

The Outdoor Living Supplement: Outdoor Recreation in Post-War Sydney 1945 – 1975

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Sightseeing at Willoughby c.1965¹

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

SYNOPSIS	III
Acknowledgements.....	v
List of Abbreviations.....	vi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE POST-WAR URBANISATION: DILEMMA AND DEVELOPMENT	16
Urbanisation	18
Responses to urbanisation	22
Urbanisation and ‘the Australian way of life’	29
Civil defence	44
CHAPTER TWO PLANNING A BRAVE NEW WORLD	48
‘Control’	49
‘Decontrol’	55
Rationalising time.....	60
Rationalising space.....	81
CHAPTER THREE THE ROAD TO SUBTOPIA	114
Everybody’s policy and nobody’s practice: decentralisation during the long boom	117
Trouble in the County of Cumberland.....	122
Urban consolidation	150
CHAPTER FOUR ON THE GROUND: USE OF OPEN SPACE.....	153
Organised recreation	158
Private recreation	174
A better class of outdoorsman: conflict, conservation and sportsmanship	207
CHAPTER FIVE BREAD AND CIRCUSES: COMMODIFICATION	239
The expanding range of holiday migration.....	244
Hotels, motels, resorts and caravan parks.....	257
A girdle of theme parks	269
The accoutrements of adventure.....	276
Doing it yourself.....	278
Camping gear	281
Guns ‘n’ ammo	285
In the creel.....	287
Guided exploration.....	291
Vicariously there: armchair travel	301
CONCLUSION.....	309

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	311
Primary sources.....	311
Manuscripts	311
Magazines and newspapers	312
Works of reference	313
Government publications.....	315
Archival sources	316
Published primary sources.....	318
Secondary sources	327
Manuscripts	327
Magazines and newspapers	328
Works of reference	328
Government publications.....	328
Published secondary sources	331
Appendix 1: Sydney classified listings	344
Appendix 2: Australian import statistics.....	348

SYNOPSIS

The Outdoor Living Supplement is a history of outdoor recreation in post-war Sydney. It makes a contribution to the fields of urban history and the history of leisure. Outdoor recreation was a planned response to the urbanisation of post-war Sydney, intended to mitigate the effects of industrialisation and urbanisation on the Australian character. In due course outdoor recreation became central to what was meant by 'the Australian way of life'. Outdoor recreation was the focus of intense commodification as the long post-war boom progressed, being an important element in the development of Australian consumerism. Ironically then, outdoor recreation extended the influence of industrialisation and urbanisation at the same time that it acted to counter these phenomena. This thesis is comprised of five chapters. The first outlines the perceived problems of urbanisation in Western thought and in Sydney in particular. The second examines the popularity of post-war planning and planned responses to urban ills, placing outdoor recreation within this context. The third deals with the unfolding, or the unravelling of these planned recreational responses to urbanisation. The fourth chapter examines the formation of cultural and social institutions around post-war outdoor recreation. The fifth chapter demonstrates the extent to which outdoor recreation was commodified during the long post-war boom. While maintaining a focus on outdoor recreation, the five chapters of this thesis build a history of post-war Australia in which there is a shift from left to right in politics, a movement from collectivism to consumerism in public life which characterised the long boom. The forces at work were clearly dialectical, and as apparent in the narrow field of leisure pursuits as they were in public policy. Post-war concerns with social justice brought an emphasis on planning that fell short of the more utopian goals, but revived economic activity and redefined social relations, leading to a shift in political consciousness and the commodification of certain aspects of Australian culture.

This work has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Richard Strauss

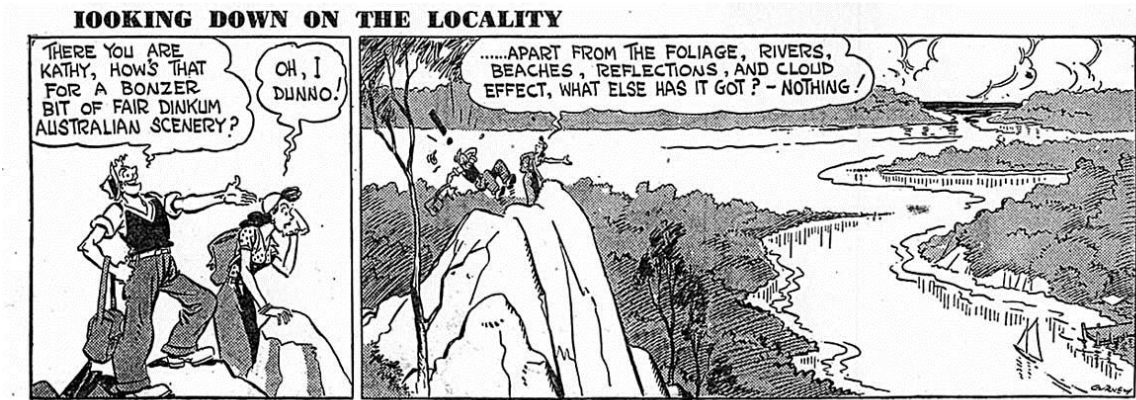
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List of Abbreviations

ACF	Australian Conservation Foundation
ACTU	Australian Council of Trade Unions
AIF	Australian Imperial Force
AIPS	Australian Institute of Political Science
ALP	Australian Labor Party
ANTA	Australian National Travel Association
ASIO	Australian Security and Intelligence Organisation
CCC	Cumberland County Council
CSIRO	Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation
CTIA	Caravan Trades and Industries Association
CPA	Communist Party of Australia
EPA	Environmental Planning Authority
MLA	Member of the Legislative Assembly
NRMA	National Roads and Motorists Association
NLA	National Library of Australia
NSW	New South Wales
NSWNPWS	New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service
ORP	Outdoor Recreation Party
ORRRC	Outdoor Recreation Resource Review Commission
PSCC	Planning Scheme for the County of Cumberland
RAIA	Royal Australian Institute of Architects
RAAF	Royal Australian Air Force
SPA	State Planning Authority
UBD	Universal Business Directory
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

THE OUTDOOR LIVING SUPPLEMENT: OUTDOOR RECREATION IN POSTWAR SYDNEY, 1945 – 1975



Bluey and Curley Annual, 1947²

Introduction

The core hypothesis of this dissertation is that planned outdoor recreation generated consumerism. Post-war leisure began with a promise and ended in a catalogue. Planned visions of a leisured post-war world entailed the rationalisation of time and space through an interventionist state and a civically engaged population. By the end of the long boom leisure had changed from a concept of civic participation and public subsidy to an actual field of private consumption. Outdoor recreation was central to the development of a ‘leisure ethic’ that reinforced capitalist, urban values as well as mitigating them. However, this hypothesis must be qualified. Australian recreation had a not insignificant commercial aspect before the post-war period, and some idealism and government support has still been attached to leisure despite its recent heightened commercialisation. The broad thrust of the analysis, however, survives.

This thesis draws on distinct bodies of historical scholarship, particularly those relating to town planning, leisure and tourism. This is not, however, a thesis on the town planning profession, nor a critique of the extensive body of scholarship that has accrued to it. In many

ways it is an essay in urban history, although it deals mainly with historical responses to Sydney's urbanisation and not with urbanisation *per se*. It therefore draws heavily on historical scholarship on the urbanisation of Sydney, contributing an added dimension in return. Urban history is a well developed field of study, and continues to be so. Lionel Frost notes that the field was legitimised by N. G. Butlin's seminal analysis of urban markets and private investment in housing in his *Investment in Australian Economic Development 1861-1900*,³ while urban history may conservatively be said to have progressed through J. W. McCarty's comparative analysis of Australian capital cities,⁴ Graeme Davison *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*,⁵ and then to an abundance of scholarship in the eighties.⁶ Mark Peel's history of Adelaide's satellite, Elizabeth, is a landmark work of urban studies.⁷ Tim Rowse's analysis of scholarship on suburbia remains a standard work,⁸ as does Robin Boyd's *The Australian Ugliness*.⁹ International scholarship, drawing on the traditions of Ebenezer Howard,¹⁰ Patrick Abercrombie¹¹ and Lewis Mumford¹² is now headed by Peter Hall¹³ but there are a host of other voices. Locally, Sydney's urban history has been a productive field. The Sydney History Group's work during the eighties brought together a substantial body of scholarship. Leonie Sandercock's *Cities for Sale* extends Butlin's approach to the economic history of cities,¹⁴ as does Daly's *Sydney Boom, Sydney Bust*.¹⁵ Peter Spearritt's *Sydney Since the Twenties*¹⁶ has long been the standard reference of Sydney's urban history and its revised publication as *Sydney's Century: A History*¹⁷ has been an invaluable addition. More recently

² Alex Gurney, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, The Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne, 1947, p.37

³ N. G. Butlin, *Investment in Australian Economic Development, 1861-1900*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1964

⁴ J. W. McCarty, *Australian Capital Cities in the Nineteenth Century*, Department of Economics, Monash University, Carlton, Vic, 1970

⁵ Graeme Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Vic, 1978

⁶ Lionel Frost, 'The Urban History Literature of Australia and New Zealand', *Journal of Urban History*, Vol.22, No.1, November 1995, p.141-153 gives a useful discussion of urban historiography

⁷ Mark Peel, *Good Times, Hard Times: The Past and Future in Elizabeth*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Vic, 1995

⁸ Tim Rowse, 'Heaven and a Hills Hoist: Australian critics on suburbia', *Meanjin* Vol.37 No.1, 1978, pp.3-13

⁹ Robin Boyd, *The Australian Ugliness*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1961

¹⁰ Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, Swan Sonnenschein, London, 1902

¹¹ Patrick Abercrombie, *Town and Country Planning*, Oxford University Press, London, 1943

¹² Lewis Mumford, *City Development: Studies in Disintegration and Renewal*, Secker and Warburg, London, 1946

¹³ Peter Hall, *Cities in Civilisation: Culture, Innovation and Urban Order*, Phoenix Giant, London, 1999

¹⁴ Leonie Sandercock, *Cities for Sale*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Vic., 1975

¹⁵ Maurice T. Daly, *Sydney Boom, Sydney Bust: The City and its Property Market, 1850-1981*, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1982

¹⁶ Peter Spearritt, *Sydney Since the Twenties*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, 1978

¹⁷ Peter Spearritt, *Sydney's Century: a History*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 1999

Paul Ashton made significant contributions to the field,¹⁸ with a particularly fruitful collaboration with Duncan Waterson producing *Sydney Takes Shape: a History in Maps*.¹⁹ Lionel Frost categorised what he saw in 1995 to be the four promising developments of Australian urban history. These were inquiry into the origins of capital cities, work on cities other than Sydney and Melbourne, a proliferation of local history and a rising concern in the community for the state of the cities. This thesis does not promise a great deal in any of the first three of Frost's senses, and may make only an ingenuous claim to the fourth.²⁰ Instead, the author hopes to make some contribution to the understanding of the way Sydneysiders have reacted to their city, and the ways in which these reactions have impacted on the environment, the economy, the culture, and the city itself. It is, as its title suggests, a supplement to the great body of scholarship that has already accrued to urban history, and a more novel addition to the newer field of the history of leisure.

There is also in this thesis a focus on leisure and tourism, particularly domestic tourism originating in Sydney.²¹ Davidson and Spearritt's *Holiday Business: Tourism in Australia Since 1870* has been most useful in this regard, as has Richard Waterhouse's *Private Pleasures, Public Leisure: A History of Australian Popular Culture since 1788*.²² The recently published history of the Australian holiday, *On Holidays*, by Richard White and a number of his research students, has been extremely useful in the preparation of this thesis. The fifth chapter of *On Holidays*, 'The Heyday of the Holiday: 1945 – 1975', attributed in part to Lila Oldmeadow has been an invaluable reference in a field where there is very little written work.²³ White comments that it is surprising that "there has been no history of the holiday in Australia, despite the formative role Australia has played in its development."²⁴ In the course of this thesis, forms of recreation that are not tourism (defined by the Bureau of Tourism

¹⁸ Paul Ashton, *The Accidental City: Planning Sydney Since 1788*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, 1995

¹⁹ Paul Ashton and Duncan Waterson, *Sydney Takes Shape: a History in Maps*, Hema Maps, Brisbane, 2000

²⁰ Lionel Frost, op.cit., p.150

²¹ In 1983 the American scholar Roy Rosenzweig noted that the history of working class leisure was an obvious but largely unexplored corollary to industrial labor history. Despite significant contributions over the intervening decades, the field is still ripe for exploration. See Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What we Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983

²² Jim Davidson and Peter Spearritt, *Holiday Business: Tourism in Australia Since 1870*, Melbourne, Meigunyah Press, 2000; Richard Waterhouse, *Private Pleasures, Public Leisure: A History of Australian Popular Culture Since 1788*, Longman, Melbourne, 1995

²³ 'The Heyday of the Holiday', in Richard White et al., *On Holidays: A History of Getting Away in Australia*, Pluto Press, Sydney, 2005, pp.119-153

²⁴ White et al., *On Holidays*, p.xv

Research as ‘a stay away from home of one or more nights and requiring a journey of at least 40 kilometres from home’)²⁵ are often considered within the same context as a ‘tourist activity’, for convenience and because it would often be anachronistic to do otherwise. In 1986 Geoffrey Lawrence and David Rowe observed that the history of sport was an underdeveloped field, but the history of organised sport has received closer attention since then.²⁶ During the nineties a number of studies of leisure in the United States of America were produced that have a direct bearing on this thesis and are supportive of its hypothesis. Of these, Richard Butsch (ed.) *For Fun and Profit: The Transformation of Leisure into Consumption* has been particularly useful in providing a Marxist model of the commodification of leisure.²⁷ The last part of this thesis examines the effectiveness of open space and increased leisure in realising the objectives of post-war ideologues and in doing so reference is made to histories of organised sport and leisure; the final analysis of ‘disorganised’ sport relies heavily on primary sources and a very few secondary sources, since this is still a new field. This study of the less organised forms of recreation is pertinent to the ideologies explored in the first part of this thesis, and gives a glimpse of the activities that took place in the leisure time and leisure spaces that were formed as a result of these ideological pressures; hopefully it also adds something to the body of historical scholarship accruing to recreation in Australia.

Three historical themes are drawn together in this thesis to describe the trajectory of post-war outdoor recreation from public policy to mass consumption: the state’s role in the provision of recreational infrastructure as a form of capital accumulation; the emergence of a hegemonic ‘Australian way of life’ that relied on such accumulation; and the development of a leisure ethic that augmented the work ethic and extended the capitalist market, being central to the transformation of citizen to consumer in post-war Australia.

Post-war recreation followed a similar pattern to post-war reconstruction in general. Following the example of the Chifley government and the Department of Post-war Reconstruction, government departments initially acted to limit market forces and direct production, backed by

²⁵ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.331

²⁶ Geoffrey Lawrence and David Rowe, ‘Towards a sociology of sport in Australia’ in Geoffrey Lawrence and David Rowe (eds.), *Power Play: The Commercialisation of Australian Sport*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, 1986, pp.13-45

²⁷ Richard Butsch (ed.), *For Fun and Profit: The Transformation of Leisure into Consumption*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1990.

continued industrialisation and enlarged public spending. Interventionist policy created conditions favourable to capitalist production and mass consumption (something of a paradox for classical economists, but quite explicable to the new breed of Keynesians), culminating in a stagflationary spiral. The role of the state in providing leisure infrastructure was essentially the same as the state's role in capital accumulation in other areas of the boom economy. Since the seventies much of the infrastructure of outdoor recreation has been privatised, or at least corporatised, excess consumer spending power being absorbed in fees for services and in the purchase of outdoor paraphernalia. The leisure boom has a dialectical history. Where post-war leisure was initially a state sponsored escape from urban industrial work, it came to bind the citizen closer to work and helped in transforming the citizen into a consumer. An eminent historian of Western leisure, Fred Inglis contends that "as the consumer came to supersede the producer as the dominant force in economic life, so at the same time the consumer replaced the citizen as the agent of political life."²⁸ In post-war Australia as memories of war and depression faded, many Australians gradually forgot about the politics of welfare and the workplace and thought instead of their doings on the weekend, their holidays and retirement.

The shaping of the post-war recreational environment was distinguished by an enthusiasm not seen in the inter-war years, but in other ways the post-war program of rationalising space continued earlier themes in Australia's social history. Planners' attempts to rationalise space were a continuation of colonial processes, the postcolonial act of mapping now turned to the planned transformation of the landscape. Mutual societies such as the NRMA, as well as bushwalking, cycling, boating and similar associations extended the cultural identity of mobile Australia to the landscape through increasingly formal mapping projects. Private enterprise flourished. Street directories, and a proliferation of 'how to' and 'where to' literature found new resources to exploit in the countryside. True to earlier modes of Australian colonialism, the state instigated the process, securing resources and markets to facilitate capitalist development. Projecting a vision on to a landscape through maps is a resolutely postcolonial act.²⁹

²⁸ Fred Inglis, *The Delicious History of the Holiday*, Routledge, London, 2000, p.1

²⁹ Jackie Higgins, Rita Higgins and Jane M. Jacobs, 'Kooramindanjie: Place and the postcolonial', in White R., and Russell P. (eds.), *Memories & Dreams: reflections on 20th century Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, pp. 229-245

Sydney's post-war planning is primarily a history of the Cumberland County Council, and although the council receives a great deal of attention in later chapters it needs some introduction here. The Cumberland County Council was convened by the vigorously progressive McKell State government in 1945 as an amendment to the Planning Bill of that year. In his biography of McKell, Chris Cunneen describes the importance of the plan to the Premier who had spent his formative years in the Sydney's less sylvan suburbs. Cunneen also describes the political evolution of the County Council, which was charged with planning Sydney.³⁰ The Council's ten members were to be elected by the sixty-nine constituent councils of the region, and were given three years to produce a planning scheme.³¹ The Council had a turbulent career lasting a little over a decade. In its third year it produced the Cumberland County Council Planning Scheme Report and an act of parliament was passed to extend its tenure. The Cumberland County Council Planning Scheme was presented to the Minister for Local Government, the Hon. J. J. Cahill, on the 27th of July, 1948. The Cumberland County Council Ordinance (1951) conferred statutory powers on the Council.³² Central features of the scheme were the redevelopment of substantial areas of inner-city housing, the imposition of a rational transport and zoning plan, provision of open space and the preservation of a 'green belt' of rural land around Sydney. The scheme did not explicitly plan new cities, or the decentralisation of the population throughout the state, although these were prerequisites to its success. The planners warned of the dangers of unchecked urbanisation and the concomitant loss of countryside.³³ The larger the urban population, the more important was deemed the 'rural background.'³⁴ The scheme was the product of a planning discourse that assumed unequivocally that "the rural areas further the physical and mental fitness of urban populations",³⁵ a belief derived of British planning tradition and closely tied to the ideas of progressives and eugenicists of the early twentieth-century. The planning of Sydney continued the colonial project of anglicising the environment and of appropriating it, echoing the closer settlement schemes of the nineteenth century and the soldier settlement schemes of the twentieth century in assumptions of rural amenity and the civilising qualities of a stout

³⁰ Cunneen, op. cit. (2), 190-1

³¹ Peter Harrison, 'Profile of a purposeful planner: Rodreick David Lovat Fraser, 1911-1983', *Australian Planner*, Vol.21 No.1, April/May 1983, pp.29-33; Allport, op. cit. (1), p.61

³² Technically these powers are still in force, although the Council itself no longer exists

³³ Cumberland County Council, op. cit., p.1

³⁴ *ibid*, p.123

³⁵ *ibid*, p.123

yeomanry. The colonial project continued in post-war Sydney in three ways. The landscape was either anglicised, symbolically or actually, recolonised, or appropriated. The first was attempted through a green belt and, more successfully, in playing fields and golf courses; the second entailed recreational exploration; the third required an extensification of designated parkland and preservation of bushland, where Aboriginal practices such as camping, hunting, walking, fishing (and artistry) were coopted in a postcolonial mimetic. To some extent these overlapped. Acclimatisation of various species, for instance, meant that the colonial hunter fished for British prey in Australian streams and hunted it on land. The cult of the colonial frontiersman, as enjoyed by many a post-war suburbanite was at once a reaffirmation of colonial identity and an appropriation of Aboriginal culture (and land). To the invaders the frontiersman was synthesis, where raw colonist was thesis and Aborigine antithesis.

In Western societies outdoor recreation was commonly prescribed as an antidote to urbanisation; in post-war Australia this prescription took on new significance. Reformers had been vocal about the problem of urbanisation for decades and many of their arguments carried over into post-war Australia. Outdoor recreation allowed the preservation of an 'Australian identity' at a time of rapid social change. The postcolonial relationship with nature was continued through leisure; the disparity between imagined and material identity were partly reconciled on the weekend. As a frontier society (at least in its imagination – as will be seen, Australia had long been overwhelmingly suburban) the leisure choices of Australians were different in some ways to those of other Western countries where leisure was also booming. This was particularly important to Australian men, for whom the tradition of the frontiersman and the newly revitalised Anzac male was starkly at odds with the lives to which many were demobilised.³⁶ Recreation was conceived as more than a symbolic gesture towards to frontiersman, for in some ways it was intended that in recreation the soldier citizen might be preserved among his suburban and white-collar comforts. Militarism itself is an underrated theme in Sydney's history, the threats of French, German, Russian and Japanese empires influencing the city's strategic developments from Holsworthy to Mosman. The threat of aerial bombardment, conventional and nuclear, persuaded many that the city needed to be more decentralised. More land was reserved for military purposes than for national parks in the

³⁶ Marilyn Lake, 'The politics of respectability: identifying the masculinist context', *Historical Studies*, Vol.22, No. 86, April 1986, pp.116-31

initial plan for post-war Sydney. The traditional criticisms of urbanisation were added to by the peculiar circumstances of the post-war period. The demographic shock of the baby boom and post-war immigration brought an increased emphasis on Sydney's natural amenities. The baby boom accentuated the domesticity already present in the idealised suburb and entailed an increasing concern with the physical and social environment of child rearing. The backyard, schools, parks and playgrounds, sports, scouts, holidays (masculinised by excursions to the bush in the company of father) were essential institutions in the upbringing of the baby boomers. Rapid urban expansion and the boom in adult sporting participation meant that schools in new suburbs would need to be much larger to accommodate more playing fields.³⁷ Mass immigration brought an emphasis on assimilation and environmental 'naturalisation' of the 'New Australian', emphasising a leisured relationship with nature in a 'way of life' not otherwise well defined. White observes that the

'Australian way of life' was presented to the influx of post-war immigrants as both a gift and a command: it was what they were expected to conform to. Yet the communal camping holiday was surprisingly more like a 'continental' holiday than an Anglo-Saxon one. While it seems to have emerged independently in Australia it was something that the new post-war migrants could engage in with gusto. Like other Australians, they regularly shared holidays with extended families or large groups of friends, and fishing, conversation and communal meals were high on the agenda.³⁸

Demographic shock stimulated demand for the provision of recreational facilities and the accoutrements of leisure, contributing to the growth an increasingly affluent consumer culture. In anticipating this demand the post-war state was thoroughly advised of population trends by State and Commonwealth departments of post-war reconstruction, departments of housing and by the newly empowered professions of planning and the social sciences.

In this revived post-war discourse of leisure, earlier ideas were still present. Continuing a eugenicist discourse prevalent in the pre and inter-war periods, national parks, outdoor recreation areas and sports grounds that were envisaged by post-war activists and planners were intended to improve the fitness of urban population and were directly or indirectly linked to state sponsored programs of national fitness. As the discourse of the cold war supplanted that of post-war Australia, 'national fitness' came also to mean the fight against that debilitating metropolitan social malaise that could lead to bolshevism and other foreign

³⁷ SRNSW: CGS 10663, Kingswood 11/19038, National Fitness Council of New South Wales, *Policy Book*, c.November 1939 - 21 May 1959, 'Secondary school sites: necessity for increase in areas to be acquired'

disorders. Elements of the eugenics movement persisted, muted by a perceived association with Nazism but also reinforced by war-time experience of the effectiveness of fascist methods of social organisation and social control through recreation. Eugenics had considerable currency in Australia between and before the wars and it is my contention that many of the assumptions of eugenics persisted in post-war policy. Caroline Daley succinctly describes scholarly historiography of Australasian eugenics:

Both Garton and Watts argue that Bacchi sets up a false and unnecessary dichotomy between ‘pre-war optimistic environmentalism and inter-war pessimistic hereditarianism’. Instead, they see eugenics in the inter-war period as more complex than Bacchi’s binary model allows.³⁹

Elements of the post-war reconstruction effort were a continuation of earlier progressivism of which eugenics was an expression, rather than a covert continuation of a eugenicist conspiracy.

Progressive ideas carried over from before the war had significant impact on Australian ideas of urban reform and concepts of nature. International progressivism dealt with many of the same problems, if on a larger scale, than were contemplated in Australia. Princeton Professor of literature William A. Gleason notes the influence of nineteenth century progressivism on twentieth-century America:

Born from the deathbed of the work ethic, spurred by laborer’s demands for more free time and the Progressive Era’s belief that right recreation held the key to national regeneration, the American “gospel of play” quickly became a matter of cultural necessity as well as public policy.⁴⁰

Michael Roe described progressive vitalism and its links with both eugenics and fascism. Vitalist, modernist progressives were (in the early to mid twentieth-century) pan-Atlantic, bridging Fabianism and Theodore Roosevelt, adhering to the philosophy of Bergson, William James and Nietzsche and characterised by distinct themes. These were a rejection of determinism, an embrace of ‘creative evolution’, nationalism and even supernationalism, statism and a contradictory elitism and progressivism. Vitalists continued the intellectual

³⁸ White et al., op. cit., p.142

³⁹ Caroline Daley, ‘The Strongman of Eugenics, Eugen Sandow’, *Historical Studies*, Vol.33, No.120, October 2002, pp.233-248, p.242; Stephen Garton, ‘Sound minds and healthy bodies: re-considering eugenics in Australia, 1914-1940’, *Historical Studies*, Vol.26, No.103, Oct 1994; Rob Watts, ‘Beyond nature and nurture: eugenics in twentieth century Australian history’, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, No.40, 1994, p.318-34; C. L. Bacchi, ‘The nature-nurture debate in Australia, 1900-1914’, *Historical Studies*, Vol.19, No.75, Oct 1980, p.199-212

⁴⁰ William A. Gleason, *The Leisure Ethic: Work and Play in American Literature, 1840-1940*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, California, 1999, p.1

tradition of nineteenth-century utilitarians and transcendental moralists. They were also distinctively bourgeois, with an ambivalent attitude toward the masses.⁴¹ Nature was paramount in the progressive scheme:

Reinforcing progressive nationalism, although having its intrinsic importance, was a passion for Nature. For many Progressives that was *the* source of vitality, joy, and freedom. Roosevelt's own delight in natural science had many echoes. Among his most famous followers were ardent conservationists; although some interpreted conservation only as achieving maximum use of resources, others were environmentalists in much the latter-day sense (and even most use-stressers reconciled that position with Nature worship). Another outgrowth from such attitudes was the country life movement, which strove to embellish rural ways. Thereby virtues of the soil would strengthen, for the common good.⁴²

Progressivism abhorred the mob and "sought conservative ends by radical means".⁴³ Health, virtue, motherhood and children were linked to eugenic beliefs. Inter-war Australia resounded with progressive vitalism; any post-war continuation of these themes would clearly be phrased in terms other than those that evoked fascism, but many of the reforms for the "second white city of the British empire"⁴⁴ retained their vitalist appeal. The extent to which Sydney's reformers drew directly on vitalist ideals is limited but demonstrable. Roe has demonstrated a link between Victorian reformist intellectuals, such as Barrett and the formation of national parks, and Roe's work is expanded by Mirams. In Sydney we might also add the peculiar influence of Walter Burleigh Griffin, fresh from Chicago and influenced by its progressive, vitalist traditions. Roe observes that C. E. W. Bean also expresses similar concerns to those of Barrett, and it will be shown that Bean was an influential figure in post-war Sydney.

It is worth noting that a substantial progressive thesis, Thorstein Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class*, first published in 1899, had enjoyed a revival with the depression and New Deal despite what was by then a rather archaic methodological approach on Veblen's part. In 1936 Veblen's work was popularised by J. A. Hobson as part of a 'modern sociologists' series brought out by British publishers Chapman and Hall in response to the "growing public interest in the several branches of social science".⁴⁵ The United States, where Veblen had

⁴¹ Michael Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives: Vitalism and Bourgeois Social Thought 1890-1960*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1984, pp.9-13

⁴² *ibid*, p.12

⁴³ *ibid*, p.13

⁴⁴ Cumberland County Council, *Planning Scheme for the County of Cumberland, New South Wales*, Cumberland County Council, Sydney, 1948, p.1

⁴⁵ Publisher's note, J. A. Hobson, *Veblen*, Chapman and Hall, London, 1936; incidentally, the authors' admiration was mutual. Veblen had reviewed J. A. Hobson's *Imperialism: A Study in The Journal of Political Economy*,

made his home and career, was keen to claim an intellectual response to the events of the thirties and forties and his influence on American economic theory is marked.⁴⁶ Hobson held that Veblen would have felt himself vindicated by the “general collapse of industry in America”⁴⁷ and his *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* was held by many to be a work of near prescience.⁴⁸ Veblen’s celebration of the engineer and distrust of the capitalist class was a precursor to the importance of the technocrat to post-war planning.⁴⁹ A key thinker in American economics, Wesley Mitchell, wrote of his intellectual debt to Veblen.⁵⁰ A rash of American commentaries appeared on Veblen in the Fifties. “Were Veblen alive today” wrote the University of Chicago’s Professor of Social Sciences David Riesman, “I think he would be surprised at the impact views such as his have had on the educated rich themselves”.⁵¹ In 1956 another Veblenite scholar, Max Lerner observed that

... the fact that Veblen could be a different figure to so many of us – to the social reform generation of the turn of the century, the young radicals of the Twenties, the Marxists and New Dealers of the Thirties, and the post-war generation of the Forties and Fifties, is an index of the inner *give* of his ideas. He has meant different things to Alvin Johnson, Wesley Mitchell and Walton Hamilton, to Randolph Bourne and John Dos Passos, to John R. Commons and Charles A. Beard, to Abraham Harris and Arthur K. Davis, to David Riesman and C. Wright Mills.⁵²

Veblen had hypothesised, with reference to (somewhat spurious) anthropological evidence that a productive surplus had allowed a predatory class to emerge in primitive societies and that this predatory or ‘leisure’ class formed the basis of modern social hierarchy. Conspicuous leisure, conspicuous consumption and social emulation were held to be the basis of social organisation, made possible by the greater marginal utility of labour. Conversely, employment at productive labour signified low social status, whatever the marginal utility achieved. Effort could only be expended nobly at unproductive labour. Unproductive labour might take the form of the cultivation of manners, service to the church, government or sports.

March 1903, pp.311-319

⁴⁶ Joseph Dorfman, ‘The source of Veblen’s thought’, in Douglas F. Dowd (ed.) *Thorstein Veblen: A Critical Reappraisal*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 1958, pp.1-12, pp.8-9

⁴⁷ Hobson, op. cit., p.78

⁴⁸ Thorstein Veblen, *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*, Viking Press, New York, 1954

⁴⁹ Jeremy Rifkin, *The End of Work: The Decline of the Global Labor Force and the Dawn of the Post-Market Era*, Putnam, New York, 1995, p.54

⁵⁰ David Riesman, *Thorstein Veblen: A Critical Interpretation*, Charles Scribner’s Sons, New York, 1953, p.xi

⁵¹ *ibid*, p.170-71

⁵² Bernard Rosenberg, *The Values of Veblen: A Critical Appraisal*, Public Affairs Press, Washington, 1956, p.v

This is to summarise Veblen rather crudely, but for now it is sufficient to observe that in the post-war years there was a conscious effort to democratise leisure through modernist methods and that whether or not these efforts were informed by a reading of Veblen, Veblen's observations concerning leisure, aristocracy and emulation are pertinent to the central hypothesis of this thesis and are referred to in subsequent chapters.⁵³ As Riesman put it, "values once confined to a small elite group, or to an elite place within the hearts of many – a kind of Sunday rather than a weekday place – have now spread much more widely."⁵⁴ Where *Who's Who* had once listed the interests of the elite as 'Hunting, Fishing, Shooting', popular magazines of the boom took these as their subject and very nearly as their title. If the leisure class *per se* had disappeared (as J. K. Galbraith was to argue in *The Affluent Society*),⁵⁵ the democratisation or rationalisation of leisure had given rise to what became known as a 'leisure society'.⁵⁶ White qualifies what he calls this "simple embourgeoisment thesis" by maintaining that most holidays were family based and self serviced,⁵⁷ but it is easily established that the holiday was a growing field of consumption. In Britain a school of thought had emerged in the inter-war period that foresaw the democratisation of leisure. Its proponents included John C. Hammond, C. D. Burns and Bertrand Russell who advanced what Garry Cross calls "the idea of the progressive democratisation of leisure". Russell argued that leisure could move beyond the leisure class and that people would thereby become less suspicious and more kindly to one another.⁵⁸ In Australia the democratisation of leisure allowed some semblance of equality. White observes that "On holiday, for a time, equality was more a reality";⁵⁹ it was an equality of consumers, however, and as such a vulnerable one.

Leisure time, leisured space and outdoor recreation in particular were important in describing what was increasingly being termed 'the Australian way of life'. The 'national type' that had been described as 'coming' for the first half of the century had now 'arrived', and could be identified by reference to a catalogue of activities rather than attitudes. In this way the 'national type' was eclipsed by a set of activities that posed no threat to the social order, an

⁵³ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, The Modern Library, New York, 1934

⁵⁴ Riesman, op. cit. (2), p.179

⁵⁵ J. K. Galbraith, *The Affluent Society*, Penguin, London, 1982

⁵⁶ Jeremy Seabrook, *The Leisure Society*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1988, p.9

⁵⁷ White et al., op. cit., p.141

⁵⁸ Gary Cross, *A Social History of Leisure Since 1600*, Venture, State College PA, 1990, pp.169-70

⁵⁹ White et al., op. cit., p.132

expression of a hegemonic set of values. The way of life was inherently masculine, associated with vigorous outdoor leisure pursuits, but not by the vigorous pursuit of industrial action. Notions of having arrived at a way of life quickly replaced notions of reform prevalent in the final phases of the war, as the cold war demanded a concrete set of values that could externalise communist and other foreign threats. Where mass participation in outdoor recreation entailed democratisation, the Australian way of life ensured that at least some of the values of the leisure class were disseminated too. The Anzac ethos was reinvigorated. Outdoor leisure provided positive examples of the Australian way of life to which it was demanded that post-war immigrants should assimilate.⁶⁰ The Australian way of life would remain an institution of conservatism throughout the boom, despite attempts to redefine it in terms of 'the quality of life' by the Whitlam Labor government between 1972 and 1975. Conservative or not, 'way of life' or 'quality of life', the construct was still defined as a counterpoint to urbanism. Whitlam held that there was

. . . no greater social problem facing Australia than the good use of leisure. It is the problem of all modern and wealthy communities. It is, above all, the problem of urban societies and thus, in Australia, the most urbanised nation on earth, a problem more pressing for us than any other nation on earth.⁶¹

Whitlam notwithstanding, the Australian way of life remained a hegemonic force in Australian society.

Increasing affluence, cold war conservatism and the hegemonic influence of the Australian way of life were mutually reinforcing and helped to consolidate a leisure ethic.⁶² The concept of leisure as a counterpoint to work can be traced as far back as Aristotle, is perpetuated by the religious Sabbath and is a feature of most utopian projections to be found in Western history.⁶³ Nineteenth-century commentators had first noticed the propensity to leisure among skilled tradespeople who opted for increased leisure over increased income and the phenomenon had caused concern that the work ethic might thereby be subverted.⁶⁴ It is argued in this thesis that these fears, at least as they applied to late twentieth-century Sydney, were unfounded; the leisure ethic tended to reinforce the work ethic. Leisure functioned as a reward for the labours

⁶⁰ Richard White, "'The Australian Way of Life'", *Historical Studies*, Vol.18, No.73, pp.528-545

⁶¹ E. G. Whitlam, quoting himself in E. G. Whitlam, 'Foreword', Rob Lynch and A. J. Veal, *Australian Leisure*, Longman, Melbourne, 1996, pp.iii-vi, p.iii

⁶² John Murphy, *Imagining the Fifties: Private Sentiment and Political Culture in Menzies' Australia*, Pluto Press, Sydney, 2000, pp.5-6; White et al., op. cit., p.130

⁶³ A. J. Veal, *Leisure and the Future*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1987, pp.22-46

⁶⁴ Cross, op. cit., pp.12-13, 34-5

of the working week, spatially and temporally rationalised, without necessarily implying a rejection of the work ethic. As sociologist I. G. Simmons put it in 1975:

This attitude may represent a relatively recent swing away from the idea that work was the chief aim in life and good for you. If you do enough of it then you may have a treat in the form of some leisure. In such a system, holidays were at the behest of the Church or State, or for medical reasons and the Aristotelian idea that we labour in order to have leisure was overlain by the Weberian doctrine that we do not work to live but that we live to work.⁶⁵

One's enjoyment of leisure increases in contrast to the rigor of one's labours and the means to purchase recreational goods and services. The leisure ethic manifested in a number of ways. Firstly, leisure was sublimated as a time of natural communion. Secondly, leisured space became a mythical 'other'. Often this 'other' was represented in spiritual terms, such as 'paradise', signifying the leisure ethic's derivation from a work ethic itself derived from Christian ideas of divine reward. The journey to the holiday ground could be at once spatial and spiritual, towards an earthly reward for toil in the urban industrial world. Thirdly, a spatially and temporally distinct holiday provided a clearer focus for the individual toiling in the city. Contemplation of the holiday ideal translated to consumer purchases, of equipment to be used on vacation and on advisory and celebratory literature relating to leisure pursuits. In this way the leisure ethic reinforced the work ethic, rather than subverting it. As will be demonstrated in the final chapter, a leisure ethic also facilitated the extension of capitalism into new markets. While the leisure ethic meshed with Anglo-Australian notions of reform and the 'Australian way of life', it also signified a cultural shift towards the United States of America, where a leisure ethic was firmly established. William A. Gleason describes the process by which 'play theorists' introduced ameliorative leisure to America:

Lamenting the physical, moral, and spiritual decline brought on by the growth of cramped urban centres, the spread of unskilled labor, and the emphasis in American schools on head work instead of body work, these theorists urged constructive play as the nation's most important work.⁶⁶

It will be seen that Australian reformers sought to introduce constructive play in the same way from the mid nineteenth-century, but it was in the post-war era that their efforts bore fruit in the form of a leisure ethic.

