

VAN DIEMEN'S LAND COMPANY was established in London in 1824 by a syndicate seeking a land grant in Van Diemen's Land. The company took up 160 000 hectares of land in northwest Tasmania for pastoral purposes. Problems of adapting to local conditions and the directors' disinclination to make the necessary financial investment made the early years difficult.

The discovery of tin at Mount Bischoff in 1871 and the subsequent development of Emu Bay proved beneficial in the long term. From the 1880s the company encouraged sales of its land, and it now retains 20 000 hectares, used mainly for cattle raising.

P.A. PEMBERTON

van PRAAGH, Dame Margaret (Peggy) (1910–), dancer and teacher, was born and educated in London, studying classical and modern dance under eminent teachers. She came to Australia after a distinguished career as a dancer, teacher and producer in Europe and North America and was founding artistic director of the Australian Ballet 1962–74. She has been active in the administration of dance and was made a DBE in 1970.

VEGEMITE® is a concentrated yeast extract owned and manufactured by Kraft Foods Ltd. First produced in Australia in 1923 by Fred Walker & Co Pty Ltd as a vegetable extract named Parwill, it was marketed in direct competition with the British beef extract, Marmite. When Parwill was not an immediate success, Fred Walker conducted a public competition to rename the spread; 'Vegemite' was the winner. Successful marketing campaigns followed. Walker also employed the chemist, Dr C.P. Callister, who developed Vegemite into the yeast product still popular throughout Australia today.

VICTORIA For much of its European history, Vic has been the most highly developed and most densely populated of the Australian colonies or states. Although it occupies a relatively small area in the

southeastern corner of the continent, it is well endowed with agricultural and mineral resources.

Despite this potential, European settlement was relatively slow because the early seafaring visitors, looking for land suitable for intensive European agriculture, found the coastal fringe unpromising. In 1798 George Bass edged his way along the coast from Sydney in his small, leaky boat but landed only at the swampy shores of Western Port. Lieut James Grant traversed the coast in 1800 but did not land. The better land around Port Phillip Bay, and the sweeping grassy plains on its western side, caught the attention of John Murray and Matthew Flinders when they examined the bay in 1801. Two years later another expedition visited and a group led by Charles Grimes discovered good land around the Yarra and Maribyrnong rivers at the northern end of the bay.

By that time reports of this region, combined with concern about French intentions, had led the British government to establish a settlement at Port Phillip Bay. A party of convicts and guards under the command of Lieutenant-Governor David Collins arrived in 1803. Collins was not impressed, largely because he concentrated his activities on the less promising eastern shore and made an unfortunate decision to establish his base at Sorrento. He abandoned the bay and removed the party to Van Diemen's Land.

For more than two decades the region around Port Phillip Bay was ignored, except by sealers and whalers who worked the coast. However, by the 1820s the wool industry was expanding rapidly in NSW and Van Diemen's Land, and in 1824 the region that later became Vic was visited by men seeking pastoral land. Hamilton Hume and William Hovell overlanded from near Goulburn to the eastern shore of Port Phillip Bay, which they mistook for Western Port. Their glowing accounts, again supplemented by worries about the French, led in 1826 to another attempt to establish a settlement, this time at Corinella on Western Port. It too was abandoned after a few months when the land proved not to be as Hume and Hovell described it.

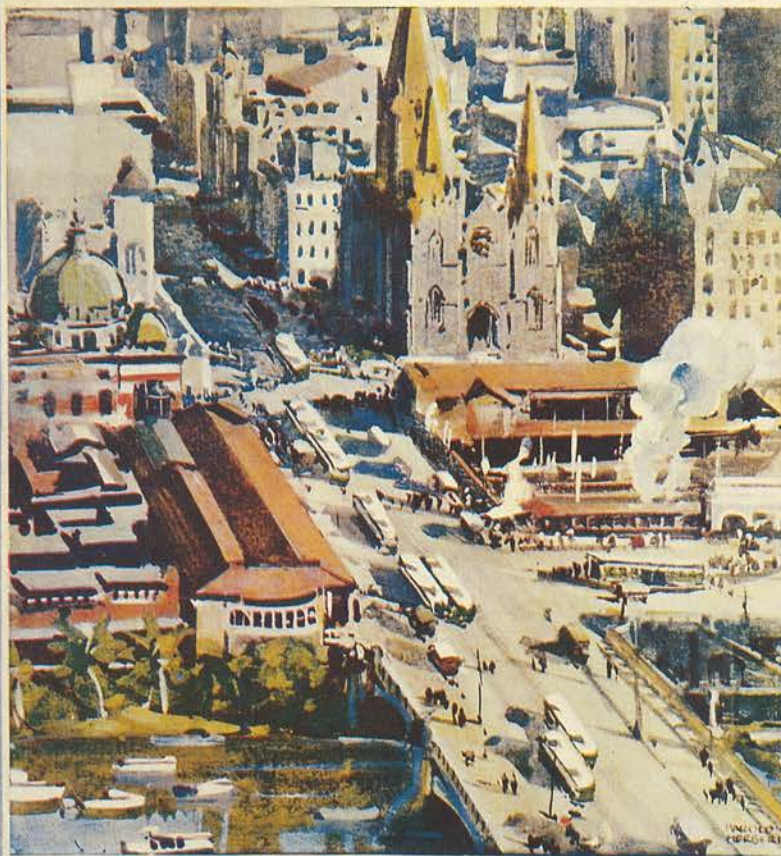
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THE AUSTRALASIAN



