

INTRODUCTION

“If Australians, side by side, could achieve such a resounding result in 1967, imagine what we can achieve now, with all that we have learnt through failure and increasingly through success.”

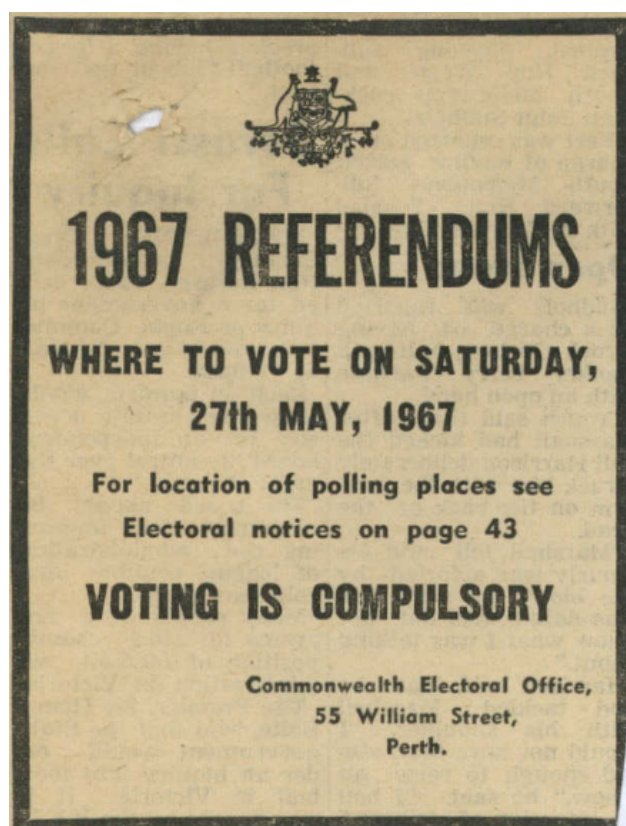
Mick Dodson, Yawuru Elder, 2006.

On 27 May 1967 a referendum was held in Australia that would prove to be significant for the rights of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, and a watershed moment in Australian history. The 1967 Referendum was a vote put to the Australian people that asked two questions. The first is known as the ‘Nexus’ question and the second related to the alteration of discriminatory references toward Aboriginal people in the Constitution, enabling Aboriginal people to be counted in the census. In response to the second question the highest ‘Yes’ result was recorded in history, with 90.77 per cent of Australian voters in favour.

To acknowledge this momentous occasion 50 years later, the Western Australian Department of Aboriginal Affairs’ Aboriginal History Research Unit has developed an information toolkit to provide a unique WA perspective of this event. To date much of the historical discourse surrounding the Referendum has centred on the Eastern States.

This year also marks the 25th anniversary of the 1992 High Court Mabo Decision and the 20th anniversary of the 1997 Bringing Them Home Report, both milestones in the history of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander rights. One of the fifty-four recommendations of the Bringing Them Home Report led to the

expansion of the Aboriginal History Research Unit at the Department of Aboriginal Affairs. It is important to note, however, there is still much more to do with regard to achieving real equality for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia. Some of these views are presented in the ‘Community Perspectives’ section of this toolkit.



Courtesy National Archives of Australia:
NAA: PP631/1, WE1967/538.



Aboriginal people living at Claisebrook Road,
East Perth. One of the residents, Mrs Edgar
Quatermaine standing outside her house,
8 December 1966.

Courtesy West Australian Newspapers Limited;
WAN-0029374.

A WESTERN AUSTRALIAN PERSPECTIVE

What is a Referendum?

A referendum is a vote by the Australian people on a significant issue or issues proposed and passed by the Australian parliament.

The most common form of referendum is a Constitutional Referendum that is needed when an amendment to the Australian Constitution is passed by both Houses of Parliament and to become law, must be approved by the Australian electorate in line with Section 128 of the Constitution. Once the proposed amendment is passed through both Houses of Parliament, a referendum can be held.

For a referendum to succeed it must be approved by a 'double majority', meaning a majority of voters in at least four of the six states and territories. Much like voting in an election, voting in a referendum is compulsory for all electors. Every elector is required to complete a ballot paper, with an option of casting a 'Yes' or 'No' vote to the referendum question.

"Before these proposals could become law, they would have to be approved by a referendum of the people."

Prime Minister Harold Holt, 1966

The 1967 Referendum Questions

The ballot paper for the 1967 Referendum had two questions; the first is commonly referred to as the 'nexus question'; with the second relating to the inclusion of Aboriginal Australians in the Commonwealth Census by amending two references in the Australian Constitution referring to Aboriginal people. Since Australia's Federation in 1901, only eight of the forty-four proposed amendments to the Constitution have succeeded. In 1967, the first question did not succeed, whilst the second question was supported by the majority of Australians.

The 'Nexus Question'

The first of the two questions on the ballot paper related to amending the Constitution to increase the number of House of Representatives members in the Commonwealth Parliament without increasing the number of Senators. Traditionally, an increase in the number of members in the House of Representatives would mirror an increase in the number of Senators.

A 'Yes' vote on the nexus question would have meant that the number of members in the House of Representatives would have increased without increasing the number of Senators. This proposed amendment did not succeed, receiving a total 'No' vote of approximately 60 per cent.

Two Amendments to the Australian Constitution relating to Aboriginal Australians

The second question relates directly to removing two references in the Australian Constitution that were seen to be discriminatory toward Aboriginal people. The question proposed on the ballot paper called for:

'An Act to alter the Constitution so as to omit certain words relating to the People of the Aboriginal Race in any State and so that Aboriginals are to be counted in reckoning the Population.'

Form D

(To be initialed on back by Presiding Officer before issue)

BALLOT-PAPERS

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA
STATE OF QUEENSLAND

Submission to the Electors of Proposed Laws
for the alteration of the Constitution

1. Proposed law entitled—

" An Act to alter the Constitution so that the Number of Members of the House of Representatives may be increased without necessarily increasing the Number of Senators "

DIRECTIONS. Mark your vote on this ballot-paper as follows:

If you **APPROVE** the proposed law, write the word **YES** in the space provided opposite the question.

If you **DO NOT APPROVE** the proposed law, write the word **NO** in the space provided opposite the question.

DO YOU APPROVE the proposed law for the alteration of the Constitution entitled—

" An Act to alter the Constitution so that the Number of Members of the House of Representatives may be increased without necessarily increasing the Number of Senators "?

2. Proposed law entitled—

" An Act to alter the Constitution so as to omit certain words relating to the People of the Aboriginal Race in any State and so that Aboriginals are to be counted in reckoning the Population "

DIRECTIONS. Mark your vote on this ballot-paper as follows.

If you **APPROVE** the proposed law, write the word **YES** in the space provided opposite the question.

If you **DO NOT APPROVE** the proposed law, write the word **NO** in the space provided opposite the question.

DO YOU APPROVE the proposed law for the alteration of the Constitution entitled—

" An Act to alter the Constitution so as to omit certain words relating to the People of the Aboriginal Race in any State and so that Aboriginals are to be counted in reckoning the Population "?

An original ballot paper from the 1967 Referendum
Courtesy NAA: A8145, 25.

This amendment dealt with the repealing of Sections 51 and 127 of the Constitution.

s51. The Parliament shall, subject to this Constitution, have power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to:-

... [xxvi] The people of any race, other than the aboriginal people in any State, for whom it is necessary to make special laws.

s127. In reckoning the numbers of the people of the Commonwealth, or of a State or other part of the Commonwealth, aboriginal natives should not be counted.

"It did make some difference in my life... But basically we were still looked down upon. Racial prejudice was and still is very strong."

Leisha May Eatts, 2007

Houses of Parliament

In the lead-up to Federation in 1901, the Committee responsible for drafting the Australian Constitution recommended that the Australian Parliament should consist of two Houses: the Senate and the House of Representatives.

This is called a bicameral parliament where both Houses share the responsibility for proposing, reviewing and passing laws. These Houses are commonly referred to the upper and lower house, respectively.

Population counting prior to the 1967 Referendum

Aboriginal people had inhabited Australia for some 50, 000 years before the arrival of the British in 1788, upon which formal enumeration of the population began. Prior to Federation in 1901 some of WA's Aboriginal population were intermittently counted in a census conducted by the Swan River Colony.

The first Swan River Colony census was undertaken in 1837, detailing those only 'in the located parts of the colony', with the censuses of 1854, 1859, 1870 and 1881 counting only Aboriginal people in private employment. When the colonies federated, Section 127 of the newly formed Australian Constitution stated that the Aboriginal population was not to be counted in the Commonwealth Census.

In 1911, the Commonwealth directed all states and territories to conduct a count of the Aboriginal population, separate to the general 'Australian population' Census. This was known as the 'Aboriginal Census'.

