laboratories, designed primarily for professional, semi-professional, and student migrants, was introduced at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology in October 1969, at a centre of the Migrant Education Section in May 1970, and at the Victorian Employers' Federation in October 1970. An occasional intensive course has also been conducted at Monash University during university vacations. Other courses of varying lengths have been arranged at the University of Melbourne and the Church of All Nations in Carlton. A growing number of industries provides, in co-operation with the Commonwealth, special classes for employees, and courses in elementary, intermediate, and advanced English are available at the Adult Education Centre, Melbourne. In 1970 the Commonwealth inaugurated special classes in both government and non-government schools, supplemented in 1971 by full-time English language courses at migrant hostels for children for whom an adequate command of the language is necessary before attending secondary schools.

The integration function of the Commonwealth Department of Immigration, comprising the assimilation, social welfare, and education of migrants, has expanded considerably since 1965, making available facilities such as the free translation and interpreting service provided in Melbourne, which is especially useful in dealing with social welfare cases. This expanded assistance to migrants has been necessitated by the arrival from time to time of national groups of displaced persons who have left their countries as a result of political unrest, and who often have difficult social problems to overcome. Much more emphasis, therefore, is now placed on the provision of services to cope with, and where possible reduce, the incidence of breakdown among migrants which has resulted largely from the social and cultural dislocation which accompanies attempts to settle in a new country. It was decided to encourage migrants to improve their facility to integrate into the Australian community by learning the language and customs of this country among people of their own culture, and with this aim in view, the Department appointed in 1969 a specialist officer to work with national and ethnic groups and organisations. It has been found that, given this encouragement, migrants usually move completely into the community without needing further assistance from their national groups. Attempts have been made to settle more migrants in rural areas, but generally in Victoria the tendency has been to settle around major industrial centres, particularly those established since the Second World War.

CO-ORDINATION IN SOCIAL WELFARE

Co-operation and liaison between voluntary and statutory agencies and within the voluntary welfare field have, as previous sections have shown, been features of Victorian social welfare over many years. More formal provision for this has, however, been made by the development of co-ordinating councils and associations. Some of these, such as the Victorian Council of Social Service and the Good Neighbour Council, have a wide general membership ; others confine their interest to particular welfare fields or groups such as children, the aged, etc.

The first co-ordinating councils to be formed were the National Council

of Women, established in 1902, and the Children's Welfare Association in 1912. These remained the main co-ordinating welfare bodies until the Second World War, when the Youth Council, Victorian Council of Social Service (1946), the Good Neighbour Council (1950), and the Old People's Welfare Council, now the Council on the Ageing (1951), were formed. Social and welfare workers are also employed by municipalities.

All these co-ordinating bodies aim to provide a meeting ground and forum for agencies with common concerns and interests, as well as an avenue for joint action, and all strive to help in overcoming deficiencies in services and to discourage overlapping in social welfare provisions.

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MASS MEDIA

In 1905 the Commonwealth Parliament passed the Wireless Telegraphy Act giving the Postmaster-General legislative powers to regulate radio development. Broadcasting services in Australia began experimentally and the first demonstration of radio telephony in Melbourne was carried out by a transmission from Collins House to the Aircraft Exhibition held at the Exhibition Building in June and July 1920. The following year Amalgamated Wireless (Australasia) Ltd made a series of weekly experimental broadcasts in Melbourne, and in 1922 the first proposals for regular services were put forward. In 1923 regulations were made under the Wireless Telegraphy Act to establish a broadcasting system known as the "sealed set scheme". The stations were maintained by subscriptions from listeners, each of whom used a receiver which operated only on frequencies allocated to the stations to which the subscription was paid. The receiving apparatus was sealed by inspectors of the Postmaster-General's Department so that no alteration could be made to permit reception from other stations. The subscription fees fixed by the operating companies varied from 10s to £4.4.0 depending on the station a listener desired to hear, and a licence fee of 10s was payable to the Government. The first broadcasting station in Victoria, 3AR Melbourne, was operated by the Associated Radio Company under the sealed set scheme. It began operations on 26 January 1924. 3AR, 2SB Sydney (now 2BL), 2FC Sydney, and 6WF Perth were the original sealed set stations. The sealed set scheme was abandoned as a failure after only 1,400 listeners had applied for licences.

In 1924 class "A" and class "B" services operating under licences granted by the Postmaster-General were introduced. Class "A" stations were maintained by revenue received from broadcast listeners' licences, and from the broadcasting of advertisements which was permitted for limited periods daily. Class "B" stations did not receive revenue from licence fees but only from the broadcasting of advertisements and other publicity. Listeners were free to tune to the programmes of any station provided they held a receiving licence. The first class "A" stations were those which had operated under the sealed set scheme; they were later joined by 3LO Melbourne, 4QG Brisbane, 5CL Adelaide, and 7ZL Hobart. The licence for station 3LO was granted on 22 July 1924 to the Broadcasting Company of Australia, and the station began operations on 13 October 1924; the programme of 3LO on 31 October 1924 broadcast the farewell

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appearance of Dame Nellie Melba in *La Bohème* at His Majesty's Theatre. The public freely availed themselves of the new services. In the first year just over 20,000 listeners were licensed in Victoria, and by 1929 the total number of licences in Victoria had grown to 142,750. The first class " B " stations licensed in Victoria were 3UZ Melbourne, which began operations on 8 March 1925, and 3DB Melbourne, which began on 21 February 1927. The original licence for 3UZ was granted to O.J. Nilsen and Co. and the original licence for 3DB was granted to the Druleigh Business College. The licence for 3DB was transferred in 1927 to 3DB Pty Ltd, which was acquired by The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd in 1929. By 1929 there were eight class " A " and twelve class " B " stations, providing programmes to 300,000 listeners in Australia.

In 1928 the Government, after a report by a Royal Commission, decided to take over the class " A " stations and establish a system under which the technical equipment of those stations would be owned and operated by the Post Office, and the provision of programmes left to experienced private companies under contract. The technical operation of the class " A " stations, 3AR and 3LO in the case of Victoria, was assumed under this arrangement by the Post Office from 1929, and programmes were provided by the Australian Broadcasting Company under contract. The company was a combination of Greater Union Theatres Ltd, Fullers Theatres Ltd, and J. Albert and Sons. The class " A " stations were not permitted to broadcast advertisements. Up to this time Australian broadcasting appears to have developed piecemeal, and the new arrangements made between the Postmaster-General's Department and the Australian Broadcasting Company were the beginnings of a national broadcasting coverage. Considerable improvements in programmes and extended coverage were effected under the Australian Broadcasting Company. The first long distance broadcast relay in Australia had taken place in 1925 when the proceedings of the annual dinner of the Australian Natives Association were relayed by trunk line from Ballarat to Melbourne; the first interstate relay between the eastern States took place in the same year. After the Australian Broadcasting Company took control of the class " A " stations, relayed programmes between States became a feature of their service. In 1930 the Australian Federation of Commercial Broadcasting Stations was formed to protect the interests of member stations and to impose a code of self-regulation. The Federation then comprised the thirteen class " B " stations. Today it has a membership of the 116 commercial broadcasting stations in operation throughout Australia.

In 1932 the Australian Broadcasting Commission (A.B.C.) was established ; it replaced the Australian Broadcasting Company as the programme authority for the class " A " stations, which were henceforth known as the national broadcasting service. There were at that time twelve such stations in Australia including 3AR and 3LO in Melbourne. The technical services remained the responsibility of the Post Office which also provided facilities for programme relays between the States, and between the city studios and the country stations. The national broadcasting service was a notable development in providing comprehensive broadcasting services throughout the Commonwealth. Previously, especially until the Australian Broadcasting Company was formed, services had tended to be restricted to the capital

cities where advertising and licence revenue were highest. The vast area of the Australian continent and the scattered distribution of population in many parts also presented difficulties in providing services to country areas. The aim of the national broadcasting service was to provide satisfactory reception of at least one national programme to listeners throughout the Commonwealth. In addition the capital cities and Newcastle were provided with two stations to provide a choice of programmes in these large centres.

The A.B.C. began to plan a comprehensive national programme service. Special programme spheres such as music, education, drama, talks, light entertainment, sport, and news were planned on a Commonwealth-wide basis. Small orchestras were established in all States and, from 1934 onwards, overseas and Australian artists of distinction were featured by the Commission for concert and broadcast performances with these orchestras. Orchestral concerts for children were regularly presented after 1933, as were broadcasts to schools and adult education talks. Special competitions and guidance from the Commission's staff were offered to encourage Australian writers. The first A.B.C. Dance Band was formed in Melbourne in 1932. As a national service, the Commission gave special attention to such essential programmes as news, weather and market information, rural services, and children's and religious programmes. The Commission's stations in country areas developed from four in 1932 to eleven in 1939. By October 1938 two national stations had been erected in each State capital, resulting in the introduction of the dual network system of light and serious programmes. These networks were later designated interstate and national, respectively, and the major programmes of each were relayed from one or other of the State capitals.

In the following years, several major technical and engineering features were incorporated in the national service. Transmitter output of 10kW was adopted for the main stations, and the so-called " anti-fading " radiator was introduced to extend the area of reception. These new mast radiators of great height (the tallest over 700 ft) became landmarks in many parts of Australia. To limit their physical height while retaining their desirable electrical characteristics, the " loaded " radiator was developed with a 60 ft diameter armature weighing 6 tons mounted at the top of the mast ; this type was installed at the Victorian station 3WV near Horsham. Melbourne national stations 3AR and 3LO are an example of the operation of an " anti-fading " radiator incorporating the facility of simultaneous operation of both transmitters on the one mast.

The operating conditions of national stations were determined so as to ensure as far as possible the satisfactory reception throughout the Commonwealth of the programmes provided by the Commission as an Australia-wide operation ; income for the service was provided by licence fees and later by government appropriation. Early in the development of the national broadcasting service, high frequency stations were established to provide a broadcasting service to remote areas of Australia beyond the range of medium frequency stations. The first such station was established in Victoria at Lyndhurst in 1935, and in 1971 there were eight stations in Australia in the domestic high frequency service. Coincidental with development of a national broadcasting service, substantial progress was made with the expansion of the service provided by class " B " stations ; these have been

known as commercial broadcasting stations since 1929. In general, the commercial broadcasting stations were intended to provide substantially a local or regional service through separate stations servicing relatively restricted areas, income being derived from advertisements. By 1932 there were forty-three commercial stations in operation in Australia. Listeners' licences numbered 370,000. The first country commercial broadcasting station in Victoria was 3BA Ballarat, which began operations on 31 July 1930. By 1932, therefore, the broadcasting services of Australia had evolved to their present form, namely, a dual system of national and commercial services. The system may be described as a partnership of public ownership and private enterprise.

The 1930s and 1940s saw remarkable developments in commercial broadcast programming. " Ball by ball " descriptions of test cricket from England, pioneered by commercial stations, are an example. The first such broadcast took place in 1930 when the Australian team, captained by W. M. Woodfull, won the Ashes. These broadcasts involved the elaborate use of cable facilities, and by various means the atmosphere of the game was simulated. From the mid-1930s serial dramas were introduced into programmes. These flourished, and later half-hour and hour plays were broadcast, thus founding the Australian broadcast transcription industry which provided wide employment for Australian artists ; from 1940 onwards, war-time restrictions on the import of transcription material completed the development of the local industry to the stage of supplying all Australian needs. Quiz and give-away programmes of a flamboyant nature were features of this period, and community singing and band music were other popular programme material. Broadcasting personalities emerged and names such as George Edwards (actor), Jack Davey (quizmaster), and Mal Verco (ventriloquist) are still remembered. Network operation of commercial stations became characteristic ; first came the Major Network, to be followed by the Macquarie Network in 1938. These two large networks are still operating and provide the basis, by the pooling of the resources within each network, for producing quality programmes which would not be generally possible otherwise. The essential basis of network broadcasting also included the availability from the Post Office of landline links to stations throughout Australia. Relay of programmes between stations increased rapidly from 1930, and broadcasting emerged as a powerful medium for business advertising with network programmes sponsored by large national advertisers. A notable feature of Australian commercial broadcasting is the specialised service rendered by stations to their local communities. These services include assistance in times of emergency, annual appeals for charity, and continuing assistance with community projects.

Evidence of the recognised social importance of broadcasting at this time is provided by regulations introduced in 1935 to limit the ownership and control of stations ; it appeared undesirable for this medium to be controlled by too few people. Although much more stringent controls were adopted, the same principle was later to be applied to television by legislation first enacted in 1960. Legislation in both fields has been considerably developed over the years. A single entity may not have an interest of more than 15 per cent in more than one metropolitan commercial broadcasting station in any State,

four metropolitan stations in Australia, four stations in any State, or eight stations in Australia. A person or company may not hold a shareholding, voting, or financial interest of more than 5 per cent in more than one commercial television station in the capital city of a State or in more than two commercial television stations in the Commonwealth. There is the exception for both broadcasting and television that certain more extensive interests existing before the legislation are still permissible.

The Second World War hastened the development of Australian broadcasting. The demand for news and information, the need for more entertainment in the home and in camps and front line areas, the increase in school and adult education broadcasts as children were moved to or kept home in country areas, and the increasing use of local talent as overseas artists and programme services were no longer available, can all be traced to the emergency conditions of the period. Both national and commercial stations gave their maximum help to the Government's war effort at this time. In particular, the A.B.C. developed its news service, and from 1942 until the the end of the war, it presented a national 7 p.m. bulletin through both national and commercial networks. In 1946 legislation was passed obliging the Commission to establish its own independent news service.