"THIS WILL BE THE PLACE FOR A VILLAGE."



CENTENARY NUMBER.

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John Batman's words as he chose the site for Melbourne are contrasted with a teeming Swanston Street, lined with city buildings, in this centennial issue of the Australasian, 18 Oct 1934.

Although whaling bases were established in the early 1830s by William Dutton at Portland and the Mills brothers at Port Fairy, it was the pastoral push which finally brought a rush of permanent settlement in the mid-1830s. The Henty family settled at Portland in November 1834 and in the spring of 1835 the rival camps of John Batman and John Pascoe Fawkner were established on opposite banks of the Yarra River. Soon other settlers with sheep and some cattle sailed across Bass Strait, while a handful swam across the Murray River and squatted in the north. The government of NSW acknowledged this occupation and in September 1836 officially declared the Port Phillip district open to settlement.

At about that time Major Thomas Livingstone Mitchell arrived back in Sydney from an exploratory trip across much of the Port Phillip district and began to publicise the pastoral delights of what he called 'Australia Felix'. The flow of overlanders from north of the Murray increased and in March 1837 the site of the capital, Melbourne, was decided on. The first land sales followed in June. The arrival of settlers direct from Britain helped increase the population from 3500 in 1838 to 20 000 in 1840. In the rush for land, most suitable pastoral areas were taken up under licence by the mid-1840s, despite the setback of a severe depression in the early years of the decade. By 1851 there were 77 000 colonists in the district, with Melbourne, at 23 000, accounting for more than a quarter of them. Geelong, its rival port, had over 8000 residents.

The Aboriginal inhabitants were victims of this influx. If we accept A.R. Radcliffe-Brown's estimates of 1930, at the beginning of European settlement the region was home to some 11 500 people: 1000 in Gippsland, 1500 near the Murray, 3000 in Western Port, 3000 around Portland and 3000 in the Wimmera. By 1850 they had been reduced by perhaps two-thirds, to 3500, by direct violence, diseases, deprivation of hunting lands and inter-tribal clashes. The first Protectorate of Aborigines in Australia was established for the Port Phillip district in 1839 under G.A. Robinson and abolished in 1849, having failed in its philanthropic purpose.

In October 1939 Charles Joseph La Trobe became superintendent of the Port Phillip district. He had limited powers and during the 1840s local resentment against interference from the Sydney-based government mounted. The settlers believed that proceeds from the sale of crown land were being kept in Sydney rather than spent in the district. They were given six representatives in the 1842 reformed Legislative Council of NSW, but continued to demand separation. Finally, the British government acquiesced and the colony of Vic was declared on 1 July 1851.

Coincident with independence came the first realisation of Vic's mineral wealth. Gold prospecting was stimulated by recent finds in NSW and the first workable Victorian deposits were discovered at Warrandyte and Clunes in July 1851. Soon more spectacular finds were made; gold deposits were widely distributed throughout the colony but were particularly thick in

central Victoria, especially in the Ballarat and Bendigo region.

The new government decided to allow mining on small claims by anyone who paid a 30s per month licence fee. This made possible a democratic rush, open to all who could get to the fields, stake a claim and afford a licence. During the 1850s people poured into Vic, first from the other colonies and then from Britain, Europe, China and North America. The influx slowed slightly in the second half of the decade as the easily mined surface and alluvial deposits were worked out and miners were forced to dig deeper, using large amounts of capital and an organised wage labour force.