⁶⁵ I. G. Simmons, *Rural Recreation in the Industrial World*, Edward Arnold, London, 1975, p.5; J. B. Nash, *Recreation: pertinent readings*, Dubuque, Iowa, 1965; R. Revelle, 'Outdoor recreation in a hyper-productive society', *Daedalus*, No.96, pp.1172-91

⁶⁶ Gleason, op. cit., p.3

This is a history of leisure which must draw on urban studies, because it proposes that much post-war leisure was devised as a means of countering urbanisation. The hypothesis is dialectical, suggesting that the cultural opposition of urban and rural, work and leisure, public and private resulted in a dynamic relationship which resulted in the hegemony of one over the other; multiple patterns of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. In many ways it is in microcosm the story of post-war reconstruction in general, as it moved from qualified idealism to conservatism and consumerism. The thesis necessarily considers issues of masculinity, post colonialism, progressivism, post-war reconstruction, the democratisation of leisure and the development of that conservative synthesis, the 'Australian way of life'.

CHAPTER ONE

Post-war urbanisation: dilemma and development



Residential tents during the housing crisis, Narrabeen, c.1950⁶⁷

Throughout the industrialised world, post-war conditions revived concerns about urbanisation with renewed and sometimes novel emphasis. American historian L. Sue Greer noted that in the post-war period

Economic and social changes pushed the federal government into extensive recreation development. Among the social changes that stimulated a national recreation program were (1) the rapid concentration of population in metropolitan areas brought about by the massive growth of suburban communities between 1946 and 1970; (2) the reduction of the work week and increased leisure time for many workers; (3) the beginning of the shift from a manufacturing to a service economy.⁶⁸

The Australian experience was similar, although the Australian ‘state’ cannot be seen to have responded in such a uniform fashion as did the United States. Despite a concerted program of post-war reconstruction in the immediate post-war period, the arrival of the Menzies

⁶⁷ SRNSW: AK415, EPA 253, FH 136

⁶⁸ L. Sue Greer, ‘The United States Forest Service and the postwar commodification of outdoor recreation’, in Richard Butsch op. cit., pp.152-70, p.150

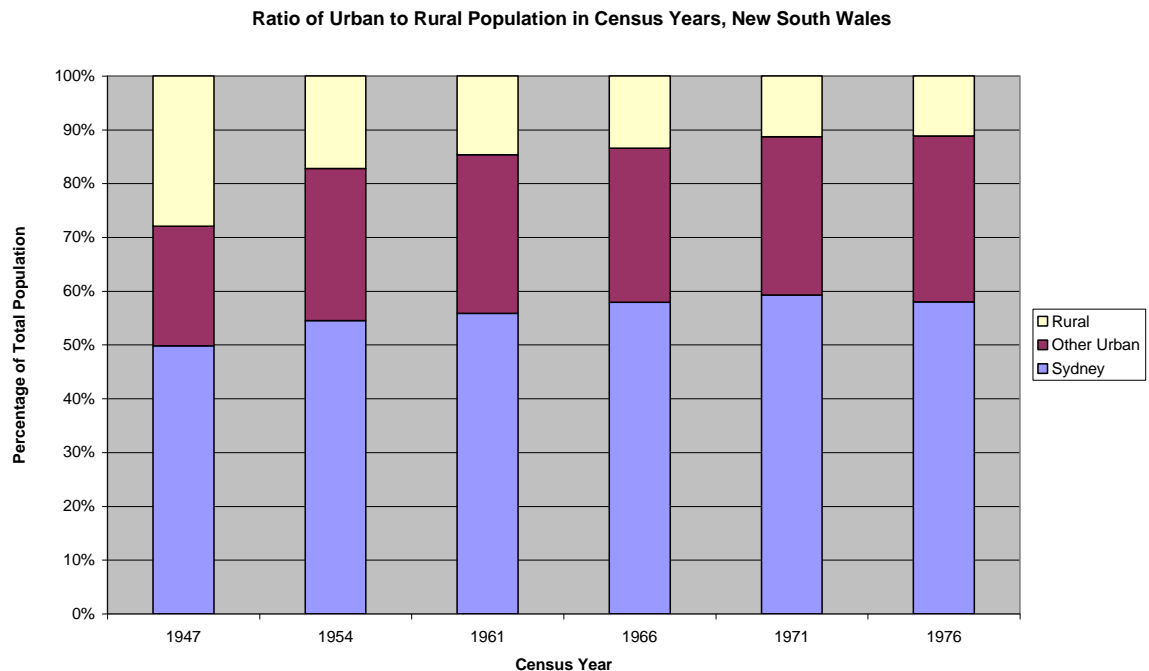
government saw most planning functions devolve to States, not to be taken up again at the federal level until 1972.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, the similarity to the American experience pointed to a convergence of national experience and might account for the growing influence of American environmental policy in Australia.

⁶⁹ E. G. Whitlam, 'Foreword', Rob Lynch and A. J. Veal, op. cit., pp.iii-vi

Urbanisation

“The whole of the County of Cumberland was once an area of loveliness and wild life”⁷⁰

Before exploring the reactions to urbanisation in Sydney, it is necessary to consider the extent of the phenomenon and perceptions of ‘the problem’.⁷¹ During the post-war boom Sydney’s population not only grew apace with the population of Australia, but also accounted for an increasing share of the growth of New South Wales. It was expected that the Cumberland County would account for 25 per cent of the national population by 1972. Census data shows a steady increase in Sydney’s share of New South Wales’ population:



72

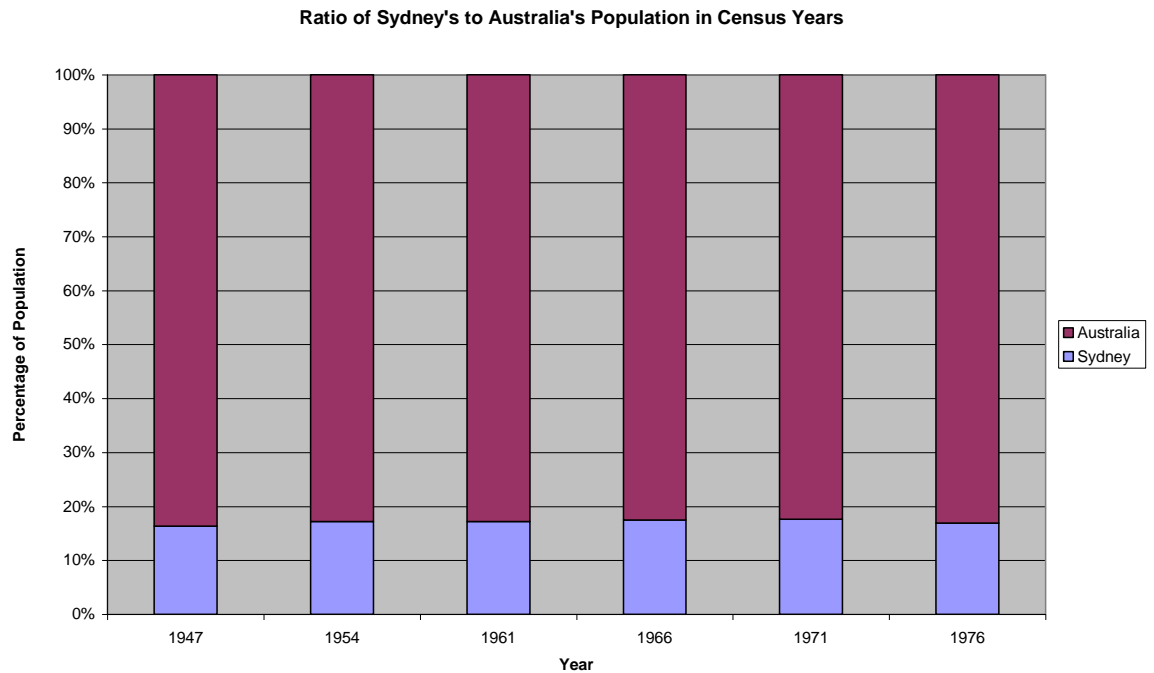
While Sydney claimed 8 per cent more of the total population over the boom, other urban areas accounted for 30 per cent of the population by 1976. Rural areas had declined from just under 30 per cent to just over 10 per cent of the population. This was similar to the experience

⁷⁰ Cumberland County Council, op. cit., p.139

⁷¹ It should be noted here that ‘urbanisation’ in post-war was predominantly ‘suburbanisation’ and as such the terms tend to be used interchangeably, particularly when switching between primary sources which tended to conflate the two.

⁷² Derived from Wray Vamplew (ed.), *Australians: Historical Statistics*, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, Sydney, 1987, p.41

of Australia as a whole, except that on a national scale regional cities gained more than was the case in New South Wales. In 1948 the Cumberland County Council had estimated that Australia's population would stabilise at around 9.5 million by 1980, and that by 1972 the County of Cumberland would hold around 25 per cent of Australia's population.⁷³ Compare this to the census data:

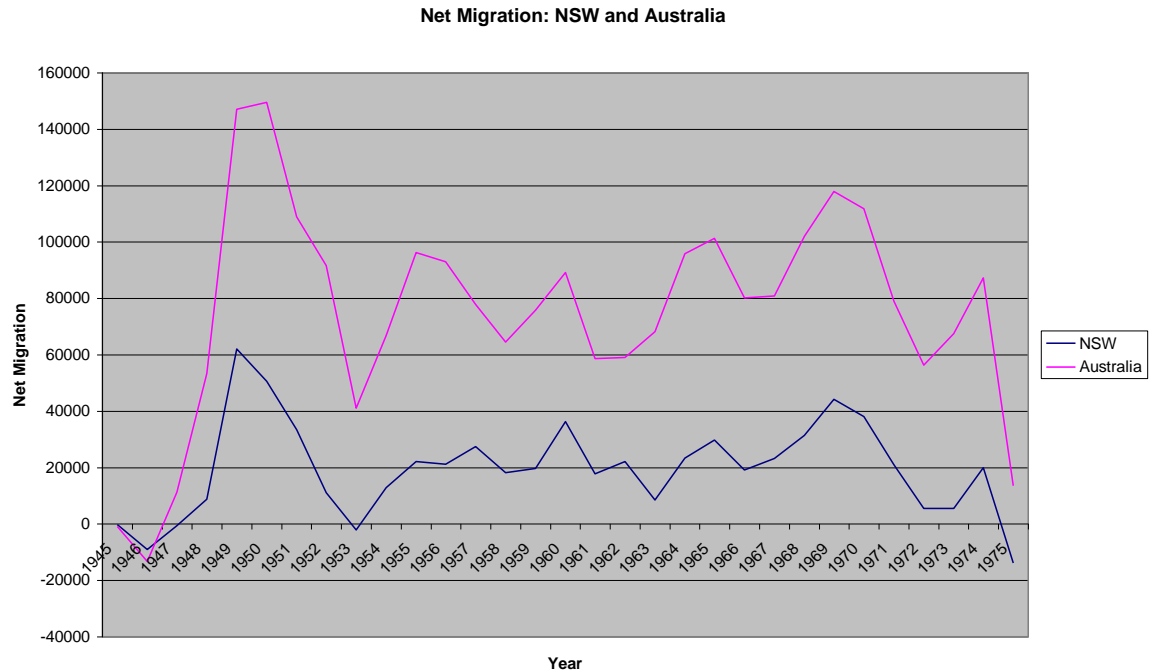


74

While the projected ratios were less than accurate, the raw population estimates were surpassed by 1970 – and continued to climb. The Council underestimated Australia's population in 1980 by almost five million souls! This was possibly because the Council either shared in common expectations of a post-war slump, or because it did not anticipate the high levels of immigration that occurred throughout the boom. Certainly, New South Wales attracted a large proportion of Australia's migrant intake:

⁷³ 'Population projection for the County of Cumberland', Cumberland County Council, op. cit., p.49

⁷⁴ Data from Vamplew (ed.), op. cit., pp.26, 41



75

It can be seen that in all demographic trends Sydney was at the fore of urbanisation in Australia, posing as many practical problems for those charged with plumbing its suburbs as for those concerned with shaping its citizens and ensuring that the ‘way of life’ that was enjoyed there was ‘truly’ Australian.

Sydney’s growth was undoubtedly the result of the post-war immigration program and baby boom, but it was internal migration that caused Country Party conservatives to sit uncomfortably in their parliamentary seats. In 1948 the New South Wales division of the Liberal Party of Australia recorded concern that New South Wales had grown by 382,148 souls between 1933 and 1947, but the rural areas of the State had declined. Sydney, Newcastle and the Illawarra had gained 404,140 persons.⁷⁶ The ‘exodus’ from the land was a result of improved productivity, the rise of agribusiness and the decline of the small farm, but the long term effects of the rural labour shortage were deemed to be potentially ‘disastrous’ and would surely spell reduced rations for a Britain still recovering from the Second World War and mindful of the ‘dollar gap’. In the event of a return of demand for rural labour, it was still

⁷⁵ *ibid*, p.6

⁷⁶ The Liberal Party of Australia, New South Wales Division, ‘The drift to the cities in New South Wales’, *Research Bulletin* No.NSW 5/48, 6.12.48, p.1

doubtful that many would return to the land. The Liberals held that the population had become addicted to the pleasures of urban life, that

Better pay, and possibly less arduous work, is only one of the many attractions of city life. Laid on water, a sewerage system, gas and electricity in the home and delivery of milk and bread, all decrease domestic work. Shopping is easier in the city. There are good and convenient schools for the children. Recreation, entertainment and social life are at hand, whereas for many rural labourers life is dull and lonely. The war provided an opportunity for them to get city jobs and it is not surprising that they took it.⁷⁷

At the other end of the boom the then Australian Conservation Foundation president J. Blanch maintained that the modern city still had its attractions:

Perhaps life expectancy might be taken as an index of health. If so, the life of city people now-a-days is at least as good as that of country people. This was not always the case, of course, and reflects the remarkable achievement of providing cities with sewages, pure foods and clean water. If we take insanity as an index of happiness then the small – many would claim ideal – city of Canberra harbors the most unhappy people in Australia. Perth, another of our smaller cities, has the second highest number of beds occupied by psychiatric patients. Criteria of wisdom and virtue are more difficult to nominate, but if one saw these qualities in terms of individual contributions to the sum of human culture, big city people again appear to be superior to country people and small city people on a per head of population basis.⁷⁸

In Australia's post-war cities the amenities of post-war life multiplied. There were more schools and hospitals and more employment, and there were increasingly more amenities to ensure leisure. The 'urban' population was increasingly suburban and more likely to enjoy leisure time, as well as leisured space.

⁷⁷ *ibid*, p.6

⁷⁸ *NBAC: Australian Conservation Foundation Files, N134/296*, J. Blanch, 'A conservationists comments on housing in Australia', paper presented to the Housing Industry Association 8th National Convention, Melbourne, April 10-13, 1973

Responses to urbanisation

The centralisation of Australia around its cities and of New South Wales around Sydney in particular, caused consternation among some reformers and not a little confusion in an Australian identity that had again embraced the Australian legend in the garb of the Anzac.⁷⁹ Lionel Frost has written that Australia's cities were large because of the obvious demands of economic history and that "whether the Australian economy was overurbanised, with capital cities that were *too* large, as contemporaries argued and some modern analysts have implied, is a more complex issue that awaits further investigation".⁸⁰ While this thesis does not offer the evaluation of overurbanisation anticipated by Frost, it presupposes a preoccupation with overurbanisation in post-war Australia. After the Second World War bourgeois social reformers revived their earlier objections to the urban environment. Allport describes the environmental determinist assumption which held that "the social ills of the city had their roots . . . in the poor living conditions of most of the inhabitants."⁸¹ Michael Roe's biographical work on James William Barrett, mentioned above and used extensively by Mirams in her thesis on the inter-war movement is also pertinent to this thesis. Roe wrote that

The unifying concept was that as increasingly fewer people lived close to Nature and so were denied its virtue, reformers must plant corrective qualities into cities; this reversed and complemented the concern of the country life movement to extend urban amenities to urban folk. The point is best made in Australian (and maybe even world) affairs by C. E. W. Bean's later devotion to the town-planning movement. Bean's exaltation of the man from the outback, dating from the early 1900s but consummating in the ideal of the Anzac as bushman-at-war, probably derived less from the 'Australian Legend' than from ideas akin to the country life movement. After the war, Bean preached for a reconstructed Australia where planning would replenish the bush spirit and save it from urban suffocation. In this outlook Bean had been anticipated by Barrett . . .⁸²

In Roe's account Bean is a secondary figure, but at least where the remediation of the perceived problems of post-war Sydney is considered, Bean's contribution was significant. Bean was influential in the formation of post-war national parks and an inspiration to the National Fitness Council — both through the institutional inheritance of the Parks and

⁷⁹ Oddly enough, as the process had been underway since the gold rushes of the 1850s

⁸⁰ Lionel Frost, *op.cit.*, pp.142-3

⁸¹ Carolyn Allport, 'The unrealised promise: plans for Sydney housing in the forties', in Jill Roe (ed.), *Twentieth Century Sydney: Studies in Urban and Social History*, Hale and Iremonger in association with the Sydney History Group, Sydney, 1980, pp.48-68, p.49

Playground Movement and personally through his encouragement of the William Gordon Young, director of National Fitness in NSW. Young certainly shared Bean's concerns, writing that

The population of Australia is concentrated in the cities and towns. This has presented many problems, one of the most difficult being maintaining and preserving "breathing spaces" in which the people can enjoy their leisure and participate in those physical and recreative activities which they enjoy and in which they are so proficient.

It is characteristic of cities, when they are growing rapidly, that foresight and planning is not evident and in the hurried development of roads, housing, and essential services, the provision of open spaces within the city is neglected. It is also true that in the inner-city area, as the city grows, green spaces are looked at covetously, particularly when sites are sought for public buildings.⁸³

'Fitness' in this sense was a concept imported from the United States, where reformers had long decried the poor physical state of the population and the ramifications this had for work, war and welfare to the modern state.⁸⁴ As the war drew to a close a host of reformers attempted to address such concerns as Young expressed. In their efforts they would build a sprawling metropolis of suburbs, roads and, if inequitably distributed, parkland. They would find frustration in each other, in a population also in search of space and in the refusal of the capitalist metropolis to submit to their plans.

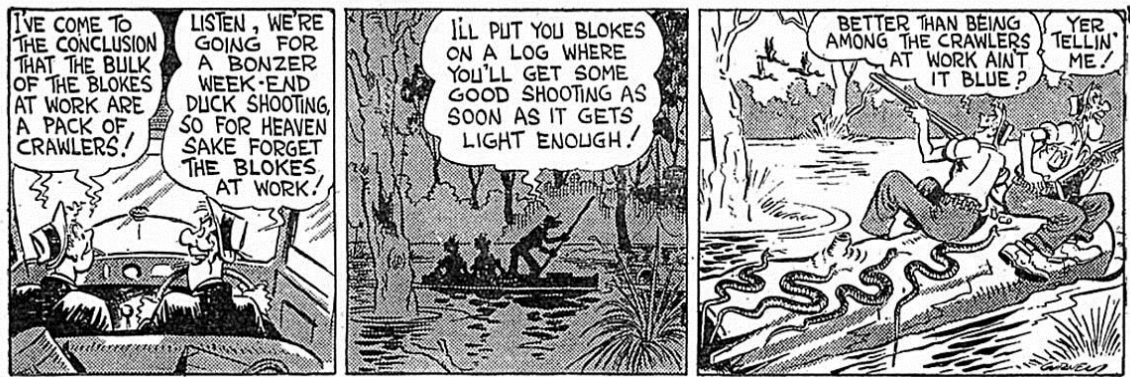
The assumption that the pace of urban life caused problems and that these needed to be addressed through recreation pervaded the post-war era. Some, like Alex Gurney's cartoon characters Bluey and Curley, just liked to 'get away from the crawlers at work':

⁸² Michael Roe, op. cit., p.70

⁸³ W. G. Young, *Physical Education in Australia: A Study of the History of Physical Education in Australia and a Forecast of Future Development*, M.Ed thesis, University of Sydney, 1962, p.94

⁸⁴ Gleason, op. cit., p.33-36

A REAR ATTACK



*Bluey and Curley Annual, 1948*⁸⁵

In 1969 the Australian Capital Territory's National Fitness director, Ian Frencham observed that the "emerging need in our societies for community mental health programmes leads one to wonder just how satisfactory is urban man's adjustment to the increasing pace of life"⁸⁶ and that "we must be conscious that from an economic point of view, physical labour is rapidly becoming unnecessary. But from a biological point of view this is not necessarily so."⁸⁷ Speaking at the same symposium on physical fitness as Frencham, psychologist K. A. Provins asked if there was a psychological need for exercise, finding that

The generally acknowledged importance of a varied and stimulating environment for the full development of an individual's intellectual capacities and the maintenance of an alert and efficient level of performance at work is hardly compatible with a physically inactive life . . . it seems clear enough too, that prolonged neglect of a certain minimum level of physical exercise either during development or at maturity could have most undesirable consequences.⁸⁸

Dr. S. V. Boyden of the ANU's urban biology group was adamant that the health of the human organism depended on contact with the environment it was adapted to

The health and well-being of any animal or community of animals is largely a function of the quality of its total environment. In general, the more this environment deviates from that to which the species has become accustomed or adapted during its evolutionary history, the more likely is the animal to show signs of biological maladjustment in the form of mental, physical or social ill-health.

⁸⁵ Alex Gurney, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne, 1947, p.17

⁸⁶ Ian Frencham, 'The modern pattern of living', *Symposium on Physical Recreation and Fitness*, held at the Australian National University, March 14-15 1969, pp.3-16, p.6

⁸⁷ *ibid*, p.13, p.16

⁸⁸ K. A. Provins, 'Is there a need for physical exercise?', *Symposium on Physical Recreation and Fitness*, held at the Australian National University, March 14-15 1969, pp.26-38, p.38

This statement is as true for man as it is for any other species . . .⁸⁹

By the end of the long boom it was still assumed that a dose of nature was needed to counter the influence of the city; in 1975 one commentator observed that, as almost no studies had been undertaken, reformers had “been given a free hand to assert the social benefits derived therefrom without feeling the necessity to quote any evidence.”⁹⁰

Of course, cities had not newly been identified as a problem. Australian cities had already attracted the efforts of progressive reformers and Western cities in general had been a problem to Western thinkers for millennia. Indeed, disdain for the urban is traditional in the Anglo Celtic world. A response had developed to the perceived urban evils of mental illness, poverty and the criminal class in England which accompanied the Industrial Revolution. As industry produced the proletariat so it produced urban problems on a metropolitan scale. It followed that eradicating industrial ugliness in the cities, restoring a semblance of an older mode of production, would also tame the social problems of industrialisation. English social historian Asa Briggs commented that “it has been suggested that the importance the Romans attached to their towns, which were, in fact, ‘parasites on the country’, led to an anti-urban bias in English thinking that has persisted ever since: the poor as well as the rich continued to prefer the countryside to the town.”⁹¹ Liberal imperialists such as Charles Masterman argued that alienation from nature was blighted British civilisation:

Foremost among the changes which have taken place has been the stupendous growth of cities. Vast herds of human beings are penned up into small areas from which nature is excluded, and there live, breed and die. The aspect of life has by that fact been altered; no longer brought into direct contact with the forces of nature, man has carved out for himself new artificial conditions. The cities which we have to-day are different, not merely in character, from the larger towns of former years, the city population is cut off from the country, in a manner previously unknown. It has developed sympathies and passions of its own, differing in essential characteristics from a bygone age.⁹²

The solution, according to Masterman *et al*, was to recolonise England.

⁸⁹ S. V. Boyden, ‘Recreational uses of the natural environment’, , *Symposium on Physical Recreation and Fitness*, held at the Australian National University, March 14-15 1969, pp.92-104, p.92

⁹⁰ I. G. Simmons, *op. cit.*, p.4

⁹¹ Asa Briggs, *A Social History of England*, Middlesex, Penguin, 1983, p.40; R. G. Collingwood is the author of the thesis

⁹² C. Masterman *et al*, *The Heart of Empire: Discussion of Problems of Modern City Life. With an Essay on Imperialism*, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1901, p.v

A dislike of towns was shared by many in the rapidly urbanising United States. In 1908, American Bolton Hall published on a theme that was to be repeated throughout the twentieth-century. In *Three Acres and Liberty* he wrote that “we are not tied to a desk or a bench; we stay there only because we think we are tied.”⁹³ In his introduction to Hall’s book, George T. Powell of the Agricultural Experts Association wrote that “the growth of cities should be from healthful, natural causes. They do not need stimulus. They are of great value to the country, but the prosperity of the country is of vastly greater importance to the cities.”⁹⁴ Not surprisingly then, a Playground Association was founded in the United States 1907 and urban reformers of the left and right set about ensuring that American youth, particularly those from migrant and working-class backgrounds, had access to playgrounds.⁹⁵ In Australia these sentiments were shared by the ‘country minded’, represented to an extent by the Country Party.⁹⁶ Reformers were concerned not only with the provision of open space but with its equitable distribution. In 1932 the Parks and Playgrounds Movement released its *Basic Report* wherein it was argued that certain areas of Sydney were poorly supplied with open space.⁹⁷ The attitude persisted. The aforementioned J. Blanch recounted the history of opposition to cities (apparently contradicting Asa Briggs when it came to the Romans):

Hostility toward further urban growth is currently fashionable especially among the intellectuals and bureaucrats. However, this attitude is by no means restricted to Australia, nor is it new. Cicero and numerous other Roman writers sang the praises of Tusculum and village life and fulminated against the further expansion of the city of Rome. Both Elizabeth I and Cromwell tried to halve the spread of London by establishing a “Green Belt”, fragments of which remain to this day. The French court left Paris for Versailles taking many government departments with it. Likewise the Prussian kings left Berlin for Potsdam. At the other end of the political spectrum, socialists like Karl Marx even more emphatically condemned the big city and called for the dispersion of industry throughout the countryside. Communist China has actively pursued this policy of decentralisation with what results I do not know.⁹⁸

⁹³ Bolton Hall, *Three Acres and Liberty*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1908, p.v

⁹⁴ Powell in Bolton Hall, op.cit., p.xi

⁹⁵ Cross, op. cit., Ch.8

⁹⁶ See Don Aitkin, *The Country Party in New South Wales*, ANU Press, Canberra, 1972, for a discussion of ‘country mindedness.’

⁹⁷ Chris Cunneen, “‘Hands off the Parks!’ The provision of parks and playgrounds”, in Jill Roe (ed.), op. cit., pp.105-119, p.105

⁹⁸ NBAC: *Australian Conservation Foundation Files, N134/296*; in answer to Blanch, we might note that decentralisation was a failure after Mao with Beijing and Shanghai ascendant.

Beginning with the biblical destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, cities have received criticism wherever they have developed in the Western world; in post-war Australia they grew rapidly and at a time of other cultural shifts.⁹⁹

Urbanism and consumerism are intrinsically linked and it is ironic that a reaction against the former could promote the latter. Sydney is a city clearly dominated by capital: as Sandercock put it, its “urban problems are the spatial expression of the inequalities of a capitalist economy.”¹⁰⁰ Responses to Sydney may be read as responses, witting or unwitting, to the built form of capitalism. The extent to which urban studies is a sub-branch of economics, of the nexus between urban history and economic history, can be seen particularly clearly in the methodology of urban sociology. Revisiting three decades of urban sociology, Robert Pahl suggested that the phase following 1950 had been dominated by the ahistorical, ecological approach of the Chicago school typified by Burgess, while the phase that began in the mid sixties concerned itself with the bureaucracy of urban development:

In the same way that market capitalism on the ground of early twentieth-century America gave rise to the ecological paradigm in urban sociology, so welfare capitalism of the 25 years following the Second World War produced a distinctive academic response. Laissez-faire capitalism gave way to various forms of public intervention: land use planning, public health, education and housing were perhaps the most important in structuring cities and shaping neighbourhoods. Public transport and regional planning helped to channel investment and a whole range of personal social services organised and controlled every day life. . . . A whole army of health visitors, child guidance experts, school attendance officers, careers advisors, health education experts, probation officers and the like, combined in the collective surveillance system planned to produce good workers. The sexual division of labour was reflected on the ground by the separate housing estates often some distance from the main centres of (male) employment.

Western cities reflect patriarchy on the ground just as much as capitalism on the ground.¹⁰¹

For Pahl, the major problem with the post-war approach to urbanism was that it tended to confuse welfare, capitalism and the state with something loosely defined as urban, when the phenomena studied were not confined to urban situations, or to spatial analysis. French Marxists insisted that the social wage needed to be considered as well as the earned wage (as

⁹⁹ For a discussion of biblical and Anglo-Saxon responses to cities see Sarah James, *The Rural-Urban Myth*, University of Reading, Reading, 1991

¹⁰⁰ Sandercock, op. cit. (1), p.1; the outspoken University of Sydney economist R. F. Irvine certainly treated the cities as problems of capital when he produced a white paper on them in 1913 – see Sandercock, op. cit. (1), p.19

¹⁰¹ Robert Pahl ‘Concepts in contexts: Pursuing the urban in urban sociology’, in D. Fraser and A. Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History*, Edward Arnold, London, 1983, pp.372-382, p.373

did some Australian unionists).¹⁰² Manuel Castell concluded that urban management was a manifestation of ‘the repressive state apparatus’ and ‘the long term interests of capitalism’ became the main historical force in urban development. It was unclear whether the most oppression was perpetrated by an inefficient state, serving capital by failing to redistribute, or an efficient state that sapped radical consciousness. Feminist scholars objected to the pejorative classification of the ‘dormitory suburb’, maintaining that these suburbs were sites of production.¹⁰³ In post-war Sydney leisure and leisured space were planned and privately developed as a response to the capitalist city, yet the result was not anti-capitalist, bearing out Castell’s argument. Leisure was not an escape from work and consumption, but an extension of these. A leisure ethic reinforced the work ethic by rewarding labour and the modes of leisure re-enforced class and gender relationships and consumerism.

At the turn of the century Veblen had observed that urbanites were more given to conspicuous consumption than were their rural counterparts, that “in the struggle to outdo one another the city population push their normal standard of conspicuous consumption to a higher point, with the result that a relatively greater expenditure in this direction is required to indicate a given degree of pecuniary decency in the city.”¹⁰⁴ By the end of the post-war boom this phenomenon had been termed the ‘rat race’. Some contended that people drifted towards the cities and the ‘rat race’ at the expense of their happiness:

It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that these cities have developed as money-making camps with the mentality of the gold-rush tent settlements and other such mining shanty towns. They have swollen in an atmosphere of indifference to environmental considerations. The emphasis has been merely on developing these cities as economic machines — and in this they have been strikingly successful. Perhaps what we should now be doing is turning our attention toward developing the cities as places to live rather than merely as industrial complexes for making a living.¹⁰⁵

It will be argued in following chapters that, among the many responses to centralising in cities according to the needs of capital, the post-war period’s most successful response was the provision of leisure and of outdoor recreation in particular. Leisure, however, extended rather than curtailed the influence of urban capitalism.

¹⁰² Burgmann and Burgmann, *Green Bans, Red Union : Environmental Activism and the New South Wales Builders Labourers’ Federation*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 1998

¹⁰³ Pahl, op. cit. (1), p.376

¹⁰⁴ Veblen, op. cit. (2), p.88

¹⁰⁵ NBAC: *Australian Conservation Foundation Files*, N134/296

Urbanisation and ‘the Australian way of life’

The outdoors took on special significance in the construction of an ‘Australian way of life’ amid heightened urbanisation, or rather suburbanisation. After the Second World War Englishman T. A. Powell wrote that “I have noticed, during the last ten years, that the rush and tear of modern life has induced a longing for country pursuits even amongst confirmed townsmen”,¹⁰⁶ in Australia this was very much the case. Just as was expected of Australia’s literati that they should extol the virtues of the bush from the comfort of the cities,¹⁰⁷ the proliferation of travel writers in post-war Australia could not go without publishing a lengthy observation on the ‘paradox’ of the Australian way of life. Australian National University based defence and international affairs expert and sometimes tourist J. D. B. Miller recognised the contradiction of the rural myth. Indeed he began his Australian travelogue by observing that

There is . . . something of a paradox in the symbolism which is attached to Australia abroad. The world recognises Australia through rural symbols: kangaroos, aborigines, sheep, deserts, wetlands and horse-riding are amongst them. Yet to Australians these symbols, while acceptable in themselves, are not a matter of everyday experience. The great majority of Australians live in cities, where their symbols might be factories, brick-veneer bungalows and traffic problems.¹⁰⁸

Most Australians lived in suburbs rather than cities; an important distinction. In 1954 an expatriate George Johnston wrote of ‘Their way of life’ that

It is all very well for the Australian to want himself represented as a casual, independent-minded swashbuckler; as the simple, endearing representative of a bucolic but adventurous society. History and the outer world have an unsettling habit of interpreting places, nations and races by other than the self-selected standards.¹⁰⁹

The average Australian, wrote Johnston, was no different to any other urbanite.¹¹⁰ Elspeth Huxley visited Australia and found a ‘shining Eldorado’ founded on a contradiction, as

Roughly three out of every four Australians live in cities, work in shops and offices and factories, and have scarcely ever seen a sheep except in bits when oven-ready, or a mustering yard except on TV. . .

¹⁰⁶ T. A. Powell, *Here and There a Lusty Trout*, Faber and Faber, London, c.1950, p.115

¹⁰⁷ Brian Kiernan, ‘Sydney or the bush. Some literary images’, in Jill Roe (ed.), op. cit., pp.148-165

¹⁰⁸ J. D. B. Miller, *Australia*, Thames and Hudson, Great Britain, 1966, pp 9-10

¹⁰⁹ George Johnston, ‘Their way of life’, in Ian Bevan (ed.), *The Sunburnt Country*, (2nd edition) The Travel Book Club, London, 1955, pp.148-59, p.150

¹¹⁰ *ibid*, p.152

Australia's heart . . . is worn, in the geographical sense, on a sea-washed sleeve instead of in a manly chest.¹¹¹

This historical conundrum has been most thoroughly explored by Graeme Davison, who proposed that Australia might qualify as the world's first suburban nation. Davison writes that

. . . local historians were slower than foreign statisticians to recognise the shape of Australian civilisation. That a vast primary-producing country should also be a land of great cities was a fact that they, along with many other Australians, found hard to swallow. They liked to think of themselves as a rugged 'outback' people inhabiting a frontier society.¹¹²

Australian historians tended to look for parallels to Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis, just as Australian poets and writers looked to the bush for a distinctive Australian identity.¹¹³

At a time of rapid urbanisation in Australia, Russel Ward's *Australian Legend* defined the Australian identity in terms of a rural proletariat:

According to the myth the 'typical Australian' is a practical man, rough and ready in his manners and quick to decry any appearance of affection in others. He is a great improviser, ever willing 'to have a go' at anything, but willing too to be content with a task done in a way that is 'near enough'. Though capable of great exertion in an emergency, he normally feels no impulse to work hard without good cause. He swears hard and consistently, gambles heavily and often, and drinks deeply on occasion. Though he is 'the world's best confidence man', he is usually taciturn rather than talkative, one who endures stoically rather than one who acts busily. He is a 'hard case', sceptical about the value of religion and of intellectual and cultural pursuits generally. He believes that Jack is not only as good as his master but, at least in principle, probably a good deal better, and so he is a great 'knocker' of eminent people unless, as in the case of his sporting heroes, they are distinguished by physical prowess. He is a fiercely independent person who hates officiousness and authority, especially when these qualities are embodied in military officers and policemen. Yet he is very hospitable and, above all, will stick to his mates through thick and thin, even if he thinks they may be in the wrong.¹¹⁴

Ward's 'Australian' is a white male and the question of this gender bias remains largely unconsidered in his thesis. Ward's thesis was echoed by H. C. Allen in his *Bush and Backwoods*, a direct comparison between the American and Australian experience with a meditation on Turner's frontier thesis.¹¹⁵ No travelogue or social commentary could be written on Australia during the two decades following the Second World War without some oblique reference to Ward's thesis, or at least to 'the Australian paradox'.

¹¹¹ Elspeth Huxley, *Their Shining Eldorado*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1967, p.9

¹¹² Graeme Davison, 'Australian Urban History: a Progress Report', *Urban History Yearbook*, 1979, pp.100-9, p.100

¹¹³ *ibid*, p.100; American reformers sought to revive the frontier's influence on American culture by instituting a new frontier of play. See Gleason, *op. cit.*, p.113-4

¹¹⁴ Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, pp.1-2

Ward was seeking to define the ‘national type’ within a radical tradition at a time when the Australian identity had been recast in a conservative mould. Richard White argued that during the boom interest in ‘the Australian way of life replaced interest in an emerging national type. The Australian way of life, like the American, was “integral to a new Cold War outlook”, that “the way of life was much more useful in defence of the status quo than ‘the national character’, which did not imply that social change was alien, and which . . . could even promote the overthrow of the social system.”¹¹⁶ While drawing on agrarian myth, the Australian way of life was comfortably suburban. The symbols of this way of life were the sports field, the national park, the beach, the river, the boat, board and automobile. We might look to many sources for a list of the amenities of the Australian way of life. In 1969, for instance, Liverpool Council catalogued the area’s attractions:

Warwick Farm car and horse race circuits; swimming pool centre (4 pools); new swimming centre under construction; speedway circuit; all types of clubs, service, sporting, bands, etc.; drive-in theatre; city library; aerodrome; showground; several bowling clubs; water sports at Georges River; district hospital; private hospital; many motels and caravan parks; major shopping centre with many large department stores.¹¹⁷

Significantly, most of the civic amenities listed were of a recreational nature. Urban, industrial work played a limited role in conceptions of the way of life. The aforementioned J. D. B. Miller recognised the recreational, suburban character of the cities:

. . . the suburb is the city, for the purposes of living; the centre is a place to work in. At the weekends it is given over to solitary strollers and to young people who want to get away from their suburban homes. The extensive, open air quality of life in the cities as a whole has affinities with the more recent development of great cities overseas, but also with the atmosphere of country areas in Australia itself. The dichotomy between country and city, sharp enough in terms of amenities and opportunities, is softened by the common pursuit of sport and outdoor pleasures.¹¹⁸

Australia’s urban class structure, wrote Miller, was heavily influenced by this rural identity. The introduction to the glossy seventies outdoors guide, *Camping and Caravans*, epitomised popular thought on the outdoors and the Australian way of life:

¹¹⁵ ‘Review’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26.12.59, p.11

¹¹⁶ White, op. cit., p.535

¹¹⁷ ‘Liverpool is Lebensraum’, Liverpool Council promotional pamphlet, 1969, personal files

¹¹⁸ Miller, op. cit., pp.26-7

Stifled by the grime and choking pollution of the cities in this most urbanised of nations, their energy sapped by the breakneck race to get ahead, Australians are seeking rejuvenation and refreshment in the sweetness and simplicity of the great outdoors.