The 'Australian' and Aboriginal Census data in 1966

The Australian population census in 1966 showed that, of the 836,673 people recorded living in WA, 640,257 lived in urban areas, and 193,378 people lived in rural areas. In the same year the Aboriginal census established that the Aboriginal population of WA was approximately 18,439 people. The major proportion were found to be residing in the Kimberley region [5,905], followed by the Eastern Goldfields [2,162] and the metropolitan/ South-West region [1,163].

The 1966 Aboriginal census report acknowledges the existence of an additional but unquantifiable number of people who were 'out of contact' at the time and therefore not enumerated. This issue was raised the following year during campaigns against the Referendum. In addition, a variation existed between the boundaries of the 'Australian population' and the 'Aboriginal population' censuses, which makes it difficult to present the two together.

The 1966 Census was the last national count to separate Aboriginal people from the 'Australian population'. As a result of the majority 'Yes' vote in the 1967 Referendum, the legislation authorising this segregation, Section 127, was removed from the Constitution. From that point on, Aboriginal people were recognised as part of the Australian population.

The archived 1966 census data can be viewed on the Australian Bureau of Statistics website: [1966 Census Data](#)

Legislation prior to the 1967 Referendum

The fact that there are only two references to Aboriginal people in the 1901 Constitution can be put down to several factors.

Early colonial governments believed that Aboriginal people were dying out and therefore there was no need for their recognition within the laws of the nation. Those who had survived the effect of early settlement were seen as inferior as were other non-European residents. Collectively they were discriminated against through the commonly known 'White Australia Policy'. There were also unfounded concerns that including Aboriginal people in a census might affect the number of Senate and House of Representatives seats allocated to each state, especially in those with a very high number of Aboriginal people such as Queensland and Western Australia.

Although these attitudes existed for a period well in excess of 150 years, calls for amendments to the Australian Constitution to recognise the rightful place of Aboriginal people within the social and political spectrum gathered greater momentum with the passage of time. Against a backdrop of increasing state administration and legislation for Aboriginal people across the country, the 'citizens' of Australia were asked to reconsider the relevance of measures within the Constitution that were becoming inconsistent with the common thinking.

The White Australia Policy (1901 – 1973)

The 'White Australia' policy refers to a set of policies in Australia's history, which racially discriminated against people of non-Caucasian background. These included Acts such as the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, which restricted 'non-white' immigration, and the *Pacific Island Labourers Act 1901*, which led to the deportation of Pacific Islanders working on Australian plantations.

Spurred on by nineteenth century notions of racial superiority, the policy focused on the dual questions of immigration and the exploitation of resources. The large influx of Chinese migrants from the 1850s onwards following the discovery of gold in the Eastern States was seen as contrary to national interest. Similarly, the engagement of non-Caucasian labour in the sugar and pearling industries was perceived as a threat to the 'free labour' economy. As a counter measure a dictation test was introduced (1901-1958), designed to exclude all 'undesirable' migrants.

Despite this strategy many non-European migrants continued to arrive in Australia through to 1949 when the dismantling of the 'White Australia Policy' commenced. This trend was to continue over the next quarter-century and was largely due to increased immigration of non-English speaking people and changes to foreign policy. During this period Australia found itself increasingly surrounded by newly independent Asian nations that contributed to changing social attitudes towards racial discrimination.

In 1973 the newly elected Whitlam government dismantled the policies and effectively removed race as a factor for immigration to Australia.

The WA Aborigines Act 1905 (1906 – 1964)

The preamble to the *Aborigines Act 1905* was intended 'to make provision for the better protection and care of the Aboriginal inhabitants of Western Australia.' In reality it imposed a number of measures that restricted the lives of the young and the elderly alike. Amongst the provisions, the Act created the position of the Chief Protector of Aborigines who became the legal guardian of every Aboriginal child up to the age of 16 years, and permitted authorities to send and detain Aboriginal children in institutions and in 'service' [work]. This assimilationist and protectionist policy led to the large-scale forced removal of Aboriginal children from their families, who are now recognised as the Stolen Generations. The prescriptive *Aborigines Act 1905* was repealed by the *Native Welfare Act 1963* on 1 July 1964.

**DID YOU
KNOW?**

***Follow the Rabbit-
Proof Fence* is a
book written by
Doris Pilkington
Garimara published**

in 1996. It is based on a true account of Doris' family's experience as members of the Stolen Generations, where the author's mother and two family members escaped the Moore River Native Settlement in 1931. They travelled over 1,500 kilometres on foot along the rabbit-proof fence, to return home to their community at Jigalong. The book was adapted into an Australian film in 2002 receiving rave reviews and awards.

Stolen Generations Acknowledgement

The mistreatment of Aboriginal people who are known as the Stolen Generations was officially revealed by the 1997 *Bringing Them Home Report*, following a national inquiry commissioned by the Commonwealth Government into the *Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children From Their Families*.

Acknowledging this unjust period of Australian history, Prime Minister Kevin Rudd delivered a

formal apology on 13 February 1998 to the Stolen Generations, their families and the Aboriginal community on behalf of the federal government. National Sorry Day, held annually in Australia on 26 May since 1998, acknowledges the Stolen Generations and marks the important date that the report was tabled in Federal Parliament. 2017 marks the 20th Anniversary of the tabling of the *Bringing Them Home Report*.

Table of Legislation affecting Aboriginal people in Western Australia prior to 1967

The following table contains some of the legislation that applied to Aboriginal people in WA from 1829 to 1967.

This table can be found in full at the [Karrtdijin Noongar](#) website:

LEGISLATION	PURPOSE
Western Australian Act, 1829 [UK]	Gave effect to the 'settlement' of Western Australia on 'wild and unoccupied lands'. In his dispatches to the British government, Governor James Stirling referred to the physical occupation of the land as 'an invasion'.
An Act to constitute the Island of Rottnest as a legal prison 1841	Established Rottnest Island as a prison for Aboriginal people to be skilled 'in useful knowledge, and gradually be trained in the habits of civilised life'.

LEGISLATION	PURPOSE
The Publicans Act, 1843	Prohibited the supply of liquor to Aboriginal people.
Amendment of Summary Trial and Punishment of Aborigines Act (Summary Jurisdiction Act) 1859	Extended the period of imprisonment for Aboriginal people from 6 months to 3 years.
The Pearl Shell Fishery Regulation Act, 1873	Governed the employment of Aboriginal people within the pearling industry.
The Summary Jurisdiction Act was amended, 1874 (UK)	Definition of 'Aboriginal native' extended to include 'person of whole or half-blood'.
The Industrial Schools Act, 1874	Authorised institution managers with the legal guardianship of Aboriginal workers under 21 years and those children without a guardian.
The Capital Punishment Act, 1871, as amended 1875	Abolished public executions with the exception of Aboriginal people.
The Wines, Beer and Spirit Sale Act, 1880	Prohibited any person from selling or supplying alcohol to Aboriginal people and preventing Aboriginal people from remaining or loitering on licensed premises.
Aboriginal Offenders Act, 1883	Justices of the Peace (JP) empowered to sentence a person defined as 'Aboriginal' to, a period of two years jail.
The Aborigines Protection Act, 1886	Established the Aborigines Protection Board with officials including a Chief Protector, who had power to regulate the employment and movement of Aboriginal people.

LEGISLATION	PURPOSE
The Aborigines Act, 1889	Authorised the Aborigines Protection Board with the power to cancel work contracts of Aboriginal people in certain circumstances. Allowed for the creation of reserves on Crown Land.
The Aboriginal Offenders Act, amended in March 1892	Aboriginal males could be punished with whipping separate from, or in addition to, a prison sentence.
The Aborigines Protection Act 1886, amended in March 1892	Implemented a ruling related to breaches of work contracts. Aboriginal people were punished with three month's prison and an employer fined 20 pounds.
The Police Act, 1892	Made it unlawful for a non-Aboriginal person to be in the company of 'Aboriginal natives' in certain circumstances without a good reason.
The Aboriginal Offenders Act amended in 1893	Increased the maximum term of imprisonment for an Aboriginal person by a Justice of the Peace from 2 to 3 years [and 5 years for previous offenders].
Constitutional Amendment Act, 1893	Aboriginal people were specifically denied the vote unless they owned freehold property worth 50 pounds or more [included 'half-bloods'].
The Aborigines Act, 1897	Abolished the Aboriginal Protection Board, which was replaced by an Aborigines Department.
The Land Act, 1898	Allowed for the granting or leasing of Crown land of no more than 200 acres to Aboriginal people, and authorised the Governor to reserve land for the 'use and benefit of Aborigines'.
Commonwealth Constitution, 1901	Allowed for Aboriginal people on the State electoral roll the entitlement to vote in Commonwealth elections.