Vic was transformed by the gold rushes from a pastoral adjunct of NSW into a wealthy colony with a population, in 1861, of 540 000. Dozens of mining villages and towns sprang up across the colony, many to die as soon as the gold was dug, but others to remain as pastoral and agricultural service centres. Bendigo and Ballarat were important inland cities. Geelong, by contrast, was largely bypassed. Melbourne became a city, with a population in 1861 of 125 000, a university, public library and gas-lit streets. Railways were edging out into some suburbs as well as to Geelong and the goldfields. The telegraph was breaking down inland isolation.

Initially after separation Vic had a semiautonomous government with local power shared by a governor (at first La Trobe) and a partly appointed, partly elected (on a property franchise) legislative council. In 1852 the British government decided to grant self-government. Members of the council drew up a constitution for a bicameral parliament consisting of a powerful, conservative, elected legislative council and a more democratic legislative assembly. The council was constitutionally empowered to block radical initiatives from the assembly and reinforced by the omission of machinery to resolve deadlocks.

A growing spirit of independence among many new colonists found expression in the anti-licence movement which developed on the goldfields and culminated in the Eureka Stockade incident of December 1854. Their strength also led to early democratic innovations. The elections for the new parliament in September 1856 were the first ever held by secret ballot. In 1857 the parliament abolished assembly membership property qualifications and introduced manhood suffrage for the assembly. However, the council remained unreformed and entrenched.

This set the scene for the turbulent politics of the next two decades. Vic's governments faced difficulties in coping with unemployment and a changing economy as the gold rushes declined, and in providing capital works and services for the hastily settled populace. Urged on by David Syme, editor of the *Age*, governments were called upon to establish protective tariffs around local industries and to sell as small farms the land currently held under pastoral licence. Both policies were bitterly resisted by the conservatives who took their stand in the council.

Throughout the 1860s and 1870s the council rejected or weakened these and other popular legislative programs, and resisted reduction of its powers.

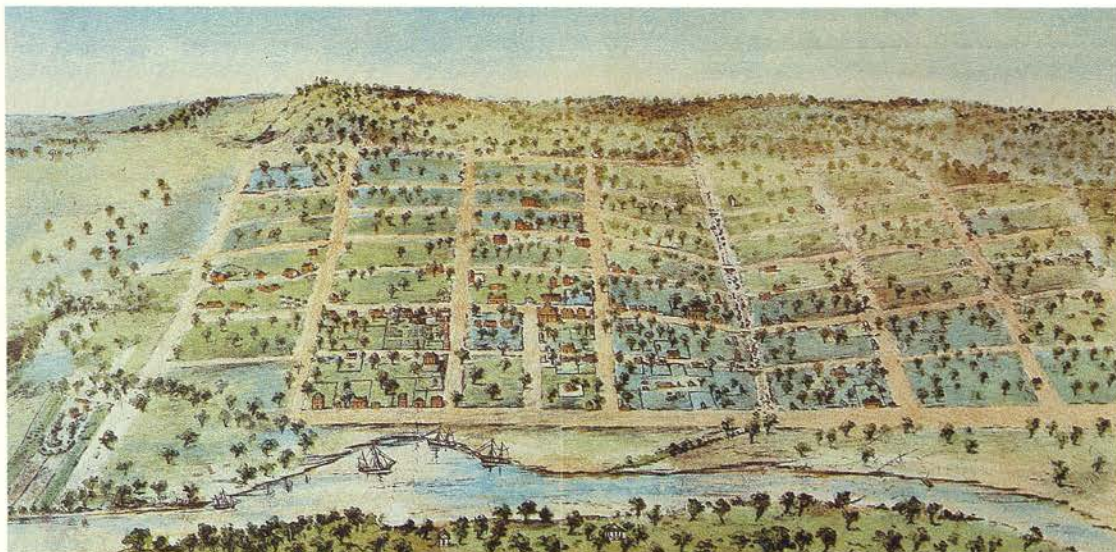
The main political division was between the liberal elements in the assembly and the conservatives in the council. On three occasions this resulted in major deadlocks between the houses: in 1856–66 over protection; in 1867 over an attempt to compensate Gov Sir Charles Darling, who was dismissed for supporting the McCulloch government in the previous crisis; and in 1877–78, when the Berry government tried to renew payment of members of parliament. In 1881 the council finally allowed a minor reform of its electorate which paved the way for more peaceful relations. An unusual alliance of formerly opposed liberal and conservative elements governed Vic through the prosperous 1880s and into the depression of the early 1890s. After a brief period of instability, a liberal-conservative faction held power from 1894 into the new century. The 1890s saw the first handful of Labor members in the Victorian parliament, though the strength of liberalism in Vic was one reason why Labor was weak both before and after Federation.