Camping and the outdoors have been traditionally associated with the Australian way of life. But these are taking on new meaning to the growing thousands of Australians who now seek their recreation with nature.¹¹⁹

One of those new meanings was consumerism.

It has been noted that the contradiction between agrarian myths and suburban residence is not new. As mentioned, Davison observes that Australia may well have been the first suburban nation.¹²⁰ The post-war period accentuated this rift in the Australian identity, even as that identity was redefined as a way of life. The cultural landscape had been altered by war and would change dramatically in ensuing years. Alomes, Dober and Hellier contend that it “was an era in which the old imperially oriented, territorially isolated Australia, dominated by the rural economy, gave way to the new urban, industrial society and a multicultural population.”¹²¹ Urbanisation continued to challenge notions of the Australian identity, but added to this was increasing employment in manufacturing and later tertiary industry and heightened levels of migration.

Migration brought an insistence on assimilation to the ‘Australian way of life’ that was implicitly rural. This was increasingly so as migration was no longer predominantly British. In the United States it was an established nostrum that working-class migrants could best be assimilated through recreation,¹²² and it will be seen in later chapters that much the same socialising function was expected of outdoor recreation in Australia. As racial purity was clearly no longer a possibility, as if it ever had been, the discourse of assimilation moved from the maintenance of a racial type to the preservation of a way of life. This was often perplexing to the migrants themselves, notes White, as they found a paucity of culture to emulate.¹²³ White argues that ‘the way of life’ was essentially defined in terms of what it wasn’t and that

¹¹⁹ *Camping and Caravans*, Paul Hamlyn, Sydney, p.5

¹²⁰ Graeme Davison, ‘The past and future of the Australian Suburb’, *Polis*, No.1, February 1994, pp.4-9

¹²¹ S. Alomes, A. Curthoys and J. Merritt, *Australia’s First Cold War*, Allen and Unwin, North Sydney, 1984, p.25

¹²² Roy Rosenzweig, op. cit., p.147-8

¹²³ White, op. cit., p.530

as a result “the concept itself was vague, amorphous and negative, but it could readily be mobilised to give substance to the assumption that what threatened the status quo was alien.”¹²⁴ A migrant’s response to demands of assimilation might be that the Australian way of life had no more tangible features than the six o’clock swill and not being the American way of life. In later chapters the relationship of ‘the New Australian’ to ‘the Bush’ and ‘the Australian way of life’ is considered within the context of specific outdoor recreations.¹²⁵

There were some tangible, positive features of the ‘way of life, however. There were, for instance those material assets that might be associated with the Australian standard of living. The intangible aspects were either avoided in discussion or generalised as being something to do with “‘independence’, ‘freedom’, ‘democracy of spirit’”.¹²⁶ There were few intellectual markers to the ‘way of life’ but it could be, and often was, defined in the vernacular of leisure. White observes that whereas “wages and conditions of work remained as important as they had ever been, it is probable that leisure rather than work popularly gave substance to the concept of ‘the Australian way of life’”.¹²⁷ The emphasis on leisure removed class from the equation and, it is argued in this thesis, redefined Australian identity in terms of consumption rather than production. In his history of the American eight hour day, Roy Rosenzweig holds that

... the study of popular recreation helps to explain some of the distinctive features of American working class development: the absence of a mass-based labor or socialist party, the weakness of working class consciousness and solidarity, and the late emergence of industrial unions.¹²⁸

Australian leisure tended to have the same hegemonic influence, even if as Rosenzweig maintains the working-class were quite willing in their embrace of commercial culture.¹²⁹ If the Australian legend was being written of as being based on rural labour organisation, the Australian way of life was being redefined in terms of leisured suburban consumption.

While urbanisation was often at odds with projections of ‘the Australian way of life’, it posed particular problems for Christian reformers. For B. A. Santamaria in 1950 Sydney was beyond reform:

¹²⁴ *ibid*, p.534

¹²⁵ This was similar to the American use of leisure in the assimilation of migrants. See William A. Gleason, *o. cit.*, pp.101, 114, 128-33

¹²⁶ White, *op. cit.*, p.541

¹²⁷ *ibid*, p.543

¹²⁸ Roy Rosenzweig, *op. cit.*, p.2

¹²⁹ *ibid*, p.171-2

For the great industrial cities like Melbourne and Sydney the die is already cast. The Christian had no part in their formation or their development. Here for the time being he must content himself with a social system which does not reflect his principles in any way, but which of its own nature encourages abominations like Communism and Fascism.¹³⁰

According to this influential argument, cities were ungodly, unmanly and brought abomination. Santamaria opened the period with the manifesto of the National Catholic Rural Movement *The Fight for the Land* (1942), expanding the thesis in *The Earth Our Mother* (1945). After a successful career as an agrarian propagandist Santamaria averred that “A strongly established and expanding rural community – of farmers and of inhabitants of rural towns – was the basis of political and social stability and an essential counterpoise to the problems of mass culture generated by the big cities.”¹³¹ A Christian response was a return to nature – either by the population, or within the cities through Town Planning:

The town planner, of course, is not foolish enough to think that physical circumstances are the sole causes of the trouble, nor that the complete cure can be found by improving them alone. But he knows from his statistics that the highest rates of tuberculosis occur in the slums. He is uneasily aware that obsolescent living areas too often bring contact and familiarity with forms of vice which thus infect and spread. As he looks around the crowds which press him in, he is convinced that so many of these bodies, faces, and the souls they reveal are not typical of the human race as it was created, but are conditioned largely by the handicaps of an unnatural existence in artificial surroundings. He is equally convinced that if human existence can be made more wholesome he is reinstating conditions of health and stability both to souls and bodies. If he dares to pass this point, he may even dream that the restitution of the natural man may be accompanied by a fresh sanction of moral values, strong enough to crush other gross abuses that now oppress society. Hence, the town planner starts with the people.¹³²

In her PhD thesis Carolyn Allport elaborated the Christian motivations of clergyman George van Earde in the rehabilitation of Sydney’s inner city slums.¹³³

Christian or secular, Australian progressives responded to some sections of the city with middle-class horror. Slum conditions, it was thought, were not conducive to well bred modern citizens.¹³⁴ It is not intended here to restate the reformist aims of the early town planning

¹³⁰ B. A. Santamaria, ‘Policy for the Murray Valley’, *Twentieth Century*, Vol.5., No.1, September 1950, pp.22-3

¹³¹ B. A. Santamaria, *Santamaria, A Memoir*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1997, p.43

¹³² Rosina Edmunds, ‘Town planning and the people,’ *Twentieth Century*, Vol.5, No.4, June 1951, p.57 (Edmunds was a town planner and architect in Canberra)

¹³³ Carolyn Allport, *Women and Public Housing in Sydney*, PhD thesis, Macquarie University, 1990, pp.105-118

¹³⁴ The pejorative ‘slum’ being an expression of middle class disdain. See E. K. Teather, ‘Early postwar Sydney: a comparison of its portrayal in fiction and in official documents’, *Australian Geographical Studies*, Vol 28, No.2, October 1990, pp.204-23

movement – we might read a classic text such as Sandercock’s for such a discussion¹³⁵ – but to set to tone of reform against which outdoor recreation was called for. The twenties had seen an upsurge of such concerns, beginning with the investigations of the Basic Wage Commission. Even the conservative *Sunday Times* declared that “these yokes on the neck of national progress ought to be struck off”, that “every earnest and wise effort to sweep away slum areas, better the lot of the less fortunate citizens, and ensure the development of a sound and healthy generation, are worthy of all encouragement.”¹³⁶ By 1936 the Housing Conditions Investigation Committee advised that Sydney’s ‘slums’ should be demolished and rebuilt. Spearritt notes that it was an astute political strategy of W. J. McKell to advocate the redevelopment of his own suburbs, appealing to the sensibilities of the middle-class electorate.¹³⁷ Overwhelmingly, it was middle-class fears of social unrest and not the complaints of residents that brought reform. Stephen Garton has shown that eugenicists attributed to inner city living the social malaise of industrial capitalism.¹³⁸ By the twentieth-century it was a well established argument that the ill humours of urban life could be corrected by places of public recreation.¹³⁹ In the immediate post-war years sociologists were inclined to be critical of urban social relationships. Wirth, for instance, found that urban settings were “impersonal, superficial, transitory and segmental”.¹⁴⁰ This view was soon challenged by Gans (1962), Jacobs (1961), Keller (1968) and Suttles (1972).¹⁴¹ While middle-class reformers continued to regard the slums with consternation, conservatives bemoaned the effect that urbanisation and even respectable suburbanisation was having on the Australian character. In 1955 Ian Grey wrote that the pioneering spirit

. . . is by no means dead in Australia, but it has little significance for the great majority, who have no link with the pioneers and are not directly descended from them. Their life has no connection with the land. The typical Australian has become a city dweller, tied to his factory, with a small house in suburbia. In essence he is the offspring of the boisterous diggers rather than the pioneers who conquered the continent.¹⁴²

¹³⁵ Sandercock, op. cit. (1), especially Ch.1

¹³⁶ Editorial, ‘Sweep away the slums’, *Sunday Times*, 2.5.20

¹³⁷ Spearritt, op. cit. (2), p.71

¹³⁸ Garton, op. cit.

¹³⁹ Cunneen, op. cit. (1), p.107

¹⁴⁰ Cited in John J. Beggs, Valerie A. Haines and Jeanne S. Hulbert, ‘Revisiting the Rural-Urban Contrast: Personal Networks in Nonmetropolitan and Metropolitan Settings’, *Rural Sociology*, Vol.61 No.2, 1996, pp.306-325, p.306

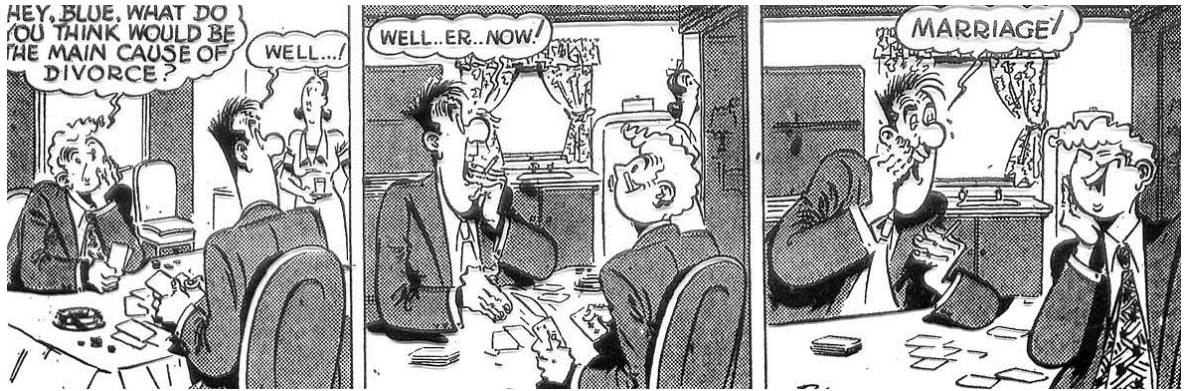
¹⁴¹ *ibid*, p.307

¹⁴² Ian Grey, ‘Origins and Legends’, in Ian Bevan (ed.), op. cit., pp.34-55, p.54

Grey implied that these suburbanites were likely to pay too much heed to organised agitation, as was their wont at Eureka, without recognising the value of more civilised discourse. Ian Bevan, introducing the next chapter of *The Sunburnt Country*, observed that Australia was predominantly urban, “And cities can make a people soft. That is the haunting fear.”¹⁴³ A haunting, eugenicist’s fear, already inherent in the discourse of the Anzac and now extended to the post-war way of life. In the following chapter reactions to post-war urbanisation are discussed categorically.

¹⁴³ *ibid*, p.55

Domestication and the city



*Bluey and Curley Annual, 1956*¹⁴⁴

Post-war urbanisation entailed heightened levels of domestication. White summarised the demographic trend of the times:

People married younger – almost everyone did. They produced a baby boom and life was dominated by the effort to pay off the family home and furnish it for the family's needs. Their children, the generation of young baby boomers, became the focus of policies that fed them, housed them, educated them, protected them from disease and comics and juvenile delinquency.¹⁴⁵

Domestication brought an increased emphasis on outdoor recreation as it catered to the needs of the family. Urbanisation was particularly difficult to reconcile with constructs of Australian masculinity, and it was increasingly domesticated males to whom outdoor recreation became crucial.

Having defeated the armies of Tojo and Hitler, Australian men might have rested secure in their battle-proven masculinity. The post-war years were not, however, a heyday of macho security, nor would Australian men rest easy in their identity. The contradictions which had faced Australian men in the inter-war years were now more pronounced. The population was increasingly suburbanised, employment was increasingly industrial and then increasingly post-industrial, and leisure and homemaking came to take up a greater proportion of the lives of Australian males. Women, on the other hand, had proven themselves in work and play during the war. While of great benefit to the war effort, the American alliance had brought with it a conflict of its own. The sexual landscape to which Australian men demobbed was more Albert

¹⁴⁴ Norman Rice, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, Melbourne, The Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne, 1956

¹⁴⁵ White et al., op. cit., p.143

Tucker than Frederic McCubbin. The increasing urbanisation of Australia threatened to undermine the masculinist myths that had compensated Australian men for their increasing levels of domestication in the twentieth-century. The changes in the sexual landscape that followed the war have been well charted by Australian feminist scholars. Marilyn Lake's 'Female desires: the meaning of World War II'¹⁴⁶ and 'The politics of respectability: identifying the masculinist context'¹⁴⁷ are excellent examples. Ann Game and Rosemary Pringle's 'Sexuality and the suburban dream'¹⁴⁸ is another. If the inter-war years had offered the Anzac ethos as a sop to domesticated men, post-war men wanted something more than the Anzac ethos. Post-war reconstruction and industrialisation guaranteed the manhood wage, but there was nothing as overt as the Anzac memorials of the twenties to reassure Australian men of their propensities. Suburban man's identity crisis was expressed in commodities, in sales of fishing tackle, hunting rifles, camping gear, off road vehicles, boats and barbecues. The most significant area of growth was not in the sales of commodities, though, but in the literature of macho suburban lifestyles that informed, promoted, celebrated and enhanced mythology of atom age Australian masculinity. A Veblenite interpretation of post-war gendered suburban space holds that the housewife is held hostage to the vicarious leisure of the husband; the labour saving devices of the boom being intended to minimise industrial labour.¹⁴⁹ Neither body of work comments directly on outdoor pursuits, but they explore the construction of post-war sexuality within the context of suburbanisation.

Post-war reconstruction was accompanied by an intensification of suburbanisation¹⁵⁰ and industrialisation. Consequently, Australian men were increasingly domesticated. They were more likely to be employed full time and own attractive mortgages. They were also more closely associated with the family unit, participating in the bourgeois cult of respectability and bringing up the baby boomers. The indices of domestication were strong throughout the boom, as shown below:

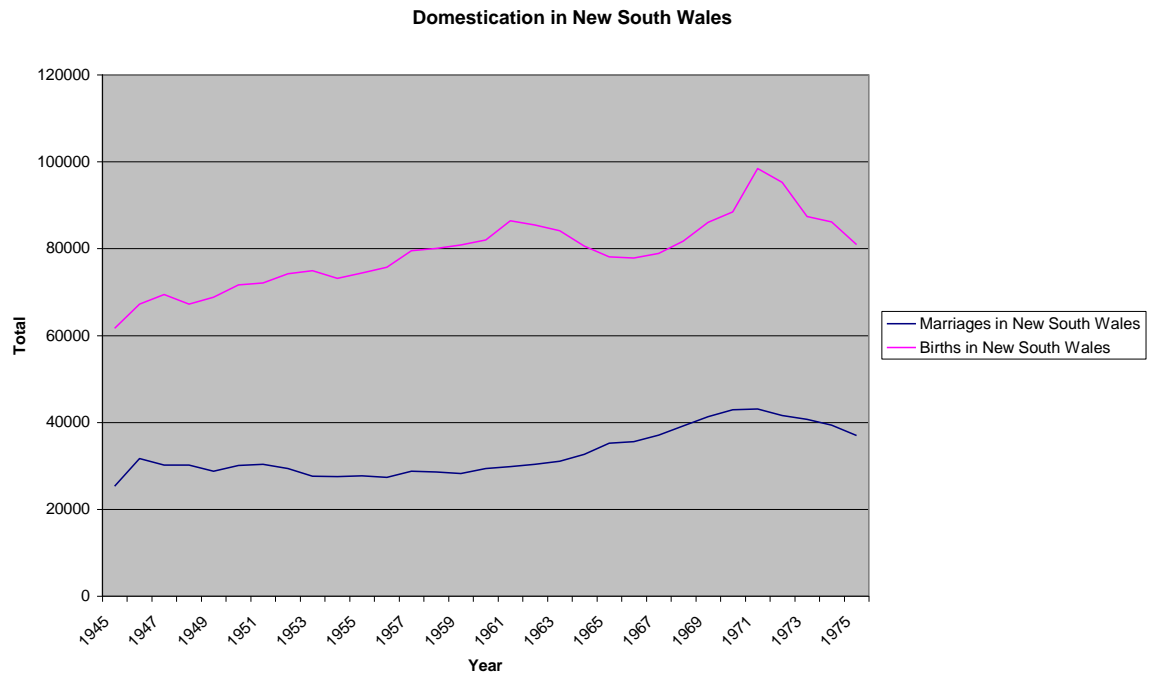
¹⁴⁶ Marilyn Lake, 'Female desires: the meaning of World War II', reprinted in Richard White and Penny Russell (eds.), *Memories and Dreams: Reflections on 20th Century Australia*, Allen and Unwin, St Leonards, NSW, 1997, pp.117-36

¹⁴⁷ Lake, op. cit. (2)

¹⁴⁸ Ann Game and Rosemary Pringle's 'Sexuality and the suburban dream', reprinted in Richard White and Penny Russell (eds.), op. cit., pp.189-212

¹⁴⁹ Rosenberg, op. cit., p.66

¹⁵⁰ Spearritt gives a comprehensive account of the Sydney scene in Spearritt, op. cit. (2), pp.99-102



151

Much of this domestication took place in Sydney's suburbs. In 1959 it was reported that 295,000 of the State's 580,000 schoolchildren lived in the County of Cumberland.¹⁵² The so called baby boom is discernable throughout the period, with the birth-rate exceeding marriages significantly during the fifties.

Post-war Australia saw an attempt to restore the gender imbalance in Australian society – not only by forcing 'Rosie the riveter' back into the kitchen, but reinforcing Australian men's connection to 'the bush'. The war time experiences of women, sexual and industrial, were increasingly restricted in post-war Australia. Post-war suburbia was instrumental in rationalising gender; women's work was re-centred within the home. In recreation, too, women's roles were increasingly feminised.¹⁵³ Nancy Cushing, in "Recreating the Urban: Under Fibro and Canvas on the Central Coast of New South Wales", has suggested that the division of labour and the familial relationships extending from the division are extended to the holiday:

While the Central Coast offered a form of escape, it was not travelling. Instead, it was tourism based upon a replication of the order known in the nearby city. . . For most women, urban or suburban

¹⁵¹ Derived from Vamplew, op. cit., pp.45, 50

¹⁵² 'Holiday begins for State schoolchildren', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18.12.59, p.4

¹⁵³ White et al., op. cit., p.145

lifestyles were recreated in this place of holiday. This recreation was so little differentiated from home making that permanent residence often resulted.¹⁵⁴

In 1962 Edgar Waters observed the gendered institution of the family holiday at the seaside, noting that “for adult males, fishing is perhaps the most important aspect of such a holiday.”¹⁵⁵ Davison and Spearritt comment (or reminisce?) “Dad would concentrate on fishing while mum was obliged to find a range of activities to occupy the kids.”¹⁵⁶ White notes that a 1948 Gallup Poll found that 45 per cent of women reported having little or no leisure;¹⁵⁷ this uneven division of leisure was an expression of patriarchal order. It is argued in this thesis that leisure allowed a masculine role for suburbanised and domesticated males.

Challenged in their ‘natural’ roles as lover and provider, post-war men were also, spatially, further than ever from ‘nature’. On a war-time tour of the colony during 1943, Paul McGuire made the usual observation of the travel genre – that Australia saw itself as rural but increasingly was not, but McGuire wrote of the problem in terms of the Australian male:

The Modern Australian . . . is most often a city or a suburban dweller, working for a wage in someone else’s business.

The old race of men who were hammered into steel in long battle with the wilderness, a lonely battle for the most part, is passing. A new economy has grown of secondary and tertiary industries: an economy of industrial workers and of clerks and shop-assistants, crowded into the barracks-towns of industry. Whether a clerk who spends all his days calculating other people’s profits and losses is a positive human advance on the bushman, I shall not argue: but Australia has preferred the city to the bush, and the mass production worker to the riders of the plains and the Man from Snowy River.¹⁵⁸

For McGuire the modern Australian was not a woman. McGuire’s gender bias aside, it may have been that suburbanisation was particularly problematic to Australian masculinity, since its dominant myths had long rested on the foundations of the frontiersman, the bushman and the digger. Any contradictions were likely to be accentuated in the post-war period.

¹⁵⁴ Nancy Cushing, ‘Recreating the Urban: Under Canvas and Fibro on the Central Coast of New South Wales’, *Images of the Urban*, Conference Proceedings, Sunshine Coast University College, Maroochydore, Qld, 17 - 19 July 1997, pp.253-60, p.253

¹⁵⁵ Edgar Waters, ‘Recreation’, in A. L. McLeod (ed.), *The Pattern of Australian Culture*, Cornell University Press, New York, 1963, pp.413-40, p.426

¹⁵⁶ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.175

¹⁵⁷ White, op. cit., p.543

¹⁵⁸ Paul McGuire, *Australian Journey*, Williem Heineman, London, 1943, p.112-3

As Australians and especially Australian males became increasingly urbanised the archetypal idiosyncrasies were exacerbated. It is noted above that Marilyn Lake describes the process by which the ‘dawn to dusk’ and other ostensibly bohemian and significantly urban poets, writers and artists at the turn of the century lauded the bushman and the outback ethos, celebrating masculine irresponsibility, mateship, resourcefulness and the bottle. Through the Great War this image metamorphosed into that of the Anzac. Lake suggests that given this image of the outback Australian, drawn as it was in a time of increasing urban domestication “it is tempting to see the celebration of Australian masculinity under the banner of Anzac as mythic reparation to hobbled men.”¹⁵⁹ As noted above, the factual or historical basis of Ward’s legend was then already a little scanty before suburbanisation was truly advanced, but the ‘mythic reparation’ had seen its first instalment. A popular and often eugenic anthropological study of the inter-war world, *Peoples of All Nations*, attributed the glory of the Anzacs to racial purification. The environment apparently wrought grand change on British stock:

Faced by natural elements which are inexorably stern to folly, to weakness, to indecision, but which are generally responsive to capable and dominating energy, the Australian is more resourceful, more resolute, more cruel, more impatient than his British cousin. The men who followed the drum of Drake were akin to the Australian of today.¹⁶⁰

This indeed was what Henry Lawson had been writing for decades.¹⁶¹ According to the social Darwinism of the early twenties, the colonial environment had purified the British race. Where the environment was not encountered in pursuit of a rural living, then sport might replace it. As former Prime Minister George Reid put it in 1912:

Strenuous out-of-doors amusements have always been characteristic of the English people. It is not unnatural, therefore, that in Australia, where ninety-six *per cent.* of the people are British by birth or descent, sports and pastimes should be followed by thousands, especially as the climate and conditions of life are even more favourable for public amusements than those of the Mother Country. Properly regulated sport is a healthy feature of national life. The true sportsman learns to obey, to exercise self-control, to subordinate self-interest. He is none the less, rather more, a good citizen when he recognises that the proper exercise of the body is essential to the proper working of the mind.¹⁶²

The outdoor recreation of the suburbanite was then essential to the identity of the ‘coming man’ even before he became the Anzac, let alone the ‘national type’ who would live ‘the

¹⁵⁹ Lake, op. cit. (2), p.25

¹⁶⁰ Frank Fox, ‘Australia’, in J. A. Hammerton (ed.), *Peoples of All Nations*, Educational Book Co., London, c.1925, pp.247-94, p.258

¹⁶¹ Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999, p.130-3

¹⁶² G. H. Reid, ‘Preface’ to Gordon Inglis (ed.), *Sport and Pastime in Australia*, Methuen and Co., London, 1912,

Australian way of life'. It will be seen in later chapters that this theme was fully developed in the outdoor culture of the long boom.

The domestication of Australian males had dividends in the form of children, and these gave further impetus to the cult of nature as a response to Australian cities. Concerns with environmental conditions were heightened by a desire to populate the nation. In 1942 National Fitness supremo William Gordon Young argued that childrearing would be the greatest challenge of constructing a new social order:

It makes little difference how perfect our new order may be for the well-being of adults. If it assumes such a form that children cannot grow up healthy and vigorous, it is doomed. Whether the child survives civilisation or not, civilisation cannot survive the child.¹⁶³

Throughout the depression and war Australia's birth rate had been in decline. At the Commonwealth level the Departments of Health and Postwar Reconstruction invited members of the public to explain, confidentially, the reasons they had chosen to limit the size of their families.¹⁶⁴ Young outlined the need for better facilities for rearing young citizens who were lucky enough to be born. Many homes were "deficient" as nurseries for young citizens, and government intervention was a matter of urgency.¹⁶⁵ Healthy outdoor play was a standard prescription against delinquency, Western playgrounds being at the forefront of social control since the nineteenth century,¹⁶⁶ and the work of the Parks and Playgrounds movement took on a special significance in the baby boom. The suburb, too, was essential to the post-war breeding program. By the end of the boom it was generally recognised that the dormitory suburbs were ideal nurseries:

One definition of the suburb might be that it is the child-rearing sector of the city. It is here that families, except for the rich, the very poor and the transitional, bring up their young.

The parental motive in moving to the suburb is likely to have been to buy more space for family living while remaining within reach of work. The suburb is born, of course, of the transport revolution. Railway, tram, bus and private car have each opened up more territory for the city worker, while the land

p.vii

¹⁶³ W. G. Young, 'National fitness and the new order', *The Australian Quarterly*, March 1942, pp.19-26

¹⁶⁴ E. Ronald Walker, *The Australian Economy in War and Reconstruction*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1947, p.366

¹⁶⁵ W. G. Young, op. cit. (1), pp.24-5; see also Allport, op. cit. (2), esp. Ch.4

¹⁶⁶ Roy Rosenzweig, op. cit., p.147-8

developers, private and public, have sought to ensure that the yearning for a family house and garden can be met there at almost all levels of income.¹⁶⁷

Beverly Kingston emphasised the child rearing utility of the suburb, arguing that “more thoughtful examination might show that it was largely for women and the production of children that the great Australian suburbs were built.”¹⁶⁸ Five years later Carolyn Allport gave public housing in Sydney that ‘careful consideration’, finding that “the acceptance of the theory of environmental determinism saw an equation between suburban life and family life representing as they did the most desirable way to live and the best environment for raising children.”¹⁶⁹ In the era of urban consolidation, journalists have returned to some of the concerns, though not all of the conclusions, of late nineteenth-century reformers. Readers were told that that a number of measures should be taken when raising children in flats:

According to psychologist Toby Green, flat-dwelling children grow up just as well-adjusted as other children, as long as they are kept active.

“Children accept their environment — they don’t know any different,” explains Toby. “It’s the adults who go ‘shack whacky’ from being cooped up inside with the kids. They need to make sure they get a break from them.”

The suggested measures for keeping children active would have been familiar to the nineteenth-century reformer, including a daily walk to the park or playground, and enrolling children in a sport.¹⁷⁰ The ideology of children’s play will be returned to in later chapters when some of the uses of Sydney’s leisure space and leisure time are considered in more detail. It will be seen that in some areas of the outdoors, gender roles could be transmitted and parenting masculinised.

¹⁶⁷ Colin Ward, *The Child in the City*, The Architectural Press, London, 1977

¹⁶⁸ Beverly Kingston, *My Wife, My Daughter and Poor Mary Ann*, Nelson, Melbourne, 1975, p.2

¹⁶⁹ Allport, op. cit. (1), p.66

¹⁷⁰ Joan Mabbut, ‘Flying the Coop’, *The Sun-Herald — Tempo*, 5.10.97, p.16

Civil defence

Another of the supposed evils of urban agglomeration was the vulnerability of cities to attack, nuclear and conventional, from the air. This was a novel addition to the discourse of urban criticism, and it is not entirely clear how, if at all, fears of a nuclear strike interacted with the more traditional fears for the urbanite's health and welfare. Fiona Allon has argued that the 'Atom age suburb' represented a paradigm shift, that it "not only proposed to 'rationalise' the global political world through a build-up of nuclear weapons arsenals and strategies of deterrence, but also 'rationalise' everyday life through the 'nuclear unconscious': civil defence programmes, decentralisation, notions of civil preparedness and the extension of the principles of scientific technical reason to household and family relationships."¹⁷¹ Certainly, the idea of the citizen as victim was different from that of the citizen soldier, and the influence of atom age strategic planning was pervasive if not consistent. Even the siting of new universities required that authorities consider the protection of Australia's intelligentsia from nuclear attack. Macquarie University's official history records that

Submissions to the Price committee provide a window on the interests and ambitions of people, institutions and communities in New South Wales. Various country towns claimed a university. A physics teacher at the University of Sydney supported them and the decentralisation of higher education for defence reasons: 'At present one bomb could destroy two of our three universities'.¹⁷²

In 1962 the Director of Civil Defence for New South Wales issued the *Householders' Handbook for Nuclear Warfare*. The publication recommended a basement shelter under the house, or if possible an underground shelter.¹⁷³ In 1960 the Australian naturopathic nutritionist Mira Louise warned that the human organism would reach a toxic danger point by 1966, through contamination by radiation, DDT and other marvels of the atomic age. The cover of her book, *Survival in the Atomic Age* depicted a trickle of humanity escaping a city overshadowed by a mushroom cloud.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Fiona Allon, 'The nuclear dream: Lucas Heights and everyday life in the atomic age', in Sarah Ferber et al (eds.) *Beasts of Suburbia: Reinterpreting Cultures in Australian Suburbs*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Vic., 1994, pp.35-52, p.36

¹⁷² Bruce Mansfield and Mark Hutchinson, *Liberality of Opportunity: A History of Macquarie University, 1964 – 1989*, Sydney, Macquarie University in Association with Hale and Iremonger, 1992, p.18

¹⁷³ Civil Defence Organisation, *Householders' Handbook for Nuclear War*, Civil Defence Organisation, Sydney, 1962, p.2

American civil defence planners were recommending the decentralisation of strategic activities¹⁷⁵ and Australian authorities repeated these warnings. American planning heavyweight Lewis Mumford, to whom one historian has referred to as “a sage for many Australian intellectuals in the 1940s”¹⁷⁶ warned that even an atomic arms race without a war might reduce humans to barbarism.¹⁷⁷ Following the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki P. M. S. Blackett wrote of the vulnerability of the modern city to atomic warfare.¹⁷⁸ It was considered that industry, population and military infrastructure should be decentralised in order to spread the target. Attacks on Darwin, Rockhampton and Cairns during the Second World War and the more devastating experience of European and Asian cities had shown the strategic vulnerability of Australia’s population and industry.¹⁷⁹ In post-war New South Wales the Chief Secretary’s Department and then the Premier’s Department set about replacing the by then lapsed voluntary National Emergency Services. In 1955 the State Emergency Services were formed in response to widespread flooding. A month later the Civil Defence Organisation was formed and Major-General Ivan N. Dougherty, C.B.E., D.S.O., E.D., was appointed its director. Initially the two organisations had separate structures, but were amalgamated in 1956 as the State Emergency Services and Civil Defence Organisation. Bushfires remained outside the scope of the organisation’s authority. Responsibility for the application of Civil Defence measures was vested in local government, with local posts being filled by volunteers.¹⁸⁰ Dougherty’s recommendations included “the dispersal of industry and public utilities, some forms of decentralisation, the structural design of buildings, the preparation of family shelters, steps to safeguard water supplies and the stockpiling of food, medical equipment and essential commodities.”¹⁸¹ Dougherty concluded his discussion with this reassurance:

¹⁷⁴ Mira Louise, *Survival in the Atomic Age*, Sharples Printers, Adelaide, 1960

¹⁷⁵ For example Russel J. Hopley, *Civil Defense for National Security*, Office of Civil Defence Planning, U.S. Government Printer, Washington, 1948, pp.1-18; M. Farish, ‘Disaster and decentralisation: American cities and the Cold War’, (*American Cultural Studies*, Vol.10, No.2, April 2003, pp125-148

¹⁷⁶ Nicholas Brown, *Governing prosperity: social change and social analysis in Australia in the 1950s*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, p.142

¹⁷⁷ Lewis Mumford, ‘The Social Effects of Atomic War’, *Twentieth Century*, June 1948, pp15-20, p15

¹⁷⁸ P. M. S. Blackett, ‘Military Consequences of Atomic Warfare’, in M. L. Oliphant et al, *The Atomic Age*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1949

¹⁷⁹ Nelson Trusler Johnson to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, 12. October 1942 in P. G. Edwards (ed.), *Australia Through American Eyes 1935-45: Observations by American Diplomats*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1979, p.79

¹⁸⁰ Other volunteer organisations included the Volunteer Bushfire Service and the Australian Volunteer Coast Guard

¹⁸¹ Sir Ivan Dougherty, *Civil Defence in New South Wales*, pamphlet (NLA 355.23209944) August 1963, p.4

It must be accepted that in any area subject to attack by modern weapons casualties will occur. However, if there has been proper pre-planning, and if preparations have been made, those people who are outside the areas immediately affected will have every chance of survival should they be prepared, and know what to do to help themselves and others.¹⁸²

In 1960 the organisation took on the role of organising relief for the victims of bushfires and by 1971 the Civil Defence Organisation was involved in a plethora of emergency responses, “searching for missing persons, vehicle accidents, recovery of bodies, bush fire fighting and feeding of bush fire fighters, shipwrecks, cliff rescues and provision of temporary roof covering for homes damaged by storms.”¹⁸³ Presumably the red menace had proven to be a disappointment to our civic defenders, who turned instead to defending against the less glamorous but more concrete dangers posed by nature. The impetus of civil defence seems to have diminished as the boom continued. In 1957, to the annoyance of the Country Party, that “energetic man” Major-General Sir Ivan Noel Dougherty was seconded to collect money for the building of the opera house.¹⁸⁴ Dougherty resigned as Executive Director of the Opera House Appeal Fund in February, 1958.

Curiously, the Cumberland County Council failed to appeal to the perceived needs of the Cold War in advancing its own cause. A. F. Ronalds, Principal Investigating Engineer for the Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Authority, made a case for the continued funding of the Snowy Scheme based on its defensive values in case of nuclear war that might well have been imitated by the Cumberland County Council.¹⁸⁵ In contrast, the Cumberland County Council awaited Commonwealth initiative.¹⁸⁶ Others made a stronger case, so it was perhaps not unreasonable for the Council to assume that there would be some action on this front. Sir Ernest Titterton and Rosina Edmunds both advised of the urgency of decentralisation in case of nuclear war.¹⁸⁷ Dudley Gordon Padman Esq. (Albury) warned of Sydney’s great strategic vulnerability to the bomb.¹⁸⁸ When application for funding was put to the newly formed

¹⁸² *ibid*, p.7

¹⁸³ *ibid*, p.7

¹⁸⁴ Michael Bruxner, *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates*, Legislative Assembly, 22 Aug 1957, 3rd Series Vol.21, p.84

¹⁸⁵ A. F. Ronalds, ‘The Snowy Scheme’, *The Town and Country Planning Institute of Australia Bulletin*, Vol.3, No.1, p.1

¹⁸⁶ ‘Defence’, Cumberland County Council, *op. cit.*, p.65

¹⁸⁷ Ernest Titterton, ‘Modern Warfare and Australian Cities’, *Architecture*, January-March 1952, pp.18, 26;

Rosina Edmunds, ‘Planning for the Atomic Age’, *Twentieth Century*, Vol.6, No.3, Autumn 1952, p.53

¹⁸⁸ D. G. Padman, *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates*, Legislative Assembly, 6 Oct 1954, 3rd Series Vol.9,

Menzies government in 1949 it was argued that county roads were of importance to national development, but there was no mention of civil defence.¹⁸⁹

If planning did not respond seriously to the threat of nuclear war, it may be that fear of the bomb informed the locational choice of at least some exurban migrants. At Campbelltown graduates of the Mount Macedon civil defence course grimly prepared for Armageddon. “Let us say”, wrote Mrs. C. H. Brookes in the Campbelltown-Ingleburn News “that metropolitan Sydney suffered a direct hit.” The people of Campbelltown would be at the forefront of the relief effort:

Now, to-morrow there’s a million casualties in Sydney and ten thousand refugees from near outer areas and what do we do about food and essential services? . . . let’s pray the day doesn’t come, but also let’s keep hoeing.¹⁹⁰

Others made practical plans for nuclear war. In Britain investigations were under way to discover what crops grew best when Strontium 90 was added to their fertiliser and the *Sydney Morning Herald* cheerily reported their activities. They asked

How much radioactive dust from bomb tests is finding its way into the soil? How much radioactivity is taken up from the soil by growing crops? How long after a nuclear bomb explosion would it be safe to eat produce from contaminated fields? Could special cultivation methods bring contaminated fields back into use more quickly?¹⁹¹

Atom age militarism added a new dimension to criticisms of the city long current in Australia and the west; we can only speculate as to the extent to which the ‘doughnut effect’ of the modern city can be attributed to fear of the mushroom cloud.

p.879

¹⁸⁹ The Cumberland County Council’s position on civil defence is unclear, files relating to civil defence having been destroyed

¹⁹⁰ ‘The challenge of civil defence’, *The Campbelltown-Ingleburn News*, 29.7.58, pp.2-8

¹⁹¹ ‘Atomic seeds are sown’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25.8.57

CHAPTER TWO

Planning a Brave New World

It can be seen that urbanisation presented a set of problems, some ‘traditional’ and some novel, for post-war Australia. Concerns with urbanisation were attended by popular confidence in the expertise and ability of the state to counter the rapid growth and industrialisation that the state itself was expected to promote. The experience of total war, of Keynesian economics and the departmental achievements of post-war reconstruction gave reformers, planners and town planners cause to hope. In Sydney the Cumberland County Council was formed, implying that ‘Greater Sydney’ might finally be brought to order.¹⁹² The following chapter outlines the program of intervention – attempts to rationalise time and space as a counterpoint to urbanisation – in post-war Australia generally and in Sydney in particular.