LEGISLATION	PURPOSE
The Aborigines Protection Act, 1905	Empowered the Governor to declare or confine Aboriginal people on reserves, or remove them from one location to another.
The Electoral Act, 1907	Prohibited any 'Aboriginal native' from enrolling as an elector, or if enrolled, from voting in a state election.
Native Administration Act, 1936	Established the Department of Native Affairs, with the Chief Protector being replaced by a Commissioner whose power was extended.
The Native Administration Act, amended 1941	Restricted Aboriginal people in the north of WA from travelling south of the 20 th parallel to prevent the spread of leprosy.
The Natives (Citizenship Rights) Act, 1944	Required Aboriginal people to adopt the manner and habits of 'civilised life'.
Commonwealth Electoral Act, 1949	Granted Aboriginal people the right to vote if they had completed military service or were on the State Electoral roll.
Native Administration Act, amended in 1954	Changed the title of the Department of Native Affairs to the Department of Native Welfare.
Commonwealth Electoral Act, 1962	Extended the right to enrol and vote at Federal elections to Aboriginal people over 21 years.
The Native Welfare Act, 1963	Repealed the Aborigines Act of 1905, reducing the power of the Commissioner as the legal guardian for Aboriginal children.
The Commonwealth Constitution, Amendment Act, 1967	Referendum to change s51 (29) of the Constitution authorising the Commonwealth Parliament to make special laws relating to Aboriginal people and to remove s127 so that Aboriginal people could be counted in the Australian census.



Image: Pastor Doug Nicholls addressing a group in the Central reserves, February 1957
Courtesy William Grayden, Western Australia

Western Australia and the 1960s: The Lead Up

The 1960s saw a decade of political and social change in Australia with a growing number of the younger generations challenging the values of their parents and actively challenging the decisions of the bureaucracy. The movement towards equal rights and racial equality also increased with the improvement of technology and communications, providing Australians with an expanding international perspective.

During this period the population and development of WA rapidly increased. The lifting of the embargo by the federal government on iron exports led to the

opening of large scale mining deposits throughout the Pilbara. Bauxite mining in the Darling Scarp and development of infrastructure such as the Kwinana port facility occurred and employment opportunities grew exponentially.

The emergence of a social consciousness with protests against Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War dominated national headlines at the time. At a local level the desecration of the culturally significant site at Weebo in the North East Goldfields region sparked a flurry of articles in the press that ultimately led to the creation of the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 1972*.

“In West Australia the conditions are deplorable”

Gillespie Douglas, 1947

The social position of Aboriginal people in WA varied widely with a small number of families maintaining a traditional lifestyle in the remote interior of the State.

Elsewhere in the Kimberley, Pilbara, Gascoyne, Murchison and Eastern Goldfields region of WA, the vast majority of Aboriginal people were gainfully employed in the pastoral industry under less than fair working agreements. Their position was a marked improvement to that of the 1940s and 50s, which saw a movement of Aboriginal pastoral workers walk-off stations in strike of oppressive working conditions and unequal wages. Known as the 'Pilbara walk-off', this signified a national shift in awareness for better rights for Aboriginal people.

In the more densely settled areas of the South-West most people were forced to live on government reserves often without adequate water supplies and sanitation. Even in the metropolitan area, Noongar people were still confined to 'make-shift shelters' whilst making a living wherever and whenever they could.

Faced with this appalling reality, the State and Commonwealth governments began to show a greater understanding of the needs of Aboriginal people and a greater awareness of the imbalance within the community. At the same time Aboriginal issues began to take centre stage, as discussions on human rights increased.

'Yes' Campaign

In the lead up to the Referendum many groups and individuals lobbied and petitioned the Commonwealth Government to alter the Constitution with the hope of improving rights for Aboriginal people. The 'Aboriginal Heroes' and 'Human Rights' sections of this toolkit explore this subject in greater detail. The following images provide a snapshot of the efforts of various people and groups involved in the 'Yes' campaign.

Federal Council for Aboriginal Advancement

President:

Dr. C. Duguid (Sth. Aust.).

Secretary:

Mr. S. Davey (Vic.).

Vice-Presidents:

Mr. H. Groves, J.P. (N.S.W.).

Mr. W. Grayden, M.L.A. (W.A.).

Miss A. Bromham (Qld.).

P e t i t i o n

To the Honourable the Speaker and Members of the House of Representatives in Parliament assembled:—

The humble citizens of the Commonwealth respectfully sheweth that while the aboriginal people of Australia suffer under disabilities social, economic and political, your petitioners are concerned and anxious on their behalf, requiring that they be adequately fed, clothed and housed and given such securities as are the people of all races who have come to live in this country. These disabilities in important respects are not remediable without the Commonwealth Government accepting responsibility for the care of the aboriginal people throughout Australia.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that the Commonwealth Government make provision for an alteration of the Federal Constitution by means of a Referendum to be held at an early date, in order to:

(1) Delete the words in Section 51 (xxvi) of the Constitution of the Commonwealth ("OTHER THAN THE ABORIGINAL RACE IN ANY STATE") which now gives power to the Parliament of the Commonwealth to make laws for the peace, order and good government of "the people of any race, OTHER THAN THE ABORIGINAL RACE IN ANY STATE for whom it is deemed necessary to make laws", and

(2) Delete Section 127 of the Constitution of the Commonwealth which reads "In reckoning the numbers of the people of the Commonwealth or of a State or other part of the Commonwealth aboriginal natives shall not be counted".

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

NAME

ADDRESS

West Australia

<i>Mr. L. Turner</i>	<i>244 High Rd</i>	<i>Reverton W.A.</i>
<i>J. Duprey</i>	<i>244 High Rd</i>	<i>Riverdale W.A.</i>
<i>W. J. Smith</i>	<i>117 Canning Hwy</i>	<i>S. Perth W.A.</i>
<i>John R. Smith</i>	<i>117 Canning Hwy</i>	<i>S. Perth W.A.</i>
<i>Mr. M. Barker</i>	<i>Granddun</i>	<i>Subiaco</i>
<i>A. J. Hill</i>	<i>27 Basinghall St.</i>	<i>Vic. Park Perth</i>
<i>Mr. E. Hill</i>	<i>Vic Park</i>	
<i>Mr. M. Baine</i>	<i>116 Armadale Rd</i>	<i>Riverdale</i>
<i>R. C. Williams (Mrs)</i>	<i>13 Lyons St</i>	<i>Riverdale</i>
<i>Mrs. Tucker</i>	<i>34 Parkdale St.</i>	<i>East Victoria Park</i>
<i>A. Parkington</i>	<i>100 Todd Ave</i>	<i>Home Park</i>
<i>D. Buckley</i>	<i>71 Patricia St</i>	<i>Victoria Park Perth</i>
<i>Mr. J. J. Allen</i>	<i>111 North St</i>	<i>Perth</i>

'Petition for a Referendum', 1958, Barry Christopher papers, MS 7992, box 16

Courtesy National Library of Australia, Canberra.

by G. M. BRYANT, M.H.R.,

President, Aborigines' Advancement League.



A REFERENDUM

No aborigine can feel absolutely free and equal to other Australians whilst the Commonwealth Constitution contains the two clauses which exclude him from the Census (section 127) and from Commonwealth laws (section 51, placitum 26).

This placitum of section 51 was for a long time the excuse given by the Commonwealth for the exclusion of aborigines from Social Service benefits. It was not until a number of members of the Commonwealth Parliament challenged the logic of this in the House, that a new look was given to the old question, and this discrimination removed. It is, of course, a question of language. A law which excludes aborigines from a benefit is just as much a law about Aborigines as one which includes them.

The demand for the removal of these clauses from the Constitution is not just an academic one—it rests on two grounds. The first—that the implied discrimination is a reflection in fact

an insult to the aboriginal people; the second—that the specific exclusion of the Commonwealth from the right to make special laws about the aboriginal race means that the Commonwealth denies any responsibility (outside the Territories) and the State Governments therefore claim it. And in so claiming, they exercise rights and powers over the aboriginal people, which they would not dare to exercise over the last arrived migrant.

A great deal of the energies and thinking of organisations affiliated with the Aborigines' Advancement League outside Victoria is devoted to trying to have State acts altered.

So we find our friends in N.S.W. mounting campaigns to have the restricted clauses of the State act amended.

In Queensland, Western Australia and South Australia, the position is much the same. In Western Australia and Queensland, for instance, despite the grant of votes for aborigines at

Federal elections, aborigines are still excluded from State elections.

ABORIGINES STILL HAVE NO VOTE for State elections in Queensland and Western Australia.

So all over Australia — outside Victoria — the Aborigine is beset with a more complicated set of laws than any other Australian.

The quickest and the most logical way to amend this position is to change the Constitution by Referendum.

Remove from the States the right to make special laws for the aboriginal people, and the State acts which deprive Aborigines of fundamental rights and freedom must surely be invalid.

This does not mean, of course, that the Commonwealth has been full of sweetness and light on the Aboriginal question, but the Commonwealth carries out its activities under much closer public national scrutiny than any State Government or the totality of them.