Vic's politics of development were played against a background of fluctuating prosperity in the 1860s and 1870s and a dramatic economic boom in the second half of the 1880s. The population grew from 540 000 in 1861 to 874 000 in 1881 and, stimulated by the boom, to 1.58 million in 1891. Until the 1880s economic growth was soundly based on a strong and generally balanced economy. Goldmining declined slowly, but the move to deep mining at such places as Ballarat, Bendigo, Walhalla and Stawell meant that it was still a major industry. The area used for wool-growing contracted as agriculture advanced, but remained central to the Victorian economy.

Selection acts passed in 1859 and 1862 were failures, but others passed in 1865 and 1869 eventually succeeded in dividing large areas of the colony into small farms. Life for selectors was generally hard but Vic's natural resources dealt farmers a favourable hand. Both the climate and country made it possible for grain-growing to spread into the Wimmera, the fringes of the Mallee and large parts of central and northern Vic. Vineyards, orchards and market gardens were also widely distributed, often assisted by government irrigation schemes, a vision of the young Alfred Deakin in the 1880s. However, it was the advance of railways in the 1870s and 1880s which made agriculture profitable in much of the colony. By 1890 Vic had become Australia's largest producer of wheat. In Gippsland agricultural success was slower because of the heavy clearing that was needed, but from the late 1880s the Great Southern Railway was bringing milk and dairy products to Melbourne. Dairy farming was further stimulated by government subsidies and the prospect of exporting butter in refrigerated ships.

Manufacturing industries grew steadily under protection, mainly in Melbourne but also in some of the major towns. Woollen mills, glass and paper manufacture, clothing and footwear industries were soon established. The lack of good supplies of black coal was one of the few ways in which Vic's natural resources fell short.

Socially, Vic shared much with the other colonies. Most colonists were of British stock and the society they created reflected the one they had left, in such aspects as social and cultural life and the moral code. However, Vic was more open and egalitarian and most residents had a higher standard of living than if they had remained in Britain. Working hours tended to be shorter, wages higher, the cost of living lower



Melbourne in 1838, from the Yarra Yarra, coloured lithograph by Clarence Woodhouse, from a model in the 1888 Centennial Exhibition.

LA TROBE COLLECTION, STATE LIBRARY OF VICTORIA

and comforts more accessible. Primary education was made secular, compulsory and free in 1872.

Life in Melbourne and major towns, in particular, could be relatively pleasant, which was one reason why Vic was highly urbanised. In the nineteenth century, a greater proportion of Victorians lived in country towns than did so in the twentieth century, but already Melbourne was the great magnet. With 73 000 people in 1891 it had 41 per cent of the Victorian population. A high proportion of colonists were able to fulfil the urban dream of purchasing their own home. The metropolis offered churches, theatres, clubs and sports (notably racing, cricket and the new Victorian form of football which emerged in the 1860s). The arts also flourished. Vic nurtured such writers as Henry Handel Richardson, Marcus Clarke and Joseph Furphy and saw the birth of the Heidelberg school of Australian art. There was a significant musical community from which, in the late 1880s, Dame Nellie Melba emerged.

The boom of the 1880s was focused on Melbourne. It resulted from a combination of easy borrowing from British investors and a boundless optimism in Vic's, especially Melbourne's, future. Melbourne had a reputation as a brash and dynamic, Yankee-like city. In the second half of the 1880s a network of shaky land banks and building societies speculated in city and suburban land, sending prices skyrocketing. Much of the central city was rebuilt on a grandiose scale, with new villa suburban houses spreading outward for fifteen kilometres or more. Gas, electricity and water supplies followed quickly to most areas. Government and local government bodies borrowed heavily to build railways, roads and other public utilities.

In 1890 the house of cards began to collapse. Decline in confidence among English investors saw credit dry up, and land prices fell spectacularly. Over the next three years dozens of land banks and building societies collapsed, while in the bank crash of April 1893 several of the established banks were forced to close their doors to undergo reconstruction. Boomers went bankrupt owing huge debts, many unwise people lost their life savings, while unemployment and poverty were the lot of many. The depression had a sobering effect upon Victorians, undermining their brash optimism. Their Italianate Parliament House never acquired the dome that was to crown it. The population of NSW, lower for thirty years, passed Vic's again after 1890, and stayed ahead. Scores of thousands of Victorians looked for better luck on the new minefields of Western Australia, in other colonies, and in South Africa. Of those who stayed, it was the farmers who helped the colony (from 1901, the state) climb back towards prosperity. By 1890 Vic had become Australia's largest producer of wheat.