Remarkable technical development, especially in the receiving equipment available to listeners, has occurred since services began in 1923. At first, many receivers were " crystal sets ", but these were quickly followed by receivers using thermionic valves, first provided with power by batteries and then by the electricity supply mains. In the early stages most receivers were relatively cumbersome, being designed for home use, but in the 1930s portable receivers using dry batteries were developed ; as receivers at that time still required the use of thermionic valves, the batteries were heavy and the receivers relatively costly to operate. After the Second World War " solid state " (transistor) devices were developed, and these performed similar functions to thermionic valves, but required much less power for operation. The development of transistor devices caused a revolution in receiving habits as receivers of very small size were produced, requiring only very low power for operation and using very small dry batteries. The emphasis had formerly been on listening in the home ; since the war there has been a substantial move towards portable operation with receivers carried by individual listeners and in cars. Changes in broadcast transmitting equipment have not been as dramatic as in receivers, but there has been a steady development in equipment with a relatively rapid growth in equipment using transistors in recent years, resulting in greater reliability of operation.

In 1948 a special Board was established to control broadcasting and television in the Commonwealth, because of the notable expansion of broadcasting services, the problems created by pressure on the available limited frequency channels, and the prospect of the introduction of television. The Australian Broadcasting Control Board was analogous in concept with controlling authorities in other countries, and it assumed from the Post Office responsibility for the control and administration of the broadcasting services. The Post Office and the A.B.C. retained their responsibilities for the provision of technical facilities and programmes, respectively, for the national broadcasting service.

The Board has wide powers for the technical planning of the broad-

casting and television services, ensuring efficient operation of stations, and in respect of the commercial services, ensuring adequate and comprehensive programmes complying with its own standards. On the question of programme standards much had been done by the Australian Federation of Commercial Broadcasting Stations which had already adopted a " code " of programme standards as a measure of self-regulation. The Federation still maintains its own code alongside standards determined by the Board. The Board's standards incorporated some of the provisions which had been in the Federation's code and consolidated a number of the Board's previous rulings on programme matters, including advertisements.

The Board immediately made comprehensive plans to develop the national broadcasting service and to authorise higher power for a large number of commercial broadcasting stations. This resulted in substantial technical development and included the establishment of twenty-eight new national broadcasting stations. Stations with power of 50kW (compared with the previous ceiling of 10kW) were introduced into the service to override the increasing electrical interference and to improve reception in the more remote areas.

The Board also planned the introduction of television. Immediately after the war both Britain and America had resumed television transmissions and soon afterwards there was a potent demand in Australia for a television service, which was introduced in 1956 following a Royal Commission. It was decided that Australian television should comprise a dual system of national and commercial services ; in the first stage, stations were established in Sydney and Melbourne. Commercial station HSV Melbourne was the first station to begin operating in Victoria ; it commenced on 4 November 1956. ABV, the first Victorian national station, opened on 19 November 1956. Telecasts of the 1956 Olympic Games in Melbourne by ABV, HSV, and by GTV during test transmissions prior to commencement of a regular service provided an auspicious introduction of televsion to Victoria. The Government had decided to introduce television in stages to avoid the difficulties experienced in many overseas countries. Approval was given in 1957 for services in the remaining capital cities and subsequently services have been extended to thirty-seven country areas. Services have been approved for a further thirty-nine country centres.

The Australian television system operates with a 625 line screen and a picture frequency of 25 per second. The national stations and most of the commercial stations operate on the same power of 100kW effective radiated power. National and commercial stations are located on common or nearby sites with the object of ensuring generally equal coverage and to simplify receiver aerial installations. In many cases the two services share facilities. As adequate television reception is virtually dependent on line of sight conditions between transmitting and receiving aerials, many localities in " shadow " areas receive poor service in an area of generally good reception. With overall coverage of the more densely populated areas practically achieved, efforts are being directed to improve reception in those areas; translator stations, relatively low powered devices which receive the signals of a parent station and retransmit them on a different frequency, have proved a popular and effective means of achieving this.

Before licences were granted for commercial television services, the

broadcasting legislation was amended to apply to the grant of licences for both commercial broadcasting and television services by a system of public invitation for applications for a licence issued by the Postmaster-General. Applications are the subject of public inquiries by the Australian Broadcasting Control Board ; the first inquiries under this system were those for the commercial television licences in Sydney and Melbourne, and public inquiries have since been held into the granting of all licences issued.

Television is not only a major source of entertainment and relaxation, with pictorial coverage of sport, news, and major events of public interest. Sectional audiences are also catered for by a wide range of programmes which include information and entertainment for women in the home, talks and discussions, educational and rural matters, and programmes directed to children. All stations are obliged to provide time for religious programmes. The entertainment programmes consist mainly of television drama, comedy and variety, panel and quiz programmes, and feature films ; on the basis of regular and recurring costs, news in all its aspects is a major programme item. In 1968 some stations developed a breakfast-time programme consisting almost entirely of news and commentary which then was a significant development in television's service to the community. Hours of service of television stations have been steadily increased and some stations are now operating for more than 100 hours weekly.

When television services were introduced in 1956 the Australian radio manufacturing industry was in a position to provide most of the receivers required. The receivers were designed around the use of thermionic valves, with picture screen sizes mainly of 17 inch diagonal measurement. Succeeding years saw the introduction of screens of up to 25 inches; increased angles of deflection of the electron beam have enabled receiver cabinets to become more compact. Solid state techniques have not been extended to television receivers to the same extent as to broadcast receivers, largely because of the greater power requirements and higher frequencies involved, but there is an increasing tendency towards their use. Such development may decrease the size of receivers, but the picture tube is ultimately the major limiting factor in that direction. The early television transmitting stations used mainly imported equipment, but the majority of later transmitters were of Australian manufacture ; some transmitters have since been exported to other countries. Solid state techniques have been introduced in the lower power stages of transmitters and in television studio equipment. A major advance in studio equipment was the overseas development of the videotape recorder shortly after television had begun in Australia ; it has had a pronounced effect on studio production techniques, and for outside telecasts such recorders are invaluable.

One of the basic principles on which the Government approved the inauguration of television services was that satisfactory programme standards should be established and maintained to avoid the misuse of the medium and to facilitate the positive contribution which it could make to the welfare of the people. Programme standards for commercial stations determined by the Australian Broadcasting Control Board some months before services began require the observance of ordinary good taste and commonsense, respect for the individual needs of the public, proper regard for the special needs of children, and respect for the law and social

institutions. They contain special provisions to protect children ; programmes televised between 4.30 p.m. and 7.30 p.m. on weekdays and at any time before 7.30 p.m. on Saturdays and Sundays must be suitable for children or family viewing. All films imported for television are subject to classification by the Chief Film Censor according to the Board's standards. The standards also limit the extent and frequency with which advertising matter may be transmitted. The effects of television on children have been a subject of interest, and in 1965 the Advisory Committee on Children's Television Programmes, appointed by the Australian Broadcasting Control Board, issued a leaflet entitled *Helping children to use television wisely*. The leaflet has had a very wide circulation—over 300,000 copies have been issued. It suggests broadly that parents should guide their children's television viewing to complement other activities.

Television has had profound effects on broadcast programming. It soon established a strong attraction for the formerly prime listening times of 6.30 p.m. to 9.00 p.m., and day-time periods became the times of highest audience for radio; this applied especially to the breakfast and pre-noon period. At the same time the programme format of commercial radio changed, especially in the case of capital city stations. Former programmes such as music, drama, and quizzes which had been provided in quarter, half, and hour units were replaced with fewer types of programmes, which comprised modern music, news, current affairs, and conversation and services. Musical programmes featured the most popular tunes ; the news, formerly broadcast in three or more comprehensive news programmes at fixed and widely spaced times of day, was provided much more frequently with summaries every hour or more often, and important news flashes were injected into programmes. Service programmes included weather reports, road traffic reports, beach shark patrols, etc. Advertisers' use of radio changed largely from sponsorship of programmes to spot advertising within programmes provided by the stations themselves. In particular, radio drama, a feature of pre-television programmes, declined markedly, especially in evening hours ; in this field television had an obvious advantage. These developments came to result in a move by radio into fields better suited to it than to television. Radio's special qualities are the ability to provide frequent up-to-date news and services, because of its flexibility and immediacy of presentation. The trend was intensified by the transistorised receiver, the greatly increased installation of radio receivers in cars, so providing a large out-of-doors audience, and the replacement of group listening in the home by individual receiver ownership. Most homes came to have more than one receiver. The emphasis in the community on youth with its demand for popular music, and the demand for world news and views have completed the development. In recent years there has been considerable expansion in the type of programmes which depend wholly on speech, such as discussions, interviews, and critical commentaries. An emphasis in these programmes on public service and enlightenment has revitalised commercial broadcasting as a communication medium.

Because of its more specialised programme targets, television did not affect the broadcasting services of the A.B.C. as much as those of the commercial radio stations. Such changes as did occur reflected

the growing sophistication of audience tastes and programme design. From 1947 to 1950 the Commission established permanent symphony orchestras in all States (the Victorian Symphony Orchestra in 1949, renamed the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra in 1969) and its concert organisation also spread to major provincial centres. Youth subscription concerts had been introduced in 1947, and overseas orchestras as well as artists were brought to Australia, resulting in enhanced appreciation of fine music. In the talks field, general talks gave way to more discussions and documentaries, commentaries and information on world affairs, surveys of local history and heritage, and examinations of the developments in science and of social problems. Drama and feature productions retained their popularity both in day-time and evening hours, while the old variety programme gave way to more sophisticated humour and to programmes of selected music, annotated and presented by specialists.

In 1963 a major reorganisation of the Commission's broadcasting network system, " Newrad ", was introduced to improve the balance of programmes for Third Network (or regional) listeners, while the more general First and Second Networks were replanned to give a wider balance of programmes. In 1964–65 the Commission took over from the Postmaster-General's Department the control of radio technical services in studios and control rooms of the national broadcasting service; the Department continues to provide and maintain the transmitters.

Television programmes themselves have, in the meantime, been the subject of considerable development from the point of view of standards. The community has tended to depart from previously accepted standards, and this has been reflected in television programmes. This development in Australia possibly began with the introduction of the satirical type of programme in the mid-1960s. In respect of these developments the Control Board has applied its programme standards against the background of current standards in the community; however, in the Board's view, greater care and discretion should be exercised in television than may be necessary in other media which can be more easily controlled by the exercise of parental or similar responsibility.

The appointment of the Select Committee of the Senate in 1962 to inquire into and report on the production of films and programmes suitable for television is another instance of the intense interest in broadcasting and television media. The basic concern of the Committee was the encouragement of Australian programmes on television, and, although no formal decision has been made by the Government on the Committee's report, action by the Control Board has given effect to some of its views. Only a limited number of the Committee's recommendations were directly related to television ; the others involved far-reaching proposals relating to the film industry and the live theatre.

A matter of particular interest in the development of both broadcasting and television has been the part played by the use of Australian artists in portraying the Australian character and way of life. The Broadcasting and Television Act places an obligation on the A.B.C. and licensees to use as far as possible the services of Australians in broadcasting and television programmes.

When services began, commercial television stations experimented freely

with Australian programmes ; some, based on popular broadcasting programmes, were found unsuitable for television and were discontinued after a short trial. Audience measurement surveys showed that the public preferred imported programmes to live productions of the quality then produced, and by the end of 1959 the majority of commercial stations were televising almost entirely imported programmes during the popular viewing hours. In 1960, after commercial stations had been established in all capital cities, a requirement was imposed for the televising of a specified overall proportion of Australian programmes, of which a certain amount was to be during peak viewing periods. This marked the beginning of the development on commercial stations of Australian television programmes which, with the expansion of the services to country areas from 1961 to 1965, was associated with the exchange of programmes by direct relay and the use of videotape and film. The obligation imposed on licensees in 1960 to use Australian programmes has been expanded and programmes now must be 50 per cent Australian overall. In each month between 6 p.m. and 10 p.m. not less than 50 per cent of programmes must be Australian, not less than six hours of first release Australian drama must be presented between 6 p.m. and 10 p.m., and four hours of programmes for children of school age produced in Australia must be presented. Improvements in the quality of Australian programmes have brought some to world standard in production ; certain Australian programmes now enjoy wide popularity and are included in the top twenty television programmes throughout Australia. Some have also been sold to other countries. Since 1960 there has been a requirement that all television advertising material must be of Australian production, so giving considerable encouragement to the film industry.

The A.B.C. has been prominent since the inception of broadcasting and television in the production and presentation of Australian programme material in both media. In broadcasting its achievements included the establishment of symphony orchestras, a concert organisation, and the presentation to the Australian public of outstanding overseas artists. In television the Commission has given special encouragement to Australian writers and artists. More than half of the Commission's television programmes are of Australian origin.

Special features of Australian broadcasting services include the broadcasting of the proceedings of the Commonwealth Parliament, and the Australian overseas high frequency broadcasting service, the programmes for which are provided by the Commission. Parliamentary proceedings are broadcast by one of the two national stations in Melbourne ; the service was introduced in 1946. High frequency services, directed to overseas listeners, began in 1939 as a war-time measure with a 10kW transmitter ; a high power station was established for the service at Shepparton in 1944. It is now known as " Radio Australia ". Radio Australia aims to give listeners in other countries a better understanding of Australia by providing accurate information about the way of life, through objective news reporting, talks, and features. As in the case of the national broadcasting service, the technical facilities and operation of Radio Australia are provided by the Post Office.

Historically, the Post Office has always been closely associated with the growth and operation of the broadcasting and television services. The Department has established and operated the transmitters

for both the national broadcasting and television services since their inception. The relay of programmes between stations is an important feature of the services, and facilities for this are provided by the Post Office. In particular, a system of Post Office communication links is the whole basis of the national broadcasting and television services. On behalf of the Australian Broadcasting Control Board, the Department also investigates the causes of interference to reception, and assists listeners and viewers in minimising them.