At present, those of us concerned with the plight of the Aboriginal people have to fight six State Governments and the Commonwealth — seven legislatures and seven administrations — an enormous organisational task. (I include Tasmania here, because there is a handful of mixed race people on Cape Barron Island, for whom little is being done.)

Transfer the responsibilities to the Commonwealth and immediately every Federal parliamentarian and every Federal department has to accept its share of responsibility. And this must be said, "that whether one agrees with its politics or not, when the Commonwealth acts — it acts in grand manner".

Compared with the resources at the disposal of the States, when applied to a particular field, the resources of the Commonwealth are relatively limitless. (Compare the schools of Canberra, for

example, with those of Melbourne.)

Both the Federal Council and the Victorian Aborigines' Advancement League have adopted such an amendment of the Constitution as urgent policy.

We should therefore commence campaigning immediately — the task is in two stages:

- To convince the Commonwealth to conduct the Referendum, and
- Secure a majority of votes in a majority of the States when the Referendum is submitted to the people.

Of the two I think the first may be the more difficult task, but nothing must be left to chance — we should set up campaign committees in every Federal electorate now, and take the following steps:

- Approach prominent and active citizens for support;
- Send informed delegatories to explain the position to every member of the Federal Parliament, and ask for support in the Parliament;
- Commence stimulation of public interest by the circulation of petitions to be presented to the Parliament; and
- Form interim campaign committees.

It is important that we understand the nature of the task if we organise along normal election campaigning lines.

We will need 5,000,000 "how to vote" cards — costing perhaps £7,000.

We will need thousands of supporters at the polling booths on Referendum day. No stone must be left unturned — a vote approaching national unanimity on this question would give notice to all Governments that the conscience of Australia is stirred, and the public will brook no delay in tackling the other disabilities of the aboriginal people.

COME THEN, LET US TO THE TASK.



Gordon Bryant, 'Arguments for a referendum', in *Smoke Signals*, Oct 1962.

25th Parl (1st sessio) pp 121-136

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

SPEECHES IN DEBATE

ON

CONSTITUTION ALTERATION (ABORIGINES) BILL 1966

(Bill presented by Mr. Wentworth)

[From the "Parliamentary Debates," 10th March 1966]

Bill presented by Mr. Wentworth, and read a first time.

Second Reading.

Mr. WENTWORTH (Mackellar) [11.18].
—I move—

That the Bill be now read a second time.

This is a bill designed to put a third question to the people at the foreshadowed referendum. A short time ago there was some degree of urgency about this Bill because the referendum was to take place on 28th May 1966. Now that the referendum has been postponed there is not the same degree of urgency, particularly since our Constitution provides that a Bill for its alteration evaporates, in effect, unless it is put to a referendum within six months of being passed through this House. In those circumstances it would be inadvisable for this House to finalise the Bill before the date of the referendum is known. The consideration of this Bill is urgent but its finalisation is urgent no longer.

In common with other members of this House I welcomed the Government's decision to put to a referendum a proposal to repeal section 127 of the Constitution which provides that Aborigines shall not be counted for certain purposes. This is good, but does it go far enough? I believe that it does not go far enough, and I have two motives in bringing before the Parliament this expanding Bill which provides that there shall be more responsibility on the Commonwealth to help the States to deal with Aborigines and to prevent racial discrimination in Australia.

Let me refer first to the Aborigines themselves. I think that everyone who has had contact with Aborigines, as I have, has

a personal liking for them and a feeling that we have a responsibility to them. They are nice, good people. Most of us would also have some sense of failure in relation to the way in which we have dealt with our Aborigines in the past. This is a failure which perhaps is not peculiar to the Australian people. Other people, not only white people, have sensed it elsewhere outside Australia. However, there is an inherent difficulty in dealing with this problem. It is not just a matter of saying: "We will regard the Aborigines as merely poor white people". They are not. They are special people and they do need and deserve some special help. We have a special responsibility in this sphere. Hence, in a sense, some discrimination is still necessary but it must be discrimination in their favour, not discrimination against them.

The Commonwealth so far, except in the Northern Territory, has had no direct responsibility in this sphere but there is a feeling that it should assume some greater degree of direct responsibility. That feeling stems from several sources. First, the Aborigines themselves want this to happen. If we were dealing with the rights of trade unionists or companies or pastoralists or any other group in the community we would consult with that group. The Aborigines are such a group and should be the first people to whom we would turn before deciding anything relating to their future. What do they want? What are their feelings in this regard? As a result of inquiry and a very considerable degree of contact with Aborigines, I know—I think the House would agree with me on this—that they want the Commonwealth to assume a greater degree of responsibility towards them, their rights, their opportunities and their advancement.

3256/66

Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives, 10 March 1966.

Government backbencher William Wentworth introduced a bill to include the change to s51 [xxvi] in the proposed set of referendums to be held. He did so for two main reasons: because he believed the Commonwealth should have the freedom and power to act in the area and legislate against existing State discrimination, and to prevent further racial discrimination.

“I was born at a time when the Australian Government knew how many sheep there were but not how many Aboriginal people. I was 10 years old before the 1967 referendum fixed that.”

Wiradjuri woman Hon Linda Burney, MP 2016



Courtesy Australian Broadcasting Corporation.

Majority ‘Yes’ Result

90.77 per cent of Australian voters supported the ‘Yes’ vote to alter the Australian Constitution. This is the largest ‘Yes’ vote ever recorded in an Australian referendum.

Results by State

State	Number on electoral rolls	Ballot papers issued	YES vote		NO vote		Number Informal votes
			no.	%*	no.	%*	
New South Wales	2,315,828	2,166,507	1,949,036	91.5	182,010	8.5	35,461
Victoria	1,734,476	1,630,594	1,525,026	94.7	85,611	5.3	19,957
Queensland	904,808	848,728	748,612	89.2	90,587	10.8	9,529
South Australia	590,275	560,844	473,440	86.3	75,383	13.7	12,021
Australia							
Western Australia	437,609	405,666	319,823	80.9	75,282	19.1	10,561
Tasmania	199,589	189,245	167,176	90.2	18,134	9.8	3,935
Total	6,182,585	5,801,584	5,183,113	90.8	527,007	9.2	91,464

* As a proportion of total valid [formal] votes cast

Western Australia’s Results

On a percentage basis WA cast the largest ‘No’ vote with electorates returning a ‘No’ vote ranging from fifteen to twenty-eight percent. Kalgoorlie returned the highest ‘No’ vote in the country.

Did the Referendum improve the lives of Aboriginal people in WA at the time?

Symbolically the changes to the Constitution were seen as important to many people but at a practical level little changed.

In 1971 respected Noongar leader, the late Ken Colbung stated that Aboriginal people could not:

“live satisfactorily in the community while they were not guaranteed continuity of employment, were paid sub-standard wages, were not aware of their rights and did not have adequate opportunities for education and to earn enough to own property.”

Canberra Times, 1971



Courtesy Museum Victoria Item HT 25347.

Table of Legislation affecting Aboriginal people in WA following the 1967 Referendum

The following table contains some of the legislation that applied to Aboriginal people in WA following the 1967 Referendum.

This table can be found in full at the [Karrrtdijin Noongar](#) website:

LEGISLATION	PURPOSE
The Liquor Act, 1970	Restricted the sale of liquor or liquor consumption to Aboriginal peoples in proclaimed areas.
The Native [Citizenship Rights] Act Repeal Act, 1971	Repealed the original Act and subsequent amendments to it.
The Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority Act, 1972	Established the Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority.
The Aboriginal Heritage Act, 1972	Established laws relating to the protection and management of Aboriginal heritage.
The Mining Act, 1978	Allowed mining on Aboriginal reserves with the written consent of the responsible Minister.
The Aboriginal Communities Act, 1979	Assisted Aboriginal communities in gaining control of matters on community land.
The Native Title Act, 1993 [Cth]	Enacted following the <i>Mabo Decision</i> in 1992. Recognised the existence of Aboriginal rights and interests to land.

Some Misunderstandings of the Referendum Question

1. The 1967 Referendum gave Aboriginal people the right to vote.

Contrary to popular belief, Aboriginal people had the right prior to the Referendum.

2. The 1967 Referendum gave Aboriginal people citizenship rights.

Legislation allowing for the granting of citizenship rights was enacted in WA in 1944 with the number of applicants increasing on a yearly basis until 1971 when the Act was repealed.

Archived Polling Results

Have a look at how your electorate voted!