Victorians were among the most ardent advocates of federation in the 1880s and 1890s, and voted overwhelmingly for it at referendums in 1898 and 1899. However, the formation of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901 started a slow but steady decline in the importance of the states as economic and political forces.



Alderman Samuel Amess, Melbourne's mayor from 1869 to 1870. Oil by Tom Roberts, 1886.

MELBOURNE CITY COUNCIL

Until the commonwealth parliament moved to Canberra in 1927, Melbourne served as the national capital. The relocation reflected the commonwealth's growing independence and strength at the expense of the states. The constitution provided for the commonwealth to return three-quarters of the customs revenue to the states until 1910. In that year a new arrangement saw the commonwealth take over the states' debts and commence an annual per capita payment of 25s. World War I brought a substantial, though generally temporary, extension of commonwealth powers into many areas, including the collection of federal as well as the existing state income tax.

In 1927 a new federal-state agreement resulted in the states surrendering much of their economic independence when they agreed to the formation of a loan council on which they and the commonwealth would sit, and which would need to approve all state borrowing. The loan council came increasingly under the direction of the commonwealth and thereby gave it considerable control over state finances. World War II brought another assertion of federal power in 1942, when the commonwealth took over all income tax. Thereafter the states were to receive an annual payment. However the formula for payment was based on prewar state taxes and expenditure. As Vic had had low tax governments in power in the 1930s, the state was disadvantaged by the formula and has suffered from it to a substantial degree ever since.

Only gradually and reluctantly did departments of the federal public service move their head offices from Melbourne to Canberra, and the chair at the meetings where commonwealth and state politicians haggled and bluffed was more often than not occupied by a Victorian. Of commonwealth prime ministers from 1901 to 1986, nine had seats in Victorian electorates compared with seven from NSW; and from the end of 1949 the prime minister was always a Victorian—Menzies, Holt, Gorton, Fraser, Hawke—except during McMahon's brief spell in 1971–72 and Whitlam's from December 1972 to November 1975.

In the twentieth century, the four main sections of the Victorian economy (pastoral, agricultural, mining and manufacturing) generally continued to expand and to provide stability and prosperity.

Advances in agrarian technology and government settlement assistance schemes—after 1920 many of the new settlers were returned soldiers—enabled the occupation of much of the Mallee plains. Railways followed there, and to other new agricultural districts. Government enterprise also helped in such forms as the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission, established by an act of 1905, which was said to be the first corporate body in the world set up to develop and manage a major natural resource of a great region. Country towns tiny or non-existent in the late nineteenth century burgeoned along the railway lines to the newly opened wheat, dairying and irrigation areas: Warracknabeal in the Wimmera; smaller Mallee towns such as Beulah and Rainbow; Mildura on the Murray and Shepparton on the Goulburn; Warragul, Moe and Morwell in Gippsland along the line to Sale.

There were major changes in the mining sector which were of crucial significance in an energy-hungry century. Gold disappeared as a significant sector. However, the state government's development of black coalmining at Wonthaggi and of huge brown coal deposits in the La Trobe valley at Yallourn provided coal and relatively cheap electricity and gas, and thereby a firm foundation for urban manufacturing as well as domestic comfort. By 1928–29 the value of production from secondary industry surpassed that of primary industry. Later, in the energy crisis in the 1970s, substantial oil and natural gas reserves were discovered and developed in Bass Strait.

The general economic strength enabled further development of the nineteenth-century patterns of shorter working hours, mounting incomes and a reasonable cost of living. A high proportion of Victorians gained access to the consumer items and facilities which transformed twentieth-century life, such as electrical goods, motor cars and American-oriented media entertainments.