At 30 June 1971 broadcasting and television services in Victoria comprised 5 national broadcasting stations, 20 commercial broadcasting stations, 8 national television stations, 9 commercial television stations, 7 national television translator stations, and 7 commercial television translator stations. Combined viewers' and listeners' licences totalled 690,464 and there were 115,613 and 64,298 separate viewers' and listeners' licences, respectively. Broadcasting services were being provided to over 99 per cent and television services to over 96 per cent of the Australian population. Throughout Australia the aggregate weekly hours of operation of the services were 7,404 of television and 26,220 of broadcasting.

THE PRESS

On 20 January 1848 Charles Joseph La Trobe, reporting to Governor Fitz Roy in Sydney, described the nine principal newspapers published in the Port Phillip District. His opinion of the nine journals was low : " The general style, tone, and character of the Port Phillip press has been hitherto as discreditable to the District, as the little influence which it may have exercised at home or abroad has been decidedly injurious ".

John Pascoe Fawkner had published the *Melbourne Advertiser,* the first Victorian newspaper, within three years of the District's settlement. The first issue of four hand-written foolscap pages appeared on Monday, 1 January 1838. Probably no more than thirty copies were made of each of the first nine issues ; the tenth issue, published on 5 March 1838, was the first to be printed. Fawkner had secured a quantity of type, and as noted by the historian James Bonwick his " thoroughly orthodox " construction of the paper indicated he was " well acquainted with the details of publication ". However, he had failed to obtain a printer's licence from Sydney, and Lonsdale suppressed the paper after seventeen issues ; in the words of Bonwick, " the light of Melbourne intelligence was suddenly extinguished ". In October 1838 a printer, Thomas Strode, arrived from Sydney with a quantity of type which had been discarded as unserviceable and a wooden press which he installed in a four room cottage in Queen Street. On 27 October he printed the first issue of the *Port Phillip Gazette,* a four page weekly and Melbourne's first licensed newspaper ; George Arden was editor and co-proprietor. It was priced at 1s, and although the advertisements covered a wide range " from baby linen to walking stallions ", the circulation was small and revenue meagre. When not writing copy Arden canvassed subscriptions and advertisements, and Strode frequently composed and printed the paper single handed. In 1839 the *Gazette* became a bi-weekly, appearing on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Fawkner,

having obtained a licence, published the first issue of the *Port Phillip Patriot and Melbourne Advertiser* on Wednesday, 6 February 1839. It was also a four page weekly selling for 1s, and its aim to advise the public and uphold free speech was stated in blank verse at the head of the chief editorial article in each issue. On 29 April 1839, 12 days after the *Gazette* had done so, the *Patriot* became a bi-weekly, appearing on Mondays and Wednesdays. It was first printed at Fawkner's Hotel at the corner of Collins and Market Streets, but the press was later moved to Market Square.

The appearance of a second newspaper introduced a party spirit ; as Bonwick wrote, " party language assumed a bitterness unknown before the rivalry of the Press ". Fawkner's *Patriot* supported the settlers and expirees from Van Diemen's Land, while the *Gazette* aspired to be the organ of the official and moneyed classes. Both were lively : Fawkner's, in the words of " Garryowen ", was " always ungrammatical, often illogical, but invariably personal and offensive " ; George Arden's was more fluent, but he was equally ready to quarrel in print. In May 1839 Arden, who had a history of censures for libel, was fined £50 and sentenced to 24 hours imprisonment for libelling Willis, the resident Judge at Port Phillip ; he was again in trouble with Willis in October 1841 ; then he tangled with Fawkner, and in February 1842 was charged with writing an article tending to bring the administration of justice into contempt. He was fined £300 and given a 12 month prison sentence. Freed in May 1842, he was again fined for libel before the end of the year. He and Strode had dissolved their partnership, and Strode moved to Adelaide, then north to the Murray River, and finally north again to Maitland, where he founded the *Gazette*. Some years later he returned to Melbourne where he died on 1 May 1880.

The *Port Phillip Herald,* Melbourne's third newspaper, began publication on Friday, 3 January 1840. Like its contemporaries it sold for 1s, but unlike them, it began as a bi-weekly issued on Tuesdays and Fridays. The publisher and proprietor was the Anglo-Indian George Cavanagh, who had come to Sydney and eventually became a journalist, founding the Sydney *Gazette* in 1836. He brought type, a press, compositors, reporters, and an editor, William Kerr, to Melbourne to establish the *Port Phillip Herald,* of which Joseph Thompson was the printer. Cavanagh chose the motto " Impartial—not neutral ", although Fawkner described the *Port Phillip Herald* as " the most intolerant, bigoted and lyingly-censorious journal in the colonies ". It did not prevent him hiring Kerr to edit the *Patriot* in 1841, although the association did not remain amicable for long. By 1844 Kerr had changed the *Patriot's* policy to support the views of urban rather than rural Port Phillip and was vilifying his proprietor in editorials. Fawkner, who seemed unable to control the ebullient Kerr, was forced to the desperate expedient of replying to his own editor's abuse through the columns of the rival *Port Phillip Herald.* The bizarre situation was resolved when G. D. Boursiquot bought the *Patriot* in 1845. Kerr started his own newspaper, the *Argus,* in the following year.

Fawkner had many associations, direct and indirect, with early colonial newspapers. His first apprentice, William Beaver, whom he employed in June 1839, subsequently founded the *Corio Chronical and Western District Advertiser,* the second newspaper to be established at Geelong. Richard Osborne, Fawkner's second apprentice, was proprietor of the *Warrnambool*

Examiner from 1851 to 1880. John Davies, one of his reporters on the *Port Phillip Patriot,* settled eventually in Tasmania where he founded that State's principal metropolitan daily, the Hobart *Mercury.* The most celebrated of Fawkner's newspaper associates was James Harrison, who joined him from Sydney as a compositor for the *Patriot* in 1839. About 18 months later Fawkner sent Harrison to Geelong to establish the first country newspaper in the Port Phillip District, the *Geelong Advertiser,* a weekly. The first issue appeared on 21 November 1840. The *Geelong Advertiser,* now a daily, is Victoria's oldest newspaper. Harrison, later an editor of the *Age,* invented a system of refrigeration which stimulated the Australian meat export trade. He was a convinced advocate of protection for Australian industry before David Syme adopted the cause. After two years as editor for an absentee owner, Harrison joined with John Scamble to buy the *Geelong Advertiser.* Soon afterwards he became sole owner, and exerted considerable influence by his fearless but generally fair-minded journalism. His policy was directed for the most part to the squatting interests, but of the nine newspapers described by La Trobe in his 1848 report, the *Geelong Advertiser* was the only one he praised : " On the whole, it has been remarked to contain more useful matter, and to be more creditably and decently conducted than any other paper in this District ".

Three other country newspapers were founded early. One, the *Portland Mercury and Port Fairy Register,* made a fugitive appearance in 1842, but was not mentioned by La Trobe in 1848. The others, the bi-weekly *Portland Guardian and Normanby General Advertiser,* established in 1842, and the weekly *Portland Gazette and Belfast Advertiser,* founded the following year, were strongly disapproved by La Trobe. He considered both to be " of very low character ". The two completing the Superintendent's despised nine were the *Argus,* launched on 14 June 1846 by William Kerr, and the *Albion,* a weekly dating from 1847, said by La Trobe to possess no character, being " merely an offshoot of the *Argus* ". The latter was mainly responsible for keeping alive " the violent and disgraceful party spirit that has sprung up in Melbourne ". Altogether La Trobe believed that support of these papers was a stigma on the inhabitants as the *Port Phillip Patriot* systematically dealt " in abuse and gross misrepresentation of persons and facts ", while the *Port Phillip Gazette* seemed " to possess no distinctive principles or characters ". Apart from the *Geelong Advertiser* there was hope to be discerned only in the *Port Phillip Herald* which, " although without talent or fixed principles, is upon the whole more decently conducted, and is admitted into houses where other local papers are excluded ".

La Trobe's dislike is understandable, but it would be erroneous to assume that the quality of the newspapers was as low as he said. He was accustomed to the British style of serious newspapers of information, such as *The Times* which catered for the professional and commercial classes ; it was not until the abolition of the newspaper tax in Britain in 1853 that the flood of so-called " popular " papers was released. Australia, where the stamp tax had been abolished in 1830, on the other hand presented the response of free men to colonialism. The rise of the Australian press paralleled that of the independent press in America and Canada. The collision of the developing commercial classes with colonial authority, and

the growing demands of the urban populations for a voice in their own affairs are vividly reflected in the pages of the first Australian newspapers. In Melbourne, where the first settlers had come in defiance of the Government in Sydney, the voice raised against the administration was loud, impolite, and frequently angry.

Victoria's first newspapers could not afford to be genteel ; the population was small and their circulation restricted. According to La Trobe's estimate the *Port Phillip Herald* enjoyed the largest circulation, a mere 800 copies, the *Port Phillip Patriot* ranked next with a circulation of 600 copies in town and country, the *Argus* had a circulation of about 400 copies, the *Port Phillip Gazette* about 350 copies, and the *Albion* 50 copies. Of the country newspapers the *Geelong Advertiser* and the *Portland Gazette* enjoyed circulations of 300 copies each. The *Portland Guardian* was supposed to have a circulation of about 200 copies and the *Corio Chronicle* about 100 copies. Colonial Victorian newspapers, therefore, sought to appeal to the widest possible public to attract advertisements as well as readers ; they could not exist solely for the benefit of a small but influential group. Their reading fare was a rich mixture ; local news, foreign items culled from overseas newspapers, gossip and scandal, political news and comment, crime and sensation, and odd snippets of useful information on whatever topic caught the editor's fancy. Partisan arguments on topical questions were presented vigorously and with the strongest personal vituperation. These newspapers were serving a developing society which was without its own distinct literature or culture ; they were very much an index of its interests and passions.

From the point of view of such men as La Trobe, matters would only grow worse. As the population grew, so the opportunity for other newspapers to find an audience was enlarged ; by 1850 Melbourne had seen several rise and disappear. In order of appearance, so far as it can be established, they included the *Weekly Free Press and Port Phillip Commercial Advertiser*, the *Melbourne Times*, the *Melbourne Weekly Courier*, the *Standard and Port Phillip Gazette*, the *Melbourne Courier*, the *Observer*, and the *Melbourne Family Journal*. They were fugitive publications, surviving mere weeks or a few months at the best. Except for the record of their titles most have vanished utterly, leaving only an occasional issue preserved by chance in a library file or in a family collection of documents. The spread of newspapers through the country was naturally slower. In addition to the two Geelong and three Portland newspapers named earlier, only two other country journals had appeared by 1850, both in Geelong. They were the *Victoria Courier and Working Man's Advocate* and the *Victoria Colonist and Western District Advocate*. The earliest issues of each in the State Library date from 1849.

Victoria's first daily newspaper was published in this period. It was the *Melbourne Daily News*, founded by George D'Arley Boursiquot, an actor, elder brother of Dion Bourcicault, playwright and actor and father of the actor-manager Dion Boucicault*. Boursiquot became a full-time journalist, working first as a reporter for the *Port Phillip Herald*. He founded the short-lived bi-weekly, the *Standard and Port Phillip Gazette*,

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* Dionysius George Boucicault (1859-1929) was the son of Dionysius Lardner Bourcicault (1822-1890), who began to drop the "r" from his name from about 1860. George D'Arley Boursiquot preferred an anglicised form of the family name.

in 1844, bought the moribund *Port Phillip Patriot* in the following year, and three years later founded the *Melbourne Daily News,* which incorporated the *Patriot.* The first issue of the *Melbourne Daily News* appeared on 1 October 1848. A four page paper with seven columns to a page, it carried an average of eighty advertisements daily, and appears to have been a commercial success.

Between 1850 and 1860 a great expansion of Melbourne and country newspapers took place. The discovery of gold soon after the separation of the Port Phillip District from New South Wales brought an influx of population, and on the goldfields some enterprising journeyman printer usually appeared to start a newspaper. In Melbourne, suddenly the richest metropolis in Australia, large numbers of newspapers were started and died as suddenly. However, some developed : the *Argus,* which La Trobe declared in 1848 to have a circulation of only 400 copies, had grown to a circulation of 5,000 four years later, and its advertising revenue soared from a mere £13 to £800 a week by July 1852 when the size of the paper was doubled and the price was cut from 3d to 2d. Some other papers were not so fortunate. The *Melbourne Weekly Dispatch* first appeared early in 1851 but closed soon after gold was discovered, as the entire staff deserted to go to the diggings. The *Port Phillip Gazette* disappeared in 1851. Thomas McCombie, who had bought the copyright of the paper for £50 in October 1844, conducted it under the original name until 1 April 1851, when it was renamed the *Melbourne Times* and became a daily under the editorship of William Kerr. Two months later George Boursiquot bought the paper and closed it, thus clearing from the field a rival to his *Melbourne Daily News.* However, Boursiquot's interest in Melbourne journalism was declining. At the end of 1851 he sold the *Melbourne Daily News* for £4,200 to Edward Wilson, who in partnership with J. S. Johnston had bought the *Argus* in 1848 from William Kerr for less than £300. It proved to be a very profitable purchase although Wilson, soon to be joined in partnership by Lachlan Mackinnon and Alan Spowers, was a journalist and not a financier ; when Wilson died in 1878 the net profits of the *Argus* were running at an annual figure of £22,000 to £24,000 and the paper was acclaimed as " *The Times* of the Southern hemisphere ".

The one contemporary of the *Argus* from the founding days of Melbourne journalism had undergone a transformation by then. In 1849 the *Port Phillip Herald* became the *Melbourne Morning Herald.* It was edited by Edmund Finn, the celebrated " Garryowen ", whose service with the paper began in 1845 and continued for 13 years, during which time it became recognised as the organ of the Roman Catholic Church in Victoria. A syndicate bought the *Herald* in 1854, but the paper continued to encounter difficulties, reverting to bi-weekly publication at one stage. David Syme, proprietor of the *Age,* took control in November 1868, and before selling the *Herald* two years later converted it to an evening daily newspaper. The *Herald* remains today as Melbourne's only evening newspaper, the survivor with the morning daily, the *Age,* of the city's earliest newspapers.