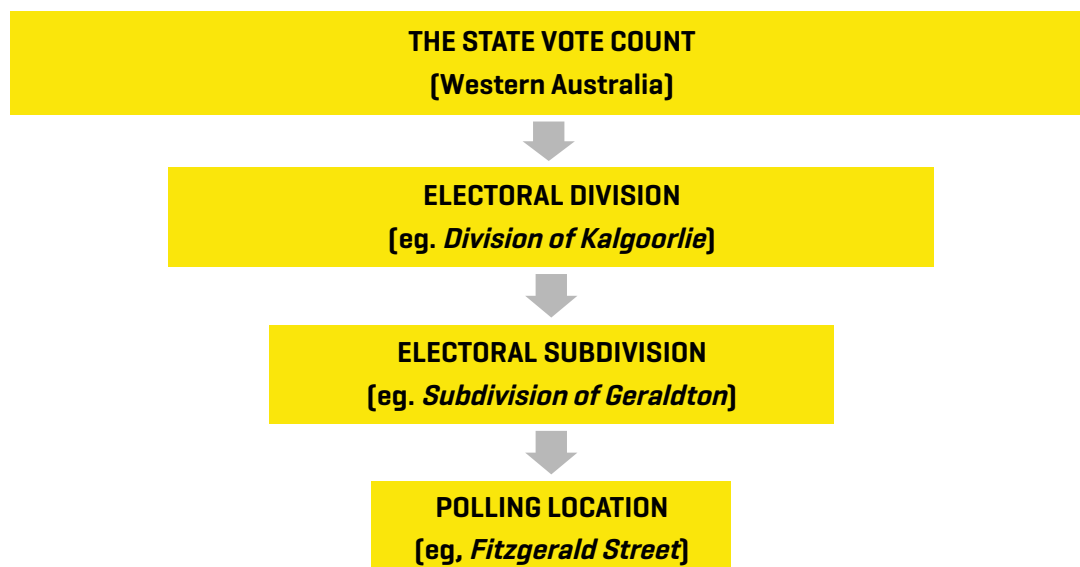
The following pages contain original images of the 1967 Referendum results from the divisions of Canning, Kalgoorlie, Perth, Stirling, and Fremantle, and the results from polling places. Archived files containing the results can be viewed online, here:

[1967 Referendum DRO \[Divisional Returning Officer\] Returns](#)

[1967 Referendum Polling Place Figures](#)

Breakdown of vote count

The following diagram provides a breakdown of how the polling results were organised.



REFERENDUMS, 27 MAY 1967

STATE OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

TABLE II.—STATEMENT SHOWING THE RESULT OF THE SCRUTINY AND COUNT OF VOTES FOR EACH DIVISION

Division	1. Constitution Alteration (PARLIAMENT) 1967								2. Constitution Alteration (ABORIGINALS) 1967							
	Total Number of Votes IN FAVOUR of the proposed law	Total Number of Votes NOT IN FAVOUR of the proposed law	Informal Ballot-papers	TOTAL	Percentage of Votes recorded IN FAVOUR of the proposed law		Percentage of Votes recorded NOT IN FAVOUR of the proposed law		Total Number of Votes IN FAVOUR of the proposed law	Total Number of Votes NOT IN FAVOUR of the proposed law	Informal Ballot-papers	TOTAL	Percentage of Votes recorded IN FAVOUR of the proposed law		Percentage of Votes recorded NOT IN FAVOUR of the proposed law	
					(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)					(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
					To Formal Votes	To Electors enrolled	To Formal Votes	To Electors enrolled					To Formal Votes	To Electors enrolled	To Formal Votes	To Electors enrolled
CANNING	11,586	30,498	1,043	43,427	26.04	25.87	71.46	66.37	32,740	9,640	1,047	43,427	77.25	71.25	22.75	20.98
CURTIN	10,765	29,348	790	40,903	26.84	24.38	73.16	66.48	33,838	6,261	804	40,903	84.39	76.65	15.61	24.18
FORREST	12,636	28,836	947	42,419	30.47	28.49	69.53	65.02	34,282	7,182	955	42,419	82.68	77.30	17.32	16.19
FREMANTLE	16,546	36,809	1,206	53,601	29.49	26.93	70.31	63.76	43,168	8,423	1,310	53,601	83.89	78.98	16.11	14.59
KALGOORLIE	10,529	20,128	910	31,567	30.34	29.59	65.46	56.56	21,719	8,888	960	31,567	70.46	61.03	29.04	20.48
MOORE	12,008	29,844	959	42,811	28.49	26.26	71.31	65.26	33,117	8,709	985	42,811	79.18	72.44	20.82	19.04
PERTH	7,538	19,037	1,069	27,644	28.37	24.41	71.63	61.64	20,989	5,329	1,126	27,644	79.45	67.96	20.55	17.90
STIRLING	19,078	47,739	1,983	68,800	28.55	25.75	71.45	64.43	53,130	11,667	2,003	68,800	82.33	74.41	17.47	15.75
SWAN	14,855	38,284	1,355	54,494	27.95	25.12	72.05	64.75	44,140	8,983	1,371	54,494	83.09	74.66	16.91	15.19

Courtesy National Archives of Australia: PP631/1, WE1967/541.

REFERENDUMS held on 27th May, 1967

Page 1

STATE OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Result of Count — ~~INDIGENOUS~~

~~DATE~~

DIVISION OF

CANNING.

Commonwealth Electoral
Western Australia
25 JAN 1968

SUBDIVISION

1. Proposed law entitled—

Shown underlined, "An Act to alter the Constitution so that the Number of Members of the House of Representatives may be increased without necessarily increasing the Number of Senators."

2. Proposed law entitled—

"An Act to alter the Constitution so as to omit certain words relating to the People of the Aboriginal Race in any State and so that Aboriginals are to be counted in reckoning the Population."

INDIGENOUS Counting Centre & Polling Places	No. of Votes in favour of proposed law (Yes)	No. of Votes not in favour of proposed law (No)	Informal	Total	No. of Votes in favour of proposed law (Yes)	No. of Votes not in favour of proposed law (No)	Informal	Total
<u>BEVERLEY.</u>								
Beverley.	166	525	13	704	487	201	16	704
Belly Belly, Boyadine, Caroling South Dale, Mt.Kokoby, Wamenusking.	57	226	3	286	182	100	4	286
<u>CORRIGIN.</u>	203	378	7	588	468	113	7	588
Aldersyde, Babakin	72	73	4	149	115	30	4	149
Bilbarin, Bullaring.	43	95	2	140	117	21	2	140
Bulyee, Gorge Rock, Kurrenkutten, Kweda, Lomos.	42	120	1	163	120	42	1	163
<u>KONDININ.</u>	84	155	5	244	214	24	6	244
Bendering, Kulin Rock, South Kuminin.)	17	82	1	100	89	10	1	100
Hyden.	49	131	.	180	160	19	1	180
Karlgerin.	37	75	2	114	83	29	2	114
<u>PINGELLY.</u>	151	469	16	636	403	218	15	636
Brookton.	105	305	9	419	276	135	8	419
Godjatotine, Milton, Wandering.	57	130	3	190	126	61	3	190
<u>CANNING.</u>								
ARMADALE	235	598	26	861	657	173	31	861
Roleystone.	73	249	18	340	273	50	17	340
ARMADALE WEST Westfield.	215	506	39	860	634	191	35	860
<u>EAST CANNINGTON.</u>	239	622	24	885	698	161	26	885
GOSNELLS. Canning Vale.	120 45	354 113	20 2	494 160	385 134	93 24	16 2	494 160
GOSNELLS CENTRAL.	378	953	39	1370	1081	252	37	1370
KELMSCOTT.	234	649	32	915	709	170	36	915
Carinyah, Karragullen	41	78	9	128	77	45	6	128
MADDINGTON. Orange Grove.	203 34	555 114	35 4	793 152	622 104	138 41	33 7	793 152
<u>THORNHILL.</u>	162	429	10	601	498	96	7	601
Kenwick.	141	404	9	554	458	88	8	554
TOTALS								

Courtesy National Archives of Australia: PP631/1, WE1967/555.

REFERENDUMS held on 27th May, 1967

Page 2

STATE OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Result of Count —

DATE

DIVISION OF

CANNING.

SUBDIVISION shown underlined. 1. Proposed law entitled—
"An Act to alter the Constitution so that the Number of Members of the House of Representatives may be increased without necessarily increasing the Number of Senators."

2. Proposed law entitled—
"An Act to alter the Constitution so as to omit certain words relating to the People of the Aboriginal Race in any State and so that Aborigines are to be counted in reckoning the Population."