¹⁹² Spearritt, op. cit. (2), pp.28, 169

‘Control’

“Sydney, in common with most unplanned cities of the Industrial Revolution, grew too quickly, so that ugliness, inconvenience and discomfort grew in proportion and spread their influence over the surrounding countryside.”¹⁹³

As the war drew to a close a propitious mood seized public debate. Planner Peter Harrison recalled that it was a most hopeful period for planning, when “there was a good deal of intelligent optimism about reconstruction.”¹⁹⁴ War-time propaganda featured lavish plans for the post-war world and radical opinions were freely circulated. Indeed, Australians were so taken with visions of post-war prosperity that in 1944 the Commonwealth Government reminded those who no longer thought victory bonds to be a wise investment that the war was not over.¹⁹⁵ Planning for post-war reconstruction had begun quite early in the war; this was partly due to fears of a repeat of the debacle following World War I, but also as a means of ensuring the continued cooperation of the population in general and the labour force in particular in continuing the war effort. Warfare had enhanced the powers of federal government, which began planning for reconstruction as early as 1940, when a Reconstruction Division was formed within the new Department of Labour and National Service. When the Department of Post-war Reconstruction¹⁹⁶ was formed in December 1942 it was deemed a sufficiently important portfolio to be overseen by the Treasurer, J. B. Chifley. Dr H. C. Coombs became the department’s director.¹⁹⁷ When Chifley replaced Curtin as Prime Minister, John Johnstone Dedman replaced Chifley as Minister. Public affairs were increasingly taken out of the hands of amateurs and entrusted to experts. Conceivably, the growing reliance on experts in public life led to a mass fascination with private pleasures.¹⁹⁸ There was a commitment to the professional management of urban development, education, child rearing and indeed most aspects of human existence. If some of these programs were not immediately successful, their legacy has been the professionalisation of their endeavours.

¹⁹³ Cumberland County Council, op. cit., p1

¹⁹⁴ Peter Harrison, ‘City planning in Australia: what went wrong?’, in Wilkes (ed.), *Australian Cities: Chaos or Planned Growth*, Australian Institute of Political Science, Canberra, 1966, p.61

¹⁹⁵ Advertisement, ‘Stop purring! The war isn’t over yet’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12.4.44, p.10

¹⁹⁶ To balance consistency with accuracy, ‘postwar’ has been used as the standard, except where departmental names or direct quotation requires a different expression.

¹⁹⁷ E. Ronald Walker, op. cit., pp.346-7

Town planning, for instance, was greatly enhanced by the expansion of its study at the University of Sydney, under the tutelage of Professor Denis Winston. Arriving in 1949, Winston told *The Sydney Morning Herald* that “Australia seemed ready for another era of expansion comparable with the gold-rush days” and that this expansion should not be allowed to happen “haphazardly”.¹⁹⁹ Physical education was greatly boosted by the efforts of William Gordon Young,²⁰⁰ who reported as early as 1942 that the newly formed New South Wales Board of Studies was even then training others in the art of leadership in physical education.²⁰¹

For the majority of Australians reconstruction entailed the re-establishment of ex-servicemen and munitions workers in employment, along with some social reforms.²⁰² While individuals yearned for a future in which cigarettes, beer and building materials were no longer rationed,²⁰³ many hoped for more extensive change. The war had rendered the social structure more malleable and the opportunity for reform excited many. In 1947 the former deputy director General of the Department of War Organisation of Industry, E. Ronald Walker observed that

The churches hoped that the war, with its disturbance of individual lives, would bring a revival of personal religion. Educators hoped that the nation would at last realise more clearly the importance of education. Advocates of physical fitness found in the war a perfect justification of their claims. Socialists hoped the war would bring socialism nearer. Douglas Credit enthusiasts hailed the abandonment of traditional financial methods, and predicted disaster if they were again reinstated. If 1939 marked the end of an era, it was all too easy to believe that after society had passed through the crucible of war, the new era would be better than the old in many ways. The nation’s leaders were conscious of this war-time utopianism, and fanned it by stating their war aims in the broad humanitarian terms of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms.²⁰⁴

Opportunistic demands combined with propagandised promises to contribute to a general expectation of progress and reform. William Gordon Young’s 1942 article in *The Australian Quarterly*, ‘National Fitness and The New Order’, epitomised the abundance of articles

¹⁹⁸ See Cross, op. cit., p.196

¹⁹⁹ ‘Growth of Australia: need for planning’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5.1.49, p.4

²⁰⁰ W. G. Young variously wrote under the name “William Gordon Young”, “W. Gordon Young” and “Gordon Young”.

²⁰¹ W. G. Young, op. cit. (1), p.22

²⁰² The Lithgow Small Arms factory is a case in point. The plant employed some 2000 workers at the war’s end and some effort was made to shift production to sporting rifles. To this end the famous marksman, Lionel Bibby, was commissioned to design a .22 rifle, which was produced as a ‘Sportsco’ rifle and distributed by Slazenger. It was hoped that 10,000 rifles might be produced – the figure was closer to 100,000.

²⁰³ E. Ronald Walker, op. cit., p.331

appearing in that journal (the article after Young's was by J. C. Bradfield, extolling the virtues of radically extensive irrigation). As Executive Officer of the NSW National Fitness Council, Young wrote of the extension of government control, the pruning of luxuries, memories of the depression and the birth of a new type of citizen. "It is possible" wrote Young "that at the present time we are forging, on Vulcan's anvil, our new order."²⁰⁵ The Commonwealth Government defined its objectives as full employment, rising living standards and social security. Housing, soldier settlement, soil erosion, wool research, secondary industries, public works, social services, population and immigration, education and regional development were the key areas of Commonwealth focus.²⁰⁶ Carolyn Allport defined Australia's post-war objectives as being concerned either with housing or full employment, with significant variation on those themes.²⁰⁷ This thesis argues that leisure was, if not as important then a significant expectation of Australians and of Sydneysiders in particular, against a backdrop of reformist expectation.

Some planned whole new landscapes, new cities and societies. J. J. C. Bradfield's scheme to change the climate of the interior through a massive irrigation and damming program drew popular support.²⁰⁸ Ion L. Idriess' "Great Boomerang" scheme, which like Bradfield's scheme sought to turn the rivers of the north inland, enjoyed wide popularity and repeated publication as the war drew to a close.²⁰⁹ On an urban note, E. J. Brady and Leslie Rubinstein co-authored a plan to found a socialist community at Mallacoota — Brady outlining the dreams that had failed and Rubinstein the reality that could be in *Dreams and Realities*, declaring that there was "no reason why changes in the methods of production and distribution cannot be made under existing political conditions."²¹⁰ The Australian Institute of Political Science sponsored timely debate, publishing the proceedings of conferences on post-war reconstruction (1944), constitutional revision (1944), the post-war economy (1945), repatriation and rehabilitation (1946), white Australia (1947), housing (1947) and decentralisation (1948).²¹¹ The advocates

²⁰⁴ *ibid*, p.337

²⁰⁵ W. G. Young, *op. cit.* (1), p.19

²⁰⁶ E. Ronald Walker, *op. cit.*, pp.348-6

²⁰⁷ Allport, *op. cit.* (1), p.48

²⁰⁸ See (anon) 'Plan to Water the Great Inland', *Life Digest*, March 1943, pp.23-24, 32; J. J. C. Bradfield, 'Restoring Australia's Parched Lands', *The Australian Quarterly*, March 1942, pp.27-39

²⁰⁹ Ion L. Idriess, *The Great Boomerang*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1942

²¹⁰ E. J. Brady and L. Rubinstein, *Dreams and Realities*, York Press, Melbourne, 1944, p.147

²¹¹ Australian Institute of Political Science publications began in 1933 and include the journal *The Australian*

of better housing had a more pronounced impact on Sydney's development, but in the context of their contemporaries they were pragmatists.²¹²

The enthusiasm for reform was international. Soviet planners, for instance, had for decades been shaping Soviet man by transforming the cities,²¹³ which would impress C. E. W. Bean but feed suspicion in conservative circles. The influential German architect and planner Erwin Antonin Gutkind enthused at the possibilities that technology brought to Western civilisation:

Here lies the great opportunity. It is just our technical advance that has made the very idea of the City obsolete. It has demolished all the ideal and material pre-conditions from which the early cities developed and from which the continuity of city life has drawn its vitalising forces. Science and technique have destroyed the old scale, the old agents of material needs, and the old symbols. They have burst asunder the old units, the cities, and created the new unit of whole countries and large regions. They have opened the way to the creation of a new environment, neither city nor country, an environment for which we have not yet found a name but which is more than either city or country as we have known them in the past in their sterile antagonism and life destroying degeneration.²¹⁴

Gutkind's sentiments were echoed by the American architect Frank Lloyd Wright. In *The Living City* Lloyd Wright called for a modern Jeffersonian democracy of part-time farmers. In this Jeremiad Lloyd Wright proposed a utopian society, 'Usonia', where modern technology re-united humanity and nature, "true simplicity by way of simples growing out of the free democratic citizen's own devotion to life on his own ground; the citizen himself something of a farmer here, free of all unfair transactions."²¹⁵ If the Burleigh Griffins' Castlecrag developments were a far cry from 'Usonia', there was at least some resonance. Lloyd Wright and Gutkind were part of a community of urban commentators that foresaw the transformation and even obsolescence of the city.

This international mood had significant Australian reverberations. Looking back on the period, H. C. Coombs listed the influential ideas of that time:

Quarterly

²¹² Brady, it should be noted, abjured utopianism in favour of 'practical' socialism. The Commonwealth Meteorological Bureau considered the Bradfield Scheme, but deemed it scientifically unfeasible. Idriess' discursive argument was given no such serious consideration. Despite the help from his numerate friend, Brady failed a second time in bringing utopia to Mallacoota.

²¹³ Stephen V. Bittner, 'Green cities and orderly streets: space and culture in Moscow, 1928-1933', *Journal of Urban History*, Vol.25, No.1, 1998, pp.22-55

²¹⁴ E. A. Gutkind, *The Expanding Environment: The End of Cities — The Rise of Communities*, Freedom Press, London, 1953, p.14

²¹⁵ Frank Lloyd Wright, *The Living City*, Horizon Press, New York, 1958, p.99

The writings of Lewis Mumford, Frank Lloyd Wright, Walter Burley Griffin, J. L. and Barbara Hammond, William Morris, Peter Kropotkin; the spill-over of ideas from the Bauhaus; and English initiatives for new towns; all these sources contributed to the pattern of thought of the time, especially among the young including many at the Ministry. We were stimulated to believe that human communities could, by corporate action, shape the context in which the lives of their members were to be lived.²¹⁶

Speaking on post-war reconstruction, the unionist, journalist and Director of Public Relations in the Department of Post-war Reconstruction, Lloyd Ross appealed to such progressive thinkers as Robert Owen, William Lane, M. Kalecki, J. M. Keynes, Joseph Schumpeter, Karl Mannheim and Harold Laski in his own argument for post-war reform.²¹⁷ Ross argued for direct control, that “. . . we need to limit rights of those with money, with land and with building material; to redesign our cities so that they will recapture the ancient “sense of beauty and majesty, a harmony of life that the modern city has largely lost”, we need to control the expansion of cities, introduce zoning, alter street routes, and fit design to a general pattern.”²¹⁸ Gracious cities were as central to Ross’ conception of an equitable post-war world as were the abolition of private monopolies and continued state planning.²¹⁹ Having propagandised post-war reconstruction as part of the war effort, government was bound to deliver on at least some promises. Ross argued that failure to deliver would show a Hitlerian contempt for the masses.²²⁰ Parliamentary labour recognised the necessity of post-war reform in this context. Arthur Greenup (Newtown-Annandale, ALP) characterised the expectations of Australians in 1950:

In the war years industrialists directing production spoke of a new order that was to follow the cessation of hostilities, and they were supported by leading articles in the press. There was to be full employment and a finer life after victory had made democracy safe. Inspired by such a promise our young men, many of them unemployed, enlisted and went abroad in high hopes that it would be fulfilled.²²¹

Bean wrote angrily in his *War Aims of a Plain Australian* that Australia should not be allowed to betray its battlefield heroes to the fate of World War I diggers.²²² For a great body of reformers, public servants and the Australian public, war-time promises had not been

²¹⁶ H. C. Coombs, *Trial Balance*, Macmillan, Melbourne, 1981, p.60

²¹⁷ Lloyd Ross, ‘A New Social Order’ in D. A. S. Campbell (ed.), *Post-war Reconstruction in Australia*, Australasian Publishing Co. with AIPS, Sydney, 1944, pp.183-230

²¹⁸ *ibid*, p.227

²¹⁹ *ibid*, p.198

²²⁰ *ibid*, p.205

²²¹ Arthur Greenup, *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates*, Legislative Assembly, 19 September, 1950, pp.194-5

²²² C. E. W. Bean, *War Aims of a Plain Australian*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1943

propaganda but a genuine hope. As White puts it, leisure was “a reward for their contribution to the war, and in some ways a recompense for what was lost in the Depression.”²²³ Coombs recalled that

From the outset those involved in the establishment of the Ministry had emphasised that the Government’s commitment to a better life after the war, especially for those who had been denied it by unemployment or poverty, would make it important to ensure a physical and social environment in which an adequate and fulfilling life would be possible.²²⁴

Eugenic ideas were no longer overtly expressed in the post-war reformist discourse, but it is argued in this thesis that many vitalist assumptions survived in post-war Australia. There was in this debate, however, a marked change in the discourse of reform in Australia. Richard White remarks that

The reconstructionist ideology of the forties clearly saw the new social order as a thing of the future, though of the very near future, something to plan for and not just to dream about. In fact it is interesting that Australia’s war aims were so future-oriented. There was no desire for a return to pre-war life: for the Labor government there was little that was worth defending in the memories of the thirties. Instead it was the possibility of an idealised future that justified sacrifice.²²⁵

The expectation was that reform would be come about so quickly as to be immediate.

²²³ White et al., op. cit., p.125

²²⁴ H. C. Coombs, op. cit., p.58

²²⁵ White, op. cit., pp.531-2

‘Decontrol’

Of course the endorsement of post-war planning was far from unanimous. The tensions involved in improving material living standards and expanding social security frustrated the reconstruction program of the Commonwealth Government. Warning of the changing mood in the electorate came in the defeat, or partial defeat of successive, progressive referenda: on Postwar Reconstruction and Democratic Rights (1944);²²⁶ on Social Services; on Marketing and Industrial Employment (1946) (against the trend, the social service proposals of this referendum were actually approved by a majority of States, making the Commonwealth responsible for legislation on maternity allowances, widow’s pensions, child endowment, unemployment, pharmaceutical, sickness and hospital benefits, medical and dental services, and benefits to students and family allowances); and on Rents and Prices (1948).²²⁷ E. Ronald Walker observed that “considering the causal factors at work in the development of war controls, and the general psychological situation as peace came into sight, it seemed clear that the end of the war would bring a strong initial reaction against government control.”²²⁸ When J. J. Dedman declared that the government was not about making little capitalists of Australian workers, he revealed the political gap between the government and its electorate that would tell in Labor’s defeat at the 1949 general election.²²⁹ It was apparent that the profit from unearned increment was among the most cherished of the war aims of many plain Australians.

Walker noted that opposition to planning had begun quite early, when “the somewhat utopian strain in popular thought was continually countered by individual expressions of a more pessimistic view of human nature.”²³⁰ Sane Democracy pundit Aubrey de Rune Barclay cited a Dr. Louat as having warned Australians against “the path to the prison house of the socialised State.”²³¹ There was, Barclay said, a need for a ‘crusade for democracy’:

²²⁶ H. C. Coombs, op. cit., p.50

²²⁷ *Australian Encyclopaedia*, Grolier’s, Sydney, 1962, Vol.7, p.399

²²⁸ E. Ronald Walker, op. cit., p.395 (Walker predicted that the decontrol phase would come to an end, while planning and control would come back into vogue)

²²⁹ Geoffrey Bolton, *The Oxford History of Australia: The Middle Way*, Volume 5, 1942-1995, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1996, p.32; Spearritt, op. cit. (2), p.99

²³⁰ E. Ronald Walker, op. cit., p.338

²³¹ ‘The challenge to democracy’, Barclay personal papers, personal files, p.3

A bold and virile plan is necessary to correct the damage already done and provide safeguards for the future. The people must be convinced of the menace of Communism, what the Party's aims really are, and the extent to which the Communists have already infiltrated official Labour (sic).²³²

Barclay estimated that the crusade would cost around £15,000. The Sane Democracy League, as will be seen, was active in opposing the planning of Sydney and reconstruction in general. As the war drew to its conclusion commitment to reconstruction became less idealistic. Coombs recalled that victory "now seemed only a matter of time and such a victory was, perhaps, felt to be a more effective source of national unity than a promise of a better world in the future. "The demagogic isolationist of a Sydney paper" predicted Ross "joins with the isolated demagoguery of a Sydney politician in a general attack on controllers, planners and bureaucrats. But can we – you – anyone you like – survive the post-war period without controls?"²³³ Some mixed their conservatism with well founded ecological arguments. Contributors to and editors of *Farm and Garden Digest* remained sceptical of the beneficence of planning. In 1952 they warned against following the example of the Tennessee Valley Authority, reminding readers that "an emergency forms the invariable excuse for a dictatorship, as evidenced by Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler, Salazar, Franco and Peron, and of course if an emergency does not exist — it can be created."²³⁴

Conservatives were suspicious of 'plans and programmes', the 'promise technique' being central to the propaganda methods of the ALP. Such was often the recourse of Labor since Lang, averred the Liberal Party, and "the actual figure often had little significance beyond the fact that it was large and would impress the public."²³⁵ Labor had mastered the art of winning the apathetic vote:

Impossible promises, grandiose "plans" and striking assertions were means of making a few simple impressions on the mind of the public. Even when public interest runs high the confident assertion holds attention, while its disproof is of secondary interest. Promises and plans are soon forgotten. When there is little public interest something striking and dramatic is needed to create any impression at all, while criticisms and facts command little attention.²³⁶

²³² *ibid*, p.4

²³³ Lloyd Ross, *op. cit.*, p.194

²³⁴ Anon, 'Beware the planners', *Farm and Garden Digest*, June 1952, pp.1-2

²³⁵ The Liberal Party of Australia, New South Wales Division, 'State Labor's propaganda techniques', *Research Bulletin*, No.NSW 4/50, 30.6.50, p.1

²³⁶ *ibid*, p.3

No attempt was made to explain the electoral success of the federal Liberal Party. Concerning the Planning Scheme for the County of Cumberland, the Liberals were at first cautiously optimistic. The Council's population projections of a peak population of 2,297,000 in 1980, they thought, were unrealistic. The Liberals considered that Sydney might grow to 5,000,000 by the year 2000. Sydney had already outgrown its forestry resources and would surely outgrow its agricultural resources by the end of the century; "One thing that is certain is that the city in its present form is already far too big to provide pleasant living conditions for the majority of its inhabitants, and any means of diverting additional population to other centres would, unless economic efficiency were impaired, improve living standards."²³⁷ Perhaps, it was suggested, some great technological advance would render the need for planning unnecessary, as "we are on the verge of a great technological advance, such as was initiated by the railway in the latter half of last century, and the motor vehicle in this century, and that we are as incapable of foreseeing its effects as were citizens of 1850 and 1900."²³⁸

The planning scheme for the Cumberland County, studied in detail later, met with direct opposition.²³⁹ Property interests, real estate agents and even the NSW Town Planning Association were critical of the scheme.²⁴⁰ The Sane Democracy League, long a campaigner against the meddling state, placed advertisements in *The Sydney Morning Herald* warning of a menace to liberty:

The State Government's Greater Sydney proposals strike at the roots of democratic freedom. You are offered no choice . . . Residents, beware of centralised Government control. DEMAND A REFERENDUM on the GREATER SYDNEY PLAN.²⁴¹

Manly Alderman C. R. Sharkie responded to the proposed planning of Clontarf by declaring that "We do not want socialism; we want as much freedom as possible. A socialist state does not suit my way of life."²⁴² To the south, Counsellor C. O. J. Monro of the Sutherland Shire published a fifteen page pamphlet entitled *The Case against the Cumberland County Council*

²³⁷ The Liberal Party of Australia, New South Wales Division, 'The Cumberland County Council Planning Scheme', *Research Bulletin* No.NSW 7/50, 21.11.50, p.10

²³⁸ *ibid*, p.10

²³⁹ Robert Freestone, 'Sydney's Green Belt, 1945-60', *Australian Planner*, Vol.21, No.2, July 1992, pp.70-77, p.72; Harrison, 'Planning the metropolis', in R. S. Parker and P. N. Troy, *The Politics of Urban Growth*, ANU Press, Canberra, 1972, p.76

²⁴⁰ Freestone, *op. cit.*, p.72

²⁴¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10.9.47

²⁴² 'Asterisk' (a pseudonym), 'Residential lots and red plots', *The Town and Country Planning Institute of Australia Bulletin*, Vol.1, No.7, October 1949, p.3

and the Implementation of the Master Plan.²⁴³ When the council acquired powers over main roads and country roads, hotels, transport terminals, bulk oil terminals, drive-in theatres and the other edifices of Australia's rapidly developing mobile culture, objections were made by "32 local governing bodies, business and other interests."²⁴⁴ In 1949 *The Town and Country Planning Institute of Australia Bulletin* observed that 'speculators' had lobbied the State government for amendments to the scheme. It was strange, the *Bulletin* noted, that "the plight of this type of objector seldom fails to evoke the sympathy of the casual bystander, the layman and the politician."²⁴⁵ The volume of objections received by the Council, amounting to over 3000, strained the Council's resources as they attempted to respond.²⁴⁶ By the end of 1953 over 25,000 compensation claims had been made against the Council and in 1954 the Cumberland Scheme Justice Association was formed;²⁴⁷ a guide to claiming compensation was even published.²⁴⁸

At the international level, utopian visions had blurred even earlier with the faltering of the Keynesian crusade. Keynes' International Clearing Union had little appeal for the United States of America, which preferred that in post-war monetary arrangements disciplinary measures would apply only to debtors.²⁴⁹ Perhaps the planner's confidence in town and country planning was too optimistic. Peel argues that town planning was held in far higher esteem in the colonies than in Britain, where it existed on the periphery.²⁵⁰ British economist John Jewkes' 1948 attack on planning makes no reference to town and country planning, concentrating instead on Keynesian economics.²⁵¹ H. C. Coombs, it should be noted, makes no mention of town and country planning in his memoirs except when referring to the New South Wales and Victorian acts, although Coombs does discuss 'regional planning' at length.²⁵² The Commonwealth Housing Commission proved to be of no help to the County Council; Walter Bunning's assertion that a "planned economy, with goals set by the people through Local,

²⁴³ 'Asterisk', 'The Monro doctrine', *The Town and Country Planning Institute of Australia Bulletin*, Vol.1, No.8, Dec. 1949, p3

²⁴⁴ 'Cumberland plan enquiry concludes', *API Bulletin*, June 1956, p.10

²⁴⁵ 'Sydney's master plan — objectives and objections', *The Town and Country Planning Institute of Australia Bulletin*, Vol.1, No.8, Dec. 1949, p.4

²⁴⁶ Freestone, op. cit., p.72

²⁴⁷ *ibid*, p.72

²⁴⁸ Ronald A. Collier, *Compensation and the County of Cumberland Plan*, Butterworth, Sydney, 1952

²⁴⁹ H. C. Coombs, op. cit., pp.32-48

²⁵⁰ Mark Peel, op. cit.

²⁵¹ John Jewkes, *Ordeal by Planning*, Macmillan, London, 1948

State and National Governments, could be used for developing our resources for the benefit of all the people”²⁵³ did not translate into sympathy for the Council when Bunning had moved to the Town and Country Planning Advisory Committee. To conservatives, “planning” seemed very close to “communism”. As will be seen, this shift towards conservatism and against planning was as much to do with the interplay of capitalism and leisure as with cold war politics in the development of the ‘Australian way of life’.

²⁵² H. C. Coombs, op. cit., 1981

²⁵³ Quoted in Alastair Greig, *The Stuff Dreams are Made Of*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Vic., 1995, p.32

Rationalising time



‘Then and Now’²⁵⁴

When it came to plans for Sydney’s leisure debate revolved around a discourse of rationalising time and space to the urbanite’s advantage. The democratisation of leisure entailed a thorough rationalisation of time. The rationalisation of leisure time was a logical development of the rationalisation of work hours in industrial societies. Urry notes that “the growth of a more organised and routinised pattern of work led to attempts to develop a corresponding rationalisation of leisure”²⁵⁵ British geographer Sarah James neatly summarises the history of leisure:

To ‘ordinary’ people, leisure is a recent luxury, for the average working week in 1850 was just under 70 hours, and the intervals in such labour were not periods of leisure but simply of recovery. The five and a

²⁵⁴ *As You Were 1948*, Australian War Memorial, ACT, 1948, p175

half day week was a triumphant milestone and now for many Saturday has been added to Sunday. Holiday with pay is also relatively new. The increase of leisure and of private transport means that we can now move about as never before, not only along restricted railway routes but all over the country by a network of roads and lanes.²⁵⁶

In Australia time was already subject to the strictures of the industrial city. Cashman observes that

Changing regimens of time arose from a perceived need for more punctuality and synchronisation in the cities, where time was regarded as “a more finite resource to be divided, measured and conserved”. This more rational management of time carried over into leisure.²⁵⁷

Post-war developments saw time rationalised further. A leisure ethic which rewarded Australians for their labours was instituted; augmenting rather than undermining the work ethic of post-industrial Australia’s way of life. The demarcation between work and life, identified by E. P. Thomson as characterising industrial societies approach to time, crystallised to form a binary system of work and reward;²⁵⁸ over the boom this came increasingly to mean work and consumption. White notes that there was some alarm over what appeared to be leisure’s challenge to the work ethic; it will be seen, however, that the work ethic was ultimately bolstered by the new levels of consumerism that the leisure ethic fostered in Australians.

By the forties leisured escapes from urban existence were already an established facet of industrial life. William A. Gleason notes of the American experience that industrial employment regularised work hours:

Where “free” time and “work” time were previously more interfused, workers’ leisure hours were gradually compartmentalised into weeknights, Saturday afternoons, and Sundays. In many ways, the industrial boom thus charged into the second half of the nineteenth century tugging a recreation boom behind it.²⁵⁹

The Australian experience was markedly similar, if somewhat later. The half holiday was introduced gradually over the late nineteenth-century, becoming for the fortunate a feature of the workingman’s paradise.²⁶⁰ Garry Cross notes that this in itself was fundamental to the

²⁵⁵ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, Sage, London, 1990, p.19

²⁵⁶ Sarah James, op. cit., p.20

²⁵⁷ Richard Cashman, *Paradise of Sport*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1995, pp.35-6

²⁵⁸ E. P. Thomson, ‘Time, work-discipline and industrial capitalism’, *Past and Present*, No. 38, 1967, pp.56-97, p.93

²⁵⁹ William A. Gleason, op. cit., p.61

²⁶⁰ Cashman, op. cit (2), p.35

commercialisation of leisure as “leisure was transformed by a new sense of time, pleasure by the hour, weekend, and summer holiday, not the traditional festival of irregular leisure moments of pre-industrial society.”²⁶¹ In 1883 Twopenny observed the development of the leisure ethic in its early stages:

To ‘get on’ is the watchword of young Australia, and getting-on means hard work. But the more ample reward attaching to labour out here leaves the colonist more leisure. And this leisure he devotes to working at play.²⁶²

The play at which Australians worked was extended by ample public holidays, and Twopenny claimed that Saturday was almost always a half day holiday. Eight months of the year the outdoors were preferable to indoor living, particularly in such houses as Australians built for themselves. Outdoor sports were the dominant amusements. Cricket was foremost, followed by football, athletics, yachting, rowing, lawn-tennis, and bicycling. Polo was rather too aristocratic, as were gun clubs, although both existed. Twopenny observed no fox-hunting, although some clubs coursed kangaroo and deer. Kangaroo and wallaby shooting were also to be had, and could earn the hunter financial reward. There were also snipe and duck to shoot, and too many rabbits to be shot for sport. The native bear was fair game, but sluggish. The bandicoot, the native cat, cockatoos, parrots, eagles, hawks, wild turkeys, quails, waterbirds (including the swan) and possums could also be shot. Twopenny had heard that the fishing in Australia was very poor, although there was some hope for the acclimatisation of the trout. Horse racing was prolific, as were drinking and dances. The arts were generally in poor shape, with no opera, indifferent singing and poor acting.²⁶³ It might be argued that such nineteenth-century travel writers received a distorted picture of the Australian leisure scene, often being entertained by that peculiarly Australian leisured class, the squattocracy.²⁶⁴ However in the late nineteenth-century Western leisure was gradually democratised. The U.S. Senate was told in 1883 that “A working man wants something besides food and clothes in this country . . . He wants recreation. Why should not a working man have it as well as other people?”²⁶⁵ The twentieth-century saw further democratisation of leisure and outdoor pursuits, not least in Australia. In 1918 E. J. Brady wrote of

²⁶¹ Cross, op. cit., p.123

²⁶² Richard Twopenny, *Town Life in Australia*, Penguin Colonial Facsimiles, Ringwood, Vic., 1973, p.202

²⁶³ *ibid*, pp.202-21

²⁶⁴ As was the case with another Victorian tourist, Anthony Trollope – see Jon Stratton, ‘Australia – this sporting life’ in G. Lawrence and D. Rowe (eds.), *Power Play: Essays in the Sociology of Australian Sport*, Hale and Irenmonger, Sydney, 1986, pp.85-114, p.96

²⁶⁵ Quoted in Rosenzweig, op. cit., p.1

The Open Way! I remember a lad of seventeen chained to a desk in Sydney town, who, when his annual holidays came round would hurry into the bush, with gun and cartridge bag, to tramp from daylight till dark in pursuit of game. How he counted off the flying days that ended all too soon!²⁶⁶

A sporting sojourn was an established reward for one's urban labour. Of course leisure was not new to Australians; neither was the holiday ubiquitous. Cushing observes that

By 1900, the shorter work week of five and five and a half days created the weekend as a near universal event in Australia. Annual leave was available to growing numbers of workers through the next decades. Even so, in 1948, a Gallup poll found that only half of the people surveyed actually left home during their holidays.²⁶⁷

Post-war leisure was increasingly commonplace, however. By 1954 the rationalisation of leisure was so distinct in Australia that sports writer Rex Rienits observed that

In view of the intensive and highly-organised competition that exists in almost all sports in Australia, it is an odd fact, little realised elsewhere, that the great bulk of the country's competitive sport takes place on Saturday afternoons.²⁶⁸

There was no six day a week county cricket as there was in England, and most sportsmen were working men during the week, being available for sporting fixtures every weekend. Leisure had been rationalised and democratised, to an extent. As Cushing observes "leisure was periods of relaxation which were compensation for privations endured at work. Those who were not in the paid workforce did not "earn" such leisure."²⁶⁹ There was a marked division of leisure in post-war Australia, reaffirmed along with the division of labour.

World War II entrenched recreation in Western culture in general and Australian in particular. Notably, or notoriously 'R & R' was enjoyed by allied soldiers. In 1940 *The Sydney Morning Herald* was happy to inform readers that the men of the A.I.F. enjoyed regular four day breaks in Haifa and Gaza, where they would have access to town amenities and beaches.²⁷⁰ American servicemen had been particularly fond of the Queensland's Gold Coast.²⁷¹ In Britain the war weary had recourse to the countryside. According to one serviceman,

²⁶⁶ E. J. Brady, *Australia Unlimited*, George Robertson and Co., Melbourne, c1916; Henry Lawson visited Brady at Mallacoota, recording the visit in the poem 'Captain's Point (To a Fellow Bard Camping Out)', cited in Sarah Mirams, "'For their moral health': James Barrett, urban progressive ideas and National Park reservations in Victoria", *Historical Studies*, Vol.33, No.120, October 2002, pp.249-266, p.257

²⁶⁷ Cushing, op. cit., p.256

²⁶⁸ Rex Rienits and J. H. Fingleton, 'Their sports' in Ian Bevan (ed.), op. cit., pp.160-181, p.164

²⁶⁹ Cushing, op. cit., p.255

²⁷⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23.4.40, p.12

²⁷¹ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.142

The need which we all feel the need to 'escape' from the irritations of modern life is obviously greatest in time of war. Some people can, or say they can, find all the relaxation they require in work or the normal routine of home life. Others have the need but do not attempt to fill it; these are the people who are heading for a breakdown which is usually preventable.²⁷²

The author of this statement, T. A. Powell, worked in London with the Admiralty, and attributed his good health during the blitz to frequent trips to the countryside in search of the 'lusty trout'. He advised all servicemen to take up fishing:

When my nephew landed at Norway the only personal possessions to accompany him were his wife's photograph, a small bag of tackle and a general-purpose rod of many joints . . . (I understand that the whip-aerial of a tank can be used when one is really desperate.) There was no time for fishing in France and Belgium, but he had some success with the pike in Holland . . . Later he caught a few trout in Germany, but complained that most of the best fishing was in the American Zone.²⁷³

The Australian soldier's experience of war involved recreational spells, behind the lines and on campaign. In the late sixties the United States army encouraged its soldiers to go fishing and shooting while on R & R in Australia: they were advised in this by the Director of the National Parks and Wildlife Service.²⁷⁴

The recreational career of the demobilised soldier is amply illustrated in the cartoon strip, Bluey and Curley. Alex Gurney's characters, Bluey and Curley, appeared in the *Sun News Pictorial* to characterise and caricature the Australian's experience of war and reconstruction. These insubordinate and cheerily racist larrikins served in every theatre of war, emerging unscathed to pursue varied careers and leisured adventures in civilian life. At war they applied for special leave or simply went A.W.L.;²⁷⁵ told fish tales while adrift in the Pacific;²⁷⁶ used grenades to catch fish for the officers' mess;²⁷⁷ drove jeeps for their officers on kangaroo shooting expeditions in the Northern Territory;²⁷⁸ and landed tinned salmon through a hole in the roof of the army Q-Store.²⁷⁹ After the war their recreations abounded.

²⁷² T. A. Powell, op. cit., p.101

²⁷³ *ibid*, p.109

²⁷⁴ *SRNSW: CGS 10664, Kingswood 12/1615, Box 1, File 1968*, National Parks and Wildlife Service, Correspondence Files, 1976-74, Captain Glen M. Harnden of the United States R & R Office, Chevron Hotel to S. P. Weems, Director of the NSWNPWS, 24 August 1968,

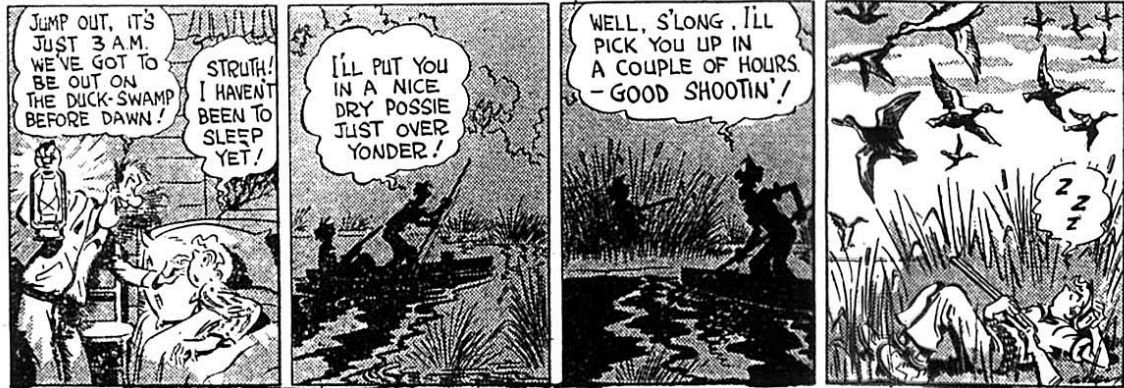
²⁷⁵ Alex Gurney, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, No.1, Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne, 1941, p.23

²⁷⁶ Alex Gurney, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne, c.1944, p.40

²⁷⁷ Alex Gurney, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne, 1945, p.8

²⁷⁸ *ibid*, p.12

²⁷⁹ *ibid*, p.44

SLEEPING PARTNER

*Bluey and Curley Annual*²⁸⁰

Curley buys a car on instalments (but doesn't keep it);²⁸¹ they attend the angling club trophy night where they find the seats six feet apart to make allowance for their stories;²⁸² they find their funds insufficient for a fishing charter on the Barrier Reef; they decide to help out on the farm of Bluey's uncle Ted, but pack a kit of bat, clubs, racket and rifle;²⁸³ Curley discourages those who would shoot the rock-python;²⁸⁴ Curley takes a job as a caddy, whereby he witnesses the poor sportsmanship of the middle-classes;²⁸⁵ their own good sportsmanship is shown in contrast when they play golf, poorly;²⁸⁶ Curley tries rock climbing in the Australian Alps;²⁸⁷ they lose their catch to sharks;²⁸⁸ Curley takes a girl bushwalking, but she is unimpressed by "a bonzer bit of fair dinkum Australian scenery";²⁸⁹ their mate's house lies in disrepair due to the materials shortage, but he has built a boat in his backyard;²⁹⁰ they are bewildered by fly fishermen;²⁹¹ a fly fisherman is in turn bewildered when they use their tent fly to net trout;²⁹² they spear a swimmer when trying out the new "under-water-fish-spear-gun";²⁹³ they spear stingrays at night with the aid of a spotlight,²⁹⁴ and their confrontation with

²⁸⁰ Alex Gurney, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, The Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne, 1951, no page number

²⁸¹ Alex Gurney, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne, 1947, p.8

²⁸² *ibid*, p.11

²⁸³ *ibid*, p.16

²⁸⁴ *ibid*, p.16

²⁸⁵ *ibid*, p.19, 47

²⁸⁶ *ibid*, pp.26, 31

²⁸⁷ *ibid*, p.23

²⁸⁸ *ibid*, p.35

²⁸⁹ *ibid*, p.37

²⁹⁰ *ibid*, p.38

²⁹¹ *ibid*, p.47

²⁹² Alex Gurney, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne, 1948, p.36

²⁹³ *ibid*, p.33

²⁹⁴ *ibid*, p.34

the fisheries inspector briefly rivals that which they had with their sergeant.²⁹⁵ By 1951 they have taken up fly fishing themselves,²⁹⁶ and Curley declares that “sardines have got nothing on the way people pack in at these week-end holiday camps”.²⁹⁷ After the death of Alex Gurney the comic strip was taken over by the Sydney cartoonist and ex-serviceman Norman Rice.²⁹⁸ Their adventures continued, with slight alteration. Their mates discover “compo” leave and the sick;²⁹⁹ their fishing grounds become overcrowded.³⁰⁰ The strip was then drawn by Les Dixon, who produced them until their retirement in *Australian Senior*. The two illustrate many points of this thesis.