The *Age* first appeared on 17 October 1854, published by the merchants John and Henry Cooke. It was a daily of eight pages of six columns selling at 6d. and issuing from a building in Elizabeth Street. The new paper,

announced by its nonconformist proprietors as " a journal of politics, commerce and philanthropy ", had shaky beginnings. The Cookes were soon succeeded by a co-operative proprietorship formed by the paper's printers, but they prospered no more than the founders. In 1856 the editor, Ebenezer Syme, and his brother David bought the paper for £2,000. David, who had had no success as a gold miner, worked as a road contractor, while Ebenezer produced the paper. The *Age* had been a strong advocate of the miners' cause at Eureka, and Ebenezer's trenchant pen in support of radical interests drew admiration but little circulation. On 13 March 1860 Ebenezer died, and David, then 33 years old, took over as manager and editor. It was the beginning of the outstanding career in nineteenth century Australian journalism. By the 1870s the political power and influence of the *Age* was so formidable that it was commonly believed that no Victorian Government would dare act on an important issue without first consulting Syme's wishes.

More Melbourne and country newspapers were founded in the decade of gold's discovery than in any comparable period until the land boom years towards the end of the century. Their titles were as varied as their aims. In Melbourne they included the *Express,* the *Reformer,* the *Auction Mart,* the *Banner,* the *Melbourne Illustrated News,* the *Gold Diggers' Advocate,* the *Illustrated Melbourne Family News, Melbourne Punch,* the *News Letter of Australasia,* the *Leader* (which survived until 1956), the *Empire of the South, My Notebook, Bell's Life in Victoria,* the *Examiner and Melbourne Weekly News,* the *Illustrated Melbourne News,* the *Melbourne Evening Mail* (the first, but short-lived, evening daily newspaper in Victoria), the *People's Tribune,* the *Colonial Mining Journal,* the *Economist,* the *Christian Times and Australian Weekly News,* and late in 1858, the first foreign language newspaper, *Journal de Melbourne,* followed in 1859 by *Victoria Deutsch Press* and *Melbourner Deutsch Zeitung.* Three more Western District papers were founded before the first mining camp journal. In 1851 the *Port Fairy Gazette* and Geelong's *Victorian Advocate and People's Vindicator* were published, and the *Mercury and Victorian Standard* appeared in Geelong the following year. The first miner's newspaper, the *Mt Alexander Mail,* was published at Castlemaine in May 1854. The *Creswick Weekly Chronicle* and the *Kilmore Standard of Freedom* appeared in 1855. Ballarat and Bendigo acquired three newspapers each in 1856 : the *Times* of Ballarat in March ; the *Bendigo Weekly Advertiser,* the *Courier of the Mines and Bendigo Daily* and the *Ballarat Star* in July ; the *Ballarat Miner and Weekly Star* in August ; and the still surviving *Bendigo Advertiser* in December. In September 1856 the first Melbourne suburban newspaper, the *Williamstown Chronicle,* was published. Beechworth, Kyneton, and Maryborough acquired newspapers in 1857, as did the Melbourne suburbs Prahran and South Melbourne. Ararat, Heathcote, Maldon, and Richmond newspapers appeared in 1858 ; in the following year papers were published in Chiltern, Daylesford, Port Albert, and Footscray, and Williamstown acquired a second suburban journal, the *Williamstown Independent.* In 1860 the *Hamilton Spectator,* which survives today, was founded.

Evening newspapers began to appear with increasing frequency in Melbourne from 1860, although most were short lived. The *Evening News* (1862) and the *Evening Star* (1868) were only two evening dailies among the twenty-two metropolitan newspapers founded between 1860 and 1869.

Other publications of some note included the *Advocate* (1868), the *Australasian* (1864—now the *Australasian Post*) ; the *Daily Telegraph* (1869), the *Weekly Times* (1869), a forerunner of the surviving journal of that title, and the curiously named *Southern Ray, Yeoman and Australian Acclimatiser.* Country and suburban newspapers were established during the decade in Hawthorn, Inglewood, Rutherglen, Sale, Dunolly, Smythesdale, Talbot, Echuca, Gisborne, Majorca, Avoca, Collingwood, St Arnaud, Tarnagulla, Woods Point, Bacchus Marsh, Alexandra, Coleraine, Rosedale, Benalla, and Jamieson.

The spread of country and Melbourne suburban newspapers continued from 1870, new publications rising to take the place of those which did not survive. Port Melbourne and Romsey acquired their first newspapers in 1870, and in 1875 newspapers began in Bairnsdale, Beaufort, Buninyong, Colac, Fitzroy, North Melbourne, Stawell, and Wangaratta. Four years later Camperdown, Drouin, Kangaroo Ground, Shepparton, and Warragul had their own newspapers, and Bright, Eaglehawk, and Tatura obtained newspapers in 1880. By 1900 there were 250 Victorian country and Melbourne suburban newspapers in existence. The country and suburban newspaper total had fallen to 212 by 1940 and has remained roughly constant since then. A marked development has been the improvement in content and presentation of suburban newspapers, many of which are issued free. Several range in size to 40 pages and claim a circulation of 30,000 to 40,000 copies weekly. Some are owned by the metropolitan daily newspapers, which have found them a profitable investment.

Newspapers aimed at religious or other specialised interests began to appear after 1870. They included the *Licensed Victuallers' Advocate* (1877), the *Jewish Herald* (1879), the *Irishman* (1872), the *Abstainer* (1889), the *Daily Australasian Shipping News* (1888), the *Literary News* (1882), *War Cry* (1883), the *Vigneron and Orchardist* (1891), the *Chinese Times* (1902), the *Worker* (1893), *Socialist* (1906), *Labour* (1907), the *Rural Worker's Gazette* and the responding *Land Owner's Gazette* in 1910, *Stock and Land* (1914), *Countryman* (1917), and the *One Big Union Herald* in 1918. Sporting newspapers emerged in 1882 when the *Sportsman* first appeared. It was followed by the *Sporting Echo*, the *Sporting Wire,* and the *People's Weekly* (or " Pink 'un ") in 1899, and *King of Sport* in 1906. The surviving bi-weekly *Sporting Globe*, successor to them all, was not founded until 1922. Women's interests were catered for by the *Australian Society News* (1881), *Table Talk* (1885), the *Australian Woman's Sphere* (1900), *Vanity Fair* (1903), and *Woman's News* (1905). None of these has survived.

Some publishers chose extraordinary names for their publications. *Sam Slick in Victoria* appeared in 1879 and *Babylon* in 1880 ; the *Ant* was published in 1890, when the *Blade,* the *Bohemian,* and *Gossip* also appeared. The *Boomerang* was published in 1894, the *Search Light* in 1896, and that splendid medley the *Australian Police News and Music and Drama* in 1895. All were ephemeral and most specialised in sensation, crime, and exposure. These papers were the " popular press ", meeting a popular demand. The paper which benefited most from the demand for a more popular journalism than that provided by the two dominant morning newspapers, the *Age* and the *Argus,* was the *Herald*.

It was one of the Australian evening dailies which the Sydney journal, the *Bulletin,* castigated in 1889 for purveying lurid information about prize-fights, murders, divorces, or breach-of-promise cases. About that time, the circulation of the *Age* was nearly 100,000 copies daily, the largest in Australia. The *Herald* reached a daily circulation of 50,000 in 1900, and the *Argus,* the conservative rival of the radical *Age,* had a circulation averaging some 70,000 copies daily.

Early Victorian newspapers were enterprising and efficient in their business arrangements. The newsagency system of newspaper distribution had been established by 1870. As early as 1872 the *Argus* joined the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Adelaide Register* in a shared service of cabled news from overseas, costing each partner between £8,000 and £9,000 annually. Also, journalists showed ingenuity in " beating " competitors to the news ; there are accounts of *Argus* reporters monopolising telegraph wires by instructing the operator to transmit passages from the Bible.

Although Federation reduced the political power of the press generally in Australia, its effect was less immediately apparent in Victoria because the Commonwealth Parliament remained in Melbourne until 1927, and the traditional preoccupation of such newspapers as the *Age* and the *Argus* with serious affairs of politics gave each a seeming weight and influence beyond its true measure. Consequently, both were slow to appreciate the need for such modernisation as clearing the front page of advertisements to open it to news, or to recognise the strength of the challenge from the new style of pictorial journalism. That form of newspaper reached Victoria on 11 September 1922 when the *Sun News-Pictorial* was first published. It was one of a stable of newspapers which the Sydney-based Denison group sought to introduce to Melbourne, as were the *Midnight Sun* first published on 4 September 1920 and the *Evening Sun,* published on 4 April 1923.

The Denison attempt to publish in Melbourne was opposed by Keith (later Sir Keith) Murdoch (the editor of the *Herald*), who had once been a reporter for David Syme's *Age,* and had learned modern newspaper techniques in London's Fleet Street under Lord Northcliffe. The Denison group retreated to Sydney when Murdoch bought the *Sun News-Pictorial* in 1925 with the *Evening Sun,* which he closed. He concentrated his efforts on establishing the *Sun News-Pictorial* and succeeded beyond expectation ; today it has a circulation of more than 650,000, the largest of any Australian newspaper and treble the circulation of its principal Melbourne competitor, the *Age.* From the Melbourne headquarters of The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd, the joint stock company which owned the *Herald* and a number of other newspapers and periodicals, Murdoch widened the company's interests to cover South Australia, Queensland, Western Australia, and Tasmania, as well as such related fields as radio broadcasting and newsprint manufacture. The strength of The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd in Melbourne was demonstrated when the *Argus* sought to publish an evening daily, the *Star.* The first issue appeared on 28 October 1933, with a circulation of 250,000 copies. By May 1936, when forced out of existence by competition from the *Herald,* the circulation of the *Star* had declined to 60,000. Similarly in 1969 when the *Age* commenced publishing an evening daily paper, *Newsday,* on 29

September, competition from the *Herald* was sufficiently strong to ensure its closing down after publication of 183 issues. The *Herald,* Melbourne's only evening daily newspaper, has a circulation exceeding 500,000 copies. The *Age's* circulation is some 190,000 copies daily. The *Argus* ceased publication in 1957, when its circulation stood at about 170,000 copies.

In the past thirty years there has been a notable increase in foreign language newspapers in Victoria to cater for migrants. They include *L'Avanguardia Libertaria* (1930), *Giornale Italiano* (1936), the Greek newspaper *Phos* (1937), and since 1950, *Il Globo, Hlas Domova, Tygrdnik Kalolicki, Die Neue Welt, Australian-Greek,* and *Neos Kosmos.*

A Melbourne edition of the nationally circulated daily newspaper, the *Australian,* began publication in 1964, and Melbourne had three morning dailies for the first time since the disappearance of the *Argus.* A strong sabbatarian tradition had prevented the emergence in Victoria of the Sunday press, which spread from Sydney to other Australian capitals after the founding in 1895 of the *Sydney Sunday Times.* Publication of Sunday newspapers was illegal in Victoria until the law was amended in 1969. The *Sunday Observer,* Victoria's first regular Sunday newspaper, commenced publication in September of that year. In February 1971 the *Australian* launched a national Sunday newspaper, the *Sunday Australian,* which, however, merged with a Sydney paper in 1972. The *Sunday Review* appeared in October 1970. In March 1971 the *Sunday Observer* ceased publication and another Sunday paper, the *Melbourne Observer* commenced publication.

PUBLISHING

Book publishing in Victoria, as in older countries, developed as an adjunct to printing or bookselling. The printer was the book producer or manufacturer ; the bookseller placed it before the public. The publisher (who in Britain until early in the nineteenth century was generally a bookseller as well) emerged as a link between author, printer, and bookseller. He usually accepted financial responsibility for publishing a literary work, arranged for its printing, publicised it, and sold it to the booksellers. In many cases he commissioned authors to write books on subjects which he had suggested. Until late last century it was customary for an author to sell his copyright to a publisher for a lump sum ; this was gradually replaced by the royalty system, where the author retains the copyright and the publisher pays him a royalty (normally 10 per cent of the published price) on every copy sold. In Victoria the separation of publishing from kindred activities has been much slower than in older and more populous communities. There were no publishers as such before 1918, when three publishing houses were launched ; two of these ceased publishing in the early 1920s ; the other survived only until the 1930s. Publishing was an expensive and risky business. The publisher needed a bookshop and a printing works or agencies for overseas publishers in order to succeed, and as a result many authors had to finance their own works.

The first book to be published in Victoria was George Arden's *Latest information with regard to Australia Felix* which Arden and Strode printed and published at their *Port Phillip Gazette* office in 1840. A year earlier this firm had produced the first pamphlet to appear in the settlement,

Articles and rules for the regulation of the Melbourne Union Benefit Society. Copies of both these rare works are in the La Trobe Library. However, the very first printing in what is now the State of Victoria was done at Sullivan Bay (the site of the present township of Sorrento). This was a series of General Orders and Garrison Orders issued by Lieutenant-Colonel David Collins between 16 October 1803 and 27 January 1804. They were the work of convict printers who operated a small handpress under a tree near the beach.

William Kerr, who later founded the *Argus,* brought out editions of his *Melbourne almanac and Port Phillip directory* in 1841 and 1842 ; these were the first directories produced in the settlement. Daniel Harrison, who in the late 1840s and early 1850s conducted bookshops in Melbourne and Geelong, published several books from each address. James J. Blundell, a bookseller and stationer, published some early work of the artist S. T. Gill ; he issued a number of books between 1852 and 1866, and in 1854 he reprinted the now rare edition of R. H. Horne's *Orion.* Thomas Ham, who engraved the first Victorian postage stamps, published maps and books in the early 1850s, when several works relating to the goldfields were also published. Edward Khull, printer to the *Herald,* became the first Government Printer in January 1851, but his services were terminated later that year and John Ferres, printer to the *Herald,* was appointed. He actually laid the foundation of the office which has been responsible for many works of a high standard, and he printed the first *Victorian Year Book,* that for 1873.