Division. Subdivision Counting Centre & Polling Places.	No. of Votes in favour of proposed law (Yes)	No. of Votes not in favour of proposed law (No)	Informal	Total	No. of Votes in favour of proposed law (Yes)	No. of Votes not in favour of proposed law (No)	Informal	Total
<u>KATANNING.</u>								
GNOWANGERUP.	217	379	6	602	409	187	6	602
Moonies Hill, Tambellup, Toolbrunup	109	312	4	425	319	103	3	425
Jerramungup.	70	92	3	165	121	41	3	165
Jacup Needilup, Ongerup.	45 79	54 168	3 3	102 250	72 168	25 80	5 2	102 250
South Gairdner. Bremer Bay, Salt River.	37 36	62 77	1 .	100 113	88 82	11 31	1 .	100 113
Borden, Boxwood Hill, Wellstead.	92	148	7	247	195	46	6	247
KATANNING.	413	1229	34	1676	1168	475	33	1676
Ewlyamartup, Katanning Dist. Hos., ROCKWELL.	24	94	2	120	94	24	2	120
Carrolup, Oak Farm, Woodanilling.	53	192	5	250	167	77	6	250
Badgebup, Glencoe.	30	86	.	116	87	29	.	116
Broomhill, FlatRocks.	65	185	1	251	200	49	2	251
Pingrup.	26	85	4	115	84	27	4	115
Boongadeo, Datatine, Lake Pingrup, Nyabing.	88	169	5	262	184	73	5	262
KOJONUP.	199	428	17	644	458	168	18	644
Jingalup.	26	79	.	105	83	22	.	105
Cherry Tree Pool, Lumsah.	28	71	2	101	84	15	2	101
Qualeup, Tunney Town.	33	87	2	122	98	24	.	122
Boilup Boscabel.	32	77	2	111	80	29	2	111
Muradup, Orchid Valley	40	119	2	161	131	26	4	161
RAVENSTHORPE, Hopetoun.	84	190	3	277	215	58	4	277
<u>MURRAY.</u>								
BYFORD.	67	213	6	286	204	73	9	286
Jarrahdale.	55	131	16	202	139	47	16	202
Serpentine.	95	169	4	268	197	67	4	268
TOTALS								

Courtesy National Archives of Australia: PP631/1, WE1967/555.

REFERENDUMS held on 27th May, 1967

STATE OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Page 3

Result of Count — ~~UNION~~

DIVISION OF CANNING.

SUBDIVISION 1. Proposed law entitled—
shown underlined. An Act to alter the Constitution so that the Number of Members of the House of Representatives may be increased without necessarily increasing the Number of Senators."

2. Proposed law entitled—
"An Act to alter the Constitution so as to omit certain words relating to the People of the Aboriginal Race in any State and so that Aborigines are to be counted in reckoning the Population."

PROXY SUBDIVISION Counting Centre & POLLING PLACES.	No. of Votes in favour of proposed law (Yes)	No. of Votes not in favour of proposed law (No)	Informal	Total	No. of Votes in favour of proposed law (Yes)	No. of Votes not in favour of proposed law (No)	Informal	Total
<u>MURRAY</u> Contd.								
Mundijong, } Forrestdale, Keysbrook, Oakford. }	71 52	141 118	8 2	220 172	165 133	47 37	8 2	220 172
MANDURAH.	344	1042	27	1413	1074	316	23	1413
MANDURAH CENTRAL	142	556	25	723	536	162	25	723
Barraghap, Yunderup North }	38	112	4	154	113	37	4	154
MEDINA.	475	1281	30	1786	1469	285	32	1786
Kwinana.	70	166	12	248	191	46	11	248
PINJARRA.	128	433	23	584	389	175	20	584
Fairbridge, West Coolup, Yunderup }	26	77	2	105	79	25	1	105
Coolup,	35	120	1	156	126	29	1	156
North Dandalup.	27	83	2	112	80	30	2	112
ROCKINGHAM BEACH	373	761	27	1161	936	198	27	1161
Safety Bay.	179	578	6	763	657	101	5	763
Baldivis, Rockingham East }	29	81	1	111	93	17	1	111
SPEARWOOD.	206	517	35	758	509	213	36	758
Jandakot,	59	101	6	166	131	29	6	166
South Geogee.	75	259	28	362	258	79	25	362
Bibra Lake, Naval Base. }	57	217	9	283	215	60	8	283
<u>WELLINGTON.</u>								
HARVEY.	282	849	60	1191	874	254	63	1191
Yarloop.	83	215	12	310	214	83	13	310
Cockernup, Udue. }	27	84	7	118	88	26	4	118
WAROONA.	167	411	30	608	445	130	33	608
Dwellingup,	83	162	10	255	205	39	11	255
Hamel, Wagerup. }	55	106	4	165	114	47	4	165
<u>WILLIAMS.</u>								
LAKE GRACE.	137	307	5	449	345	97	7	449
Kukerin,	61	133	1	195	158	34	3	195
Pingaring.	31	69	2	102	86	14	2	102
Newdegate.	64	87	2	153	134	18	1	153
Holt Rock, Lake Biddy, Lake Gamm, Lake King, Lake Varley, Tarin Rock. }	79	158	1	238	206	30	2	238
NAIROGIN.	591	1502	53	2146	1552	538	56	2146
Cuballing.	47	94	4	145	117	27	1	145
TOTALS								

Courtesy National Archives of Australia: PP631/1, WE1967/555.

REFERENDUMS held on 27th May, 1967
STATE OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Page 4.

Result of Count — ~~WILLIAMS~~

~~WILLIAMS~~

DIVISION OF

CANNING.

SUBDIVISION SHOWS

UNDERLINED.

1. Proposed law entitled—

"An Act to alter the Constitution so that the Number of Members of the House of Representatives may be increased without necessarily increasing the Number of Senators."

2. Proposed law entitled—

"An Act to alter the Constitution so as to omit certain words relating to the People of the Aboriginal Race in any State and so that Aboriginals are to be counted in reckoning the Population."

Counting Centre & Polling Places.	No. of Votes in favour of proposed law (Yes)	No. of Votes not in favour of proposed law (No)	Informal	Total	No. of Votes in favour of proposed law (Yes)	No. of Votes not in favour of proposed law (No)	Informal	Total
<u>WILLIAMS contd.</u>								
Highbury.	23	82	2	107	69	36	2	107
(Dumbaring.	34	78	.	112	83	29	.	112
(Harrogin Dist. Hospital.								
Gongalling.	38	64	3	105	88	14	3	105
Toolabin.								
Yilliminning.								
Pumphries.	50	162	4	216	155	56	5	216
Popanyinning.								
Nomans Lake.								
Yornaning.								
<u>WAGIN.</u>	239	789	28	1056	710	317	29	1056
Arthur River.	27	80	1	108	93	15	—	108
Dumbleyung.	104	284	5	393	289	99	5	393
Moulyinning.								
Callanilling.	18	101	3	122	86	32	4	122
Piesseville.								
Wedgocarrup.	32	88	1	121	101	20	.	121
Bokal.								
Cannanning.								
Dongolooking.								
<u>WICKFELD.</u>	107	193	6	306	237	62	7	306
Kulin.	101	219	4	324	247	72	5	324
Yealering.	49	133	4	186	138	43	5	186
Elsinore.	38	135	2	175	126	48	1	175
Harrismith.								
Jitarning.								
Dudin.	34	86	.	120	106	14	.	120
Tinkurri.								
<u>WILLIAMS.</u>	118	238	5	361	235	121	5	361
Boolading.	78	265	10	353	270	73	10	353
Darkan.								
Geerulying.								
Tarwonga.	40	85	1	126	73	52	1	126
Marredong.								
Quindanning.								
Boddington.	90	208	9	307	204	94	9	307
Gulbin.								
<u>Totals. Ord. Votes.</u>								
BEVERLEY.	1083	2764	66	3913	2840	1003	70	3913
CANNING.	2120	5724	269	8113	6330	1522	261	8113
KATANNING.	1826	4383	106	6315	4587	1620	108	6315
MURRAY.	2603	7156	274	10033	7694	2073	266	10033
WELLINGTON.	697	1827	123	2647	1940	579	128	2647
WILLIAMS.	2230	5640	156	8026	5908	1955	163	8026
Total Ordinary Votes.	10559	27494	994	39047	29299	8752	996	39047
Absent.	1134	2673	41	3848	3010	796	42	3848
Postal.	176	277	7	460	376	78	6	460
Section.	17	54	1	72	55	14	3	72
TOTALS	11886	30498	1043	43427	32740	9640	1047	43427

REFERENDUM 1967 - DIVISION OF PERTH.

Ref. 67/555.

Polling Booth Figures.