At the war’s conclusion it was generally anticipated that the average Australian would enjoy more leisure time. Reformers envisaged the newly leisured citizenry taking advantage of their increased leisure time for self-improvement. This had, after all, been one of the chief stated aims of campaigners for shorter working hours for over half a century. Leisure was a popular demand of the masses of the Western world throughout the twentieth-century, and it was often admitted that the masses were indeed due some increase in leisure due to their sacrifices in war. After World War I Lloyd George observed that it was “not a question of whether men can stand the strain of a longer day, but that the working class is entitled to the same sort of leisure as the middle class.”³⁰¹ Democratisation of leisure was an implied promise of modernisation. In the immediate post-war political debate Labor maintained that a shorter working week was part of the fulfilment of war-time promises of peace and prosperity. For the MLA for Drummoyne, Roy Jackson it was Labor’s answer to the ‘red’ menace, and he argued that if “we are to do away with the threat of “isms”, whether Communist or not, we must provide for our people a little more of the world’s pleasure, the world’s leisure, and the world’s treasure.”³⁰² As for the “isms”, the Communist Party of Australia was indeed conspicuous in the campaign for shorter working hours. The CPA had emerged from the war more generally

²⁹⁵ Alex Gurney, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne, 1951, no page number.

²⁹⁶ *ibid*, no page number

²⁹⁷ *ibid*, no page number

²⁹⁸ Norman Rice, *Bluey and Curley*, Melbourne, Sun News Pictorial Feature, 1956, no page number.

²⁹⁹ *ibid*, no page number

³⁰⁰ *ibid*, no page number

³⁰¹ Lloyd George, quoted in Cross, *op. cit.*, p.165

³⁰² The Hon. R. S. Jackson, *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates*, Legislative Assembly, 12 Sept, 1950, p.11

respected than it ever had been³⁰³ and it behove the ALP to be wary. Writing in 1947 E. Ronald Walker warned his contemporaries that

The demand for shorter hours would be nourished by the sustained effort of long hours during the war, and supported by fear of unemployment. The more militant leaders of the trade-union movement, some of whom were communist, had worked hard to preserve industrial peace and to maintain continuity of production during the war years in which Russia had been an ally.

It was therefore likely that “employers’ resistance to labour’s demands might be countered with a bitterness and a violence of temper altogether disproportionate to the ostensible issues of each dispute.”³⁰⁴ CPA cadre E. W. Campbell noted the success of the party in influencing ACTU Congress “to adopt progressive policies on hours and wages questions.”³⁰⁵

Just as Victorian reformers had hoped for social cohesion through parks and playgrounds, Victorian advocates of leisure had thought to “inculcate the personal values essential for a growing commercial economy: self-control, familialism, and respectability.”³⁰⁶ The greatest advocates of increased leisure were not reformers, however, but the masses themselves. Mid nineteenth-century agitation for shorter working hours had centred on the idea of “eight hours labour, eight hours recreation, eight hours rest”, a slogan coined with the intention that those hours of recreation be turned to the betterment of the individual.³⁰⁷ Chartist reformers saw this as a means to promoting social mobility, whereby the employee might become employer; it was to be hoped that a surplus of leisure would not lead to dissipated habits. This hope was common in the Western world,³⁰⁸ and Australian mid twentieth-century reformers were typically keen that liberated workers should put their spare time to good use. “It is little short of amazing to see the store of knowledge an individual can acquire in the avid pursuit of a hobby”, wrote W. G. Young. Parallax and the laws of light would be learned by amateur photographers, aeronautics by model aeroplane enthusiasts.³⁰⁹ Those subscribing to the vitalist

³⁰³ E. Ronald Walker, op. cit., p.397; see also Robin Gollan, *Revolutionaries and Reformers. Communism and the Australian Labour Movement 1920-1955*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1975

³⁰⁴ *ibid*, p.45

³⁰⁵ E. W. Campbell, *Post-war History of CPA: 1956 – Present*, unpublished MS, CPA files ML MSS 5021 box 86 (155), p.18

³⁰⁶ Cross, op. cit., p.87

³⁰⁷ Manning Clark, *A History of Australia, Vol.4: The Earth Abideth Forever*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Vic., 1978, p.93; Dr. Thomas Embling is credited with having coined the phrase.

³⁰⁸ Many histories of leisure make mention of this duality. For instance, Cross, op. cit., pp.94-99 explores Victorian hopes and fears in this direction.

³⁰⁹ W. G. Young, op. cit. (1), pp.22-3

tradition hoped that the increase in leisure would enable a closer interaction with nature. The editor of outdoors magazine *Australian Gun and Rod* heralded a new era:

Now that the five-day week is with us, and man has more leisure hours, how will this free time be spent? What will we as a people make of those extra hours, the employment of which is left to our own tastes and division? More important, what organised development may reasonably be offered to consume many of these hours in an interesting, healthful, and constructive way?

There were three ways, it appeared. The first was in spectator sport (*Gun and Rod* mentions commercial spectator sport and ‘movies’. The latter was rather perspicacious, given the rise of televised sport. Magazines might also have been included in the category). The second was participatory amusement, such as sport on links, which required the provision of amenities. The third and most desirable were outdoor activities such as “. . . hiking, hunting, fishing, camping, and a great expansion of acquaintanceship with Nature and the outdoors generally . . .” The stage was set for a great recreational renaissance where “we have the chance to develop an outdoor-minded people and to foster that interest in Nature that is latent in everybody however much it may have been stunted by the containing walls of cities or denied by the consuming demands of civilisation.”³¹⁰ In 1949 the National Fitness Council argued that the implementation of the weekend would necessitate a massive expansion to its budget.³¹¹

Central to the rationalisation of time, the 40-hour week was instituted as a principle of the reconstructed, decentralised and industrialised society. The 40-hour week was instituted as a principle of the reconstructed society: put aside for the war years, the campaign for a shorter week was revived in 1946 when the ACTU took the case for a 40-hour week to the Commonwealth Court. The case was won in 1947, the 40-hour week to be introduced in 1948, by which time it had already been introduced into New South Wales State legislation.³¹² Conservatives predicted diminished production, runaway inflation and deterioration in the lot of the Australian citizen.³¹³ Annual holidays were extended, and long service leave provisions implemented. Commitment to the 40-hour week was to a large extent due to the Australian emphasis on full employment as a cornerstone of reconstruction – a commitment not shared by all of the allied powers, but one held dear by the Australian labour movement and by the new

³¹⁰ *Australian Gun and Rod*, January 1950, p.19

³¹¹ ‘More leisure time – to keep fit’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6.5.48, p.4

³¹² See Alan Beever, *The Forty-Hour Week Movement in Australia 1930-48*, Working Papers in Economic History, No.35, ANU, June 1985

³¹³ Vincent, *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates*, 20 Sept, 1950, p.262; Morton, *New South Wales*

Keynesian economists.³¹⁴ Coombs observed that “there was a feeling that unless there were strong commitments to issues like the 40-hour week, holidays with pay and other proposals which had been raised by the ACTU in its annual conferences, the assurances about rising living standards, and our treatment of wage policy generally, would remain ‘thin and unconvincing’”.³¹⁵ Sir William Beveridge’s *Full Employment and a Free Society* was readily adopted by Australian labour and by progressive economists. Australian delegates argued strongly for an international commitment to full employment at the various forums of post-war reconstruction, including Bretton Woods. Australia succeeded in having full employment included in the charter of the United Nations (Articles 55 and 56). International trading relations were thereby to be predicated on an international commitment to full employment. The wisdom of Beveridge, however, was lost on the Americans, (as were the opportunities offered by the Atlantic Charter and the Mutual Aid Agreement)³¹⁶ but that nation nevertheless pursued a domestic policy of full employment (expressed in the Murray-Wagner-Thomas Bill, 1945). The British government produced a White Paper on *Employment Policy* in 1944; the Canadians produced a paper on *Employment and Income* in 1945 and Australia produced its White Paper on *Full Employment in Australia* in May, 1945.³¹⁷ Some argued that reduced working hours would increase productivity and employment.³¹⁸ Sydney’s Dean of Medicine had even claimed that an Australian artisan of 1912 could in three days do the British equivalent of a week’s work due to his more generous allowance of leisure.³¹⁹ The Keynesian nexus of full employment, leisured spending and consumerism are explored at length in later chapters. For now, however, it suffices to quote Richard White, who writes that

Full employment was a bold promise which was only fulfilled by a post-war boom – hoped for and planned for but still slightly unexpected – that lasted into the 1970s. And the benefits of the boom would be more evenly spread than most. The working classes gained access to what had been denied them before the war: not simply more money and more job security but more time.³²⁰

Parliamentary Debates, 28 Aug, 1952, 325

³¹⁴ H. C. Coombs, op. cit., pp.32-5; White et al., op. cit., p.121

³¹⁵ *ibid*, pp.50-1

³¹⁶ *ibid*, p.34

³¹⁷ E. Ronald Walker, op. cit., pp.48-55

³¹⁸ For a full discussion on British agitation for shorter working hours see Stephen G. Jone’s, *Workers at Play*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1986, especially p.23

³¹⁹ Gordon Inglis (ed.), op. cit, p.9

³²⁰ White et al., op. cit., p.121

Full employment, and the concomitant of shorter working hours and higher material living standards were to be a first world affair – and, as the rhetoric of the cold war developed, hallmarks of the first world’s ‘way of life’.

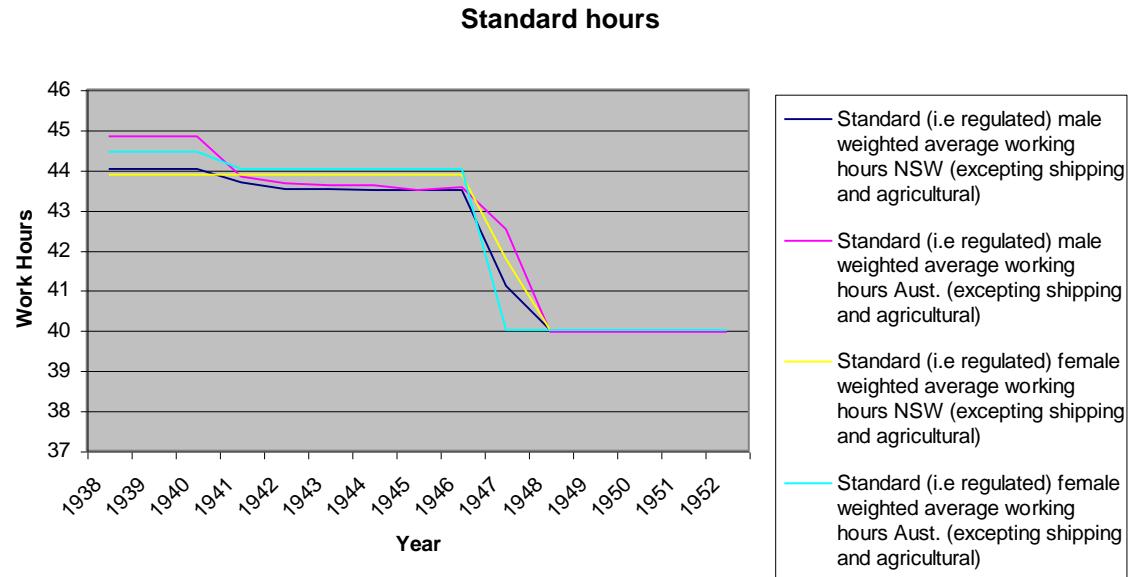
In 1920 most industries in New South Wales were awarded a 44-hour week by the New South Wales Legislature, but this was overturned the following year. In 1920 Justice Higgins, President of the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration granted the 44-hour week to the Timber Workers’ Union, and in 1921 extended the ruling to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. In 1921 the Court was reconstituted and rejected further applications, and reintroduced the 48-hour week to the Timber Workers and Engineers. Queensland and NSW legislated a 44-hour week in 1925.³²¹ Average, standard working hours began to be move downwards in 1924, when the male average peaked at 44.66 hours and the female average at 46.02.³²² The Amalgamated Engineering Union won back the engineers’ 44-hour week in 1927, yet the economic depression delayed the extension of shorter working weeks to other industries.³²³ There was a slight increase in working hours in the financial year ending in June 1930.³²⁴ The campaign to reduce working hours was put aside for the war years, to be revived in 1946 when the ACTU took the case for a 40-hour week to the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration. The Standard Hours Inquiry, 1947, resulted in the 40-hour week’s introduction on January 1, 1948, by which time it had already been introduced into New South Wales State legislation. The reduction of standard hours was remarkable:

³²¹ S. R. Carver (Commonwealth Statistician), *Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia*, No.47, 1961, p.421

³²² Ronald Wilson (Commonwealth Statistician), *Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia*, No.38, 1951, p.421

³²³ S. R. Carver, op. cit., p.421

³²⁴ Ronald Wilson, op. cit., p.421



325

Since the weekly wage remained fairly steady there was a marked increase in the average hourly wage rate.³²⁶ At the Basic Wage and Standard Hours Inquiry, 1952-3 employers argued that shorter hours were responsible for inflation and should be repealed, but their arguments were rejected by the court.³²⁷ Employers argued for an increase to 42 standard working hours at The Basic Wage and Standard Hours Inquiry, 1961. The employers were prepared to pay for the extra two hours' wages. The increase was to be temporary, hours being restored to 40 after four years while the pay rise would be retained. They argued that this measure was necessitated by the balance of payments crisis, that longer hours would stabilise prices by increasing productivity and regulation was fairer to those workers not able to find overtime work. The Court was not satisfied by these arguments.³²⁸

True to the post-war discourse of control and decontrol, shorter working hours were not introduced without opposition. White observes that one "criticism of the steady increase in paid holidays in the two decades after the war was predictable: employers had consistently argued, no matter what the economic conditions, that industry couldn't afford it."³²⁹ Conservatives predicted diminished production, runaway inflation and deterioration in the lot

³²⁵ From *Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia*, various editions

³²⁶ *Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia*, No.38, 1951, p.421

³²⁷ *Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia*, No.47, 1961, p.421

³²⁸ K. M. Archer (Commonwealth Statistician), *Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia*, No.50, 1964

of the Australian citizen. The *Sydney Morning Herald* was sceptical, at best when it editorialised on the subject. It was all very well for the Arbitration Court to award a 40-hour week in anticipation of a bright economic outlook; in the short term the empire was in crisis and the population was without houses.³³⁰ Industrial peace might follow, opined the *Herald*, but so might further claims and other maladies:

The judgment expressed hope that unpunctuality, slackness, and absenteeism may be so greatly reduced as to compensate for the shortening of hours. Again, experience has shown such laxity to be a direct consequence of full employment.³³¹

The letters published by the *Herald* tended to support the editor's view.³³² The Liberal Party condemned the excess leisure of the labouring classes. Its own research revealed that while "in many industries the reduction operated merely as a wage increase, working hours remaining unchanged and overtime being paid for all time over 40 hours a week." Inflation followed, naturally. Because of inflation workers could no longer afford the services of tradesmen and spent their so-called leisure time building and repairing their own houses.³³³ Moreover shorter hours led to a decline in the standard of living because it made domestic help scarce. Shorter hours had even made it more difficult to enjoy leisure:

High fares keep many families from enjoying outdoor amusement on week-ends. When holidays come around few can afford to leave home because of the high tariffs of hotels and boarding houses, and the difficulty of obtaining accommodation.³³⁴

Conservative Member of the Legislative Assembly Roy Vincent argued that

The forty hour week was introduced in France in 1936 and it has been found that the country cannot prosper with the fewer working hours. The same is true of Australia. Government supporters think that Australia is prospering, and that may seem to be so if one regards paper money as a criterion. But Australia is not prospering in material wealth and will not prosper until there is a greater *per capita* and aggregate production.³³⁵

For his colleague Philip Morton, the member for Mosman, it was just more of Labor's magic pudding:

The great tragedy of modern life is that many persons had lost all sense of moral standards. I do not suggest that they are immoral. Before the Menzies-Fadden government took office at Canberra a

³²⁹ White et al., op. cit., p.147

³³⁰ Editorial, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9.9.47, p.2

³³¹ Editorial, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9.9.47, p.2

³³² For instance, R. E. Tebbut, '40-hour week', letter to the editor, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9.3.50, p.2

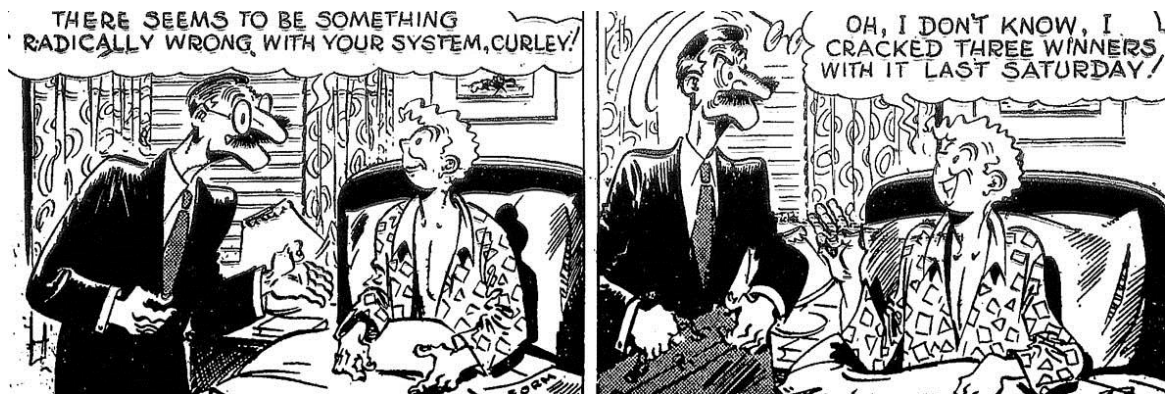
³³³ The Liberal Party of Australia, New South Wales Division, 'The decline in the standard of living', *Research Bulletin*, No.NSW 3/50, 20.4.50, p.2

³³⁴ *ibid*, p.3

³³⁵ Vincent, *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates* 20 September, 1950, p.262

philosophy had been preached and accepted by many people that something could be obtained for nothing. The late J. B. Chifley had an outstanding personality and was possibly the greatest political salesman ever known.³³⁶

Inflation was steady through the long boom, but not at the levels the Liberals feared. At least one visiting American observer deplored the failure of the work ethic evinced by the demands of trade unions for less work rather than more money.³³⁷ In 1965 *The Medical Journal of Australia* contemplated the 'Orwellian' prospect of even fewer working hours. The medical opinion was that the average Australian was simply incapable of making good use of leisure; Australians would likely become morose and fall prey to the SP bookie and the bottle.³³⁸ These were certainly growth industries in the post-war period, although the rather startling rise in the number of arrests for drunkenness might be in part attributed to the increased vigilance of the police.³³⁹ Some among the public found themselves in agreement, complaining to the *Sydney Morning Herald* that the great instructor of leisure, the National Fitness camps placed too much emphasis on fitness and too little on civic pride, merely encouraging delinquents.³⁴⁰ Later critics, such as R. S. Conway and Donald Horne, complained of the deleterious effects too much leisure had on the Australian character. Intellectual laziness, apathy, conformity and materialism were among these leisured maladies.³⁴¹ As usual, Bluey and Curley were at the disreputably sharp end of developments:



*Bluey and Curley Annual, 1956*³⁴²

³³⁶ Morton, *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates*, 28 August, 1952, p.325

³³⁷ Waters, op. cit., p.414

³³⁸ 'Leisure: a challenge', *Medical Journal of Australia*, 13.2.65, pp.233-4

³³⁹ Peter N. Grabosky, *Sydney in Ferment: Crime, dissent and official reaction 1788 to 1973*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, p.133-41

³⁴⁰ 'Fitness without pride', letters, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24.10.59, p.2

³⁴¹ White et al., op. cit., pp.147-50

³⁴² Norman Rice, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, The Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne, 1956, no page number

Not all found such antics amusing. Reformers continued nineteenth concerns with the 'correct', as opposed to 'damaging' forms of leisure.

In addition to the rationalised weekend, leisure was scheduled in larger portions for the end of the year and the end of a working life. Collective agreements covering paid holidays can be traced to Britain in the early twentieth-century. In 1920 one million British workers were covered by such agreements; in 1938 there were four million Britons who enjoyed paid leave. During World War II British agreements extended paid leave to ten million workers.³⁴³ In Australia annual leave was extended to many workers in the thirties, formalised in the Commercial Printing Industries Award in 1936.³⁴⁴ Provisions for long service leave completed a system of rewards that reinforced the Australian leisure ethic. The McKell government was, again, at the forefront, introducing a steady increase in long service leave.³⁴⁵ Employers might fund a retirement benefit scheme, or employees might set one up themselves through a private insurance company. The Commonwealth Statistician estimated that during 1955-56, 202,900 employees contributed £6,400,000 to such schemes while employers contributed £9,900,000.³⁴⁶ Moreover, life expectancy was increasing in the Western world and a leisured life after work was becoming an expectation.³⁴⁷ New Zealand walking enthusiast and publishing executive A. H. Reed, who in 1965 celebrated his ninetieth birthday with a walk from Sydney to Melbourne, advised retired Australians he met that leisure was certainly a problem, but one to which solutions abounded.³⁴⁸ Reed certainly found leisure profitable; his publishing house, specialising in travelogues, had opened an Australian branch under his son's management.

With the war over, Australians took to their vacations with vigour. So much so, indeed, that the *Herald* advised subscribers that they should redirect their paper to their holiday resort:

³⁴³ Stephen G. Jones's, op. cit., p.20

³⁴⁴ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.74

³⁴⁵ White et al., op. cit., p.127; White observes that the divisive coal miners strike of 1949 was, among other things, concerned with long service leave.

³⁴⁶ *Australian Encyclopaedia*, op. cit., Vol.5, p.96

³⁴⁷ Cross, op. cit., p.221

³⁴⁸ A. H. Reed, *Footslogger*, A. H. and A. W. Reed, Sydney, 1966, p.37

continued paper shortages made it impossible to duplicate deliveries.³⁴⁹ In 1956 “Lexius” wrote in *Outdoors Magazine* that

Like many others who live in the crowded areas and whose ambition is to shake off the dust of the city, I wanted to live in the Australian Bush, taking a chance at the hard knocks and ready to enjoy the freedom and opportunities.

The tales of Lawson, the poems of Ogilvie and stories of the bush-rangers had more interest for me than *The Three Musketeers* or *Treasure Island*.

“Lexius”, however, was obliged to shake off the city on his three weeks annual leave instead of moving to the bush entirely.³⁵⁰ By the end of the boom this rationalisation of adventure time came to be accepted, even expected as a feature of the Australian way of life. In 1976 writer Dick Lewers heralded the arrival of a new type of leisured Australian, the ‘holiday fisherman’.³⁵¹ The holiday had come to preoccupy urban labour. Prolific recreation journalist H. O. “Sailor” Hopkins described a nation with its mind off the job:

With the holiday season fast approaching, many thousands of Australian sportsmen and their families travel north and south to our sunny coastline for their annual vacation, spending lots of money, and in the big majority of cases (especially with the fishing fraternity), their thoughts running riot concerning the hundreds of fish they are going to kill. And almost everyone has the idea that at least one record breaker will fall victim to his wiles.³⁵²

Holidays were as important in anticipation as they were in practice. This went to the very heart of the leisure ethic, reinforcing the role of leisure in disciplining the workforce. Daydreams of leisured escapes could be expanded upon at the end of the working day, when the wage earner might consult outdoors literature, or catalogues of sporting goods. With Saturday morning free, it was even possible to buy equipment that might be needed for adventure. It will be seen later that such proclivities helped cement consumer consciousness in the Australian citizen.

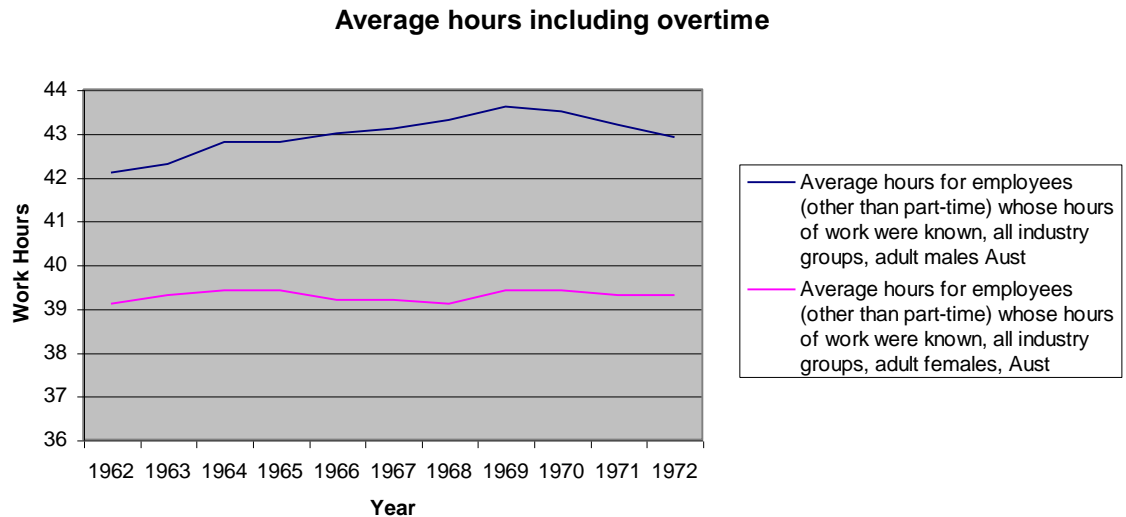
While it is difficult to determine the relationship between hours and productivity at a time of such radical change in the organic composition of capital, it is at least possible to gauge the extent to which overtime increased:

³⁴⁹ ‘Herald Subscriptions’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4.11.48, p.2

³⁵⁰ ‘Lexius’, ‘Off the Beaten Track’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.14, No.3, February 1956, p.26

³⁵¹ Dick Lewers, *The Holiday Fisherman*, A. H. and A. W. Reed, Sydney, 1976

³⁵² *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.9, No.6, October 1952, p.374



353

Hours of overtime gradually increased through the long boom, yet in 1979 1,901,900 Australian workers were paid for exactly 40-hours work in a week, making them the largest subset of employees when divided by hours of work. 861,100 were doing over 49 hours work, 415,700 between 45 and 48, and 341,000 were working between 41 and 44 hours. 756,100 people were working between 35 and 39 hours, 419,600 were employed for between 30 and 34 hours, 518,000 between 16 and 29 hours, 477,900 from 1 to 15 hours, and 352,000 people had no work at all.³⁵⁴ Such regulation combined with suburban amenity, economic affluence and automotive mobility.³⁵⁵ Significantly, at no time during the boom did overtime increase average working hours to the level of work hours previous to regulation. In 1950 Labor claimed that productivity had actually increased since the introduction of shorter working hours. The claims were made by ex-president of the ACTU, Mr. P. J. Clarey, M.P., but the *Sydney Morning Herald* remained frankly sceptical. Mechanisation, thought the staff correspondent, was more likely the cause of increased productivity³⁵⁶ and such accumulation occurred as a result of shorter hours. Inflation undoubtedly occurred, but not at the extent expected by critics. This was due in part to an expansion of the range of consumption along with wages, due what Veblen had described as ‘conspicuous leisure’.

³⁵³ From *Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia*, various editions

³⁵⁴ R. J. Cameron (Australian Statistician), *Year Book Australia*, No.64, 1980, p.158

³⁵⁵ *Australian Encyclopaedia*, op. cit., Vol.9, p.374

³⁵⁶ ‘Some errors about the 40-hour week’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7.3.50, p.2

Despite the objections to the democratisation of leisure time, the holiday and the 40-hour week became a central pillar of the Australian way of life throughout the long boom. The weekend quickly became an institution of this way of life,³⁵⁷ with its own lexicon and literature. *The Australia Week-end Book*³⁵⁸ began in 1942 as a compilation of contributions to *Australia, National Journal*. It was a patriotic publication of the war years. In 1954 George Johnston reviewed the central tenets of the Australian way of life, placing the 40-hour week high among them:

It is fundamentally this implacable unionism which has given the Australian his “standard of living,” his forty-hour week, the adjustment of his basic wage to meet fluctuating living costs, his generally good working conditions. There are opponents of the system who feel that the working hours are too short for a nation with its stake in the future; who are emphatic that under the awesome protection of the unions there is a tendency for workers to become lazy (“Near enough is good enough” is unfortunately a saying very prevalent in Australia”), for inefficiency to operate unchecked, and for safe mediocrity to be enthroned.³⁵⁹

This rationalisation of time allowed the citizen soldier a place in the suburban routine; the Citizens’ Military Forces allowed participation in a person’s ‘spare time’, which entailed nights, weekends and one sixteen day camp a year.³⁶⁰ In 1971 35,000 Australians belonged to the Citizens’ Military Forces.³⁶¹ By the seventies the weekend was central not just to the way of life but to the psyche. Frank Moorhouse observed that “. . . weekenders, the Sunday drivers, the campers, the shooters, and the fishermen are acting out simple and psychological urges.”³⁶² Moorhouse saw the escape as being achieved either individually or communally, with the state being called on increasingly to mediate conflict and provide amenity. By 1973 time was sufficiently rationalised that the Australian Conservation Foundation (ACF) Vice President J. Blanch was able to describe a weekly exodus from the cities:

Personally, I am impressed by the overt desire of many to seek a rural life style and the apparent covert desire of the rest of us to live similarly. We see this almost universal human aspiration manifested in the mushrooming boom in holiday cottages, weekend farmlets and in the droves of cars outward bound from

³⁵⁷ White et al., op. cit., p.124

³⁵⁸ *The Australia Week-end Book*, No.2, Ure Smith, Sydney, 1943.

³⁵⁹ George Johnston, op. cit., p.154

³⁶⁰ Advertisement, ‘Citizen Air Force Squadrons’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28.12.51, p.4

³⁶¹ Advertisement, ‘What is the CMF?’, *Sun-Herald*, 14.3.71, p.54

³⁶² Frank Moorhouse, ‘The Bush against the Laundromat’, in George Seddon and Mari Davis (eds.), *Man and Landscape in Australia: Towards an Ecological Vision*, papers from a symposium held at the Australian Academy of Science, Canberra, 30 May-2 June 1974, pp173-83

the suburbs on Friday evenings or Saturday and returning late on Sunday after excursions for fishing, hunting, surfing, boating and other outdoor pursuits.³⁶³

National parks and beaches offered a communion with a version of ‘nature’ that was not agricultural but spectacular. Where the European explorer had looked for similarities to the old world,³⁶⁴ the modern tourist embraced the new. The celebration of inhospitable terrain, such as mountains, drew on nineteenth-century romantic tradition and relied heavily on the view, the spectacle, and the panorama.³⁶⁵

So long as the long boom lasted it was generally taken for granted that leisure time was a permanent feature of modern living, and that it would in all likelihood increase. The aforementioned E. A. Gutkind enthused on the implications of Einstein’s theory of relativity to everyday living, of “the welding together of time and space into a fourth dimension creates a new mobility.”³⁶⁶ Gutkind saw technology collapsing time and space in the ‘New Mobility’:

Length is relative. The average journey between home and work or any place of cultural or social activity in one of the great metropolises takes about one hour from door to door.³⁶⁷

Five decades earlier Veblen had been less optimistic. “As increased industrial efficiency makes it possible to procure the means of livelihood with less labour, the energies of the industrious members of the community are bent to the compassing of a higher result in conspicuous expenditure, rather than slackened to a more comfortable pace.”³⁶⁸ Veblen’s prediction is borne out by this thesis: increased leisure expanded consumption. In 1962 Young confidently predicted that “Australia is on the threshold of a period of unprecedented development. Leisure is increasing and the standard of living is improving. There is a tradition of sport and recreation” and that “leisure time, which has helped to lift Australian sport to a high standards, has become a greater and greater factor in the life of the average Australian. Shorter working hours and more recreation leave, coupled with a buoyant economy, have produced a new element — and new potential — for education and recreation.”³⁶⁹ By the late sixties leisure was deemed to be so permanent that plans needed to be made for the increasing leisure needs of the turn on the millennium. In 1968 planners met to discuss Sydney’s needs,

³⁶³ NBAC: *Australian Conservation Foundation Files, N134/296*

³⁶⁴ Davidson and Spearritt, *op.cit.*, p.xxix

³⁶⁵ *ibid*, pp.11-18

³⁶⁶ E. A. Gutkind, *op. cit.*, p.38

³⁶⁷ *ibid*, pp.40-1

³⁶⁸ Veblen, *op. cit.* (2), p.111

³⁶⁹ W. G. Young, *op. cit.* (3), p.223

canvassing such issues as the growth of Sydney, reserves, parkways, accessibility, conflicting demands on the coastline, tourism and inland recreation. Margaret E. Winters began the conference by declaring that

We have assumed that our leisure time is going to increase, the indications being that automation and technological developments will shorten our working day and lengthen our weekends. We are moving away from Max Weber's theory that 'one does not work to live, one lives to work' towards Aristotle's belief that 'we work in order to have leisure'.³⁷⁰

Winters hoped that leisure would come to mean more than rest and recreation; that it would become a focus for creativity in the modern society.³⁷¹ In this she repeated nineteenth-century trade union aspirations for leisure time in which common men might improve themselves and their lot in life. Winters also repeated the concerns *The Medical Journal of Australia*, warning of teenage delinquency, and middle age neuroses among women, if leisure was not planned for.³⁷² In 1965 the ACTU maintained a policy of a 35-hour week on the grounds of increasing automation, especially in the growing metal and automotive industries, and on the grounds that industrialist's objections to the 40-hour week had proved unfounded.³⁷³ In 1970 British planning advocate Nan Fairbrother wrote that

The 5½-day week was a triumphant milestone, but now Saturday has been added to Sunday, and Monday too is confidently predicted. Holidays with pay are also new, for the system developed between the wars and is now not only universal but growing from the original fortnight to an increasingly common three weeks.³⁷⁴

By the end of the long boom commentators such as Alvin Toffler were heralding the arrival of a newly leisured society,³⁷⁵ and Australian unions were at the arbitration commission seeking a 35-hour week. Toffler's work, described by sociologist A. J. Veal as "a mixture of insight, hyperbole and conceptual grapeshot" painted a picture of a post-industrial utopia at which the reader, unbelievably, had arrived.³⁷⁶ In 1982 Barry Jones presented a less sensational, better reasoned and less influential version of the thesis.³⁷⁷ In the United States at the end of the boom, it was expected that leisure would account for 38 per cent of a person's week by the

³⁷⁰ Margaret E. Winters, 'Community and leisure', paper presented to a seminar on the shared environment, Christopher Tunnard (ed.), *Planning for Future Leisure: Sydney 2000*, September-October 1968, pp.8-12, p.9

³⁷¹ Margaret E. Winters, op. cit., pp.8-9

³⁷² *ibid*, p.9

³⁷³ 'In defence of 35 hour week', *Tribune*, 29.9.65, p.10

³⁷⁴ Nan Fairbrother, *New Lives, New Landscapes: Planning for the 21st Century*, Alfred A Knopf, New York, 1970, pp.37-8

³⁷⁵ Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock*, The Bodley Head, London, 1970

³⁷⁶ A. J. Veal, op. cit., p.47

³⁷⁷ Barry Jones, *Sleepers, Wake!*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1982

year 2000,³⁷⁸ the 30 hour week being the norm.³⁷⁹ In the early seventies unions began a campaign for four weeks annual paid leave.³⁸⁰ On July 2, 1980 the Communist *Tribune* reported that the AMWSU had launched a campaign for a 35-hour week.³⁸¹ Even after the boom, leisure was an accepted part of modern life. The Minister for Sport and Recreation and Minister for Tourism in 1980, Ken Booth, described the importance of his portfolio as more “leisure time, higher standards of living, new technology and improved transport and communications are all responsible for an upsurge of interest in tourism.”³⁸² This was partly a testimony to the enduring legacy of post-war idealism, but it was also due to the consolidation of a leisure ethic which entrenched the values of the work ethic and increased consumerism: the leisure ethic disciplined the workforce through a reward system and expanded capitalist markets.