These pioneers only published books sporadically, and George Robertson was the first person to publish in a large and systematic way. Trained in Dublin, he arrived in Melbourne in 1852 and at once opened a bookshop. His earliest publication was a sermon by the Reverend Mackintosh Mackay in 1855, and he became the first in Australia to establish a separate publishing department. His authors included James Bonwick, Adam Lindsay Gordon, Henry Kendall, Marcus Clarke (whose book, *His natural life* *, he published in 1874), W. E. Hearn, Brunton Stephens, George Gordon McCrae, Rolf Boldrewood, and Alexander Sutherland ; he also printed local editions of works by overseas writers. He opened branches in the other colonies and had a London office by 1857, some of his titles being distributed or reprinted in England by leading houses. Robertson dominated the book trade of Australasia until his retirement in 1890. From about this time, another and younger George Robertson, of the Sydney firm of Angus and Robertson, was consolidating his position as a publisher. H. T. Dwight, F. F. Bailliere (who was appointed Publisher in Ordinary to the Victorian Government), and Wilson and Mackinnon of the *Argus* all printed actively after the 1850s, as did Sands and McDougall whose *Directory of Victoria* has been published annually since 1857. Evans Brothers began the *Victorian municipal directory* in 1860 ; it was acquired by its present publishers, Arnall and Jackson, nineteen years later.

Samuel Mullen, who had arrived in Melbourne with George Robertson, opened his own bookshop in 1859. He published many high class works, a policy continued by his successors. In 1921 the firm he had founded amalgamated with George Robertson and Company to form the present house of Robertson and Mullens. In 1960 they were acquired by Angus and Robertson,

* Later reprinted under the title, *For the term of his natural life.*

which later had an editorial office in Melbourne until 1969. A. H. Massina, a printer from England, arrived in Melbourne in 1855. Four years later he joined with others to establish a printing works of which he eventually became sole owner. The firm established the *Australian Journal,* published from 1865 to 1955, and provided an outlet for leading local writers such as Marcus Clarke and Adam Lindsay Gordon. Massina also published books by these and other Australian authors. E. W. Cole became a bookseller in 1865, and published C. J. Dennis' early verses as well as many social and religious items. Some of these he compiled himself, such as the *Funny picture book,* which was very popular for many years. Fergusson and Mitchell, printers, publishers, and booksellers, produced the now prized volumes *The chronicles of early Melbourne* by Garryowen (Edmund Finn) in 1888. In 1905 T. C. Lothian published his first book ; it was the first of many literary or educational works he published, and he did much to bring public attention to young poets such as Bernard O'Dowd and Shaw Neilson.

S. J. Endacott and Macmillan and Co. were both active from the 1920s onwards, as was the Melbourne University Press which established new standards in scholarly publishing and book production under Gwyn James during the 1940s and 1950s. Early in the century Whitcombe and Tombs developed a large educational list in Victoria, and F. W. Cheshire, who had started an educational bookshop in 1925, published his first work, a textbook, three years later. Other educational works followed, and during the war a general publishing department was developed. It expanded until the firm became one of the largest publishing houses in Australia and was acquired by overseas interests.

Local publishing received an impetus during the Second World War when stocks of books from Britain, the traditional supplier, were severely restricted. Local publishers produced many titles, although hampered by paper rationing as well as by the inability of printers and binders to cope with this extra work. Established firms and newcomers such as Hawthorn Press and Georgian House brought out much original Australian material, and since the 1950s local branches of British publishers have reprinted many books locally. The post-war growth in population has provided a much larger home market for publishers, and schools are increasingly using locally written textbooks ; many overseas houses are now publishing Australian books through local branches, while several Victorian printers are equipped to print and bind books of almost any specification.

The Australian Book Publishers' Association with sixty-five members is the spokesman for the industry ; twenty-six members are based in Victoria. Since 1962 publishers have united to display works at book fairs and exhibitions at home and abroad, and a substantial export trade is being developed. The members' combined turnover for 1971 was nearly $18.5m, representing 16.3 million volumes ; 10 per cent of this was exported.

Significant new trends emerged in publishing during the early 1970s. The firm of Angus and Robertson has been acquired by a group of financial interests, and the expansion of Rigby Ltd and the Jacaranda Press has meant that publishing is no longer largely confined to Melbourne or Sydney. There were also, in 1971, five university presses at Melbourne, Canberra, Sydney, Brisbane, and Perth. Above all, the economics of publishing underwent fundamental changes ; the rise in costs necessitated a government bounty to

printers which only partly arrested the flow of Australian books sent to Hong Kong for printing. The booksellers too faced problems as a result of rising costs and the abolition in 1972 of retail price maintenance.

8

RECREATION

SPORT

Sport has played a significant role in the history of Victoria. Games of English origin such as football, cricket, tennis, and bowls were the first sports to be played here, but a wide range has since been introduced from other parts of the world ; lacrosse from Canada, basketball (America), judo (Asia), and gymnastics (Europe) are a few examples.

Sport has undoubtedly been a major factor in the development of Victoria's social life ; its effects on various social groups in the State have been far-reaching even if they are difficult to define with precision. In the early years some sports were confined to persons of means, but some of these have become increasingly popular during this century—such are racing and golf ; polo and other equestrian sports, on the other hand, generally have not. Sport has also been the major constituent of Victoria's leisure activities and indirectly has influenced such aspects of the economy as transport, communications, catering, etc. In education its influence has been very strong, especially in the non-government schools, many of which have placed great emphasis on the importance of sport as a social and educational tool, and in many cases still make sport compulsory.

The common interest in sport among adults has been a formative factor in the growth of many social clubs and associations in the community, and this interest has also been substantial enough to produce at least one newspaper entirely devoted to sport. The influence of sport beyond Victoria has been important ; most sports have engendered interstate and overseas competition. The best known of these have been the Test matches between England and Australia, the trophy being the legendary Ashes, cynically commemorating the Australian victory over the English eleven at The (Kennington) Oval on 29 August 1882—the death of English cricket whose body would be cremated and the ashes taken to Australia.

The world's best exponents in many sports have long visited Victoria, but in recent years they have come in greater numbers, largely as a result of modern air travel. The greatest sports event in the history of the State, the 1956 Olympic Games held in Melbourne, did much to advertise Victoria to the world ; teams of contestants representing sixty-seven countries took part in the Games, and spectators came from nearly as many. South-east Asia and Pacific area table tennis championships have also been held in Melbourne, as well as the world squash titles ; in 1959 the Canada Cup

(now the World Cup) for golf was held on the Royal Melbourne Golf Club course. The World Cup was again held in Australia, also at the Royal Melbourne, in 1972.

Facilities for some sports have never quite matched the demand for them, but the State Government and municipal authorities have attempted to remedy this by subsidising and assisting sports associations and organisations, and in 1972 the State Government announced the appointment of a Minister for Youth and Recreation. Encouragement of sport is also provided by some of Australia's largest companies ; in the 1960s these began to take a major interest by providing prizes for professional events, by bringing overseas teams and coaches to Australia, and by subsidising amateur sport. Many have sponsored State titles, and some have paid the full cost of interstate travel for State teams. Further encouragement of sporting activities has resulted from improved coaching and playing facilities in schools. There have also been major social and economic developments which have had their impact on sport and the way it has been played in the State. The growth of the economy especially since the Second World War is one of these factors, but others are the shorter working hours (especially since the introduction of the forty hour week in 1948) and the five day working week generally.

Cricket

Historically cricket was one of the first sports played in Victoria. This was soon after the arrival of the first settlers, who showed much ingenuity in arranging matches such as Gentlemen of the Melbourne Cricket Club *versus* Tradesmen, Benedicks *v* Bachelors, and Bearded *v* Cleanshaven. As clubs were formed handicap matches were played ; the stronger teams were limited to eleven players, while the weaker opponents had numbers varying from fifteen to twenty-two. The first international match, England *v* Victoria, began at the Melbourne Cricket Ground on 1 January 1862. English teams again visited the Colony in 1863 and 1873, and the first Test Match was played at the Melbourne Cricket Ground in March 1877 ; Australia won by forty-five runs. An interesting sidelight on the cricket scene in Victoria was the visit of the Aboriginal team, trained at Edenhope, to England in 1868, some ten years before the first European team toured there. The team had moderate success, winning fourteen games and losing the same number ; the remaining nineteen were drawn.

In the early days cricket was controlled by the Melbourne Cricket Club : the Victorian Cricket Association is now the senior controlling body in Victoria, and there are other associations in Melbourne and in the country with over 50,000 registered players. Interest in cricket has grown considerably, primarily as a participant game although the Tests and interstate matches attract crowds sometimes exceeding 50,000 ; in 1961 a record 90,000 spectators wached the second day of play of the Fifth Test in the Australia *v* West Indies series at the Melbourne Cricket Ground. Victoria made 1,107 runs against New South Wales during the 1926–27 season, the highest team score in first class cricket ; W. H. Ponsford, when playing for Victoria against Queensland at Melbourne in the 1927–28 season, made 437 runs, the highest individual score by a Victorian. Victoria has competed regularly in the interstate Sheffield Shield series, and until 1971 had won the trophy on twenty occasions. Testimonial games have been held in Melbourne, one

Ocean going yachts off Port Phillip Heads
Department of Trade and Industry

Melbourne Cricket Ground, January 1864.
La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria

An Australian Rules football match being played on the Melbourne
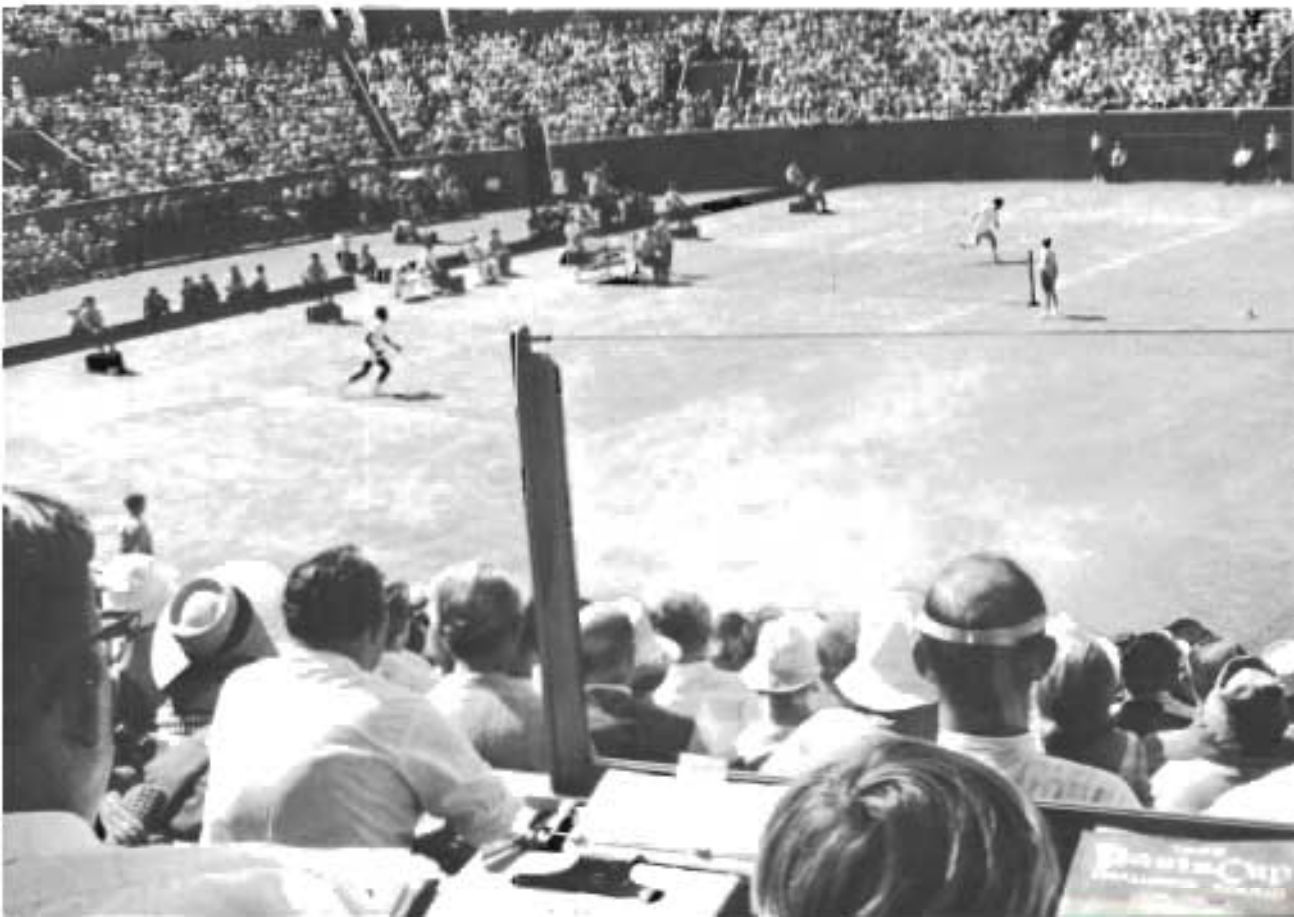Cricket Ground in the late 1960s.

Ministry of Tourism

Interstate bowls competition at Middle Park with competing teams from Victoria and New South Wales.

Australian News and Information Bureau

The Victorian Lawn Tennis Association courts at Kooyong, where many notable tennis matches have been played.

Gordon De 'Lisle

Approaching the turn at Sandown Park in the Melbourne heat of the Tasman Cup series in 1971.