<u>Polling Place.</u>	Question 1. - Parliament.				Question 2. - Aboriginal Race.			
	<u>Yes.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Inf.</u>	<u>Total.</u>	<u>Yes.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Inf.</u>	<u>Total.</u>
Maylands	442	1346	68	1856	1465	324	67	1856
Maylands East	140	378	13	531	426	94	11	531
Maylands North East	75	177	7	259	212	40	7	259
Maylands South	22	61	2	85	64	19	2	85
Maylands West	145	369	21	535	398	113	24	535
St. Anne's Hospital	11	48	1	60	52	7	1	60
Inglewood	164	394	9	567	470	88	9	567
Inglewood North	455	1201	68	1724	1370	289	65	1724
Maylands North West	170	457	21	648	488	135	25	648
Mt. Lawley	244	687	9	940	784	146	10	940
Mt. Lawley East	215	613	30	858	651	176	31	858
Mt. Lawley North	319	856	38	1213	991	186	36	1213
TOTALS. MAYLANDS S/DIV.	2402	6587	287	9276	7371	1617	288	9276
Alexander Park	278	782	27	1087	947	115	25	1087
Coolbinia	63	145	4	212	175	33	4	212
Beaufort Street	274	457	54	785	471	258	56	785
Fitzgerald St. North	270	636	67	973	645	255	73	973
Highgate	365	767	74	1206	794	325	87	1206
Highgate East	90	194	27	311	183	102	26	311
Mt. Lawley East	187	445	31	663	469	158	36	663
Newcastle Street	125	300	33	458	284	139	35	458
North Perth	501	1215	123	1839	1306	386	147	1839
East Leederville	69	161	9	239	192	37	10	239
William St. North	289	700	50	1039	775	233	31	1039
Selkirk Street	246	657	40	943	734	168	41	943
Mt. Lawley West	149	473	35	657	492	128	37	657
TOTALS NORTH PERTH S/D.	2906	6932	574	10412	7467	2337	608	10412
Perth	327	751	27	1105	884	191	30	1105
Beaufort Street	46	106	13	165	107	51	7	165
Royal Perth Hospital	54	155	6	215	189	20	6	215
James Street	56	95	16	167	102	48	17	167
West Perth	363	1083	32	1478	1204	233	41	1478
Fitzgerald Street	89	237	22	348	210	113	25	348
East Perth	160	505	14	679	533	129	17	679
Wittenoom Street	114	341	28	483	274	175	34	483
TOTALS PERTH S/DIV.	1209	3273	158	4640	3503	960	177	4640
TOTALS DIVISION OF PERTH.	6517	16792	1021	24328	18341	4914	1073	24328

Division of Fremantle.

Referendum 1967

Votes Recorded

Polling Place	Parliament			Aborigines			Total
	Yes	No	Inf	Yes	No	Inf	
Applecross	470	1124	11	1379	219	10	1608
Ardress Central	190	428	5	523			
Ardress	289	838	21	553	67	3	623
Brentwood	381	977	29	975	151	22	1148
Canning Bridge	306	961	17	1204	158	25	1387
Deepwater Point	78	142	1	1115	151	18	1284
Mt Pleasant	475	1291	25	185	33	3	221
Cottesloe	158	397	6	1576	195	20	1791
Mosman Pk South	297	118	13	448	98	5	551
North Cottesloe	162	424	13	338	75	15	428
Cottesloe Beach	340	1007	19	502	88	9	599
St Mosman Park	491	1384	38	1225	203	18	1446
North East Cott.	399	1009	21	1581	300	32	1913
West Cottesloe	348	1178	28	1205	199	25	1428
Fremantle, Rottnest				1304	225	25	1554
Fremantle Hosp	482	1015	76	1190	305	78	1573
Canning H'way	432	788	50	983	227	60	1270
North Fremantle	242	619	38	617	240	42	899
Plympton	340	703	52	836	200	59	1093
Richmond	268	626	10	774	122	8	904
East Fremantle	161	437	12	493	102	15	610
Carawatha	259	484	20	619	123	21	763
Alfred Cove	274	686	6	846	114	6	966
Melville Heights	342	756	14	925	170	17	1112
Melville South	235	630	6	737	128	6	871
Myaree	495	1143	29	1410	227	30	1667
Willagee Park	553	901	35	1195	260	34	1489
Attadale	438	1185	22	1456	167	22	1645
Bioton	714	1593	33	1949	352	39	2340
Palmyra	508	1057	31	1305	264	27	1596
Palmyra East	264	633	12	731	163	15	909
Palmyra North	178	453	8	526	106	7	639
Beaconsfield	241	844	21	955	131	20	1106
Hamilton Hill	414	1090	67	1186	307	78	1571
Hamilton Hill East	346	886	22	1066	166	22	1254
Hilton Park	802	1577	48	1986	390	51	2427
South Beach	333	524	48	653	204	48	905
South tce	273	482	75	615	231	84	830
Coogee Beach	44	90	7	107	27	7	141
White Gum Valley	372	840	67	934	266	79	1279
Winterfold	149	363	12	441	67	12 16	524

RL Johnson
DRO
11/9/67

- 1967 REFERENDUMS -

Division of Kalbarrie

Polling Place(s)	<u>Polling Place Results</u>							
	<u>PARLIAMENT</u>				<u>ABORIGINES</u>			
	Yes	No	Inf.	Total	Yes	No	Inf.	Total
<u>Subdivision of BOULDER</u>								
Boulder	706	911	72	1689	1158	458	73	1689
Boulder South - Hopkins St. - Kambalda.	132	192	13	337	201	119	17	337
Federal Road	104	150	6	260	177	73	10	260
Boulder North	168	206	22	396	273	99	24	396
Finiston	78	127	1	206	140	61	5	206
Trafalgar - Wittenoom St.	107	114	11	232	158	62	12	232
TOTALS	1295	1700	125	3120	2107	872	141	3120
<u>Subdivision of DUNDAS</u>								
Coolgardie - Widgiemooltha	81	170	5	256	157	94	5	256
Esperance	391	858	21	1270	924	317	29	1270
Castletown	47	115	3	165	122	42	1	165
Gibson - Manglinup	73	106	2	181	158	19	4	181
Condungup - Dalyup	70	114	3	187	165	20	2	187
Grass Patch - Scaddan	46	97	7	150	104	36	10	150
Norseman	245	501	29	775	491	253	31	775
Dowak - Salmon Gums	40	110	4	154	118	33	3	154
TOTALS	993	2071	74	3138	2239	814	85	3138
<u>Subdivision of GASCOYNE</u>								
Carnarvon	303	753	33	1089	743	313	33	1089
East Carnarvon	37	75	7	119	72	40	7	119
Exmouth - Gascoyne Junction - Learmonth - N.W. Cape	34	90	-	124	84	40	-	124
Denham - Onslow - Useless Loop	82	118	7	207	129	71	7	207
TOTALS	456	1036	47	1539	1028	464	47	1539
<u>Subdivision of GERALDTON</u>								
Geraldton - Bluff Point	547	1594	82	2223	1556	578	89	2223
Fitzgerald Street	257	559	18	834	595	219	20	834
Beachlands	155	286	11	452	343	96	13	452
Geraldton South	108	262	8	378	269	97	12	378
Moonyoonooka	37	77	17	131	81	36	14	131
Regional Hospital - St. John's	28	86	5	119	89	23	7	119
Wonthella	234	596	23	853	606	220	27	853
TOTALS	1366	3460	164	4990	3539	1269	182	4990
<u>Subdivision of GREENOUGH</u>								
Mingenew	83	210	11	304	195	102	7	304
Denison - Yandanoocka	32	99	3	134	99	31	4	134
Dongara	56	140	5	201	141	58	2	201
Boonah - Greenough - Irwin	34	102	1	137	104	32	1	137
Walkaway	29	94	8	131	72	54	5	131
Morawa	133	339	7	479	353	118	8	479
Canna - Gatha	55	75	-	130	113	16	1	130
Koolanooka - Merkanooka - Tardun	23	110	1	134	93	39	2	134
Mullewa	98	254	13	365	210	137	18	365
Bringo - Eradu - Mendels - Pindar - Tenindewa	53	128	4	185	126	55	4	185
Northampton	151	352	18	521	350	153	18	521
Alma - Nabawa	31	74	3	108	81	24	3	108
Howatharra - Naraling	22	83	2	107	81	24	2	107
Nanson - Ogilvie	28	102	4	134	96	34	4	134
Ajana - Binu East - Kalbarri	23	90	-	113	84	29	-	113
Yuna	43	69	-	112	90	22	-	112
TOTALS	894	2321	80	3295	2288	928	79	3295

Courtesy National Archives of Australia: PP631/1, WE1967/555.