A dream of the Australian labour movement in the nineteenth-century, a demand between the wars and a promise of post-war reconstruction, leisure came to define the affluent ‘Australian way of life’. If it was a little more conservative than the brave new world described by Lloyd Ross, it was at least a world in which leisure was taken for granted and assumed to be increasing. In 1963 the historian Edgar Waters observed of Australia that “they take their right to leisure seriously.”³⁸³ At the outset it was envisaged that the state would provide the infrastructure that would allow the newly leisured to pursue a noble occupation in their free hours. After the boom this concept would undergo some restructuring.³⁸⁴

³⁷⁸ Simmons, op. cit., p.11

³⁷⁹ *ibid*, p.13

³⁸⁰ White et al., op. cit., p.128

³⁸¹ *Tribune*, 2.7.80

³⁸² Ken Booth, ‘Introduction’, in Peter Allen, *New South Wales Coast Guide*, Horwitz Publications, Sydney, 1980, p.7

³⁸³ Waters, op. cit., p.413

³⁸⁴ White et al., op. cit.ch.6

Rationalising space

“The introduction of the 40-hour week is considered to be a great social gain. The benefit will be almost completely nullified if steps are not taken to provide adequate means . . . for enjoyment of the increased leisure provided by the shorter working week.”³⁸⁵

If leisure time was to be provided, citizens would obviously need space in which to enjoy it. C. E. W. Bean remarked that if “in three generations working time has been gradually halved, another three generations may see it halved again . . . Large numbers of men and women who at present spend their spare time in their gardens, will have leisure to play tennis or the other national games, or to go motoring along the roads, and all these will have to be catered for.”³⁸⁶ W. G. Young insisted that a network of community centres should be built, catering to the leisure needs of the community. At these leisure centres hobbies could be learned, and a new type of education would be fostered at ‘modern schools’. The community centre would house the public library to nourish the mind and the baby health centre to provide scientifically for the nourishment for the baby boomers. Playgrounds, gymnasias and baths would help the children of the new order grow strong in body and in leadership.³⁸⁷ “State finance” wrote Young, “has provided for frontal attack on the under-privileged conditions of children in the congested districts” and it was to be hoped that state finance would similarly benefit the entire community.³⁸⁸ Coombs wrote that the initiative for community centres had come from the Rural Reconstruction Commissioners.³⁸⁹ While the concept of the community centre took on elsewhere, in Sydney the movement had only limited success. Allport argues that the movement succeeded in decentralising recreational facilities, such as public pools, sports fields, libraries and baby health clinics.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁵ Cumberland County Council, op. cit., p.134

³⁸⁶ *Shire and Municipal Record*, Vol.25, July 1932 to June 1933, Law Book Company of Australia, Sydney, 1933, pp.215-7 cited in W. G. Young, op. cit. (3), p.102

³⁸⁷ W. G. Young, op. cit. (1), p.23

³⁸⁸ *ibid*, p.25

³⁸⁹ H. C. Coombs, op. cit., p.58

³⁹⁰ Allport, op. cit. (1), p.55

Sydney's leisure time would need far more than a few leisure centres to ensure its productive use. Richard White has observed that the post-war enthusiasm for holidays was in contrast to the paucity of facilities:

The postwar holiday boom exposed the limits to pre-war holiday infrastructure, built around a relatively small clientele. Facilities were strained to the limit and could not cope with the massive increase in demand.³⁹¹

White does not consider the extent to which post-war planning was responsible for expanding holiday infrastructure, but it is clear that the state's role in rationalising space would be crucial, as it was to the rationalisation of time. The extent of the state's involvement in rationalising leisured space is somewhat obscured by the far larger discourse, both contemporary and scholarly, that has accrued to physical planning in general. The 40-hour week is more obviously a leisure issue than were green belts or national parks, which served other functions too, but it can be seen that a good deal of post-war planning was devoted to the infrastructure of leisure. During the nineteenth-century urban space was increasingly specialised, with recreational facilities defined as distinct from residential and industrial areas;³⁹² the ambitions of post-war Australia entailed the rationalisation of this already specialised urban space, restructuring the cities themselves and transforming the landscape. During the post-war enthusiasm for planning of all kinds, it had seemed possible that the ideas that had excited Anglo Australian planners might be applicable to Sydney. Post-war reconstruction had come to Sydney as it came to many cities in Australia, in an era where planning was in vogue and urban policy had a utopian feel. Speaking on post-war reconstruction, Lloyd Ross had described a period of generalised prosperity that was "not Utopia, but a series of conditions that will save Utopia."³⁹³ Utopia was a concept in frequent usage among the proponents of post-war reconstruction, popular among proponents of control and particularly easily applicable to the visions of town planners.³⁹⁴ While the Commonwealth post-war reconstruction program, State and Commonwealth housing programs and decentralisation schemes all held some utopian promise for the cities, Sydney was remarkable among Australian cities in having an institution *directly* charged with the task of metropolitan

³⁹¹ White et al., op. cit., p.120

³⁹² Cashman, op. cit (2), p.38

³⁹³ Lloyd Ross, op. cit., p.199

³⁹⁴ The British Town and Country Planning movement, and to some extent the American version of the same, were already well established in Australia by the post-war period. For a discussion of the history of the planning movement in Australia see S. Hamnett and R. Freestone (eds.), *The Australian Metropolis A Planning History*, Allen and Unwin, St. Leonards, 2000

planning.³⁹⁵ Other Australian cities produced metropolitan plans, but within existing frameworks of government and then not until the mid fifties.³⁹⁶ The prospect of reforming Sydney must have looked promising, but there was significant opposition to the plan that was produced, as there was opposition to control in Australia in general and to the planning of Sydney in particular. The first of Sydney's regional plans, it was also the last to owe so much to British utopianism. The scheme was not easily adapted to the world of the long boom, but in a series of rear-guard actions the Council managed to salvage some of its scheme, even if it meant redefining some of its objectives. 21st century Sydneysiders can still enjoy some of the green belt, preserved by the efforts of planners and others in the community in areas such as Fairfield and Prospect.

At the Commonwealth level, the spatial aspects of post-war reconstruction were overseen by the Department of Post-war Reconstruction and Decentralisation. The Commonwealth Housing Commission entered the period with a strong commitment to slum clearance and suburban re-housing.³⁹⁷ State governments facilitated town planning, oversaw the provision of parks and playgrounds and established National Parks primarily for recreational enjoyment. In providing recreational infrastructure the state assumed a role in capital accumulation that was already familiar in Australia's economic history and that had emerged with particular regard to recreation during the 'new deal' era in the United States. In her history of the United States Forest Service, American historian of outdoor recreation L. Sue Greer notes that

Private commercialisation is inhibited by the cost of acquiring, developing, and maintaining the physical setting, but government spending on parks and recreation areas – for campgrounds, trails, roads, lakes – creates the conditions required for the private accumulation of capital in recreation-related industries. This is part of the accumulation function of the capitalist state. State spending on outdoor recreation also contributes indirectly to capital accumulation in the economy as a whole. Moreover, outdoor recreation provides leisure opportunities that are believed to revitalise workers, thus increasing productivity.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁵ The Cumberland County Council was the product of significant pre-war movement toward a Greater Sydney; the Northumberland County Council was formed in 1948, began planning in 1949 and produced the *Northumberland County Council Planning Scheme* in 1960 — H. E. Maiden, *The History of Local Government in New South Wales*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1966, pp 274-5; The Northumberland County Council was dissolved in 1965 — Maiden, op. cit., p.264; *The City of Brisbane Green Belt Plan* was published in 1950 — *The Town and Country Planning Institute of Australia Bulletin*, Vol.2, No.9, September 1950, pp.1-4

³⁹⁶ Ian Alexander, 'The post-war city', in Hamnett and Freestone (eds.), op. cit., pp.98-112, p.100

³⁹⁷ C. Allport, op. cit. (2), p.48

³⁹⁸ Greer, op. cit., pp.152-3

In Australia arms of government acted similarly to encourage private capital accumulation: this function was demanded of the state by post-war reformers and generally expected at a time of Keynesian pump-priming.

Decentralisation was a popular method by which it was hoped rapid national development might be achieved without attendant urban centralisation. Historian Nicholas Brown defines the ‘decentralist ethic’ as “a desire to modify the spatial dimension of social relations with the objective of achieving a sense of balance between social interests”.³⁹⁹ In the post-war context decentralisation might mean anything from the creation of new states to dispersal of population to new cities or shopping centres to suburbia, and Brown gives a detailed discussion of its various manifestations. The movement towards decentralisation or ‘dispersal’ had roots in Australian closer settlement policies, and in the British town planning movement; indeed, such ideas have been traced to the beginnings of Judeo-Christian civilisation.⁴⁰⁰ It had broad international support in the post-war world, inspiring a good deal of enthusiasm. E. A. Gutkind (quoted earlier and currently enjoying a post-modern revival), prescribed a bold policy for effective repopulation of the global countryside:

In parts of North and South America, in New Zealand, Australia, Africa, and recently Eastern Europe, there is still scope for an increase of the rural population, that is to say, of people actively engaged in agriculture proper, while in a small number of countries only certain districts suffer from a shortage of labour. In the U.S.S.R. a systematic policy of resettlement has been carried through and is still going on. In general, a voluntary re-migration to the land seems not to exist. Only a bold and determined policy coupled with public subsidies, collective farming, mechanization, and other progressive measures can hold out any promise of success.⁴⁰¹

Most visions of post-war prosperity were based on the assumption of improved technology. Warragamba was the last of a series of dams intended to service a growing city, although it was noted that the provision of pipelines lagged behind the dramatic achievement of the dam itself.⁴⁰² Improved mobility would help mediate between suburban residence, urban work and rural recreation, some believing that the distinction between city and country would blur and disappear entirely. Air travel during the greater part of the long boom remained quite

³⁹⁹ Nicholas Brown, op. cit., p.127

⁴⁰⁰ Notably by Frederic J. Osborn, *Green-Belt Cities*, Evelyn, Adams & Mackay, London, 1969 (first edition 1946)

⁴⁰¹ E. A. Gutkind, op. cit., p.29

⁴⁰² Denis Winston, ‘The urban explosion’ in Wilkes (ed.), *Australian Cities: Chaos or Planned Growth*, Australian Institute of Political Science, Canberra, 1966, pp.10-20, p.10

expensive, compared to the motor car; and bus, and to the train, into which enterprise State and Commonwealth governments were pouring funding in the fifties. Rail gauges were standardised and new terminals opened in time to see the decline of rail travel in Australia.⁴⁰³ The motorcar and the road emerged as the enduring symbol of post-war leisure, and of the affluence of the Australian way of life.

Perhaps the most sober evaluation of decentralisation came in 1965, when Max Neutze applied economic proofs to the proposition that smaller cities were more efficient.⁴⁰⁴ Neutze wrote that

Decentralisation of population has been the policy of most political parties in Australia at least since World War II. It has, so to speak, been everyone's policy but no one's programme. Nor does it command the breadth of support that its adoption by the parties might suggest. Many people who support it have no better reason than an intuitive feeling that the very high degree of concentration of population in the state capitals is in some sense unhealthy. Often businessmen, and others who pride themselves on being 'hard-headed', regard it as necessary to satisfy the 'country' pressure group and unlikely ever to be put into effect. Others admit that it might be desirable on non-economic grounds but believe that it would be very costly. Whether or not they believe that it has any virtue at all, they all believe that, on balance, the economic case is overwhelmingly against it.⁴⁰⁵

Neutze set about analysing the economic case:

(The) advantages of existing large cities over medium-sized cities are, for the average firm or family, less than the advantages of medium-sized over small centres, and . . . external effects are quite large relative to the internal effects.⁴⁰⁶

Neutze considered that if "firms and families were diverted from large to medium-sized centres most of them would suffer very little on balance, and indeed they might well gain,"⁴⁰⁷ but left a substantial problem for consideration. How were 'firms and families' to be diverted? Neutze held that it was simply a matter of policy, but by 1965 the power of the state to effect such a diversion had waned, if it had not withered altogether.

Decentralisation was endorsed by the New South Wales State Government. The responsibility of various ministries, sometimes almost a portfolio in itself, decentralisation appears to have been more of a political problem than an initiative. The Secondary Industries Section of the

⁴⁰³ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.292

⁴⁰⁴ G. M. Neutze, *Economic Policy and the Size of Cities*, The Australian National University, Canberra, 1965

⁴⁰⁵ *ibid*, p.v

⁴⁰⁶ *ibid*, p.111

⁴⁰⁷ *ibid*, p.109

Premier's Department's Division of Reconstruction and Development formed the Department of Industrial Development and Decentralisation in 1944/45. Functions were transferred to the Department of Labour and Industry and Social Welfare in 1946 and to the Department of Secondary Industries and Building Materials in 1947. Functions were then transferred to the Secondary Industries Division and the Regional Planning Section of the Premier's Department in 1952. The Regional Planning Division Section merged with the Secondary Industries Division in 1958, to form the Division of Industrial Development within the Premier's Department. In 1962 a Ministry of Industrial Development and Decentralisation was created, and the Division was transferred to the Treasury before, in 1963, being renamed the Department of Industrial Development. In 1965 the Department was renamed the Department of Decentralisation and Development. The Department acted under the statute of the State Development and Country Industries Assistance Act, passed in 1966 and then amended in 1967 and 1972. Functions were again split on the 19th of October, 1978, between the Department of Decentralisation and the Industries Branch of the Department of Mineral Resources and Development. In 1980 the split was undone, and the Department of Industrial Development and Decentralisation was formed. The renewed Department assumed the functions of the Government Information Service in 1982, and the Overseas Trade Authority in 1986. The Office of Small Business was removed from the Department in 1987. The Department was abolished on the 30th of March 1988, subsumed by the new Department of State Development.⁴⁰⁸ Ministerial initiatives in decentralising New South Wales will be discussed again later. For now we can at least note that New South Wales' third university was decentralised as far as North Ryde.⁴⁰⁹

Some local post-war visions of decentralisation were extreme. In 1951 A. A. Heath and R. N. Hewison distributed approximately one hundred pamphlets entitled *First Six New Cities (Australia) Movement* to the people of Australia and England. They promulgated a New Town Corporation which would found new cities in Australia populated by British stock.⁴¹⁰ In South

⁴⁰⁸ SRNSW, Archivist's notes, *Concise Guide to the State Archives: Industrial Development and Decentralisation* – <http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/cguide/hj/inddev.htm>

⁴⁰⁹ Bruce Mansfield and Mark Hutchinson, op. cit., p.19

⁴¹⁰ A. A. Heath and R. N. Hewison, 'First Six New Cities (Australia) Movement: a Scheme for New Cities in Australia', *The Town and Country Planning Institute of Australia Bulletin*, Vol.3, No.9, November 1951, pp.1-4, p.2

Australia one such city, Elizabeth was founded, the first migrants arriving in 1955.⁴¹¹ Eric Archibald Willis (MLA Earlwood, Liberal [later Sir]) preferred new states to new cities, as “Excessive centralisation and over-development of the cities leads to the economic and social problems of slums, mixed development, overcrowding with attendant waste and discomfort, waste in travelling, lack of civic pride, class struggles in politics and the creation of an unsound defence proposition from the strategic viewpoint.”⁴¹² Although extreme, Willis’ proposal was again reformist rather than radical. There is no suggestion that there should be “despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production”, as Marx had premised in the *Manifesto*.⁴¹³

Conservatives felt that decentralisation might be a way of debrutalising Australians. One contributor to *Quadrant* wrote that

. . . the sound form of decentralisation is to set a limit to the size of our cities and shift development elsewhere when that limit has been reached. . . A city centre of easy access would enable the city to regain its proper position in the cultural life of the community.⁴¹⁴

The New South Wales branch of the Liberal Party, despite an antipathy towards most forms of planning, saw some merit in decentralisation. Centralisation, wrote the Liberal Party, had occurred for a number of reasons but was not to be accepted as the optimal state. Geographically, Australia’s population distribution was limited by rainfall.⁴¹⁵ Economically, Australia’s development from trading settlements tied it to the coastal ports.⁴¹⁶ Administratively its colonial history did the same.⁴¹⁷ Psychologically, Australians were bound to cluster together:

The gregarious tendency of the human species has been elevated to the status of an instinct by psychologists. By this they mean that it is an inborn part of our mental equipment deeper than reason, and impelling people to obey it without conscious recognition of its existence. For reasons which they

⁴¹¹ Peel, op. cit.

⁴¹² E. A. Willis (later Sir Eric Archibald Willis, briefly Premier of New South Wales, 1976, and afterwards Leader of the Opposition), ‘Decentralisation and New States’, *The Town and Country Planning Institute of Australia Bulletin*, Vol.4, No.4, Dec. 1952, pp.1-3, p.1; see also E.A. Willis, (Address in Reply to the Governor’s speech), *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates*, 27 September 1950, p.525

⁴¹³ Karl Marx, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, 1848; for a discussion of Marx, decentralisation and anti-urbanism see Ira Katznelson, *Marxism and the City*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1992; see also Frederic J. Osborn, op. cit., p.176

⁴¹⁴ T. Andrezejczek, ‘Suburbia, a cultural defeat’, *Quadrant*, Vol.2, No.1, Dec. 1957, pp.25-29, p.9

⁴¹⁵ The Liberal Party of Australia, New South Wales Division, ‘Decentralisation’, *Research Bulletin*, No. 1/51, 19.1.51, p.3-4

⁴¹⁶ *ibid*, pp.4-5

⁴¹⁷ *ibid*, pp.5-7

could not define, people like to get together in great aggregations. They like to live in cities, to holiday at crowded resorts, to attend mass entertainments. In politics mass demonstrations are one of the strongest propaganda weapons of the dictator.⁴¹⁸

Glamorous illusions created by the media, easy city living, and the city's dominance of culture did nothing to discourage the gregarious instinct.⁴¹⁹ Government should de-glamorise the city, pointing out the "unhealthiness of many sedentary city occupations."⁴²⁰ Any attempt to decentralise would require extensive planning, with "its attendant danger to freedom", but freedom could be increased, ultimately, if government were decentralised. The population's morals would certainly be improved:

In a large crowded city the individual becomes one of a great aggregation of people, rather than a responsible member of a community. Relationships with his fellow men become casual and his sense of moral responsibility is weakened. Loneliness, vice and crime frequently result.⁴²¹

The 'militant Christianity' of B. A. Santamaria emphasised "the primacy of the family, the predominance of agriculture, the supremacy of working proprietorship both in agriculture and in industry, and the supremacy of local bodies over the centralised power of State or Commonwealth in relation to purely local matters,"⁴²² not to mention the dominance of the church and the papal hierarchy. Santamaria observed that the "basically decentralist end which the Christian has in view are shared by the most enlightened thought of the time", referring to such thinkers as Aldous Huxley and Geroid (sic) Tanquary (sic) Robinson. In its application, however, decentralisation proved rather difficult.

Housing was another major area of physical reform involving the State and Commonwealth. Advocates of better housing were prolific writers and polemicists. Oswald Barnett's *Housing the Australian Nation* (1942) and *We Must Go On* (1944), John Gawler's *A Roof Over My Head* and Walter Bunning's *Homes in the Sun* are evidence of the intensity of excitement, at least among a small group of professionals.⁴²³ C. E. W. Bean's *War Aims of a Plain Australian* (1944) was specifically critical of private enterprise building flats and reaping great profits, in

⁴¹⁸ *ibid*, p.7

⁴¹⁹ *ibid*, pp.7-8

⁴²⁰ *ibid*, p.10

⁴²¹ *ibid*, p.10

⁴²² B. A. Santamaria, 'Policy for the Murray Valley', *Twentieth Century*, Vol.5., No.1, September 1950, pp.22-3

⁴²³ Renate Howe, 'A new paradigm: planning and reconstruction in the 1940s', in S. Hamnett and R. Freestone (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp.80-97

contrast to the “well planned” cities of Soviet Russia.⁴²⁴ The provision of low density housing was deemed fundamental to post-war reconstruction, particularly as it pertained to repopulation.⁴²⁵ The housing program was directly linked to post-war reconstruction through the Commonwealth Housing Commission, particularly in the work of Walter Bunning.⁴²⁶ The Town and Country Planning Institute of Australia contrasted Frank Lloyd Wright’s “Broad acres city scheme in which one, two and three car houses were to be located in a subdivision with areas of an acre or more. . . large enough to provide every family with an individual house and the elements of rural life” with the “bee-hive” of Le Corbusier. Wright, the planners conceded, had paid little heed to “the costs of works and services.”⁴²⁷ The state’s role in the provision of housing, particularly in the form of the dormitory suburb, was paramount. Slum clearance and public housing were central concerns of the Commonwealth reconstruction program.⁴²⁸ Allport has given extensive consideration to the provision of public housing by the various authorities charged with the task at Commonwealth and State levels. The new working-class housing of the post-war era prioritised space and emphasised the domesticity of the dormitory suburb. Women were isolated within this environment, although women had been consulted directly regarding the formation of the new suburbs.⁴²⁹ Sandercock is similarly detailed in her discussion of the interaction of the housing authorities and urban capitalism. Much of the new housing built by the public and private sector formed vast tracts of post-war suburbia. Since Boyd’s broadside on suburbia was published,⁴³⁰ Australian academics have founded a fledgling industry defending the so-called suburban identity or apologising for its excesses. Petty materialism is decried, the motorcar cursed, uniformity damned. Australians are regarded as having forsaken individual identity in favour of private space, isolation in favour of community. Geoffrey Bolton summarises the history of the suburb as a compromise between urban and rural Australia:

⁴²⁴ C. E. W. Bean, op. cit., p.55; Lloyd Ross was similarly critical of Western inter-war reconstruction programs. Britain’s Ministry of Reconstruction had not produced homes fit for heroes, Australian planning was nothing more than the premiers’ plan, no inroads had been made on private property in Western countries and only China and Russia had reconstructed their societies. Lloyd Ross, op. cit., pp.183-9; Lloyd Ross also recommended Soviet planning as a model of overcoming market economics, Lloyd Ross, op. cit., p.220

⁴²⁵ See Frederic J. Osborn, op. cit., pp.134-5

⁴²⁶ Alastair Greig, op. cit., p.32

⁴²⁷ *The Town and Country Planning Institute of Australia Bulletin*, Vol.3, No.8, September 1951, p.3

⁴²⁸ E. Ronald Walker, op. cit., pp.338

⁴²⁹ Allport, op. cit. (1)

⁴³⁰ Robin Boyd, op. cit. (1)

Although their origins can be discerned in the 1850s their development belongs to the last thirty years of the Nineteenth Century, and particularly to the public transport revolution which came after 1880. Combining many of the features of the country town with a strong sense of identity with their parent city, the Australian suburbs summed up the Australian ethos: the yearning for private ownership taking precedence over either individualism of taste or a great sense of concern for the shared amenities of the community.⁴³¹

Suburbia helped bridge the gap between the mythical rural identity of Australians and their urban reality. White observes that the suburban compromise was easily accommodated within the 'the Australian way of life':

The national type eulogised in the past had of course been a rural type. The national way of life, on the other hand, was undeniably an urban one, and, though there were some qualms, it was generally regarded positively, without the pejorative connotations 'suburbia' had had in the past.⁴³²

The Australian way of life mediated the transition from rural to industrial production.

In Sydney, the success of the suburban compromise, the realisation of the Australian way of life has been unevenly achieved due Sydney's varied geography, combined with class inequality. Commenting on the prospects and problems of the Cumberland Plan, in a preface to his guide to seeking compensation from the Cumberland County Council, R. Collier lamented that

Sydney has long ago ceased to be Ebenezer Howard's idea - "a town that makes possible a full measure of social life but not larger". Its sprawling growth has outstripped its capacity to supply electricity, sewage, road and other services. Yet people may be excused in spite of these disadvantages for competing to live within range of its great amenities.

It is easier to forget the need for planning where there is so much natural beauty. Possibly Sydney fell into this error early in its history and in consequence its present task may be the greatest.⁴³³

Later scholars would point out that not all of Sydney was beautiful, and that this intangible was at the heart of social segregation in Sydney's geography. Political scientist and sociologist Hugh Stretton despaired of the inequities in Sydney's development and its over-centralisation.⁴³⁴ To Stretton, the obvious solution was to build other cities; correct Sydney's city centred administration and its radial communications, and plan equity into its

⁴³¹ Geoffrey Bolton, *Spoils and Spoilers: Australians Make their Environment 1788-1980*, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1981, p.109-10

⁴³² White, op. cit., p.542

⁴³³ R. Collier, op. cit., p.3

⁴³⁴ Stretton, *Ideas for Australian Cities*, Georgian House, Melbourne, 1975, p.258

development. Stretton saw the ‘magic’ of Sydney as the principal obstacle to reform. Not only can social segregation be attributed to this, but centralism too was a by-product of natural beauty:

The rich will never willingly move from that magic, and who can blame them? The life within it may be ordinary and arduous, but seen from afar, from any of the rich land around the harbour, its beauty has few rivals outside Rio and Manhattan.⁴³⁵

If the suburbs began as an urban compromise to rural yearnings, they soon developed an identity of their own in which this compromise was not forgotten, but institutionalised. Daly identified the beginnings of a compromise in the 1880s whereby the “loss of any real hope of achieving ownership of their own farms lent some poignancy to the scramble for suburban land which occurred in the 1880s; a suburban plot might replace dreams of a suburban spread.”⁴³⁶ Donald Horne gives a similar if whimsical account of the process through a mock study of ‘the Everage family’, of the

. . . hope that he could ‘return’ to this utopia of the past that had never existed but that legend now gave him as a birthright, caused Mrs. Everage’s great grandfather to come to Australia. . . He may not have become a sturdy yeoman, but at least he now commanded the broad square feet of his own backyard, among plants as exotic as he was.

The suburb came to replace that rural existence for which it had at first been a compromise. Because of this underlying conception of the suburb as a sub-divided rurality, or micro-rurality, space has been the underlying principle governing suburban development. This is sometimes so at the expense of facilities and amenity. In defending Sydney’s Western suburbs against the criticism of their easterly and inner urban kin, sociologist and journalist Dianne Powell emphasises space as a contributor to contemporary quality of life.⁴³⁷ This conception of space as essential to quality of life is not only culturally ingrained, but enforced by Council ordinance. Urban consolidation, discussed later, required a reinterpretation of this ‘cultural space’.

If space was to be rationalised, Australia’s distances first needed to be conquered. The Second World War left Australia an enthusiasm for roads⁴³⁸ and with an increased number of roads in

⁴³⁵ Donald Horne, ‘A social history of Mrs. Edna Everage’, in George Seddon and Mari Davis (eds.), *Man and Landscape in Australia: Towards an Ecological Vision*, papers from a symposium held at the Australian Academy of Science, Canberra, 30 May-2 June 1974, pp.281-8, p.281

⁴³⁶ Maurice T. Daly, op. cit., p.155

⁴³⁷ T. A. Powell, op. cit., p.34

⁴³⁸ Ian Manning, ‘The journey to work in the 20th Century’, in Gary Wotherspoon (ed.), *Sydney’s Transport:*

remote locations.⁴³⁹ The Stuart Highway from Alice Springs to Darwin was one such road, built with the cooperation of the States, Australian Army engineers and United States Army engineers.⁴⁴⁰ The Americans were people who practised what they preached; during the fifties the United States' National Defence Highway Act, at that time the largest spending program of its kind ever, was a monument to the emergent military industrial complex.⁴⁴¹ The Bell's Line of Road was built with American assistance to give Sydney a second route to Lithgow, and it was argued by some that post-war road building should be a defence priority.⁴⁴² The dreams of the road makers are not well explored by recent literature on planning and urban studies. Sandercock observes that

Writers of the Left assume, almost to a man, that freeways are a conspiracy of the Right . . . This simple argument overlooks the role of the car as an extender of opportunities to travel, visit friends, escape into the peace of the bush and to save time . . .⁴⁴³

Every bit as idealistic as housing and open space advocates, the advocates of bigger and better roads drew on war-time experience to form a modernist vision of Australia that has become a problematic reality. In this they were assisted by motorists' organisations such as the NRMA, the peak lobby group being the Australian Road Federation.⁴⁴⁴ By 1954 Motor Manual's *Highways of Australia* listed a dozen highways in New South Wales, and an impressive twenty-four in Victoria.⁴⁴⁵ By the late sixties road builders were beginning to form 'expressways' between urban centres, modelled on the British *Motorway* and the American *Freeway*. A 'tollway' was built to service the cities of Sydney and Newcastle and the coast between.⁴⁴⁶ In 1966 the Australian Institute of Political Science heard that the ambitious Sydney to Newcastle expressway would likely cost one million dollars per mile.⁴⁴⁷ Perhaps because of the success of the road builders, theirs is rarely depicted as a struggle against adversity, as the task of urban planning almost always is. Funding for main roads increased steadily, the state providing the infrastructure needed by the booming automotive industry.

Studies in Urban History, Hale and Iremonger in association with The Sydney History Group, Sydney, 1983, pp.177-193

⁴³⁹ White et al., op. cit., p.135

⁴⁴⁰ Keith Blacket, *Roads and Australia*, Nelson Doubleday, with the Assistance of the National Association of Australian State Road Authorities, Lane Cove, 1967, pp.59-60

⁴⁴¹ Rifkin, op. cit., p.32

⁴⁴² Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.170

⁴⁴³ Sandercock, op. cit. (1), p.155

⁴⁴⁴ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.93

⁴⁴⁵ Keith Winser (ed.), *Highways of Australia*, Modern Motor, Melbourne, 1954, pp.55-6

⁴⁴⁶ Keith Blacket, op. cit., p.28

⁴⁴⁷ Winston, op. cit. (2), p.10

Road builders and the NRMA invariably relied on the argument that better roads would speed the journey to work, even if the evidence suggested that what was really made possible was a residence further from work.⁴⁴⁸ Davidson and Spearritt comment that this funding has continued to come from the public purse, “with the exception of a handful of tourist toll roads in the inter-war years and the metropolitan tollways of the 1990s.”⁴⁴⁹ Inherent in the design of post-war roads was the idea that the suburban population would be able to commute inwards for work and outwards for recreation.

Augmenting the road building program in New South Wales was the expansion of civil aviation, enthusiastically backed by the Commonwealth Government. Davidson and Spearritt record that Australia managed to increase its intake of international visitors from less than 50,000 per annum in the fifties to 100,000 in 1962, then to 2,500,000 in 1992.⁴⁵⁰ The Commonwealth had been obliquely behind the formation of QANTAS, having commissioned the founders of that airline to survey the Longreach to Darwin air route.⁴⁵¹ The Chifley government’s failed attempt to nationalise Australian airlines (foiled by the High Court) was succeeded by the formation of the government owned Trans-Australia Airlines. Ansett-ANA and TAA became a regulated private/public interstate air travel duopoly.⁴⁵² Sydney’s Kingsford Smith Airport was opened as a Commonwealth government enterprise in 1970,⁴⁵³ to be privatised in the new millennium. The arrangement was maintained throughout the Menzies era.⁴⁵⁴ Domestic air travel, then, conforms to the pattern of post-war reconstruction in general.

Sydney’s uneven and inadequate open space had been a debating topic among reformers, the press and the politicians for almost a century, so it is not surprising that a good deal of the local reconstruction effort went into providing space for Sydneysiders. By the Second World War agitation for parkland was a traditional response to Sydney’s urbanisation. The Parks and Playgrounds Movement were especially active in campaigning for space for urban children.⁴⁵⁵ As its leader C. E. W. Bean saw such amenity as vital to the formation of the soldier citizen.

⁴⁴⁸ Ian Manning, *op. cit.*, pp.177-183

⁴⁴⁹ Davidson and Spearritt, *op.cit.*, p.170

⁴⁵⁰ *ibid*, p.283

⁴⁵¹ *ibid*, p.286

⁴⁵² *ibid*, p.287

⁴⁵³ *ibid*, p.293

⁴⁵⁴ *ibid*, p.300

Bean made a last effort to secure open space in his *War Aims of a Plain Australian* and a series of letters and articles appearing in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Bean wrote that the “Parks and Playgrounds Movement has steadily urged two provisions — first, a research and thinking body to plan for all needs too large for the local authorities; and second, a trust to hold all vital parks, when once dedicated, secure against encroachment.”⁴⁵⁶ Bean warned of the urban challenge to Australia’s sporting identity:

It is not until the vacant lots, on which my own generation learnt to play cricket and football, are built over, that we begin to feel the need of them. We are only awakening to it today when we find that much though we pride ourselves on our sporting spirit, and our love of healthy games, a considerable proportion of our children — at least in the larger towns — have not the opportunity even to learn them, much less to practice them.⁴⁵⁷

The Herald’s special columnist, ‘Waratah’, added to Bean’s entreaties:

We have a wildflower and bushland wealth which is second to none in diversity and interest. Yet it is dwindling before our eyes — a plaything of bushfires, torn up by vandals and exploited for commercial cupidity.

‘Waratah’ even preferred nature reserves over cricket pitches, striking a discordant note with Bean’s calls for recreational space.⁴⁵⁸ Bean’s successor, W. L. Hume, complained that

The life of this movement is just one long series of fights. If a new park is wanted, there is a fight to get it, and when it has been secured, there is a fight to keep it.⁴⁵⁹

At the van of recreational thought, W. Gordon Young maintained that providing for leisure was an essential part of post-war planning⁴⁶⁰ and that national parks in particular would be crucial to future developments in National Fitness.⁴⁶¹ Bean recommended a ratio of ten per cent of open space be aimed for in all towns and noted with approval that this was the ratio aimed at in subdivision of Crown Lands. The Parks and Playgrounds Movement and the Surveyor General recommended this ratio too, insisting that four fifths of said open space be level playing field.⁴⁶² In 1945 The Department of Education adopted a policy of building primary schools on five acres of land, secondary schools on ten and country technical colleges

⁴⁵⁵ Spearritt, op. cit. (2), p.175

⁴⁵⁶ C. E. W. Bean, letter to the editor, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7.3.50

⁴⁵⁷ *Shire and Municipal Record*, Vol.25, July 1932 to June 1933, Sydney, Law Book Company of Australia, 1933, pp.215-7, cited in W. G. Young, op. cit. (3), p.102

⁴⁵⁸ ‘Waratah’, ‘State should act to save our tree sanctuaries’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14.12.46, p.2

⁴⁵⁹ ‘Never-ending fight for parks’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9.12.52, p.2

⁴⁶⁰ Gordon Young, ‘National Fitness and the problem of recreational facilities’, *The Town and Country Planning Institute of Australia Bulletin*, Vol.1, No.7, October 1949, pp.1-2, p.1

⁴⁶¹ *ibid*, p.2

⁴⁶² W. G. Young, op. cit. (3), p.103

on twenty.⁴⁶³ While the renewed calls for open space revived the inter-war debate, the war's evacuations brought a new emphasis. Some children had gained an experience of Sydney's hinterland through war-time evacuation, and British children had gained an even more marked appreciation of rural life during the evacuation of London during the blitz. W. G. Young noted that "Advice from Britain indicates that one of the few positive results from the evacuation of city children to the country has been an apparent improvement in their health."⁴⁶⁴ Engagement with fascism had reinvigorated the cult of the soldier citizen, too.

National parks were an established form of recreational space on the fringes of Sydney that became more popular as Sydney moved from being a radial city to a sprawling suburban one.⁴⁶⁵ White observes that the proliferation of national parks signalled a changing relationship to nature, that "rather than civilisation being a series of small dots in the wilderness, now National Parks were becoming islands of the natural in a sea of over-development."⁴⁶⁶ National parks have had conflicting uses since their inception. In the late nineteenth-century the Crown Land Consolidation Act allowed the formation of Crown reserves for public purposes and the Animal Protection Act gave shape to early conservation legislation.⁴⁶⁷ The ('Royal' after 1954)⁴⁶⁸ National Park was dedicated on the 26th of April, 1879, "for the use of the public forever as a national park."⁴⁶⁹ For a while, timber in the park was logged, but this was stopped; plenty of recreation and some associated development went on, however. Kuring-gai Chase was dedicated in 1894. These were early imitations of the world's first national park, Yellowstone in the United States (Theodore Roosevelt, progressive president and big game hunter had championed its formation).⁴⁷⁰ Significantly, Yellowstone was the site of early American developments in recreational camping,⁴⁷¹ and was already commodified by the

⁴⁶³ SRNSW: CGS 10663, *Kingswood 11/19038*, National Fitness Council of New South Wales, *Policy Book*, c.November 1939 - 21 May 1959, 'Standard site requirements'

⁴⁶⁴ W. G. Young, op. cit. (1), p.25

⁴⁶⁵ Cashman, op. cit (2), p.40

⁴⁶⁶ White et al., op. cit, p.137

⁴⁶⁷ Graham Groves (ed.) with the assistance of the NSWNPWS, *Gregory's National Parks of New South Wales*, Gregory's Publishing, Sydney, 1980, p.15; Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., pp.226-7

⁴⁶⁸ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.226

⁴⁶⁹ D. A. Johnstone, Director of National Parks, 'Evolution of the National Parks and Wildlife Service (N.S.W.) as a land use authority', Paper presented to the seventh Australian Land Conference, 29.5.74

⁴⁷⁰ Mirams, op. cit., p.252

⁴⁷¹ Gleason, op. cit., p.67; it was also promoted by railway companies as an attraction, rather than an obstacle on their east-west route

twentieth-century.⁴⁷² The New South Wales Wildflower and Native Plants Protection Act (1927) and an amendment made to the Forestry Act (1916) categorised the flora reserve.⁴⁷³ Mark Morton Primitive Reserve, which became Morton National Park, New England National Park, Bouddi State (later National) Park⁴⁷⁴ and Heathcote State (later National) Park were dedicated in the thirties.⁴⁷⁵ Mirams notes that the Depression had given extra impetus to the flight from Melbourne's evils,⁴⁷⁶ and the situation was similar in Sydney.