Confederation of Australian Motor Sport

The finish of the 1886 Melbourne Cup, as portrayed on the cover of *The Illustrated Australian News* of 13 November 1886.

La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria

A quiet haven on Lake Eildon with some of the lake's many boats at anchor.

Relaxed fishing at the junction of the Ford and Aire Rivers near Cape Otway.

An archaeological " dig " at the Mill, Portarlington, conducted by the National Trust.

Ministry of Tourism

Caravanning has become a popular way of spending holidays.

A. de la Rue

The north-east, which contains Victoria's highest mountains, provides an ideal setting for winter sports.

Australian Tourist Commission

One of the beaches in Port Phillip Bay. Victoria's coastline also provides many fine ocean beaches.

Department of Trade and Industry

Newsmen at work on a Melbourne daily newspaper
The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd

A programme being recorded at a country television studio.
Wolfgang Sievers

of these being for Sir Donald Bradman after his retirement from cricket in 1948.

The Melbourne Cricket Club, which developed the Melbourne Cricket Ground, is one of the oldest clubs in Australia. Founded in 1838 it was situated on Batman's Hill, now the site of the Spencer Street railway station. In 1846 it moved south of the Yarra, and remained there until 1854 when a railway line was planned to run through the arena. Governor La Trobe offered the club a site of ten acres in the Police Paddock (now Yarra Park) where it has remained ; subsequent land grants have increased the area of the site to some 14.5 acres. The spectator accommodation has been progressively increased and in 1971 the ground could accommodate about 125,000 persons. The ground was the main venue of the 1956 Olympic Games which were held in Melbourne. The club was associated with the foundation of Australian Rules football ; it also sponsored the first interstate tennis matches, and brought the first American baseball team to Australia in 1888. The club fields teams in bowls, tennis, rifle shooting, lacrosse, and hockey.

Women in Australia first played cricket at Bendigo in 1847 ; in 1890 the first women's match between Victoria and New South Wales was played in Sydney. Women's cricket has never flourished in schools, and the number of adults playing the sport has always been fairly small ; in the 1968–69 season only twenty-nine teams were affiliated with the Victorian Women's Cricket Association.

Australian Rules Football, Soccer, and Rugby

T. W. Wills of Geelong, who had studied at Rugby in England, devised Australian Rules Football as a game to prevent cricketers from becoming physically " soft " during the winter. As in England, where the game varied from village to village and club to club, so in Victoria various codes of the game existed side by side in the 1850s. Wills drew up a uniform code which came to be known as Australian Rules Football. A relative of his, H. C. A. Harrison, gave many years of service to securing acceptance of these rules. Wills died in 1880 and Harrison in 1929. The first recorded game was played in August 1858 between teams from Melbourne Grammar School and Scotch College. Through the years the game has evolved and now there are eighteen players in a League team (Victorian Football Association sides have sixteen) ; the ground is normally about 185 yards by 155 yards in size ; " behind " posts have been added and the goal has been equated to six points ; a field umpire and boundary and goal umpires are now provided— in the early days the team captains controlled the game ; each team has its " home " ground, and matches generally alternate between " home " and " away ". A recent development has been the building of a ground by the Victorian Football League at V.F.L. Park, Waverley ; this was first used on 18 April 1970. Other major controlling bodies are the Victorian Country Football League, which controls the largest number of leagues and clubs in Australia, the Victorian Football Association, and the Victorian Amateur Football Association.

Australian Rules is the most popular spectator sport in Victoria ; more than three million spectators watch the game in Melbourne each year, and more than 100,000 attend the Victorian Football League final match.

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Outside Victoria the game is popular in Tasmania, South Australia, and Western Australia ; although not a major sport in Queensland or New South Wales, the game is played in those States. Interstate matches are played regularly between teams representing the four southern States, but these do not generally attract as much interest as does a weekly inter-club match in Melbourne. Australian Rules is widely encouraged in Victoria through inter-school and country matches. Most schools of sufficient size have teams, many of which are of a high standard ; inter-school competitions, based on regional bases or on school affiliation, are held annually and generally provide sport throughout the winter months. The larger schools often have several teams, each of a different standard, generally based on the age of the student. Outside Melbourne each of the several country leagues con-ducts a match series annually, and many of these matches draw sizeable crowds of spectators ; teams for these games generally represent a country town, although the larger towns and provincial cities may have two or more teams in a league. Australian Rules Football has produced many names which are famous for any of a number of reasons : the highest goal scorer in a season ; kicking more than 100 goals in a season ; and playing in the greatest number of matches are a few. The major honour is winning the coveted award for the best and fairest player in the Victorian Football League for the season, the Brownlow Medal. This award was initiated in 1924, and four players, Haydn Bunton, Dick Reynolds, Bob Skilton, and Ian Stewart have each won it three times. Press, radio, and television coverage of Australian Rules in Melbourne is such that every facet of the game is covered for all matches ; it is doubtful if any one sport receives such publicity elsewhere in the world. However, the Victorian Football League does not allow direct telecasts of its matches inside Victoria, but it does allow videotape recordings to be shown after the matches are finished.

The first known Soccer match in Victoria was played in 1883 when a New South Wales team visited Victoria ; a year later a Victorian team returned the visit. The game is now administered by the Victorian Soccer Federation but was controlled by the Victorian Amateur Soccer Football Association before the introduction of professional soccer here after the Second World War. The game had little publicity before then ; settlers from Britain and Europe have made it increasingly popular since the late 1940s, and it has gathered popularity in schools since the mid-1960s ; altogether there are now more than 50,000 players in the State.

One code of football which has not yet gained wide popularity in Victoria is Rugby, a game which originated in the English public school of that name. Rugby Union was first introduced by an English team in 1888, but the present inter-club programme did not begin until 1909. Regular competitions for the Dewar Shield were held until the First World War. The present Rugby Union was formed in 1926. About twenty teams take part each weekend during the winter months, and it is played in several schools.

Tennis

Tennis was first played in Victoria as a controlled sport in 1878 under the auspices of the Melbourne Cricket Club. Other clubs later appeared and the Lawn Tennis Association of Victoria, formed in 1893, organised

the first Davis Cup challenge round in Australia in 1908. The principal
tennis events now include the Victorian tennis championships, the Country
Carnival, the L.T.A.V. Winter Pennant, and Metropolitan Week. Only
small crowds attend inter-club matches, but for major events such as
State titles, Davis Cup rounds, or Australian championships, events at which
top overseas players are present, crowds may exceed 10,000 at L.T.A.V.
headquarters at Kooyong. Major championships are held on lawn courts, but
the majority of the courts in the State are porous. Tennis is played throughout
the year and is taught in many schools. Well known Victorian tennis players
have included Wimbledon singles winners Norman (later Sir Norman)
Brookes, Gerald Patterson, Neale Fraser, Frank Sedgman, Ashley
Cooper, and Harry Hopman (who captained twenty-one Australian Davis Cup
teams to win the cup on sixteen occasions). Apart from holding Wimble-
don, Australian, and American tennis titles, Sir Norman was a Davis Cup
representative on nine occasions between 1905 and 1920 ; he was also an
outstanding administrator and was president of the Lawn Tennis Association
of Australia from 1926 to 1955. There are probably more than 200,000
tennis players in Victoria, but not all are members of properly constituted
organisations. Tennis has possibly been a major " social " sport in Victoria ;
as only few players are needed for a team, it has been possible to organise
teams from small groups of people. In the rural areas particularly, tennis
matches were frequently arranged between adjoining communities, providing
a social event for the people of the district ; this was often followed by a
dance in the local hall.

Horse racing and trotting

The first horse race meeting in Victoria was held on 6 and 7 March
1838 over a semi-circular course between the present sites of the North
Melbourne and Spencer Street railway stations ; a similar meeting was held
on the same site in 1839. The flats beside the Maribyrnong River were an
excellent galloping ground, and the first meeting at " The Racecourse "
(later named Flemington after Robert Fleming who had a cattle run nearby)
was held from 3 to 5 March 1840. Small racecourses were established in
the inner suburbs, but Flemington remained the only important racecourse
in Melbourne until 1876. For the first 25 years it was shared by the
Victoria Turf Club and the Victoria Jockey Club which later amalgamated
as the Victoria Racing Club ; this body in conjunction with the State
Government still remains the controlling body of racing. The internationally
famous Melbourne Cup was first run by the Victoria Turf Club in 1861,
and was the richest handicap race in the world. The best remembered
winners are perhaps Carbine and Phar Lap, both New Zealand bred. In
1890 five year old Carbine carried a record weight of 10 stone 5 lb to
victory against 38 rivals in the then record time of 3 minutes 28¼ seconds.
Phar Lap was a four year old in 1930 when he won carrying 9 stone 12 lb ;
he started at 11/8 on, the shortest priced favourite ever. Archer in 1861
and 1862, Peter Pan in 1932 and 1934, and Rain Lover in 1968 and 1969
have been the only horses to have won the race twice.

The Victorian Amateur Turf Club conducts Victoria's second richest race,
the Caulfield Cup. Formed in Ballarat in 1875, the Club acquired tenancy
of the Caulfield racecourse in 1876 and conducted the first Caulfield Cup
in 1879. It now also controls Sandown racecourse which opened in 1965.

At Melbourne's fourth racecourse, Moonee Valley, there has been racing since 1883. In 1970 there were also 64 country racecourses at which 368 meetings offering prize money of $1.46m were conducted.

Victoria was the first State to introduce legal off-course totalisator betting. Conducted through the Totalizator Agency Board, this operated for the first time at a Flemington meeting on 11 March 1961. In 1970–71 its turnover on horse racing was about $154m, on trotting $49m, and on dog racing $28m.

Trotting races for ridden horses were included in race meetings early in the 1800s, but horsedrawn sulkies were not used until about the 1880s. The first major trotting events were held at Elsternwick in conjunction with galloping races ; the first Victorian all-trotting meeting was probably held at Richmond in May 1907. In November 1947 night trotting with betting was legalised ; an average of nearly 20,000 people now attend Saturday night meetings at the Showgrounds, and about $1m in stake money is presented each year. The major event is the annual Inter-Dominion Championship, which is contested in Australia and New Zealand on a rotation basis. First held in Perth in 1936, the series has been held in Melbourne in 1950, 1959, 1964, and 1970. Greyhound racing, begun in Victoria in the 1870s, became increasingly popular after the introduction of tin-hare racing and totalisator betting ; crowds of 10,000 are often found at major events.

Golf and bowls

Golf was one of the earliest games played in Victoria, the first course being on the site of what is now the Flagstaff Gardens ; a group of enthusiastic Scotsmen played there in 1847. The oldest existing Victorian clubs are those at Nhill (formed in 1888) and Beaufort (1889). At a meeting in 1901 at the Port Phillip Hotel it was decided to form the Victorian Golf Association ; it was constituted a year later. The first pennant matches under the control of the Association began in May of that year with six affiliated clubs competing. The Melbourne Centenary Open, Amateur, and Professional Championships, which took place in November 1934 at the Metropolitan Golf Club, were the major golf events held until then in Australia. Most major events are now televised direct, often to a five-State network. One of the greatest of Victorian golfers is Peter Thomson, former State amateur champion, who won the British Open title five times after turning professional. There are four major golf bodies in Victoria : the Victorian Golf Association of privately owned clubs with 56,000 amateur male members ; the Victorian Ladies' Golf Union with 30,000 members ; the Victorian Golf League, a body made up of clubs having their headquarters on public courses ; and the Victorian section of the Professional Golfers' Association of Australia, comprising professionals at clubs and public courses and a few full-time tournament players. In addition to affiliated members, there are about 100,000 public course players not affiliated with any organisation. The large State public courses, Yarra Bend and Albert Park, each cater for about 100,000 players yearly. There are about forty public courses in Victoria, most of them in the Melbourne area ; even so, there are often long waiting times at weekends.

Another popular participant sport has been lawn bowls. Bowls in England in the early 1800s was very much a tavern sport, and the first bowling

greens in Australia developed in the same environment. The first recorded game was played at the Beach Tavern at Sandy Bay in Hobart on 1 January 1845. Within a few years it was being played in Victoria and the Melbourne Bowling Club, Windsor, formed on 11 April 1864, is the oldest bowling club in Australia. The Victorian Bowling Association (now the Royal Victorian Bowling Association) was formed in July 1880, and there are now about 900 clubs in the State, with nearly 70,000 registered male members and 30,000 women members. Most country towns have a club, and in some of them women outnumber men.

Athletics and cycling

The basic structure of the present Victorian Amateur Athletic Association was formed in 1891 by representatives of four harriers' clubs. The first Australasian athletic championships were held in Melbourne in 1893, and in 1897 Victoria became a member Colony of the Amateur Athletic Union of Australasia. It was for many years essentially a cross-country body, although track and field athletics were conducted on a limited scale ; track athletics began to dominate the Association's policy only after the First World War. The Friendly Societies' ground (now Olympic Park) became the home for track and field meetings during the summer months, and there were over thirty clubs in the metropolitan area, as well as those at Ballarat and Bendigo, before the Second World War. Returned servicemen increased the popularity of athletics and it became necessary to use two ovals at Olympic Park, although interest in cross-country running still remained. After the 1956 Olympic Games many new clubs joined the Association ; it now has almost 8,000 members. The main events conducted by the Association are the Victorian Annual Championships and the All Schools Championships in November of each year. The " Little Athletics " movement, begun in the mid-1960s with one or two small clubs, grew to have a membership of 30,000 by 1970 ; it caters for children from 7 to 12 years of age. Victoria has produced many great athletes and dominated Australian amateur athletics in the 1960s, largely due to higher standards of coaching, including that carried out in schools. Noted among Victorian athletes in the 1960s were Ron Clarke, Herb Elliott, John Landy, and Pam Kilborn. Clarke, in 1956 the fastest junior mile runner in the world, had carried the Olympic torch into the main stadium for the Melbourne Olympic Games. He retired from running in 1970, holding world records for five distances varying from two miles to 10,000 metres. Elliott was the 1960 Olympic 1,500 metres champion and the world 1,500 metres record holder who, on seventeen occasions, ran the mile in less than four minutes. Landy is a former world mile record holder and was the first Australian to run a mile in less than four minutes, and Pam Kilborn is a hurdles world record holder.