Aborigines have not shared fully in Victoria's development and prosperity. A series of acts from 1860 gave powers to a board which presided over a steady decline in Aboriginal population. By official count, there were around 2300 'full blood and half castes' in 1861 and 800 in 1881. By 1928 the figures were: 'full-bloods' 53, 'half-castes' 607. Most lived by

then on a series of reserves under European management. Victorian government policy by the late 1920s was to concentrate them all in a single reserve, of 4000 acres, at Lake Tyers in Gippsland. 'The race appears to be gradually but surely dying out', the state statistician had observed in 1914; but in Victoria as elsewhere that prediction proved to be wrong. By 1971, when the census no longer differentiated degrees of Aboriginality, Vic recorded more than 5600, and in 1981, 6000. Australia's first ministry of Aboriginal affairs was formed in Vic in 1968, just after the passing of a referendum which was to shift primary responsibility to the commonwealth. In 1971 Lake Tyers and the one other surviving reserve, at Framlingham, were handed over to Aboriginal control.

The twentieth century was marked by an increasing trend towards urbanisation. Changes in farming technology and increased mobility caused a decline in the proportion of rural residents and the virtual disappearance of many townships. By 1945 Vic's population reached two million, with 59 per cent living in Melbourne. Only larger service centres such as Geelong, Ballarat and Bendigo consolidated their position. By 1982, when Vic's population topped four million, Melbourne held 67 per cent. The capital had attracted almost as many migrants as Sydney in the postwar years and proportionally Melbourne has more overseas born: 29 per cent at the 1981 census compared to 27.5 per cent in Sydney. While Sydney houses the nation's largest numbers of British and Irish, New Zealanders, Indochinese and Lebanese, Melbourne has by far the largest Greek and Italian communities. From the 1950s the new migrant groups almost transformed some of Melbourne's inner suburbs and became an important part of the city's manufacturing workforce.

Rural areas have had a disproportionate political significance because of the weighting of rural votes. Rural Vic has generally favoured conservative candidates, which is one of the reasons why for most of the twentieth century the state has been governed by groups or parties from the conservative side of the spectrum. The preferential voting system, introduced in 1911 to reduce Labor's chances, made the task of winning seats even more difficult. As a result, the Labor party generally occupied the opposition benches, a weak force which came to power occasionally and briefly.

Until the late 1920s there was no effective period of Labor government and office was swapped between changing alignments of urban and rural conservatives. The emergence of the Nationalist and Country parties during World War I gave politics a clearer form, but relations between the two parties were uncertain. For most of the period from 1918 to 1927 they worked in coalition (Sir Harry Lawson, Nationalist premier 1918–24 and John Allan, Country party premier 1924–27). However, the Country party was deeply divided over whether to work with the Nationalists.

In 1927 the first substantial Labor government under Ned Hogan won office, but was relegated to

opposition after eighteen months. In November 1929 Hogan returned with a minority government; weak, fractured, frustrated by a hostile council and dependent on support of a Country party faction, it faced the depression. Divided and dispirited, Labor lost office in 1932 to Sir Stanley Argyle's Nationalists. In 1935 a Country party government was formed by Albert Dunstan. Despite weak electoral support, it was kept in power until 1945 with Labor help and the rural weighting of seats.

Another period of instability followed, with eight changes of government between 1945 and 1952 when John Cain (senior) formed the first majority Labor government. It was destroyed by the Labor split of 1955 and lost office. To the surprise of Victorians, there then commenced the most stable period of state politics. Liberal governments held power under Sir Henry Bolte (1955–72), Sir Rupert Hamer (1972–81) and Lindsay Thompson (1981–82) until John Cain (junior) brought Labor back to government in 1982.

Despite some success in the assembly, Labor never gained a majority in the council, which continued in the twentieth century to act frequently as a conservative brake on the democratic assembly. For example, resistance to women's suffrage made Vic the last of the states to introduce it, in 1908. It was the populist Country party government of A.A. Dunstan which in 1936 slightly eased the council suffrage and introduced a complex deadlock procedure. It was not until 1950 that universal suffrage for the council was achieved, nearly a century after manhood suffrage for the assembly. This points to one of the great contrasts in Victorian history, that between the dynamic and egalitarian attitudes of the nineteenth century and the more conservative and cautious demeanour of the twentieth.

DON GARDEN

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VICTORIA CROSS The Commonwealth of Nations' highest military award, the Victoria Cross (VC) was instituted by Queen Victoria in 1856. It is usually awarded for acts of valour performed in the face of the enemy. It is widely accepted that ninety-six Australians have been awarded the Victoria Cross, though the total has been disputed depending on the definition of 'Australian'. Australians have been awarded the VC in the Boer War (6), World War I (66), World War II (20) and the Vietnam War (4). The Australian War Memorial in Canberra holds the largest single collection of Australian VCs.