The post-war period saw a renewed interest in national parks.⁴⁷⁷ During the war the McKell government had promised a National Park in the Blue Mountains, and logging was stopped in 'selected areas' in anticipation. Kosciusko State (later Kosciuszko National) Park was declared in 1944 amid much fanfare and some controversy concerning the continuance of leases within the park and the provision of amenities.⁴⁷⁸ Davidson and Spearritt attribute the formation of the Kosciusko (sic) State Park to the campaigning of the National Parks and Primitive Areas Council (organised by Miles Dunphy) and to Premier McKell's environmental foresight,⁴⁷⁹ but C. E. W. Bean was also campaigning for the area to be set aside for recreation. The New South Wales Fauna Protection Act (1948) saw the formation of a Fauna Protection Panel.⁴⁸⁰ In 1952 shooters appealed against the panel's prohibition of the seasonal hunting of wild duck, stubble quail and migratory jack snipe. The 25,115 petitioners argued that the "time honoured sport of game shooting is an essential part of the rural life of this country and it provided health-giving recreation as well as a supplementary food supply for those who live on and make their livelihood from the land and for a great number of townspeople as well."⁴⁸¹ Another boom came in the fifties, with the Warrumbungle, Gibraltar Range, Blue Mountains, Brisbane Water, and Gloucester Tops National Parks being formed. Myles Dunphy was directly behind the proposals for the Brisbane Water and Blue Mountains National Parks.⁴⁸²

⁴⁷² *ibid* p.346

⁴⁷³ Groves (ed.), *op. cit.*, p.15

⁴⁷⁴ Enlarged against the opposition of Gosford Shire Council, *SRNSW: CGS 10664, Kingswood 12/1615, Box 1, File 1968*, National Parks and Wildlife Service, Correspondence Files, 1976-74, 'Top official to visit for Bouddi Park talks'

⁴⁷⁵ D. A. Johnstone, *op. cit.*

⁴⁷⁶ Mirams, *op. cit.*, p.227

⁴⁷⁷ Davidson and Spearritt, *op.cit.*, p.240

⁴⁷⁸ 'State park plan', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30.3.44, p.6

⁴⁷⁹ Cunneen, *William John McKell*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2000, pp.165-7

⁴⁸⁰ Graham Groves (ed.), *op. cit.*, p.15

⁴⁸¹ *NSW Parliamentary Papers*, 1950-51-52, Petition to the Legislative Assembly, No.154

⁴⁸² D. A. Johnstone, *op. cit.*

Smaller parks were proposed, or even begun privately, by other motivated individuals. In 1933 John D. Tipper had leased a site and then established the Muogamarra Wildlife Sanctuary, and was still lobbying the Department of Lands to extend the term and the area of the lease in 1950.⁴⁸³ Otherwise, Crown lands might be let to unsympathetic users.⁴⁸⁴ Under the leadership of Allen Strom of the Fauna Protection Panel 47 fauna reserves were dedicated between 1948 and 1967. Until the passing of the National Parks and Wildlife Act individual parks were administered by trusts. These could be stacked, as *The Herald* pointed out in 1950, when Labour dominated the Kuringai Trust.⁴⁸⁵ The benefits of stacking a Parks Trust were not explained.⁴⁸⁶

The formation of a parks service was delayed as the State Labor Government lost office in 1965, before presenting the appropriate Bill to parliament.⁴⁸⁷ Until the Askin Government took office in 1965 executive administration of the Fauna Protection Act fell to the Chief Secretary's Department; the Wild Flowers and Native Plants Protection Act to the Department of Local Government; and National Parks, State Parks and Historic Sites to the Department of Lands. Askin's minister, T. L. Lewis, oversaw the creation of the National Parks and Wildlife Service, formed under the National Parks and Wildlife Act of 1967. A National Parks and Wildlife Advisory Council was formed as part of the Act. When the service was formed it took over twelve national parks, seven state parks and six historic sites.⁴⁸⁸ Eventually the various national parks were brought under the administration of one body. The Victorian National Parks Act was passed in 1956.⁴⁸⁹ New South Wales took nearly two decades to pass a similar act, but established a Parks and Wildlife Service on the American model in 1967.⁴⁹⁰ After the National Parks and Wildlife Act was passed, separate acts covering individual parks were superseded and a number of related authorities were abolished. Kosciusko (sic) State Park, the Royal National Park and Ku-ring-gai Chase became National Parks under the Act. Trusts were abolished and reconstituted as local committees. The Fauna Protection Act and the

⁴⁸³ 'Making Permanent a Wild-Life Sanctuary', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14.3.50

⁴⁸⁴ 'Waratah', 'State should act to save our tree sanctuaries', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14.12.46, p.2

⁴⁸⁵ 'Column 8', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18.3.50

⁴⁸⁶ SRNSW: CGS 10663, *Kingswood 11/19038*, National Fitness Council of New South Wales, *Policy Book*, c.November 1939 - 21 May 1959, 'National Fitness Trust'

⁴⁸⁷ Graham Groves (ed.), op. cit., pp.15-16

⁴⁸⁸ D. A. Johnstone, op. cit.; (the Director makes no mention of Game Reserves, or of Nature Reserves)

⁴⁸⁹ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.240

⁴⁹⁰ *ibid*, p.241

Wildflowers and Native Plants Protection Act were amended to vest all power in the Director of the National Parks and Wildlife Service. Advisory bodies serving the National Parks and Wildlife Service included the National Parks and Wildlife Advisory Council, the Parks and Reserves Scientific Community, the National Parks Committee of Architects, and the Advisory Committee on Aboriginal Relics. The National Parks and Wildlife Act (1974) made amendments to the 1967 legislation. By then the “service estate” was twenty seven national parks, ten state parks, ninety five nature reserves, and two Aboriginal sites.⁴⁹¹ The Act was amended again in 1980, transferring State Recreation Areas to the service’s administration. By June 1990, 286 areas defined as National Parks, Nature Reserves, Historic Sites and Aboriginal Areas had been dedicated, as well as 563 Aboriginal Places, protected archaeological areas, wildlife refuges and management areas, and 22 State Recreation Areas.⁴⁹²

National parks continued to be concerned with recreational use as well as environmental protection.⁴⁹³ Sarah Mirams describes the work of one such reformer, James Barrett, between 1900 and 1930 in Victoria. Barrett combined conservation and progressive reform in his campaign for Victorian national parks. According to Mirams, “Barrett argued that national parks would not only protect Australian flora and fauna but, more importantly, play a role in reversing the degeneration that was seen as an inevitable consequence of city life.”⁴⁹⁴ Mirams traces Barrett’s ideas to the influence of vitalist progressives. She argues that recent scholarship understates the social objective of reformers, highlighting instead the emergence of an ecological consciousness.⁴⁹⁵ These ideas were continued in post-war Sydney. Faster and more widely accessible transport made national parks a viable alternative to local open space as a venue for urban outdoor recreation.⁴⁹⁶ The parks differed from recreational open space in an emphasis on nature, but there was still an expectation that they would be put to recreational use. It was because of this that recreational enthusiasts were as likely to call for national park formation as environmentalists. In addition to C. E. W. Bean and W. G. Young, we might look

⁴⁹¹ D. A. Johnstone, op. cit.

⁴⁹² SRNSW, Archivist’s notes, Concise Guide to the State Archives: National Parks and Wildlife Service – <http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/cguide/lo/np%26ws.htm>

⁴⁹³ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.228

⁴⁹⁴ Mirams, op. cit., p.249; Mirams is politely at odds with Davidson and Spearritt, contending that Barrett’s social objectives are at once underrated and inherently linked to his championing of environmental issues.

⁴⁹⁵ Mirams, op. cit., pp.250-1

to the pages of *Outdoors Magazine*. In 1963 Bernard Peach demanded ‘More Homes for Wild Life’:

Progress is a two edged sword. It cuts a path to better living conditions and it destroys great areas of primitive land that hold inestimable value for the naturalist and for every Australian, present or future.

National parks as they existed were deemed good, but

The majority of parks, and rightly so, are located close to population centres to give relaxation to crowded humanity and some are chosen mainly for scenic attractions . . .⁴⁹⁷

Peach claimed that under the NSW Fauna Protection Act (1948) the Fauna Protection Panel could recommend reserves be managed “by the government and not by park trusts. Such was the case at Barren Grounds Faunal Reserve “a little south of Sydney” where “the visitor leaves his car, his dog, and his gun (if he has one) in the carpark.”⁴⁹⁸ Other such parks were Gurumbi and Nadgee. In 1963 Hilda Stevenson-Hamilton gave readers of *Outdoors* ‘A Lesson From Africa’, describing the Kruger National Park.⁴⁹⁹ The notion that national parks should be reserves of ‘untamed’ land for recreational use was encouraged by the tradition of British planning espoused by Sir Patrick Abercrombie. Abercrombie held that such ‘untamed’ land was an ideal antidote to the pressures of urbanisation, and that these areas should remain untamed. Indeed, Abercrombie insisted that “one of the chief dangers perhaps, and a really insidious one, is that Germanic vice of “aussichtpunkt” sophistication, by which all real wild beauty is destroyed through industrious labelling, staking, seating, fencing and grandmotherly attendance upon civilised human frailties. In this connection the chief problem will be to determine to what extent wild country is to be made accessible to the motor-car and charabanc.”⁵⁰⁰ Nineteenth-century medical authorities ascribed great benefits to natural retreats, a ‘rarified atmosphere’ and ‘taking the waters’ being a common prescription for the malaise of nineteenth-century Victorian modernity.⁵⁰¹ As Australian’s aesthetic appreciation of ‘the bush’ developed, with the work of Adam Lindsay Gordon, and the Heidelberg School, bushland reserves began to replace fern gardens.⁵⁰² William Gordon Young wrote of the need to “remove the dark shadows of insecurity which haunt us, particularly those who suffered in

⁴⁹⁶ Cunneen, op. cit. (1), p.108

⁴⁹⁷ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.28, No.4, February 1963. p.49

⁴⁹⁸ *ibid*, p.49

⁴⁹⁹ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.28, No.5, March 1963, p.31

⁵⁰⁰ Abercrombie, op. cit., p.222

⁵⁰¹ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., pp.220-3

⁵⁰² *ibid*, pp.225-6

the last depression. The descent of that 'lost generation' to conditions approximating the lives of animals was the last stand of property values."⁵⁰³ Mirams concludes that

It is not surprising that environmental historians have neglected the role of progressivism in national park history. There is perhaps a reluctance to acknowledge that something as seemingly altruistic and worthy as national park reservation should be associated with a movement which was also interested in national efficiency, race and eugenics: ideas that, after the Second World War, appear somewhat sinister.⁵⁰⁴

Many of these ideas survived in one form or another well into the post-war period, embedded more deeply in the Australian consciousness by the war, if spoken of less directly.

Unlike the green belt and Australian town planning, discussed below, the concept of national parks was American in origin, and their development revealed a continuing appropriation of American thought on outdoor leisure, nature and open space. In 1962 New South Wales sent H. J. Stanley to the first World Conference on National Parks at Seattle. On his return he recommended that a National Parks Bill be drafted, and the State Labor Government set about doing so. No doubt Mr. Stanley had been exposed to the activities of the prolific Outdoor Recreation Resource Review Commission (ORRRC) which, with the guidance and not a little of the resources of Laurence Rockefeller, recommended centralisation and rationalisation of recreational resources in the United States. Created in 1958, the ORRRC reported that

Outdoor activity . . . is essentially a renewing experience – a refreshing change from the workaday world. This is true no matter what an individual actually chooses to do in the outdoors . . . Latent energy is tapped, unused powers of the body, mind, and spirit are employed, the imagination works on fresh material, and when all these things occur, the individual returns to his work with a sense of renewal.⁵⁰⁵

This was a familiar theme in Australia, and its restatement by the ORRRC came at a time when its application by town planners was in some respects proving difficult. Once the National Parks and Wildlife Service of New South Wales was formed its officers quite naturally sought advice from their colleagues in the United States.⁵⁰⁶ Indeed, the Service's founding director was imported from the USA.⁵⁰⁷ Another source of advice was Canada,

⁵⁰³ W. G. Young, op. cit. (1), p.21

⁵⁰⁴ Mirams, op. cit., p.265

⁵⁰⁵ ORRRC, quoted in Greer, op. cit., p.157

⁵⁰⁶ SRNSW: CGS 10664, Kingswood 12/1615, Box 1, File 1968, National Parks and Wildlife Service, Correspondence Files, 1976-74, Correspondence between the Director of the NSWNPWS, Dr. D. F. McMichael and George W. Fry, Superintendent of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Gatlinberg, Tennessee, USA

⁵⁰⁷ SRNSW: CGS 10664, Kingswood 12/1615, Box 1, File 1968, National Parks and Wildlife Service, Correspondence Files, 1976-74, Correspondence between Sam Weems, Director of the NSWNPWS and Pete Hanlon, North Carolina, 16.5.67

where the department's officers had collegial links and visited for their edification.⁵⁰⁸ Some advice was unsolicited. In 1968 the American ammunition multinational Winchester-Western (a division of the Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation) sent their conservation expert, Dr E. Kozicky to advise Australia on the management of its national parks and game reserves.⁵⁰⁹

Conflict between the 'dual uses' of the national parks became even more marked as the population became more mobile and their leisure increased. In Kosciuszko, for instance, resorts and ski lifts had changed the ecology of the park, and the Service anticipated demand for more structures. As Director of the Service D. A. Johnstone observed that

Pressure is still being brought to bear on the Service to allow even more commercial developments in other sections of the park which have not yet been exploited, but any development, if permitted, would not now be undertaken without a full appraisal of all the environmental factors concerned.⁵¹⁰

Earlier directors were aware of these pressures, too. When outdoors publishing mogul K. G. Murray invited S. P. Weems and Dr D. McMichael to join him for lunch or dinner at Waste Point, Perisher during the ski season, both the outgoing and incoming directors politely declined. It can be assumed that they did meet later on more neutral ground to discuss what McMichael called "matters which are of mutual interest to us" since joint publications, discussed later, ensued.⁵¹¹ Stock grazing had been banned within the park. In Ku-ring-gai Chase some concessions had been granted for boating and recreational facilities, but "unplanned development of amenities has marred the aesthetic appearance and affected the ecological balance of some portions of the Park's marine areas."⁵¹² New development was limited to Akuna Bay. It was in Ku-ring-gai too that the role of protector of artefacts accrued to national parks.⁵¹³ The Gregory's Guide to National Parks of 1980 foresaw an increased need for careful management as "factors such as greater mobility, increased leisure time and an emphasis by public education on use of the outdoors will place critical strain on the system,

⁵⁰⁸ SRNSW: CGS 10664, Kingswood 12/1615, Box 1, File 1968, National Parks and Wildlife Service, Correspondence Files, 1976-74, Correspondence between Sam Weems and J. Erskine, 18.6.68

⁵⁰⁹ SRNSW: CGS 10664, Kingswood 12/1615, Box 1, File 1968, National Parks and Wildlife Service, Correspondence Files, 1976-74, Whitehouse Public Relations press release, 'Conservation Expert for Australia', National Parks and Wildlife Service, Correspondence Files, 1976-74

⁵¹⁰ D. A. Johnstone, op. cit.

⁵¹¹ SRNSW: CGS 10664, Kingswood 12/1615, Box 1, File 1968, National Parks and Wildlife Service, Correspondence Files, 1976-74, Correspondence between K. G. Murray, S. P. Weems and Dr. McMichael, 13.7.68, 25.6.68

⁵¹² D. A. Johnstone, op. cit.

⁵¹³ Ruth Park, *The Companion Guide to Sydney*, Collins, Sydney, 1973, pp.284-5

especially on those areas close to major centres of population.⁵¹⁴ Over time the environmental role of the national park has come to dominate their management. This is often and logically linked to the rise of environmental consciousness: the Australian Conservation Foundation was established in 1963⁵¹⁵ and Green bans in Sydney had brought ‘greenies’, and a counter cultural element of protest to the conservationist’s cause.⁵¹⁶ Environmental values notwithstanding, the majority of New South Wales’ national parks are still conspicuously a ring around Sydney.

After the boom the *Sun-Herald* was still certain of the recreational purpose of national parks, declaring that

Sydney is fortunate in having many national parks within a 100 km radius. They are vital to people who normally live in a crowded city and need space, open air and naturalness for their peace of mind.⁵¹⁷

While environmental management has become the priority of the National Parks and Wildlife Service, the State Government has kept an eye on recreational values. These may be measured by the number of visitors and the trouble they went to visit. In 1969 the Australian National University’s Dr. Stephen Boyden declared that this was rather simplistic, but that the approach “provides us at least with some figures”.⁵¹⁸ Simplistic or not, it is an approach of some use to historians. We can at least say that 3000 vehicles paid entry fees to the Blue Mountains National Park in the 1968/69 financial year.⁵¹⁹ The concept of a dual use has persisted. In 1974 the Director of National Parks spoke of the pragmatic history of these parks:

Both Royal and Ku-ring-gai Chase National Parks were, at the time of reservation, in the category of “unwanted” barren, non-arable land but their value as recreation areas for city dwellers was apparent even in those days to the citizens responsible for their reservation.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁴ Graham Groves (ed.), op. cit., p.17

⁵¹⁵ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.241

⁵¹⁶ ibid, p.241

⁵¹⁷ *Sun-Herald*, 20.3.77, p.106

⁵¹⁸ S. V. Boyden, op.cit., p.93; United States had been markedly active in generating methods of estimating the demand for and value of outdoor recreation resources – see Jay M. Hughes and R. Duane Lloyd (eds.), *Outdoor Recreation: Advances in Applied Economics*, Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1977; for an Australian example see I. K. Reynolds, *The Use of Travel Cost to Evaluate Recreation Benefits*, Centre for Resource and Environment Studies, Canberra, 1978; Bruce Knapman, *A travel cost analysis of the recreation use value of Kakadu National Park*, Published for the Resource Assessment Commission by the Australian Govt. Pub. Service, Canberra, 1991

⁵¹⁹ SRNSW: CGS 10664, Kingswood 12/1615, Box 1, File 1968, National Parks and Wildlife Service, Correspondence Files, 1976-74, Blue Mountains National Park Trust, 1968/69

⁵²⁰ D. A. Johnstone, op. cit.

Conservation was a secondary concern, and this was reflected in their promotion.⁵²¹ Johnstone was able to state, contradictorily and with great assurance that

The primary responsibility of the National Parks and Wildlife Service of New South Wales is the conservation of nature in the State, including animals, plants and places of natural and scenic beauty, and the preservation of the historic sites and areas of significance to Aboriginal culture. The purpose for which land and sites are conserved are primarily educational, recreational and scientific.⁵²²

Writing in 1981 historian Alan Gilbert observed that “most of the early National Parks . . . were proclaimed purely in the interests of active public recreation.”⁵²³ For some of the public, national parks have been an enclosed commons from which to poach resources. As a result of the fuel shortages of Second World War some wood gathering for private use was allowed in Kuringai Chase, but the park still suffered the depredations of unauthorised wood pilferers.⁵²⁴ Conflict between uses persists. In 1997 Jo Arblaster wrote in *The Northern Herald* that “Horse riders, bushwalkers and dog owners are heading for a confrontation with the State Government after moves to lock them out of many of the State’s national parks.”⁵²⁵ The then New South Wales Environment Minister, Ms Pam Allen, identified these recreational groups as the parks’ ‘traditional users’. The National Parks Association objects to any use of National Parks by horses, and one ranger referred to horses as ‘feral’.⁵²⁶

The extent to which conflict persists between environmental suitability of a site proposed as a national park and its ability to provide residential or recreational amenity is amply demonstrated by debate over the use of the Australian Defence Industry site at St Mary’s. As Commonwealth property the site could be disposed of with more discretion than may NSW Crown Land. The site is a rare example of Cumberland Plain Woodland, a large tract of open space that is attractive to developers, such as Lend Lease. Class conflict becomes apparent when considering the expanding recreational opportunities available further to the east.⁵²⁷ Residents Action Groups have agitated for a Regional Park, not a National Park. Penrith’s Mayor, Councillor Kevin Dwyer, told *The Sydney Morning Herald* that “the local population

⁵²¹ Mirams, op. cit., p.254

⁵²² D. A. Johnstone, op. cit.

⁵²³ Gilbert, Alan, ‘The state and nature’, *Australian Cultural Studies*, No.1, 1981, p.20

⁵²⁴ ‘Wood Pilfering Increases’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5.5.44, p.5

⁵²⁵ Jo Arblaster, ‘New Row on Bush Use’, *The Northern Herald*, 22. 5. 97, p.4

⁵²⁶ *ibid*, p.5

⁵²⁷ Murray Hogarth, ‘“Hypocrisy”: Carr accused of neglecting west’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26.2.98, p.2; ‘PM backs plan to buy prime harbour land for people’s park’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24.2.98, p.1

had as much right to push for surplus Commonwealth property to be converted to parkland as did residents living around Sydney Harbour.”⁵²⁸ The same Residents Action Group, however, was keen to emphasise the environmental values of the site, convincing the National Heritage Commission to list much of the site on the national estate.⁵²⁹ Some argued that the site was too sensitive, while others put it that the site was too valuable not to develop, and would be too expensive to maintain as a park at any rate.⁵³⁰ The site has since been developed, with a ‘regional park’ sharing space with 10,000 houses.⁵³¹ Conflict over access to National Parks has also become apparent with the emergence of the Outdoor Recreation Party (ORP). Although this quite likely began life as a “convenience party” feeding preferences to the Over-taxed Motorists, Smokers and Drinkers Association⁵³² the ORP has enjoyed electoral success. When interviewed for this thesis ORP chairman Malcolm Jones shares his views on park access under the Wilderness Act:

The ‘extreme greens’ are cleverly managing to exclude 93% of the visitors to remote area Parks, which will be largely Wilderness. This makes them the exclusive beneficiaries of Wilderness. This is a position society will not tolerate, once the facts are clearly understood. The aim of the Outdoor Recreation Party is to make the public aware of this.⁵³³

Jones warns that “Benito Mussolini declared the Isle of Capri as a bird sanctuary. Everyone remembers him for being hung upside down.”⁵³⁴ Jones has since resigned from the Legislative Council over the misuse of his travel allowance.⁵³⁵ Parks are thus linked to the history of Sydney’s outdoor recreation, even if they have been expected to have a discrete environmental purpose.

In addition to national movements of spatial reform and established responses to urbanisation such as parks and playgrounds and national parks, post-war Sydney had its own specific planning scheme, as outlined earlier when introducing the Cumberland County Council.⁵³⁶

⁵²⁸ Richard Macey, ‘Give us a vast park, not 10,000 homes, says Council’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25.9.97, p.7

⁵²⁹ ‘Heritage threat to new \$1.3bn housing estate’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10.6.97, p.6; Kevin Dwyer and Angus Dawson ‘Park or housing for the west?’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6.10.97, p.6

⁵³⁰ Kevin Dwyer and Angus Dawson ‘Park or housing for the west?’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6.10.97, p.15

⁵³¹ Kevin Rozzoli (MLA), ‘The courage to reform’, *Sydney Morning Herald* 23.01.2003 – <http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/01/23/1042911481129.html?oneclick=true>

⁵³² ‘Fringe dwellers threaten to swamp voters with confusing choices: Drink, smoke, fish, vote? It’s up to you’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10.6.97, pp.1, 6

⁵³³ Malcolm Jones’s, policy statement given on interview, March 1998, p.1

⁵³⁴ *ibid*, p.2

⁵³⁵ Mark Coultan, ‘Watchdog’s low growl’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29.11.2003, p.33

⁵³⁶ Perhaps the most concise history of the scheme can be found in Spearritt, op. cit. (2) pp91-3, 166-169

Robert Freestone correctly observes that the Council's report "was a classic statement of the postwar reconstruction era".⁵³⁷ Sydney's 'great experiment' did indeed seem to have all the trappings of reconstruction, with a direct link to the federal program. E. Ronald Walker noted that the Department of Post-war Reconstruction had no jurisdiction over regional planning, but that it encouraged the States. The States themselves agreed to form representative regional advisory bodies at a Commonwealth State Conference in 1944. Operating within this milieu, the Cumberland County Council was confident of the centrality of physical planning to the program of reconstruction. A late draft of the planning scheme report featured the opinion of one H. W. J. Heck, who contended that

Planned economy can mean nothing more than planning for full employment and for production, for education, for food supplies, for leisure — in fact, for every need . . . of civilised living. As land is the ultimate platform for all human activity, the basis of planned economy must be town and country planning.⁵³⁸

Heck's assertions are supported by Coombs' recollection that "parallel with the concentration on full employment ran a concern with the physical aspects of economic activity."⁵³⁹ Planners themselves were taken with the spirit. According to William C. Andrews, who had been a senior planner with the Council,

Professional men after the 1939-45 war were anxious to improve the cities and the countryside towns All the chiefs . . . were men looking ahead — endeavouring to see that better things were done in a better way than previously.⁵⁴⁰

Geoffrey Faithfull, who had been Deputy Chief Planner for the Council recalled that "In the early days it was a bit of brave new world stuff; we were all learning and there was a feeling, a spirit, that you were trying to do something to improve the situation, and in fact doing it in spite of adversity."⁵⁴¹ George Clarke, reminiscing on his experience as a young planner with the Council, described the planners as "utopian crusaders".⁵⁴² Perhaps this was all just rhetoric, but to some extent it was rhetoric to which the planners themselves subscribed. Frederick C. Osborn's *Green Belt Cities* had assuredly set the task of post-war urban planning to a utopian context; Osborn traced the origins of green belt cities to Sir Thomas More's utopian,

⁵³⁷ Freestone, op. cit., p.71

⁵³⁸ *SRNSW: AK415, 125/12, EPA 29*

⁵³⁹ H. C. Coombs, op. cit., p.57

⁵⁴⁰ *SRNSW: AK415, Q 994.41*, William C. Andrews interviewed by Nigel Ashton

⁵⁴¹ *SRNSW: AK415, Q 994.41*, Geoffrey Faithfull interviewed by Nigel Ashton

⁵⁴² Clarke in Ashton, *Planning Sydney: Nine Planners Remember*, Council of the City of Sydney, Sydney, 1992

decentralist and (quite significantly) colonial cities.⁵⁴³ As will be seen, a good deal of the scheme's utopianism originated in Britain.

The idealism of many planners was bolstered by the camaraderie of recent military service. They were among those that Ross described, who wanted "the opportunity of placing their skills at the service of their nation in peace as they have in war".⁵⁴⁴ Planner Peter Harrison commented that it was "difficult to convey the pervasive spirit of reforming small-l liberalism of the early post-war years, not least within the scratch team, mostly ex-service men and women, who staffed the Cumberland County Council."⁵⁴⁵ Key Council personnel had military experience which might well have influenced their confidence in physical planning. Roderick Fraser had been a captain in the AIF Survey Corps between 1941 and 1945.⁵⁴⁶ William C. Andrews, Senior Planning Officer with the Council had been the Coordinating Engineer on defence works with the Department of Public Works, 1941-1942, then with the RAAF from 1943-1945.⁵⁴⁷ Modern war had profoundly influenced British and colonial town planning. The County of London Plan sought to take advantage of the destruction, dislocation and interruption of war to the greater good.⁵⁴⁸

The inequality of Sydney's leisure amenities could clearly be seen on a map, just as reforms could be mapped. The County Scheme undertook a detailed study of parkland around Sydney and recommended the expansion in some areas of model parkland seen in others. The parkland along the Cooks River, for instance should be emulated along the length of the George's River. Some features of the environment were difficult to distribute. Unequal access to the beach, that newly discovered location of Australia's leisured identity, was obvious.⁵⁴⁹ Public swimming pools might remedy this. In the thirties author Frank Austal had described the scandalous lack of public baths in parts of Sydney, a scandal that could be reversed "if some patriotic wealthy citizens would give some thousands of pounds for it, the same as they do for universities and

⁵⁴³ F. C. Osborn, op. cit.

⁵⁴⁴ Lloyd Ross, op. cit., p.218

⁵⁴⁵ Harrison, op. cit. (3), p.29

⁵⁴⁶ Joseph A. Alexander (ed.), *Who's Who in Australia*, 15th edition, Colorgravure Publications, Melbourne, 1955, p.294

⁵⁴⁷ Joseph A. Alexander (ed.), *Who's Who in Australia*, 22nd edition, Colorgravure Publications, Melbourne, 1962, p.42

⁵⁴⁸ J. H. Foreshaw and P. Abercrombie for London County Council, *County of London Plan*, Macmillan, London, 1944, p.1

libraries.”⁵⁵⁰ The motorcar might democratise access to these amenities, but it was a democracy with a limited franchise. War and reconstruction had put demands on Sydney’s parkland, and there was a post-war response to claw back that land that had been alienated and to arrest any more encroachment. A proposal to build a “seven storey steel and concrete parking station in the domain”⁵⁵¹ was met with consternation.

Complementing recreational space, rurality was privileged in the County scheme in a way that marks it as an historical artefact. The plan warned of the danger of a looming urban disaster:

Densely populated countries, even the more primitive ones, are naturally conscious of the importance of rural areas. In countries like Australia, however, where there is an abundance of land, there is a tendency to regard the countryside as limitless, an attitude which leads to neglect of its proper care and preservation. This is nowhere so noticeable as in the cities, where the populations fail to appreciate the value of the rural background either to the whole country or to the cities themselves.⁵⁵²

The green belt was, in principle if not in eventuality, a broad belt of agricultural land forming a semi-circle around Sydney; from Hornsby, through Prospect to the military lands at Holsworthy. Lot sizes were set at five acre minimum, as were lot sizes in areas zoned ‘rural’. The five acre minimum had been arrived at after consultation with the Department of Agriculture, which department advised that this was the minimum area required for horticulture around Griffith. The green belt was to be contiguous with other open space. It would divert urban expansion to satellite cities, give urbanites access to open space, and preserve or recreate a certain type of agricultural production. The latter is quite a unique approach, in that it intended to preserve a mode of production; urbanites would have an opportunity to work in rural industry as well as play in a rural atmosphere. The confluence of production and recreation dated the scheme quickly, its productivist assumptions overwhelmed by the expanding suburbs of fifties consumerism.

⁵⁴⁹ Cumberland County Council, op. cit., pp134-51

⁵⁵⁰ Frank Austal, *City and Country Life*, H. T. Dunn & Co., Sydney, 1937, p.5

⁵⁵¹ John O’Brien, ‘Profile of ‘the people’s Domain’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14.2.46, p.11

⁵⁵² Cumberland County Council, op. cit., p.34

⁵⁵³ 'The Functional Plan' in Dennis Winston, *Sydney's Great Experiment: The Progress of the Cumberland*

neglected. It falls under two headings: the Wild Country and the Tame; the former implies the ability to wander over unenclosed mountain, moor, valley and coastline; the latter suggests the restricted access which will not interfere with highly organised cultivation of the ground.”⁵⁵⁴ The green belt was the most British aspect of a very British plan for Sydney. Peter Harrison contended that “almost all of its intellectual and professional content originated with Rod Fraser”.⁵⁵⁵ Fraser was certainly working within a strict genre. As the Council itself put it in the first line of its report, this was a scheme “for a vital and prosperous region, for the second white city of the British Empire.”⁵⁵⁶

The language of the Cumberland Scheme echoes that of the County of London Plan of 1944; the typesetting, binding and illustration are of a kind. The London green belt was to ensure the proximity of agricultural land to the city, and was to form a major limitation to expansion. *The County of London Plan* explained that it was “probable that the dual use - for agriculture and recreation – mentioned in the Scott Report definition of a Green Belt, will apply . . . as the pent-up population will inevitably avail themselves of the country, though in decreasing intensity as their centrifugal dispersion increases the ratio of openness.”⁵⁵⁷ Londoners were to have nature, domesticated and wild, within easy reach. It is easy to see how the concept was transmitted. The institutional founder of British Town and Country Planning, Sir Patrick Abercrombie, made a five-week lecture tour of Australia in 1948, the year the scheme was presented. Many of the Council’s professional staff were recruited from Britain, or had experience in planning in Britain. Howe, recognising the debt owed by the Council to British tradition, notes the Australian focus of the Council.⁵⁵⁸ S. L. Luker considered that Australia should adapt British planning ideas to Australia, but that these should be carefully studied for their relevance to the local scene.⁵⁵⁹ The green belt was one such adaptation.

Admittedly there was some local demand for green belts. Ross, for instance, recommended green belts as a part of the reconstructed cities of post-war Australia, as “Green belts

County Plan, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1957

⁵⁵⁴ Abercrombie, op. cit., p.217

⁵⁵⁵ Harrison, op. cit. (3), p.30

⁵⁵⁶ Cumberland County Council, op. cit., p.1

⁵⁵⁷ J. H. Foreshaw and P. Abercrombie, op. cit., p.11

⁵⁵⁸ Howe, op. cit., p.92

⁵⁵⁹ S. L. Luker, ‘British planning ideas for Australia?’, *The Town and Country Planning Institute of Australia*

surrounding a city and limiting its growth do not strangle or regiment, but bring life-giving beauty, health and dignity.”⁵⁶⁰ As in Britain, there were sound reasons for maintaining a zone of agricultural production close to the population. Fresh food was at a premium, and only ten per cent of Sydney’s 370,000 homes boasted a mechanical refrigerator in 1945.⁵⁶¹ Nor was Australia alone in appropriating the green belt concept. In the United States Lewis Mumford pointed to the desirability of rural ‘bands’, which defined communities. Mumford even identified these as green belts, pointing to their ‘natural’ occurrence in the development of salubrious nineteenth-century residential railway suburbs. To this ideologue, the suburb itself was a good and natural ‘counter-attack’ to over-urbanisation; the problem with the modern suburb was that mass production and private transport had spoiled an exclusive success.⁵⁶² Emphasising family, community and efficiency, Mumford’s argument for the planning of America’s cities and suburbs was carefully non-communist. We can at least conclude that anti-urbanism has occurred to thinkers from diverse political backgrounds. Gary Cross notes that

19th century theorists, like Patrick Geddes and Frederick Olmstead, envisaged a symbiosis between the vitality of the city with its theatres, museums, and restaurants and the natural environment of surrounding ‘green belt’ communities. The suburb was to create a spatial segmentation of work and pleasure, a duality of male industry and female domesticity.⁵⁶³

To some extent, however, the green belt was pure imitation. A contemporary observer recalled that

. . . when visiting the CCC (sic) we saw progress maps of the Scheme . . . one . . . showing the existing residential development (Scheme pink). Beyond was the buff area for rural. These were little more than existing development. Jack can recall vividly Howard Sherrard asking questions one day – a very topical question at the time for Sir Patrick Abercrombie’s Scheme for metropolitan London with the famous Green Belt around London. Howard Sherrard asked the question - Has the CCC given any thought to the creation of a Green Belt around Sydney. Well, on our next visit to the CCC they had given thought to the Green Belt. It took exactly one month..... to put stippled green spots around the perimeters of the pink areas over the buff colour for the rural zones. And that is how the Green Belt was originally formed.⁵⁶⁴

The County of London Plan traced its green belt to the inter-war years and Raymond Unwin’s report on Open Space around London.⁵⁶⁵ A number of British cities gained a green belt due to

Bulletin, Vol.4, No.2, April 1952, p.1-3

⁵⁶⁰ Lloyd Ross, op. cit., p.228

⁵⁶¹ R. L. Rutherford, ‘It will be colder on the food front’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10.3.45, p.8

⁵⁶² Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: its Origins, its Transformations, and its Prospects*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, Eng., 1966, pp.474-6

⁵⁶³ Cross, op. cit., p.190

⁵⁶⁴ *SRNSW: AK415, Q 994.41*, Jack Barnett, interviewed by Nigel Ashton

⁵⁶⁵ J. H. Foreshaw and P. Abercrombie, op. cit., p.3

the Town Planning crusade of Abercrombie. Glasgow's was first suggested as part of the *Clyde Valley Regional Plan*, but wasn't implemented until 1960.⁵⁶⁶ Green belts were created in Wales and England in 1957 and 1955 respectively. Alfred Brown promoted the green belt idea in Australia in 1937, and a green belt was a central feature of Brisbane City Council's 1944 metropolitan zoning plan.⁵⁶⁷ Well before either world war, Ebenezer Howard had prescribed rurality as the cure of urban ills in founding the Garden City movement. In imitating an English planning vogue, Australian planners were attempting to anglicise the colonial landscape.

In addition to a privately owned but carefully zoned green belt, the Council envisaged zones of holiday residence and retreat. In this they were duplicating some of the functions of the New South Wales Tourist Bureau. In 1905 the New South Wales Intelligence Department was established, taking over and extending the functions until then performed by the railways; the Tourist Bureau was a subsection of this department.⁵⁶⁸ Early work of the Tourist Bureau included promoting beauty spots and other tourist destinations, creating a resort at Mount Kosciuszko, promoting outdoor sporting pursuits, and erecting the Hotel Kosciuszko (sic).⁵⁶⁹ The Australian National Travel Association (ANTA) worked on behalf of Commonwealth tourism from 1929, but the States maintained their own Tourist Bureaus.⁵⁷⁰ State Tourist Bureaus in the inter-war period were closely linked to government owned rail, government owned accommodation and government run recreation, and the Bureau was in most cases the booking agent.⁵⁷¹ American consultants advised the ANTA that the States should make the Bureaus 'semi-government instrumentalities, and on advice of the consultants the Australian Tourist Commission superseded the ANTA in 1967.⁵⁷² Although the Planning Scheme was not well integrated with the Tourist Bureau, the Scheme did recognise the emergence of mobile suburbia. Discussing access of the urban population to rural areas, the Scheme noted that "The distance of rural lands from cities was only mitigated by improved methods of travelling, so that a strange spectacle appeared, particularly in the United States, of a mass exodus of city

⁵⁶⁶ Michael Pacione, 'Private profit and public interest in the residential development process: a case study of conflict in the urban fringe', *Journal of Rural Studies*, Vol.6, No.1, 1990, pp.103-116, p.109

⁵⁶⁷ Freestone, op. cit., p.72

⁵⁶⁸ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., pp.67-9

⁵⁶⁹ *ibid*, pp.69-70

⁵⁷⁰ *ibid*, p.76-82

⁵⁷¹ *ibid*, pp.85-6

dwellers and their families for a day in some refreshing environment.” The Council proceeded with the modernist faith in zoning that characterised its approach, describing a zone of ‘holiday areas’ where permanent populations would not develop. It was decided that “they have not the same status as ordinary living areas and will not have the same priority in the provision of utilities and amenities.” While areas such as Manly had begun as holiday areas but had been subsumed into the urban area, this was most undesirable as “one of the functions of holiday areas is to provide an escape from urban crowding”⁵⁷³ Sydney’s residents were to enjoy a balanced city of home, work and play and this was to be reflected in the orderly division of functions within their appropriate zones. What is now the tourism industry was not then deemed capable of supporting a resident population. By the mid seventies tourism was well established as an industry. Writing for the Department of Urban and Regional Development, Claire Wagner saw some possibility for decentralisation through rural retreats and tourism:

While decentralisation remains a hypothetical issue, the emergent leisure industry suggests a direction it might take, although the effects of longer holidays and a shorter working week have yet to be assessed. . . . It seems that while concentrating on problems of locating manufacturing industry, policy-makers have not noticed the development of new styles of leisure, and the service industries which they generate.⁵⁷⁴

Decentralisation, it seemed, might be achieved through seasonal migration rather than through industrial relocation.

This rationalisation of space, if difficult to enforce through zoning and fraught with the pressures of dual use, was nevertheless profound: holiday areas became idealised space, paradise on earth. While organised religion might lose to the temptations of affluence, leisure was “resanctified”, as White puts it.⁵⁷⁵ The sublimation of the secular ‘holiday’ can be seen in the etymology of the term itself, and in the language used to describe holiday locations throughout the twentieth-century. As early as 1910, isolated destinations such as Mallacoota were being described as a recreational ‘paradise’.⁵⁷⁶ In 1912 it was said that the Monaro was “an angler’s paradise”.⁵⁷⁷ The term ‘arcadia’ might be used instead of ‘paradise’, as it was by

⁵⁷² *ibid*, p.89-90

⁵⁷³ Cumberland County Council, *op. cit.*, p.83

⁵⁷⁴ Claire Wagner, *Rural Retreats: Urban Investment in Rural Land for Residential Purposes*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1975, p.41

⁵⁷⁵ White et al., *op. cit.*, p.131

⁵⁷⁶ Mirams, *op. cit.*, p.257

⁵⁷⁷ Gordon Inglis (ed.), *op. cit.*, p.99

‘Waratah’ when describing the ‘bushland splendour’ that Sydney enjoyed in the verdant March of 1950. A worldly investment in a ‘Carapark’ caravan gave one access to the ‘tropical paradise’ of Hervey Bay.⁵⁷⁸ Ron Green found his ‘paradise’ on Devil’s Island, 300 miles north of Sydney:

There’s mention overleaf of that universal objective: ‘paradise’. This particular nomination is just one man’s choice, but it’s worthy of note for a number of reasons. First, the area is not a remote, south sea island haven accessible only to those burdened with a superfluity of time and currency,

Second, the place hasn’t been “developed” by money-hungry resort sharks that are the bane of many otherwise satisfactory tourist area. Third, it is one of the few really first-class angling centres that can justly claim to be a “family” resort.