Professional athletics date back to the middle of last century and are administered by the Victorian Athletic League with a membership of about 1,500. Weekly events, most of which are handicap races, are held from November to Easter, the main events being held in country areas. The Stawell Gift meeting at Easter is the highlight of the professional year and attracts runners from all States.

One of the most recent sporting developments in Victoria is the modern pentathlon. Unknown to most Victorians before the 1956 Olympic

Games, this sport consists of horse riding, pistol shooting, swimming, fencing, and running events. State championships are now held annually.

An older outdoor sport in Victoria than athletics is cycling, but in recent years its popularity has not matched the increase of population. The appeal of the motor car has affected spectator as well as participant interest. The Melbourne Bicycle Club was formed in 1878, although it seems almost certain that races were held earlier. The first six-day races were held in Melbourne in 1881, and the best known road event is still the Melbourne–Warrnambool race which dates back to 1895. Victoria has produced some outstanding cyclists among whom are Hubert (later Sir Hubert) Opperman who, after becoming a champion in Australia, achieved international fame by winning many events in Europe in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Others include Russell Mockridge who won two gold medals at the Helsinki Olympic Games in 1952, Jack Hoobin who won the World Amateur Road title in 1950, and Sid Patterson who won numerous amateur and professional titles.

Aquatic sports

Competitive swimming began in Victoria about the middle of the nineteenth century. The first known clubs were formed in 1876 and 1877, and the Victorian Swimming Association, now the Victorian Amateur Swimming Association, was formed in 1893, the first swimming carnival held under its patronage being at Hegarthy's Baths, St Kilda, in that year. The first Victorian State Swimming Championships were held in the 1895–96 season, and the Australian Swimming Championships were held in Melbourne in the 1900-01 season. By the 1906-07 season seven new clubs had joined the V.A.S.A. and 641 competing swimmers were registered.

The Association now has nearly 30,000 members, about 75 per cent of them being under sixteen years of age. One of the first Victorians to achieve international success was Frank (later Sir Frank) Beaurepaire who won 200 different championships in many countries and represented Australia at three Olympic Games. He was the first of a number of Victorians who achieved world fame in swimming. Leading Victorian swimmers in the period since the Second World War, especially in the 1950s which proved unique in Australian swimming, have included John Marshall who broke world records at all distances from 220 yards to one mile, and Judy Joy Davies who dominated Victorian women's swimming for nearly 20 years and set world and Olympic records. Dawn Fraser, although not a Victorian by birth, was a Victorian representative when she won the Olympic 100 metres freestyle title for the third time in succession in 1964. Her 100 metres record of 58.9 seconds, set in Sydney in 1964, was still standing until equalled in 1971 and broken in 1972. Crowds of 1,000 to 2,000 watch most State championship meetings, and capacity crowds of about 5,000 usually attend Australian championships when they are held in Melbourne every four or five years. Since 1948 the State Government has assisted country building committees with the construction of many pools, usually on a dollar for dollar basis. The recent construction of more heated indoor pools permits year round training, leading to improved standards.

The first recorded game of water polo was played at South Melbourne

in 1897, and the Victorian Amateur Water Polo Association was formed in 1928. Women's water polo began in Victoria in 1966, and interstate games were held the same year. More than fifty teams regularly take part in men's games each year; the sport is also played between schools with about a dozen teams taking part.

Aquaplaning, an early form of water skiing, was practised in the 1930s but it was not until 1946 that skis resembling those of today were first used. Many inland areas of water are used, and many country towns provide facilities which have made lakes and reservoirs major tourist attractions. The first national championships were held in 1951 and the Victorian Water Ski Association was formed in 1953. It was the first State controlling body in Australia. Many of the world's best water skiers are brought to Melbourne for the annual Moomba Masters, a recognised major event in world water skiing circles.

The first yacht races were held in Victoria in the 1840s, and the Victoria Yacht Club was formed in 1856. Races worth more than £500 were held on Port Phillip Bay in the 1880s, but the sport is now almost entirely amateur. Annual State championships are held for more than twenty classes of yachts, and over 30,000 yachts sail regularly in Victoria. Trailer-borne yachts, and the construction of launching ramps in rivers, lakes, and at the seaside, permit yachtsmen to vary their sailing locations. Inland sailing is gaining popularity, and the use of lightweight fibreglass and plywoods has increased the number of enthusiasts. Port Phillip Bay is still the centre of yachting in Victoria. It was the scene of the 1956 Olympic titles, and since then several world titles have been held there with contestants coming from all continents.

The most popular participant aquatic sport in Victoria is fishing. More than 85,000 Victorians pay a $2 annual fee for an inland fishing licence. Trout is the most sought-after catch, although the fish had to be introduced to Australia. From 1841 many attempts were made to import English trout eggs, but the first success was not achieved until 1864. A hatchery is now maintained by the Fisheries and Wildlife Department at Snobs Creek, from which more than a million young trout are liberated in Victorian waters annually. There are also about 200,000 sea fishermen in the State; no licence fee is charged for amateurs to fish the sea off the Victorian coast, and snapper, salmon trout, mullet, and flathead are popular catches. Underwater spear fishing became increasingly popular during the 1960s, the Underwater Spearfishermen's Association of Victoria having been founded in 1949 to organise safety rules for both the fisherman and the public.

Victoria's ocean surf beaches are widely used by both fishermen and surfers. The Victorian branch of the Surf Life Saving Association of Australia, formed in 1947, now has twenty-six clubs at popular surf beaches; there are more than 3,000 members in Victoria, and the number is increasing following the introduction in 1958 of the "Nipper" surf life saving movement, which instructs children under 12 years of age. However, some surf life saving clubs are finding difficulty in gaining members because of the increased popularity of surfboard riding. State surf life saving championships are held for seniors and juniors each year, and teams are sent to the national championships.

In 1956 an American surfing team introduced lightweight surfboards to

Australia ; coated with fibreglass, these are usually ridden while standing up. The Victorian Branch of the Australian Surf Riders' Association, founded in the early 1960s, has only about 1,000 members but many Victorians own surfboards and use them regularly. In 1970 the fifth World Surf Board Championships were held near Torquay, with competitors coming from ten countries.

Canoeing has long been practised in Victoria but the first Australian canoeing competitions were not held until 1951. Both still-water and slalom (whitewater) races are held in Victoria, but it is a minor sport, with fewer than 1,000 active members in the Victorian Amateur Canoe Association. Several schools adopted the sport in the late 1960s.

The Melbourne University Rowing Club, formed in 1859, is one of the oldest sporting clubs in Australia. Interstate rowing events began in 1873 when crews from Tasmania, New South Wales, and Victoria took part in events on the Yarra River. Rowing, one of the major school sports for nearly 100 years, was confined to private schools until the 1930s, when some high schools added it to their sports programmes. It generally attracts few spectators in Victoria, but large crowds watch the Public Schools annual Head of the River contests on the Barwon River at Geelong.

Motor boat racing in Victoria, dating from the early part of this century, did not become popular until the late 1940s and early 1950s when many new classes of championships were added to the annual programme. During the 1950s and early 1960s events were held in Melbourne on Albert Park Lake, but weeds became a hazard, and many events were moved to inland lakes and rivers. Marathon events of considerable length on rivers or on Port Phillip Bay are also popular. State and national championships are held annually for more than twenty classes of speed boats, hydroplanes, and cruising motor boats.

Other popular sports

Most ball games other than those already described have been played in Victoria. Hockey was played soon after 1900 ; it was introduced to the State by the Royal Navy. Victoria took part in the first interstate tournament held in Sydney in 1910. The game is played in schools and many pupils continue to play after leaving school. It is entirely amateur and has never attracted large crowds ; even at international matches it is rare to find more than a thousand spectators.

Baseball was first played in Australia in about 1856 by Americans on the Ballarat goldfields ; it was not apparently until 1885 or 1886 that Australians began to play the game in Melbourne. More than 100 senior teams now take part in regular competitions in Melbourne, and in the late 1960s the number of young players increased significantly as a result of a competition for sub-teenagers. The sport receives limited publicity, but has expanded more in the last ten years than in the previous thirty. Baseball was a winter game in Victoria for most of its history, but in the late 1960s summer baseball was introduced to bring Victoria into line with other States and with overseas countries. Softball is popular with women. American troops in Melbourne during the Second World War are generally credited with introducing the sport to Australia, but few men in Victoria have played since about 1949 ; it is now an all-female game and there are about 15,000

players in the State. A similar game, "rounders", had been played by school children for many years before the introduction of softball. Volleyball was played as a physical education activity in many schools during the 1930s, but did not become an organised sport with regular inter-club games until the 1950s.

Croquet, a traditional British sport, was played on the lawns of many Melbourne houses from 1850 onwards, but was not then the highly competitive sport it has since become. Men and women meet in open competition ; there are about 2,000 players in Victoria. Tournament croquet in Australia did not begin until after the Second World War, and the Australian Croquet Council was not formed until 1949. Interstate matches and national championships have been played regularly since 1950. In 1874 lacrosse was introduced to Australia in Melbourne by a Canadian and it was popular for many years. A Canadian team toured in 1907, but interest declined ; in 1959 a visiting team from America toured Australia. Lacrosse is played in few schools in Victoria, and is almost unknown in country areas. In the early 1960s it was re-introduced for women, who now play interstate matches. In 1970 an American team visited Victoria on an Australian tour.

The first recorded archery club in Victoria was formed in Port Melbourne at Liardet's Brighton Pier Hotel in November 1840. This club does not appear to have survived for long, but the sport seems to have been firmly established by 1855. It is now administered by the Archery Society of Victoria which has more than 1,000 members of affiliated clubs. State and national championships are held annually, and it is practised by about equal numbers of men and women ; archery for juniors has recently been introduced.

Polo also dates back to last century, being first played in Victoria in 1875 ; the high cost of maintaining horses has limited its popularity, but interstate events when played near Melbourne can attract crowds of several thousands. Other equestrian sports in Victoria include fox-hunting and polo-crosse, as well as events held at country and metropolitan shows. The Equestrian Federation of Australia was formed in 1949, and as State bodies were organised soon afterwards, Australia began to compete in major international events. Popularity increased after 1956 when the Olympic Games were held in Melbourne, although the equestrian events had to be held in Sweden because of Australian quarantine regulations.

The horse was supplanted by the motor car in many spheres of Australian life early this century, and the first motor car race in Australia was held in Maribyrnong in 1903. Two years later the first Australian reliability trial started in Sydney and finished in Melbourne, and the first Australian Grand Prix was held at Phillip Island in 1928. Top international drivers now regularly compete in Melbourne where the Sandown track is of world class, and these international meetings often attract more than 30,000 spectators. The first organised motor cycle club in Victoria was formed in 1904. Weekly events are now held throughout Victoria, often in conjunction with motor car race meetings, and annual State and Australian championships are conducted for all classes.

A unique Australian sport—unknown in most overseas countries—is woodchopping. Competitive woodchopping in Victoria began in the 1890s at Noojee. It is now a major attraction at the annual Royal Melbourne Show where the prize money exceeds $5,000, and there are more than 1,000

competitors in the State. Australia is the only country where woodchopping as a sport has been put on a well organised basis.

Pigeon races have been held in Victoria since the beginning of the century. There are now more than 3,000 owners who breed and race birds regularly and each owner would have a " stable " of about sixty birds. Races are run over distances up to 600 miles and in normal conditions the birds average about 45 mph. Hawks and storms can take a heavy toll in longer races.

Rifle shooting is one of the oldest organised competitive sports in Victoria. It was well established in the 1850s, and the first intercolonial matches between Victoria and New South Wales were held in Melbourne in November 1862. Rifle ranges were built in many parts of the State early in this century, and the sport has a large following in country districts. The sport is encouraged by the Commonwealth Government, and the S.M.L.E. rifle (·303) is used, sometimes with permitted modifications. About 150 clubs operate in Victoria. " Perc " Pavey of Oakleigh, the most outstanding of Australian rifle shooters, won the King's Cup at Bisley, England, in 1948 and the King's/Queen's in Australia on ten occasions. In Victoria the Australian Clay Target Association, which controls clay shooting, has about eighty clubs with 2,000 members.

Victoria has some excellent snowfields, but the ski season is far shorter here than in Europe, and the snowfalls less certain. Scandinavian migrants were the first to ski in Australia, and they were holding organised competitions in the 1860s. Skiing probably began as a sport in about 1870 in Victoria, but the present controlling body, the Victorian Ski Association, was not formed until July 1955. The Victorian Ski Association has more than a hundred affiliated clubs, but the majority of the State's skiers do not take part in competitive skiing. Before the Second World War, skiing was expensive and facilities were undeveloped ; the sport was practised mainly by the well-to-do. Increased prosperity since then has given it wider appeal and skiers now come from all walks of life. Improvements such as new access roads, hotels, motels, and ski lodges, the introduction of mechanical lifts, and the availability of hire equipment have increased the number of participants.

Skating has always enjoyed a following among the young in Victoria, but few pursue the sport after leaving school. State and national titles are held annually for figure skaters and speed skaters. Related to skating is ice-hockey, which was first played in Australia in Melbourne in 1908, and interstate matches have been held ever since. The game has not gained much popularity, despite efforts to encourage junior players, and Melbourne has seldom had more than two or three rinks. Crowds of several hundreds watch the inter-club games in Melbourne, in which about eight teams usually take part.