VIETNAM WAR Australia's substantial entry into the Vietnam conflict occurred on 29 April 1965. On that date prime minister Menzies announced that almost 1000 Australian combat troops would join the American and South Vietnamese forces fighting in South Vietnam. Australia's previous contributions

had been minor ones—30 army instructors in May 1962 and 50 more, together with six transport aircraft, in June 1964.

Prior to World War II the country now known as Vietnam had been a French colony. In the aftermath of the war the French were unable to reimpose their rule on some parts of the colony and their forces suffered a final defeat at Dien Bien Phu in April 1954. The Geneva Conference that followed this conflict left the old colony divided into two sectors north and south of the 17th parallel. An election was to be held in 1956 to decide whether this division would remain, but it never took place. When the French departed in 1954 the United States government began substantial assistance to the southern sector. Throughout the 1950s the number of military advisers supplied by the United States was relatively small, but it increased sharply in the early 1960s. It further increased in February 1965 when American planes bombed North Vietnam and, in March of that year, 3500 American combat troops landed in South Vietnam.

When Menzies made his announcement in parliament on 29 April 1965, he presented it as the response to a request by the South Vietnamese government. There had been no such request, and the South Vietnamese government had been informed of the proposal only four days earlier. The proposal to commit Australian combat troops to South Vietnam had been first raised seriously in Canberra in December 1964 and was then pressed upon the United States government during the early months of 1965. The chief proponents of the proposal in the cabinet were Menzies and the external affairs minister, Paul Hasluck. At a bureaucratic level, the strongest argument for the proposal came from the department of external affairs, including its officials in Washington, the Australian ambassador, Keith Waller, and his deputy, Allan Renouf.

In August 1965 the Australian force was increased to 1400 and in March 1966 to 4500. In October 1967 it reached its peak of 8000. At this time the Americans had 525 000 troops in South Vietnam. Other nations that sent forces were South Korea (50 000), Thailand (2500) and New Zealand (500). American troop withdrawals began in mid-1969 and the first Australian troops were withdrawn in April 1970. By the end of 1971 all Australian troops had been withdrawn. Almost 500 had died and 2500 had been wounded. The last American troops left Vietnam in early 1973 and the last civilian personnel in April 1975, prior to the entry of North Vietnamese troops into the South Vietnamese capital, Saigon.

Both the Australian and the American governments of the 1960s had ignored the experience of the French in Vietnam. They refused to face the political realities of the situation—which were that only a limited war could be fought in Vietnam and that a limited war could not be won. One of the principal Australian objectives was to retain an American presence in southeast Asia. This goal was completely negated by the American participation in Vietnam, which the Australian government had so strongly

encouraged. For both countries it was a political rather than a military failure. It was a war initiated by politicians and diplomats and it was hardly surprising that it was lost.

M. SEXTON

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VIP PLANES AFFAIR Late in 1967 questions asked in the Senate about politicians' use of aircraft of the RAAF's Squadron 34, 'the VIP flight', produced a brief constitutional impasse. The government had consistently stated that detailed records of VIP flights were not kept. On 5 October in the Senate the ALP Opposition, with the support of two Democratic Labor Party senators and one Independent, called for the tabling of all papers relating to Squadron 34. On 25 October, the ALP's leader in the Senate, Lionel Murphy, foreshadowed a move to summon to the bar of the chamber the secretary of the Department of Air. That evening the leader of the government in the Senate, John Gorton, ignoring a cabinet decision to the contrary, broke the deadlock by tabling the documents whose existence had been denied. The Minister

for Air, Peter Howson, offered his resignation, which the prime minister, Harold Holt, declined. Holt's reputation was damaged, and Gorton's enhanced, by the episode. The affair may have helped Gorton to be chosen as prime minister after Holt's death early in 1968.