Subdivision of KALGOORLIE

Kalgoorlie	552	942	79	1573	961	528	84	1573
Campbell Street	185	320	8	513	368	136	9	513
Hannan Street	177	239	17	433	255	161	17	433
Piccadilly Street	113	229	8	350	217	126	7	350
Lamington	336	600	15	951	635	364	12	951
Broad Arrow Road	61	84	1	146	94	48	4	146
Brookman Street	160	276	10	446	281	155	10	446
K.R.H. - St. John's	52	60	3	115	84	28	3	115
South Kalgoorlie	266	478	18	762	506	242	14	762
Boulder Road	173	220	10	403	249	140	14	403
East Kalgoorlie	51	113	4	168	75	89	4	168
Federal Road - O'Barthur St.	63	79	3	145	100	44	1	145
<u>TOTALS</u>	2189	3640	176	6005	3825	2001	179	6005

Subdivision of KANOWNA

Broad Arrow - Cundeelee - Forrest - Rawlinna	<u>TOTALS</u>	16	34	3	53	40	11	2	53
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Subdivision of KIMBERLEY

Lombadina-Broome-Beagle Bay	135	224	8	367	277	82	8	367
Derby - Derby Leprosarium - Mowanjum.	243	235	50	528	319	158	51	528
Cockatoo Island - Gibb River - Go Go	63	75	-	138	116	22	-	138
Cherrabun - Christmas Creek - Fitzroy Crossing - Hall's Creek - Kalumburu - Koolan Island - Ord River - Tableland	145	106	5	256	199	52	5	256
Wyndham - Wyndham East	85	172	7	264	168	88	8	264
Kununurra	72	110	-	182	148	33	1	182
<u>TOTALS</u>	743	922	70	1735	1227	435	73	1735

Subdivision of LEONORA

Leonora - Kookynie - Laverton - Menzies.	93	138	6	237	157	74	6	237
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Subdivision of MT. MAGNET

Mt. Magnet	88	205	18	311	193	99	19	311
Paynes Find - Sandstone - Yalgoo	46	85	-	131	74	55	2	131
Cue	28	75	7	110	59	44	7	110
<u>TOTALS</u>	162	365	25	552	326	198	28	552

Subdivision of MURCHISON

Meekatharra - Wiluna	84	164	5	253	144	107	2	253
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Subdivision of PILBARA

Roebourne	78	67	5	150	96	49	5	150
Dampier - Mt. Tom Price	31	70	-	101	89	12	-	101
Port Hedland	130	278	30	438	288	129	21	438
Finucan Island - Goldsworthy - Wittenoom.	49	74	-	123	98	24	1	123
Marble Bar - Nullagine	87	68	5	160	113	41	6	160
<u>TOTALS</u>	375	557	40	972	684	255	33	972

Subdivision of YILGARN

Southern Cross	112	314	24	450	280	145	25	450
Bodallin - Koolyanobbing - No. 7 Pump - Yellowdine	49	116	8	173	143	23	7	173
Bullfinch - Marvel Loch	26	105	1	132	92	38	2	132
Moorine Rock - Walgoon	33	104	4	141	115	23	3	141
Warralakin - Westonia	33	89	2	124	99	23	2	124
<u>TOTALS</u>	253	728	39	1020	729	252	39	1020

REFERENDUMS held on 27th May, 1967

STATE OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

DIVISION OF STIRLING.

Result of Count — UP TO TIME

DATE

DIVISION OF

1. Proposed law entitled—
"An Act to alter the Constitution so that the Number of
Members of the House of Representatives may be increased
without necessarily increasing the Number of Senators."

2. Proposed law entitled—
"An Act to alter the Constitution so as to omit certain words
relating to the People of the Aboriginal Race in any State and
so that Aboriginals are to be counted in reckoning the Population."

Division, Subdivision or Counting Centre	No. of Votes in favour of proposed law (Yes)	No. of Votes not in favour of proposed law (No)	Informal	Total	No. of Votes in favour of proposed law (Yes)	No. of Votes not in favour of proposed law (No)	Informal	Total
Jeondanna	343	927	40	1310	1047	223	40	1310
Usborne	427	1064	131	1622	1132	351	139	1622
Osborne East	104	333	15	452	360	78	14	452
Tuart Hill North	60	181	7	248	180	61	7	248
Balcatta	303	873	65	1241	909	261	71	1241
Osborne South	210	537	32	779	578	168	33	779
Osborne West								
Tuart Hill	295	820	51	1166	849	264	53	1166
BAYSWATER	537	1381	59	1977	1564	348	65	1977
Bayswater South	107	266	—	373	309	62	2	373
Bayswater West	163	453	25	641	503	118	20	641
Bedford South	137	417	11	565	455	99	11	565
Streatley Park	77	216	12	305	240	53	12	305
Bedford North	135	329	16	480	385	81	14	480
Bedford West	174	425	17	616	499	102	15	616
Hillcrest	122	359	14	495	479	62	13	552
Hillcrest	342	714	24	1080	917	139	24	1080
Bayswater North	140	310	15	465	350	99	16	465
Bedford Park	200	619	20	839	674	141	24	839
Meltham	140	313	12	475	388	76	11	475
Bassendean	535	1425	92	2042	1480	469	93	2042
Embleton	224	556	15	795	674	105	16	795
Bassendean North	122	308	18	448	350	76	22	448
Embleton N/West	101	336	17	454	361	74	19	454
Whatley	54	164	6	224	185	33	6	224
Bassendean Sth	146	460	26	632	483	123	26	632
Ashfield	156	465	25	649	483	141	25	649
Guildford	211	600	35	846	621	191	34	846
East Guildford	77	193	13	283	214	62	7	283
Hazelmere	30	122	2	154	115	36	3	154
Newburn	236	422	9	422	315	87	20	422
Redcliffe								
South Guildford	61	212	2	275	210	61	4	275
Midvale	177	440	15	632	484	130	18	632
Midland North	159	407	33	599	404	163	32	599
Bellevue	146	325	30	501	336	132	33	501
Koongamia	123	273	13	409	330	69	10	409
TOTALS								

Courtesy National Archives of Australia: PP631/1, WE1967/555.

REFERENDUMS held on 27th May, 1967

STATE OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

DIVISION OF STIRLING.

Result of Count — UP TO TIME

DATE

DIVISION OF

1. Proposed law entitled—

"An Act to alter the Constitution so that the Number of Members of the House of Representatives may be increased without necessarily increasing the Number of Senators."

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Division, Subdivision or Counting Centre	No. of Votes in favour of proposed law (Yes)	No. of Votes not in favour of proposed law (No)	Informal	Total	No. of Votes in favour of proposed law (Yes)	No. of Votes not in favour of proposed law (No)	Informal	Total
MidlandJunction	351	835	72	1258	862	317	79	1258
WestMidland	172	382	36	590	428	123	39	590
Mt.Hawthorn	627	1490	96	2213	1658	456	99	2213
Mt.HawthornNorth	261	726	42	1029	762	226	41	1029
Mt.HawthornEast	180	393	30	603	442	132	29	603
Glendalough	76	156	12	244	194	38	12	244
Mt.HawthornSouth	177	392	11	580	461	108	11	580
SCARBOROUGH EAST	572	1431	46	2049	1714	295	40	2049
Scarboro'N/West	81	205	6	292	252	35	5	292
Scarboro'Beach	246	723	11	980	829	138	13	980
Innaloo	185	581	24	790	638	129	23	790
InnalooWest	164	470	18	652	524	113	15	652
Karrinyup	116	249	5	370	306	59	5	370
InnalooNorth	533	1466	67	2066	1628	377	61	2066
Scarborough	199	623	18	840	718 (718)	106	16	840
Double View	629	1941	35	2605	2162	410	33	2605
Double View North	381	1101	15	1497	1271	209	17	1497
WembleyDowns	473	1230	27	1730	1515	196	19	1730
Woodlands	355	875	23	1253	1097	133	23	1253
WembleyDownsNorth	60	176	3	239	198	37	4	239
Herdsmen	33	125	1	159	138	20	1	159
Nollamara	524	1362	44	1930	1623	264	43	1930
Westminster	332	847	38	1217	1027	153	37	1217
NollamaraEast	95	234	7	336	296	35	5	336
NollamaraNorth	135	401	21	557	467	71	19	557
Dianella	512	1442	45	1999	1710	248	41	1999
DianellaEast	113	265	10	388	325	54	9	388
DianellaN/West	75	175	2	252	228	23	1	252
YokineEast	324	741	20	1085	933	128	24	1085
YokineSouth	65	273	6	344	280	61	3	344
MorleyNorth	364	931	34	1329	1142	158	29	1329
HamptonPark	115	271	13	399	295	87	17	399
Morley	324	869	29	1222	1017	175	30	1222
MorleyWest	242	618	10	870	714	144	12	870
YokineWest	709	888	48	1645	1360	240	45	1645
Yokine	621	1642	52	2315	1957	303	55	2315
TOTALS								

Courtesy National Archives of Australia: PP631/1, WE1967/555.

Research Questions:

What was the nexus question? Why do you think it did not succeed?

Why do you think Western Australia recorded such a high 'No' vote compared to other states?

Do you think conditions for Aboriginal people have improved as a result of the 1967 Referendum? Why or why not?

What do you think is the next step for Aboriginal Rights in Australia?

What does the 'Yes' vote on the 1967 Referendum ballot paper mean to you?

Activity:

A large part of achieving a 'Yes' vote on the Referendum was the campaigning that gained community support. Make a poster, or come up with a campaign slogan to rally the community to vote 'Yes' on the 1967 Referendum, in favour of Aboriginal rights.

Please see 'Teachers Resource' section for more resources and project suggestions.

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