Victoria's principal indoor sports complex is in the northern section of the Albert Park. Four buildings house a table tennis stadium, and courts for basketball, badminton, and squash. Table tennis has been a competitive sport since the mid-1920s, and is controlled in Victoria by the Victorian Table Tennis Association, which has over 20,000 registered competitive players. Men's basketball, played from the beginning of the century, did not gain popularity until after the Olympic Games in 1956 ; it is estimated that more

than 50,000 now play the game at least once a week. Badminton was played in Victoria in the 1920s, but the first Australian titles were not held until 1935. The Victorian Badminton Association (with a membership of about 8,000, including men and women) controls the game, which is limited to Melbourne and a few country centres.

Boxing was established at the time of the gold rushes ; the longest Australian " bare knuckle " bout, which lasted 6 hours 15 minutes, was fought at Daylesford as early as 1856. The first world title contest held in Victoria took place in 1908. There is no boxing control board in Victoria, and rival groups sometimes recognise different State champions. Attendances at normal weekly events at Festival Hall usually number about 5,000 ; the prize money, however, is seldom sufficient to permit professional boxers to earn a living in Victoria. In 1968 Lionel Rose became the first Victorian to win a world title when he won the world bantamweight championship ; a few months later Johnny Famechon became world featherweight champion.

Competitive wrestling began in the 1850s and has passed through many phases. Amateur wrestling is controlled by the Victorian Amateur Wrestling Association ; it has fewer than 1,000 members, however, and the sport attracts few spectators. During the mid-1960s wrestling was introduced to some high schools and interest has increased slightly since then. Professional wrestling went through a boom period in the late 1960s.

The Victorian Amateur Weight Lifters' Association has fewer than 1,000 members, but many athletes practise the sport for training purposes. There is little interest in country districts, and activities are mainly confined to Melbourne, where the Association has its own gymnasium and conducts inter-club meetings. A few schools have introduced it as a competitive sport.

Competitive gymnastics in Victoria date back only to 1937, although the sport was practised here earlier. The spectacular displays at the 1956 Olympic Games increased interest, but there are fewer than 1,000 competitive gymnasts in the State ; the number of spectators is usually small. Olympic-type gymnastic equipment is not available in many schools and there are few qualified coaches.

The first handball courts were built in Victoria some time in the 1840s, often near hotels. The first interstate games were played in the 1870s, and Australian championships were played in Melbourne in 1920. It is now played mainly in Roman Catholic schools.

Fencing was introduced into Victoria in about 1910, and has made rapid progress in the last decade, mainly owing to its increasing popularity in many schools. It is almost entirely a participant sport ; even for State and Australian championships it is rare to find more than 200 or 300 spectators.

Billiards was played in Victoria before 1850, and by 1853 Alcock, a Fitzroy furniture manufacturer, was making tables in Melbourne. Alcock brought players from England to encourage the game, and it became fashionable for most large houses to have a billiard room. Public billiard saloons became popular late in the nineteenth century ; as equipment expenses are high, most tables are now found only in sporting or social clubs, but there are some saloons where tables may be hired. An annual inter-club programme is held in Victoria with more than fifty teams involved,

and there is also an Australian amateur championship. Walter Lindrum, who was born in Kalgoorlie, Western Australia, but who spent most of his life in Victoria, was probably the world's greatest player; his record break of 4,137 made in 1932 has not been bettered. Snooker was first played in Australia in about 1887, and now has an international following.

Ten-pin bowling was introduced to Victoria in 1960, when it created wide interest, but its popularity declined, and within five years a number of centres were forced to close. In Victoria the game is purely commercial, all centres being privately owned.

The most popular sports in Victoria in the early 1970s were horse racing, Australian Rules Football, tennis, cricket, golf, and bowls, while grey-hound racing gained popularity following the provision of new facilities and the introduction of legalised off-course betting.

SOCIAL, CULTURAL, AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The cultural and recreational life of Victoria has developed in several roughly definable epochs. In the early days of settlement social activities were unsophisticated and centred mainly on the home, church, and local hall; they had been introduced basically on the pattern of recreation then existing in the countries from which the settlers had come. In Melbourne the Athenaeum was established as early as 1839 as was the Melbourne Club, followed two years later by the Port Phillip Club. Most towns wanted a cricket ground and a racecourse and, as time elapsed, rowing, hunting, fishing, and bowling also became popular.

The second epoch from the gold discoveries in the early 1850s until the economic depression of the 1890s showed a wide diversification of social activities. Interest in sport remained; hunting and especially racing provided strong social links, as did cycling—a very fashionable pursuit until it came to be superseded by interest in the motor car, which appealed to young men who could afford it. Other outdoor recreational activities which were becoming popular included cricket, Australian Rules Football (devised in the late 1850s), and tennis (introduced in the 1870s); golf had been introduced as early as the 1840s but did not gain much in popularity until after 1900.

The centre of social entertainment was the circle which revolved around Government House. From here radiated grand entertainments whose features were frequently emulated on a lesser scale by mayoral balls. However, most entertaining took place in private houses and the practice of dining out in fashionable hotels such as Menzies did not really take on until early this century. Codes of etiquette and social behaviour tended to be well defined for luncheon and tea parties, formal dinners and balls (most larger houses built during the period included ballrooms), and in such customs as " calling " and being " At Home ". In fine weather, picnics in the country were a favoured pastime and all these social entertainments were made possible by abundant domestic help. Many hostesses planned their social year to culminate in Melbourne Cup week which attracted the wealthier graziers with their families to town. The larger country properties arranged their own house-parties at other suitable times during the year, frequently to coincide with country race meetings.

This gaiety, however, did not extend to the whole community. Among the suburban middle classes there was a strong temperance and sabbatarian movement which helped establish temperance hotels, for example, the Federal and the Grand (later the Windsor) Hotels in their early years, and made itself felt strongly in 1883 when Parliament rescinded a decision of the Trustees of the Melbourne Public Library, Museum, and Art Galley to open their institutions on Sundays. They remained closed until 1904. Another feature of this staider social outlook was a marked expansion of " hall " culture.

The mechanics institutes and similar establishments (there were over 300 of them by the mid-1880s) provided library facilities. The public lecture, both entertaining and educational, became an accepted part of social life, and many lecturers came from overseas to Melbourne and the provincial centres. Apart from its main purpose, the lecture was also a popular means of charitable fund raising, and it featured in campaigns for shorter working hours. During this period indigenous publishing also became established and publications such as *The Victorian Review, Melbourne Review,* and *Melbourne Punch* gained a wide readership ; many were illustrated and provided a steady income for various artists. Library services expanded, and most libraries carried a wide range of imported as well as local publications. The theatre was becoming very popular, featuring imported productions with local and overseas artists. Choirs consisting of local participants gave choral performances in the various churches and in community concerts ; the Philharmonic Society was established in 1853.

During the latter half of the century many Victorians spent their holidays by the sea and several resorts became fashionable ; Queenscliff and Sorrento were served by paddle steamers from Melbourne, and like other beach resorts had open sea baths. Inland, Mt Macedon became highly regarded as the Governor had a summer residence there and guest houses at Healesville (the end of the railway line) were also popular. When the railway linked Melbourne to Sydney and Adelaide, interstate holidays became more frequent.

Civic pride frequently expressed itself in the establishment of parks and gardens and the construction of impressive public buildings, all of which gave parts of Melbourne and some provincial cities an atmosphere of dignity and beauty. Collins Street provided a fine setting for " doing the Block " on Saturday mornings. The planting of gardens, especially, was a reminder of Britain when it was found possible to acclimatise many exotic plants. The design of some fine gardens under the guidance of W. J. Guilfoyle reflected English garden prototypes. Many of the prosperous squatters and merchants engaged in private building and garden design with the same end in view and frequently adorned their homes with fashionable works of art, stocked their libraries with the standard classics, and satisfied their love for exotica with ferneries and conservatories. Their gardens also happened to be useful for garden parties, croquet, and tennis.

The economic depression of the 1890s caused the vigorous social and cultural life of the earlier period to contract. Book buying for the libraries declined, as did the promising book trade ; local enterprise in the theatre and in music lost its impetus ; most marked of all was the decline of the old intellectual vigour reflected in the daily press. The influx of well educated, intellectually alert people during the gold rushes had had an effect on the whole community out of proportion to the actual numbers involved. The next

generation, which began to assume public and private responsibilities on a significant scale from 1890 onwards, seemed to differ from the older generation, and the cultural life in some respects was less firmly based in its British origins, especially at the time of the Federation movement. But exceptions did occur : the Shakespeare Society and the Classical Association both flourished in the early decades of this century, and were patronised by those with academic and similar interests. Social diversions now came to include trips to Tasmania and trips " home " (to Britain). In fact the ships developed a distinctive social life which gave the women the opportunity to display their finest clothes and their husbands the responsibility of organising large quantities of luggage.

By the early years of this century the patterns of recreation had been established, and succeeding decades saw only modifications rather than basic changes. As the hours of labour were shortened the population had more time available for recreation. One of the main beneficiaries of this trend was the theatre which provided most entertainment until the depression and the advent of the cinema. The First World War gave women greater responsibility with involvement in such activities as Red Cross. One result of their social freedom, was their greater participation in organised sport : basketball, hockey, tennis, and golf all became recognised women's sports. Towards the end of the First World War new organisations emerged, and included the associations of returned servicemen such as the Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia, Legacy, and Toc H. Although primarily welfare organisations, the R.S.L. clubs in fact became recreation centres with provision first for indoor games, generally billiards and snooker, and later for outdoor games such as bowls ; in soldier settlement areas the clubs made a significant contribution to recreation. The churches also contributed to recreation ; many had halls which were available for social activities and sometimes indoor games, and some had tennis and basketball courts. The economic depression of the 1930s exerted its influence in that recreation activities became less cultural and more escapist. Commercial libraries became more popular, especially in Melbourne's growing suburbs, and in some country towns took over from the waning mechanics institute libraries. Art attracted more interest, stimulated by the modern European schools of painting, press controversy, and the importation of an important overseas exhibition just prior to the Second World War.

Technology also influenced the cultural and recreational life of the community. The gramophone and radio brought a variety of music to a wider audience, and the radio became part of the daily domestic routine ; outside the home the cinema became a well established commercial institution. Even the smallest towns had cinematographs and screens in the local halls ; in Melbourne and the provincial cities and towns, very large, and frequently ornate, picture theatres were built.

During the Second World War the resources of recreation were largely diverted to meeting the needs of servicemen and women in Australia and overseas. After 1945, however, new attitudes became apparent ; increased leisure time followed the introduction of the 40 hour week in 1948, and this gave increased opportunities for evening activities. Indoor sports won increasing popularity, numerous " little " literary magazines

were produced, and Australian writers and poets became more popular; the imported serious film became a recognised art form ; the National Theatre Movement staged a brief revival of the theatre from 1947 to 1949 ; in 1956 the Little Theatre built its own home, St Martin's ; the repertory movement continued to flourish ; a large number of music and dramatic societies emerged, both in the country and city ; and in 1949 Victoria's present permanent symphony orchestra was founded.

Technological advances further modified leisure activities. The high fidelity record player became widely used from the 1950s onward, and with the long playing record, which could now more faithfully reproduce the original performance, promoted a wider interest in music. The development of the tape recorder as a high fidelity machine also assisted in the production of various recordings ; recorded tapes featuring classical and other music productions became available, allowing taped recordings of many different types of programmes to be played in the home. This development was more noticeable in the 1960s. One aspect of continued technological improvement was seen in the development of photographic equipment and materials which became increasingly sophisticated. The most widely accepted post-war improvement has been the 35 mm colour transparency which can easily be projected on a screen. The photographic industry now caters for all needs from the simplest to the most advanced.

The Free Library Service Board (now incorporated in the Library Council of Victoria), the Council of Adult Education, the Elizabethan Trust, the National Fitness Council of Victoria, and other such bodies have all provided recreational and cultural facilities which are partly subsidised by government funds.

Rising living standards during the 1960s have had a significant effect on the social and recreational patterns of community life. The automobile has enabled people to travel where and when they will, and camping or caravanning have become a popular way of spending a holiday. Various State authorities provide cultural and recreational facilities for tourists, such as the National Parks Authority in its parks. Two of Victoria's most popular national parks are Mt Buffalo and Wilsons Promontory. Mt Buffalo National Park, a ski resort, offers overnight accommodation at the Chalet and Tatra Inn, and ski lifts operate on its major ski runs. Wilsons Promontory National Park, with overnight accommodation for 150 at Tidal River, has walking tracks to many parts of the area, including Sealers Cove and the lighthouse. The State Rivers and Water Supply Commission makes areas at its reservoirs available for recreation ; it encourages boating, swimming, and angling clubs, as well as youth or welfare organisations, and co-operates with these to provide facilities for their members. The two most popular reservoirs used for recreation are Lake Eildon and Lake Eppalock. Both are within easy reach of Melbourne, and each summer weekend crowds visit boating and picnic sites around them. Other reservoirs also have facilities and serve local areas. There are many picnic sites in the State forests, administered by the Forests Commission of Victoria, and tracks to scenic and other interesting areas. The Commission has always regarded the provision of recreational facilities as one of the major functions of its work.

Looking at recreational patterns as a whole, however, outdoor activities, and sport in particular, have continued to be the most popular ways in which Victorians spend their leisure time.

Possibly the most significant cultural manifestation of the 1960s and latter years has been the rapid increase in interest in the historical background of Victoria. This is shown in the output of books dealing with Victorian local history, the growth of the National Trust of Australia (Victoria), a large number of local historical societies, and the setting up of local and folk history museums, some of which are of considerable historical value. The activities of the National Trust have grown since the late 1950s and now extend to virtually every part of the State. The pioneering museum at Swan Hill illustrates the growing interest in history ; it has set a pattern for many others including the Ballarat Historical Park at Sovereign Hill.