DON AITKIN

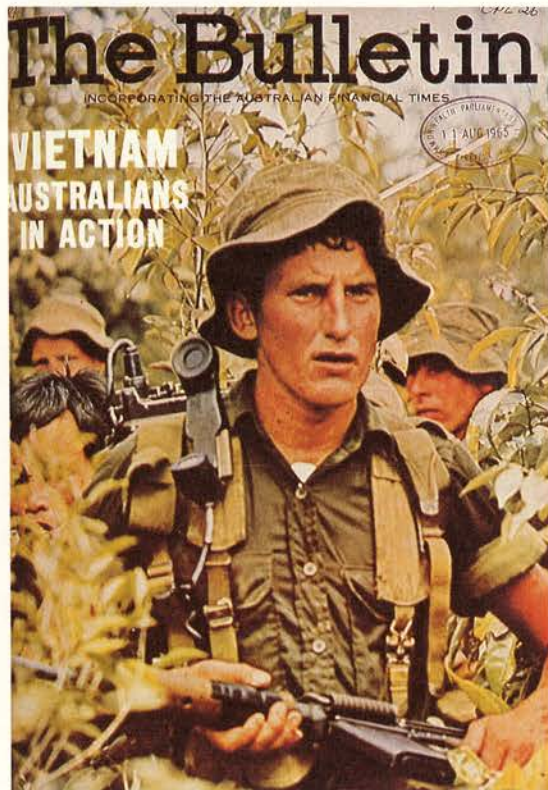
VOLUNTARY WAREFFORT During the 1914–18 and 1939–45 wars Australian civilians joined many voluntary associations in support of the national war effort. During the 1914–18 war, organisations such as the Red Cross and the Australian Comforts Fund raised money to provide 'comforts' such as woollen garments, sweets and tobacco for troops overseas. The 1939–45 war saw a wider range of voluntary bodies, including organisations like the Australian Comforts Fund, but also defence organisations like the Volunteer Defence Corps, the Naval Auxiliary Patrol, the Volunteer Air Observers' Corps and state air raid precautions bodies. During this war the Red Cross concentrated particularly on organising supplies to Australian prisoners of war.

VON GUÉRARD, (John Joseph) Eugène (1811–1901), artist, was the son of a Viennese court painter and studied at Naples and Düsseldorf. He arrived in Melbourne in 1852 and spent some time sketching and prospecting at the Ballarat goldfields. Von Guérard travelled extensively over the next ten years in Tas, SA and NSW and in 1862 accompanied a surveying expedition to Mount Kosciusko. He was a major influence on landscape painting in Australia both through his own work and through his teaching at the National Gallery School.

VOTING SYSTEMS The manner of voting which the Australian colonies inherited from Britain had the following characteristics: voting was optional and open to public scrutiny; electors could cast 'plural' votes in all constituencies in which they met a property qualification; and results were determined by the simple majority or 'first past the post' system. These features were gradually abandoned. Australia pioneered the secret ballot in the 1850s; a second generation of reformers abolished plural voting after 1890; and compulsory voting was introduced in the first half of the twentieth century.

The progress of these reforms, as introduced in law in each voting system was as follows: in New South Wales the secret ballot was adopted in 1858, plural voting was abolished in 1893 and compulsory voting introduced in 1928; the dates of these three reforms in Victoria were 1856, 1899 and 1926 respectively; South Australia, 1856, 1893 and 1942; Tasmania, 1858, 1900 and 1928; Queensland, 1859, 1905 and 1915; Western Australia, 1877, 1907 and 1936; in the commonwealth voting was always secret, never plural, and compulsory from 1924.

Election by simple majority was replaced by a variety of systems, some designed to ensure that candidates supported by the same voters did not split their support and allow the election of less favoured rivals.



Soldiers in Vietnam were sometimes depicted as heirs of the Anzac tradition. *Bulletin*, 14 Aug 1965.

Between 1910 and 1918 New South Wales required a run-off between the two leading candidates if neither had achieved a majority on the first ballot. A more elegant and popular solution was provided by preferential voting, which either allows or compels electors to list candidates in order of preference. If no candidate gains an absolute majority, those with least support are eliminated and their supporters' votes redistributed in accordance with their preferences. Preferential voting, either optional or compulsory, was introduced in Western Australia in 1907, Victoria in 1911, the commonwealth in 1918, New South Wales in 1925 and South Australia in 1929. Queensland adopted optional preferential voting from 1892 until 1942, then reverted to election by simple majority until it introduced the compulsory preferential system in 1963.

The other major innovation has been proportional representation, which ensures that parties share seats roughly in proportion to their percentage of the vote. It was used to elect members for Hobart and Launceston to the Tasmanian assembly from 1896 to 1901 and has been employed by the whole assembly since 1907. The Senate adopted it in 1948, as did the South Australian council in 1973. In New South Wales the assembly tried proportional representation from 1920 to 1925; the indirectly-elected council used it from 1934 to 1978; and it has been used in popular elections to the council ever since.

C.N. CONNOLLY

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Mr W. A. Boughton, Liberal candidate, casts his vote in a by-election at a polling booth in Collingwood, Vic, in 1947.

FAIRFAX PHOTO LIBRARY