That is, there was something for the wife and kids to do while the man of the family got to the business of killing fish.⁵⁷⁹ At Surfers ‘Paradise’ there was far more to do than simply fish; it was an entire conurbation catering to tourism.⁵⁸⁰ Thus the holiday had become a sort of secular pilgrimage, much as it had begun as a religious one. Davidson and Spearritt comment that “We commonly speak of a ‘tourist Mecca’, and the very word ‘holidays’ smothers in that compression its sacred origins.”⁵⁸¹ These places were to be visited at allotted times, as will be discussed in the next chapter. Where the work ethic posited a celestial reward, the leisure ethic packaged a terrestrial paradise.

⁵⁷⁸ Carapark advertisement in Winsor (ed.), op. cit. (1), p.56

⁵⁷⁹ Ron Green, ‘I Found Paradise’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.7, May 1955, p.13; John Hedge remembered England as a ‘fisherman’s paradise’ in John Hedge, *Trout Fishing in New South Wales*, Abbey Publishing, Sydney, 1962, p.15

⁵⁸⁰ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., pp.141-4

⁵⁸¹ *ibid*, p.xviii

CHAPTER THREE

The Road to Subtopia

These plans for a leisured, dispersed Australia were widespread and generally appealing; their translation into actuality was problematic. On the one hand the weekend became such an institution of the consumerist ‘way of life’ that it is rarely questioned,⁵⁸² but those elements of the program that might have made ‘despotic inroads’ on capital did less well. There was that strain of political thought that held that the end to war should be an end to planning. These were the proponents of decontrol discussed above. Some plans competed with each other, and even with themselves. Housing advocates conflicted with planners. Ecologists confronted developers. The long boom, arguably the result of a carefully planned international financial system and the commitment of Western governments to full employment, brought affluence that challenged planning. Sydney grew voraciously and ate into its green belt, with suburbia impacting well beyond its zoning due to the unprecedented mobility of its residents. Control had helped create the Australian way of life; control was an inconvenience to the living of that way of life. Plans for a utopian future were overwhelmed by the subtopian present. In outdoor recreation this was increasingly apparent.

So apparent was the shift in ideology that at least one touring journalist added an observation of Australia’s retreat from utopianism to the usual formula of the ‘Australian paradox’. Touring with the English test cricket team in 1963, ex-British Navy officer, poet and sporting correspondent Alan Ross observed that “the descent from Utopia to Sub-topia is slippery and short”.⁵⁸³ Admittedly Ross’ perceptions of Australia were tainted by the drubbing his team was receiving at the hands of Benaud’s Australians. Admittedly, too, Ross was referring to what he saw of the botched execution of Burleigh Griffin’s plan for Canberra, but the term ‘subtopia’ might easily have applied to Sydney. Indeed, the term was applied to Sydney in 1967 by Patrick Lort-Phillips in a favourable comparison to Britain, where subtopia apparently abounded in the form of “phoney” rurality.⁵⁸⁴ That year, despite Lort-Phillips’ assurances, the

⁵⁸² An exception is R. S. Connell, *The Land of the Long Weekend*, Sun Books, Melbourne, 1978, wherein the Melbourne psychologist accuses Australians of an indolent mentality

⁵⁸³ Alan Ross, *Australia 63*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1963, p.102

⁵⁸⁴ Patrick Lort-Phillips, *Pommy’s Picnic*, Dymock’s Book Arcade, Sydney, 1967, p.228; a phenomenon that R.

State Planning Authority was concerned that subtopia was indeed rampant in Sydney.⁵⁸⁵ Unlike the monolithic dystopias that Orwell and Huxley warned of, subtopia was not a dialectical reversal of utopia; subtopia began in utopian visions that gradually conceded to the practicalities of the everyday, resulting in something partial and redefined.

Australia's post-war idealism changed to cold war confrontation and fear with astonishing rapidity. As Richard White observes,

. . . that was the future's last great fling in Australia. As disillusion set in, talk about a new social order declined as, in precise inverse proportion and at exactly the same time, advocacy of 'the Australian way of life' increased, an admission that radical change was no longer possible.⁵⁸⁶

There were a number of "future-oriented slogans" that survived, however. These included "'progress', 'development', 'growth' and a rising standard of living", but no longer implied social change.⁵⁸⁷ It has been argued in this thesis that the metaphors of utopia used so freely by forties reformers were applied more literally during the long boom; utopia was now a place one might visit on vacation, a 'paradise' that could be found on the map. Nature functioned as the tangible manifestation of utopia, which was no longer characterised by social reform. This version of utopia – this paradise on earth – was to be enjoyed in instalments as a reward for service to industrial capitalism. Increasingly, one's capacity to enjoy leisure was limited, or increased by purchasing power. Thus 'the Australian way of life' emphasised leisure, not labour, but through leisure Australians became greater consumers. Social class was as easily expressed through conspicuous leisure consumption as through one's relationship to production.

The modernist commitment to decentralisation that had been so important, and had seemed so necessary to visions of a streamlined future was one of the least achievable goals of post-war reconstruction. While some elements of the program of reconstruction, such as the weekend and the creation of recreational open space from 'wasteland'⁵⁸⁸ were successful, it proved

E. Pahl observed developing around Western cities in 1965, in his *Urbs in Rure*, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, 1965

⁵⁸⁵ State Planning Authority of New South Wales, *Sydney Region: Growth and Change*, SPA, October 1967, p 75

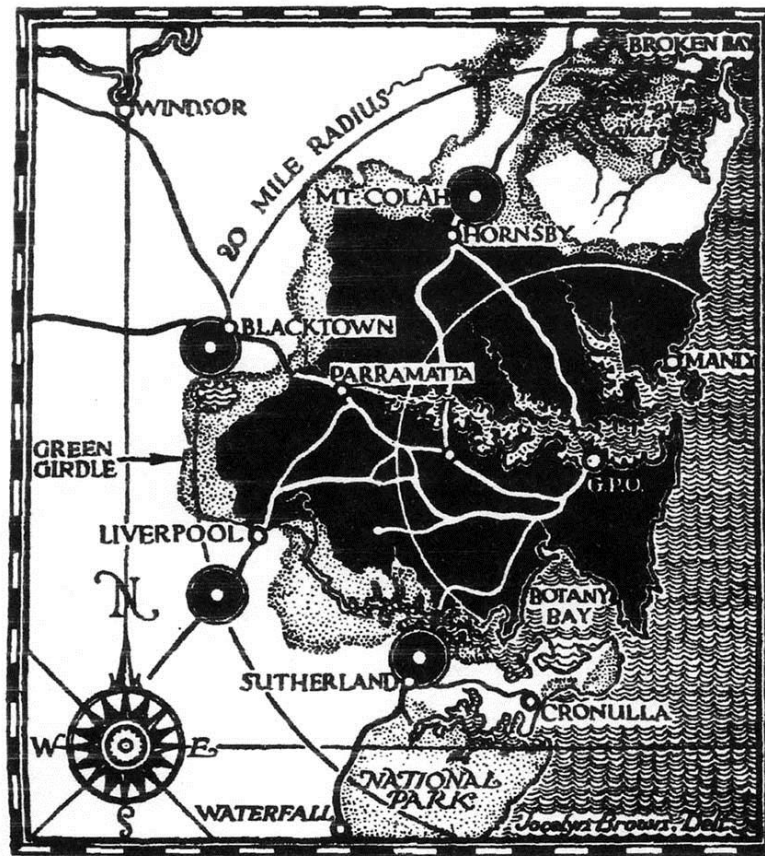
⁵⁸⁶ White, op. cit., p.532

⁵⁸⁷ White, op. cit., p.532

⁵⁸⁸ A term referring to land's value to urban capital, not to ecological values

more difficult to achieve any real decentralisation and in Sydney it was found that such measures and especially a green belt could not compete with the expanding city.

Everybody's policy and nobody's practice: decentralisation during the long boom



A. J. Brown et al., *Town and Country Planning*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Vic., 1951, p.289

To some extent this was due to prevailing boom conditions, and to a lack of consensus on the meaning of decentralisation. Planner R. S. Luke had called for the formation of a National Planning Committee which would “overcome existing deficiencies in decentralisation machinery”⁵⁸⁹ but no such committee was formed. State Labor and the Federal Coalition were vocal in support of decentralisation, but by the mid fifties little had come of decentralisation programmes. On the floor of the State Parliament Geoffrey Robertson (MLA, Barwon, C.P.) observed that

The only mention one hears now of decentralisation is the shifting of an industry, say, from Redfern to Sutherland . . . These are dangerous times and an enemy's first blow at Australia would be an attack on Sydney from the sea. One bomb would rapidly decentralise it.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁹ ‘Decentralisation — is it possible or desirable?’, *API Bulletin*, September 1956, p.8

⁵⁹⁰ *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates*, 1 Sept 1954 3rd Series Vol.9, p.150 - Crawford had been a Sergeant

Dudley Gordon Padman (MLA, Albury, Lib.) observed that Sydney was “bloated and overgrown”, and that the State Government had “aggravated the complaint”.⁵⁹¹ In October 1957 E. D. Darby (MLA, Manly, Lib) told the State Parliament that the Labor government had encouraged the disease of “Metropolitis” which discouraged ambition and encouraged “the perversions and distortions of character, the delinquencies and the general decay of moral fibre.”⁵⁹² *The Bulletin of the Australian Planning Institute* recorded frustration at the lack of incentives offered to industrialists to decentralise within the State.⁵⁹³ In 1966 the Vernon Committee of Economic Enquiry reported that there did not appear to be a good argument for funding the decentralisation of industry, since previous attempts were not productive, although some larger centres were worth expanding.⁵⁹⁴ The Commonwealth’s efforts under the conservatives were no more impressive. In 1969 Gough Whitlam observed, with an unreferenced nod to Max Neutze, that

Decentralisation hitherto has been a cause commanding lip-service from all political parties and effective action from none. The Country Party is the most vociferous peddler of nostrums for decentralisation and the group with most to lose from the results of decentralisation. Australia for the past 19 years has been ruled by a Liberal-Country Party coalition government which at all times has resisted taking the initiative in new developments. It has resisted above all taking the initiative in Matters such as decentralisation, where little or nothing can be achieved until the Commonwealth assumes the leading role.⁵⁹⁵

While the Snowy River Hydro Electricity Scheme allowed the Federal Government to claim substantial activity in decentralisation, in practice decentralisation languished under successive federal Liberal governments.

With the arrival of Whitlam and Uren’s Commonwealth Department of Urban and Regional Development there was again some support for decentralisation through the establishment of new towns. Albury Wodonga was one area to give expression to this initiative (‘Vittoria’, between Bathurst and Orange, would never amount to more than some concrete curbing). The early seventies were, perhaps, the last flourish of decentralisation in Australia. Several papers

with the 2nd AIF; Robertson’s North Western New South Wales electorate was in decline.

⁵⁹¹ *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates*, 6 Oct 1954, 3rd Series Vol.9, p.877

⁵⁹² As reported in ‘Metropolitis and its cure’, *The Braidwood Review and District Advertiser*, p.1.

⁵⁹³ ‘Industrialists would decentralise if given encouragement’, *The Bulletin of the Australian Planning Institute*, No.9, March 1955, pp.2, 8

⁵⁹⁴ Winston, op. cit. (2) p.11, refers to the *Vernon Report*: Vol.1, para. 17.17, May, 1965.

⁵⁹⁵ E. G. Whitlam, *An Urban Nation*, Inaugural Leslie Wilkinson Lecture, Sydney University Architecture Society, 1969

were given at a University of Adelaide seminar in support of a Murray new town in 1972.⁵⁹⁶ *The Age* ran a poll that found that four out of five Victorians felt that Melbourne would be “less liveable” if it grew any further. Respondents favoured the Albury Wodonga development.⁵⁹⁷ The *Australian Financial Review* ran an article in its property section headed “Planners warned more will join exodus from big cities.” It seems there was evidence of an exurban exodus; evidence which worried the chronicle of capital and its chronicler John McIlwraith who reported that “Australians were leaving, or would like to leave Australia’s big cities.” Apparently people were migrating to the smaller capital cities, and also to non-metropolitan areas of Australia. According to Mr. R. B. Landsdown, the secretary of the Commonwealth Department of the Environment, Housing and Community Development “of 24,000 people who left Sydney between 1966 and 1973, half went to other parts of NSW and the other half left the State.”⁵⁹⁸ Landsdown explained the phenomenon in terms of consumer preferences, not planning,⁵⁹⁹ and alluded to changing “social attitudes” that heralded a reaction against cities.⁶⁰⁰ A survey of 1000 households conducted by School of Earth Sciences, Macquarie University, determined that 55 per cent of those surveyed said they would live outside Sydney in a non-metropolitan area. 25 per cent said they would move to Bathurst or Orange.⁶⁰¹ We may deduce that the other 25 per cent had something else in mind when they dreamed of a place in the country. A report in *The Age* seems to contradict this conclusion.⁶⁰² According to ACF Vice President, J. Blanch, “with plans now being entertained to implement the old Australian dream of decentralisation and the more recent hope of ameliorating city problems the time is overdue to get public debate started on life styles and the nature of community living.”⁶⁰³ Blanch wondered at the economics of the proposed development, however. Despite the assurances of Neutze, it was difficult to promote decentralisation and even where it had been affected the results were sometimes problematic. For instance Adelaide’s post-war satellite, Elizabeth, so dominated by General Motors Holden and so

⁵⁹⁶ Whitelock, Derick and Corbett, David (eds.), *City of the Future: The Murray New Town Proposal*, Publication No.33, Department of Adult Education, The University of Adelaide, 1972

⁵⁹⁷ *Age* Poll, 20.9.78, p.5, Noel Butlin Archives, N134/2873 (*The Age*’s questions were leading, however)

⁵⁹⁸ *Australian Financial Review*, 18.3.76, Noel Butlin Archives, N134/2873

⁵⁹⁹ R. B. Landsdown, secretary of the Commonwealth Department of Housing and Community Development addressed the fifth National Congress of the Urban Development Institute of Australia, at the Sheraton Hotel, Perth, W.A., 2.35 pm Friday, March 12, 1976

⁶⁰⁰ R. B. Landsdown, op. cit.

⁶⁰¹ M. F. Daly ‘A study of migration potential, Bathurst Orange Growth Centre’, Cities Commission, Canberra, July 74, Ch 3

⁶⁰² ‘Lure of city hits country shift: report’, *The Age*, 16.6.75, Noel Butlin Archives, N134/2873

narrow in its class composition, was far from utopian. The Whitlam government's commitment to decentralisation would be limited to an expansion of Albury Wodonga – as mentioned earlier, no new town appeared between Bathurst and Orange. The conservatives were unimpressed with Whitlam's plans; as Whitlam himself had pointed out, regionalism and decentralisation had as much to do with transforming electorates as with transforming the nation.⁶⁰⁴

Where decentralisation had in part occurred there were unforeseen problems. Decentralisation of the masses to suburbs proved not to be the panacea that some had hoped for. W.G. Faithfull began to think that the “nostalgia for the rural life” that was behind the popularity of the suburbs was an impediment to “showing what true town life could be.” Contrary to the hopes of reformers, delinquency had decentralised along with the population. “It would be interesting to know”, Faithfull wrote “how much of this apparent lack of control in the home is due to the tensions and fatigues parents suffer in the lengthening and more difficult journey to work.”⁶⁰⁵ Planner Walter V. Abraham declared that ‘Hell is a Suburb’ and called for a return to high density,⁶⁰⁶ adding to a body of left-wing criticism of suburbia “filled with visions of false consciousness”.⁶⁰⁷ Among the early urban consolidators, a young Harry Seidler proposed a model town inspired by Walter Gropius. Looking to Le Corbusier, T. Andrezejaczek wrote that suburbia was a cultural defeat that might be avoided through a higher density of population coupled with effective decentralisation.⁶⁰⁸

Planning, in the form it had taken in the post-war years, truly was an anachronism in the ‘50s. Planner L. T. Fraser (Deputy Chief Engineer, Melbourne City Council) observed in 1951 that “the era of the rigid Master Plan, like the idealistic plan, has passed. Hundreds of cities have prepared Master Plans and promptly filed them away.”⁶⁰⁹ Planning needed to be more practical, more reactive to urban expansion. In 1957 Professor Winston advised planners that

⁶⁰³ NBAC: Australian Conservation Foundation Files, N134/296

⁶⁰⁴ Richard Strauss, ‘States of mind: agitation and disappointment in the New States movement’, *Locality*, Winter 2002, pp.11-16

⁶⁰⁵ W. G. Faithfull, ‘The Australian Suburb’, *API Bulletin*, June 1958, p.11

⁶⁰⁶ Walter V. Abraham, ‘Hell is a Suburb’, *API Bulletin*, June 1958, pp.21-22, p.21

⁶⁰⁷ Spearritt, op. cit. (2), p.106

⁶⁰⁸ T. Andrezejaczek, op. cit., p.29; the success of le Corbusier's Algerian high rises proved debatable, as did Sydney's at Redfern/Waterloo

⁶⁰⁹ L. T. Frazer, ‘Town planning notions of the Western world’, *The Town and Country Planning Institute of*

they were too preoccupied with ideals, whereas it would be better to concentrate on “the real purposes of planning . . . we get carried away with our enthusiasm and build hydrogen bombs, atomic submarines and space ships instead of learning how to bake bread and grow cheap potatoes.”⁶¹⁰ Winston’s was a remarkably candid account of the devolution of planning in the ‘50s. Planning in general was overwhelmed by boom conditions; town and country planning had been transformed from a moderate answer to more radical doctrines, such as Marxism, to a branch of microeconomics. A decade later the Professor argued the old case with something approaching despair, speaking of

. . . a total lowering of environmental standards which will make life more tiring, more frustrating, more noisy, more nerve-racking even than it is at present. I am thinking of air pollution, the loss of open spaces, of trees, of views, of natural beach and bush land; I am thinking of traffic congestion that will make our present congestion seem negligible, and of the time and distance to go to work that will make the journey ever more exhausting . . . Above all I am thinking of the social problems that are likely to arise, which I consider to be the most important of all: The problems of people – a kind of restless, nomad community – feeling that they do not belong, feeling that there is no hope of things getting better, feeling that they cannot contribute anything or do anything about it, that the system is so vast that it is quite beyond them, so that they no longer care what happens at the Town Hall, or in the Municipal Council Chambers. This separation of what is meant to be a democratic, contributing population, this divorce of the great majority of the people from the decision-making processes, is one of the gravest difficulties of Megalopolis.⁶¹¹

It was frustrating, then, trying to mitigate the effects of urbanisation.

Australia Bulletin, Vol.3, No.4, May 1951, pp.1-3

⁶¹⁰ Denis Winston, ‘Where Have We Got To With Planning Today?’, first Sidney Luker Memorial Lecture, *API Bulletin*, Dec. 1956, pp.4-8, p.8

⁶¹¹ Winston, op. cit. (2), p.12

Trouble in the County of Cumberland

“Irreparable harm has already been caused by the announcement of “plans” which never passed the drawing board stage.”⁶¹²

If planning in general suffered setbacks and intellectual revision, in Sydney the planning scheme for the County of Cumberland was especially troubled. At a political as well as ideological level the Cumberland County Council was fraught with difficulties. The Cumberland County Council Planning Scheme was compromised and delayed to the extent that it was an anachronism before it was brought into force. Perhaps it was an anachronism even before then, for in many ways it was an imperial plan for a post-war Australia where imperial ideals were already obsolete and reactionary. The Council’s problems compounded, ministers changed and the Council lost favour with the State Government.⁶¹³ The *Sydney Morning Herald*, while acknowledging that “government agencies and councils” were frustrating the Cumberland County Council, editorialised on the failings of the Cumberland County Council and its green belt:

More than any other feature of the Cumberland plan, the Green Belt has given rise to uncertainty, scandal and injustice to property owners. The reason has been precisely the failure of the Government and the Cumberland County Council either to stick to the original Green Belt plan or to make final modifications to it. Piecemeal “rezonings” have encouraged councils and land speculators to feel that the Green Belt, far from being inviolable, was fair game, with results just as unhappy as might be expected.⁶¹⁴

The Sun-Herald reported that developers such as the Hawker-Siddeley group were buying up rural lands around Sydney, “gambling on the chance that the land would be rezoned residential.”⁶¹⁵ The Liberal opposition had called for the abolition of the Cumberland County Council in 1953, and for its “review” in 1956.⁶¹⁶ Part of the problem was that the Cumberland County Council was the product of a compromise between disparate visions. The post-war planning of Sydney was initially to be overseen by the Town and Country Planning Advisory Committee, a creature of the State government attached to the Department of Local Government. Objections from the Local Government Association led to the formation of a

⁶¹² Cumberland County Council, op. cit., p.6

⁶¹³ Harrison, op. cit. (3), p.29

⁶¹⁴ Editorial, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16.3.59, p.2

⁶¹⁵ *Sun-Herald*, 3.1.60., p.19

⁶¹⁶ *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates* 10 Sept 1957, 3rd Series Vol.21, p.432; Freestone, op. cit., p.72

County Council, British in appearance but with an Australian precedent in the control of water hyacinth.⁶¹⁷ To some at the Department of Local Government the Cumberland County Council was “an upstart local government” charged with metropolitan planning.⁶¹⁸ The Minister for Local Government, P. D. Hills preferred to consult the Town and Country Planning Committee (TCPC), the body originally charged with the planning of the County of Cumberland, and which perhaps harboured some animosity to its successful rival. Hills was not sympathetic to the Council’s vision for the green belt, favouring use by the Housing Commission and “other developers”.⁶¹⁹ These had proven voracious subdividers, supplying houses on quarter acre blocks to Sydney’s growing and poorly housed population.⁶²⁰ Spearritt notes that Hills’ decision was a ‘triumph for developers’ but that the Water Board could not provide services in the areas proposed for release.⁶²¹ Certainly, the green belt principle held no attraction for the dominant ALP right wing, concerned as it was with housing its constituents and unsympathetic to the Anglophile niceties of the Cumberland Plan. It has been suggested by some (and denied by others, as discussed below) that the vulnerability of the green belt was the Council’s greatest problem. At least it can be said that in the green belt the Council appeared most out of step with the Australian way of life as it developed through the long boom. From the outset the Council found it difficult to fix precisely the boundaries of the green belt, due to a lack of resources. Annual reports complained of a shortage of funds. Constituent councils were not forthcoming with contributions, and allowed much development in contravention of the scheme.⁶²² Without the resources to define accurately the boundaries of the green belt, most of the Council’s meagre funds went to compensation payments and on the business of granting exemptions from the green belt zoning.⁶²³ In 1953 and without the Council’s approval the New South Wales Government rezoned open space at Kurnell for a Caltex oil refinery and released some green belt land for development by the Housing Commission.⁶²⁴

It is argued in this thesis that the recreational goals of post-war reconstruction were largely overwhelmed by a process of commodification; this was not the greatest problem facing the

⁶¹⁷ Freestone, op. cit., p.70

⁶¹⁸ Harrison, op. cit. (3), p.29

⁶¹⁹ Hills’ view, as reported by George Clarke when interviewed by Paul Ashton in Ashton, op. cit. (2), p.28

⁶²⁰ Spearritt, op. cit. (2), pp.93-98

⁶²¹ Spearritt, op. cit. (3), p.188

⁶²² Allport, op. cit. (1), p.65

⁶²³ *SRNSW: AK415, EPA 122; SRNSW: AK415, EPA 123*

Cumberland County Council, certainly, but it frustrated their efforts markedly. Planning in general had suffered reverses. In Sydney the Council was beset with problems, and in the green belt there was an erosion of the principal of rational zoning as premature subdivision took place and ultra-low density suburbia formed where it remained intact. While open space, the provision of parkland and the green belt were difficult features of the scheme, the Council's green belt was particularly vulnerable to the shift in the political economy of leisure.

By 1959 the Cumberland County Council was scouring the green belt for 12,000 acres to satisfy the demands of the Department of Local Government;⁶²⁵ Sydney's population had grown at nearly twice the rate forecast in 1948. On Friday the 28th of August, 1959 the Planning Committee of the Cumberland County Council boarded a tourist coach for the purpose of inspecting the latest of residential releases to be excised from the green belt. A running commentary was given by an officer of the Council, but there was no official statement of the Council's impressions or intentions regarding the release.⁶²⁶ The green belt was by then moth-eaten,⁶²⁷ with patches of suburban purple through its stippled green rurality. On the 22nd of December, the new Minister for Local Government P. D. Hills released 46 square miles from the green belt, now "virtually eliminated."⁶²⁸ Hills acted on the advice of the Town and Country Planning Advisory Committee, headed by the post-war ideologue Walter Bunning.⁶²⁹ The Council retained the power to sanction variations to zoning in the remaining rural areas of the region according to Clause 52 of the scheme ordinance; Hills used section 242Y of the Local Government Act to suspend the rest of the scheme. Late in 1963 the State Planning Authority was formed, replacing the Cumberland County Council entirely in 1964.⁶³⁰ Public reaction to the break-up of the green belt was mixed. Harrison noted that the popular reaction to the release of green belt was "unexpectedly hostile, but the only organised

⁶²⁴ Harrison, op. cit. (2), p.70

⁶²⁵ Harrison, op. cit. (2), pp.74-5

⁶²⁶ Hornsby Shire Council, *Minute Book*, President's report, Ordinary Meeting No.18/59 3rd September 1959. No.4130

⁶²⁷ Harrison, op. cit. (2), p.70

⁶²⁸ Harrison, op. cit. (2), p.75

⁶²⁹ Freestone, op. cit., p.73

⁶³⁰ Harrison, op. cit. (2), pp.79-86; Harrison also dates the Council's abolition as being in 1963 in Harrison, op. cit. (3), p.31; H. E. Maiden notes that the Council was not dissolved until 1st June 1965, Maiden, op. cit., p.264; when interviewed by Harrison, Nigel Ashton commented that the Cumberland County Council Ordinance had never actually been abolished, *SRNSW: AK415, Q 994.41*

opposition, led by Milo Dunphy, came from the NSW Chapter of the RAIA (Royal Australian Institute of Architects).⁶³¹ Sydney architect Lyle Dunlap wrote in the *Herald* that

No man in his senses can contemplate the unlimited growth of modern cities without feeling that somewhere they must stop. Cities have become so large that it has become impossible for public utilities and transport to keep pace with demands. The countryside has been pushed out of reach of the average city dweller. Precious agricultural land has been destroyed.⁶³²

Dunlap rearticulated the principles of the green belt, arguing that they were sound but had not received support. There had been overwhelming pressure for rezoning, particularly from prejudiced legislators and ‘mediocre men in public life’ and the “State Housing Commission, which has overwhelmed and poisoned thousands of acres of land with dull, monotonous little boxes with no charm.”⁶³³ The architect argued that the green belt be redefined, but firmly and speedily.

It is noted above that planners assumed wide public support, particularly where they were concerned to maintain open space, but in this they were not always justified. Peter Spearritt has noted that the green belt ‘caught the public’s imagination’,⁶³⁴ but it is not certain that the scheme was received with complete approval. Residents affected by the green belt zoning wrote to the Council to point out extensive parkland and open space which already existed in their localities. The Council could only reply that the green belt and open space were complimentary, but distinct zonings.⁶³⁵ Evidently, the scheme was not as well understood as the Council would claim.⁶³⁶

Whereas planning was increasingly hard pressed to provide leisured space to urbanites, mobility and affluence made space more generally available. To many conservatives this was as it should be. T. C. Andrezejaczek wrote in *Quadrant* that

⁶³¹ Harrison, op. cit. (3) p.31

⁶³² Lyle Dunlap, ‘Difficulties of green belt land’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31.3.59, p.17

⁶³³ *ibid*, p.17

⁶³⁴ P. Spearritt, *Planning Sydney’s Future*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1988, p.22

⁶³⁵ *SRNSW: AK415, 125/15 - EPA 29*

⁶³⁶ The Cumberland had often cited public support, and claimed that the public was generally well apprised of its aims and strategies. Indeed, the scheme had been well exhibited and advertised. Denis Winston commented: ‘I have long thought, and said, that the Cumberland County Council were at fault in not making available to the public a simple account of their work to explain the purpose of the Planning Scheme and tell us what has been achieved so far. Now the Chairman, Counsellor Luke, has asked me to write this account, though I have warned him that I shall say exactly what I think.’ – Denis Winston, op. cit. (3), p.vii; Spearritt, op. cit. (2), p166

It was at the end of the nineteenth century that people decided to leave overcrowded cities and take advantage of modern means of transport and communication to go towards the open country in order to enjoy the fresh air and the privacy of which they had been deprived.⁶³⁷

Andrezejaczek objected to the culture resulting from the flight from the city, a compromise between city and country and a people whose identity lay irrationally between. Production and population was increasingly to be centred in cities, despite policies of decentralisation, but the population of the cities were decentralised in their residence and leisure; planning either confronted or adapted to this phenomenon. Ecologists have come to describe the extent of industrial influence on an ecological region as an 'ecological footprint';⁶³⁸ we see in post-war Sydney the spread of a suburban footprint. It will be argued that the decentralisation of leisure followed much the same pattern as suburbanisation, extending the suburban footprint much further than the subdivisions of the cities hinterland.

In their residential choices Sydneysiders showed a preference for dispersal to suburbs. Assuming a rational market, Sydney's expansion can be interpreted as a simple model of supply and demand with some government regulation. This simple model, however, does not explain the myriad anomalies of suburban expansion. Daly's study of the Sydney property market reveals comparatively high housing costs in outer suburbs in 1915, 1925 and 1935, implying higher demand for outer suburban properties.⁶³⁹ Between 1911 and 1921 the City of Sydney lost 7580 of its population. Subsequently the City of Sydney's population declined from 193,103 in 1954 to 159,188 in 1966. In the same period, Leichhardt fell from 64,919 to 59,325; Marrickville from 78,261 to 76,763; and North Sydney from 56,768 to 51,754. One might argue that this was due to increased commercial or industrial activity, and therefore altered land use in these areas; but commerce, shopping and industry were also decentralised in this period.⁶⁴⁰ Sydney has not expanded strictly in accordance with population pressure, but to meet demand for new settlement. Both Daly and Burnley have used census information to show that Sydney has a predominantly ethnic centre.⁶⁴¹ Burnley finds that "in considering the

⁶³⁷ T. C. Andrezejaczek, op. cit., p.25

⁶³⁸ For a full discussion of the city's relationship to its environment see Ian Douglass, *The Urban Environment*, London, Arnold, 1983; Spenser Havlick, *The Urban Organism: The City's Natural Resources from an Environmental Perspective*, Macmillan, New York, 1974; Martin Melosi, 'The place of the city in environmental history', *Environmental History Review*, Spring 1993, pp.1-23

⁶³⁹ Maurice T. Daly, op. cit., pp.165, 170, 171

⁶⁴⁰ *ibid*, p.184-5

⁶⁴¹ *ibid*, p.172-189; Ian Burnley, 'The Geography of ethnic communities' in Shirley Fitzgerald and Garry

ethnic and cultural attributes of the population, the Australian-born of Australian-born parents do not comprise a majority.”⁶⁴² Among Anglo-Celtic Australians, those claiming ‘Australian’ ancestry are to be found in greatest numbers in the outer suburbs.⁶⁴³ Burnley includes the parenthesised observation that ancestry to an extent reflects *identity*,⁶⁴⁴ suggesting that outer suburbia might be inherent to an Australian identity. Daly gives the percentage of migrants in Local Government Areas for 1954, 1961, 1966, 1971, and 1976. Throughout, ethnic populations have been concentrated in the inner suburbs with a further, limited dispersal due west. In 1976 the ethnic populations of Penrith and Cabramatta, the highest ethnic populations on the suburban fringe, were between 11 and 15 per cent. The inner suburbs boasted contemporaneous ethnic populations of over 35 per cent. An inverse reading of Daly’s figures suggests that the Anglo-Celtic population of the northern and southern outer suburbs was somewhere between 89 and 94 per cent.⁶⁴⁵ While both authors give scholarly consideration to the process of migrant settlement of the inner suburbs, little has been said on the Anglo-Celtic migration to the suburban frontier. To what extent were these Anglo-Australians pursuing the Australian way of life in the suburbs?

This pattern of dispersal and expansion has long been recognised by planners as a characteristic of city growth. In 1903 Richard Hurd noticed a definite, if complex structure operating in the formation of American cities.⁶⁴⁶ His own observations echoed Von Thunen’s on agricultural land prices, in that a pattern was identified as radiating from the centre. After Hurd, Burgess and Hoyt made refinements of similar models. Models generally attempt to account for changes in land or housing prices, describe the effect of services, especially of roads, on urban development, and may or may not suggest ways in which equitable outcomes can be achieved in town planning via manipulation of inputs to the models generated. In this the quantitative modelling system resembles more general economics, in the division of positive and normative theory. By the late seventies there was enough complication on the original debate for one geographer, James Bird, to publish a bibliography on centrality and

Wotherspoon (eds.), *Minorities: Cultural Diversity in Sydney*, State Library of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 1995, pp.174-91

⁶⁴² *ibid*, p.174

⁶⁴³ *ibid*, p.175

⁶⁴⁴ *ibid*, p.174

⁶⁴⁵ Maurice T. Daly, *op. cit.*, p.180

⁶⁴⁶ Graham Hallet, *Urban land economics: principles and policy*, Macmillan, London, 1979, Ch. 6

cities.⁶⁴⁷ He recommended R. E. Pahl (1968) for an overview of literature dealing with the “urban centre — rural periphery boundary”.⁶⁴⁸

Others had observed the complementary development of ‘exurbs’. Geographers have defined outer urban settlement as being either perimetropolitan or exurban, with particular reference to the United State of America. Ian Burnley and Peter Murphy note:

. . . the urbanised edges of cities plus the spaces into which they expand, both physically and functionally. Their outer boundaries are defined by the extent of commuting city jobs. These regions typically consist of what were traditionally called suburbs and, further out, freestanding urban centres set in a matrix of rural land.⁶⁴⁹

Beyond this, at ultra low densities, is exurbia.⁶⁵⁰ While urban development spread in the form of pink shading across the Cumberland Scheme’s maps, ‘exurban’ settlement spread beyond the bounds of the newly shaded areas. Hugh Stretton described such settlement of the west and northwest:

The municipalities of Kuringai in the north and Liverpool in the south-west represent the present extremes of settlement, and segregation. They are models of what is intended for the new rich in the north-west at Pennant Hills Valley, and for 360,000 new workers now, and doubtless more later, on the Western plain.⁶⁵¹

In America A. C. Sectorsky had called these “the exurbanites”, residents of a commuter belt beginning in the hamlets of New England and populated by executives and their wives.⁶⁵² The middle-classes reinterpreted suburbia and rebuilt it on a larger scale. A growing population of urbanites turned to rural residence, assisted by the motor car and decentralised services and employment. We might call this population ‘exurban’, ‘counter-urban’ or ‘rural-residential’. If Mumford was correct in asserting that the suburban idyll was lost with mass production and the advent of the automobile, exurbia was an attempt to recapture this exclusive idyll at lower density. Despite the complexity of exurbia, and its apparent peculiarity to the post-industrial city, there was really nothing new in the rural residential phenomenon, and the planners of the Cumberland could well have anticipated the problems which would beset rural zoning. In the sixties, Pahl described the development of country squiredom among the new rich of

⁶⁴⁷ James Bird, *Centrality and Cities*, Routledge, London, 1977

⁶⁴⁸ *ibid*, p.102

⁶⁴⁹ Ian Burnley and Peter Murphy, ‘Exurban development in Australia and the United States: Through a glass darkly’, *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, Vol.14, No.4, 1995, pp.245-254, p.245

⁶⁵⁰ *ibid*, p.249

⁶⁵¹ Stretton, *op. cit.*, p.259

London,⁶⁵³ and its evolution to contemporary times. Rural squiredom had boomed in Sydney at Homebush and Strathfield with the extension of a train service late last century.⁶⁵⁴ With the growing accessibility of the motor car, the Cumberland schemers could have anticipated the residential use of rural zoning.

The search for the new non-suburb had the paradoxical result of extending the suburbs further. Natural ‘beauty’ attracted artistic types, followed by developers. Novelist Ruth Park commented on the attractions of the Dharug National Park:

Across the river the Dharug National Park begins almost at once, yet on the land available, precipitous as a castle wall, the developer has begun to hang his dreaded notices. *For Sale* in this tumbled slide of sandstone boulders, *For Sale* this hanging forest inhabited only by scrub birds, possums and the ghosts of bushrangers.⁶⁵⁵

The more beauty was in demand, the more it was settled to the detriment of beauty. Robin Boyd saw this as the great tragedy of urban expansion. Boyd saw this ‘process of uglification’ as endemic:

Long before civilisation reaches out to the beautiful region a few non-conformists find it, love it and make sympathetic, uncomfortable homes among, and possibly of, the trees. Often these pioneers are artists, some complete with canvas and some content to talk about it. Then comes the first wave of domestication. The people are still comparatively non-conformist, artistic and sympathetic, but they have families and want a house and garden of reasonable conventional form. Like the pioneers, they were attracted to the area by its natural beauty, but unlike the pioneers they do not realise – simply because they never analyse it – what makes the beauty. They are not wanton, but in the course of solving the practical problems of making a comfortable shelter, several trees may have to go . . . Then all the remaining native trees come crashing down before the bulldozers, and soon rows of cottages and raw paling fences create a new landscape. The time required for this metamorphosis varies from place to place, but once any man sets his eyes on any pretty place in Australia the inexorable process of uglification begins.⁶⁵⁶

Natural beauty made way for recreation as well as the arts. In 1969 it was observed that the National Fitness Council was as keen on bulldozing trees as were developers.⁶⁵⁷ In 1957 Gwen Kelly wrote in *Meanjin* that “mushroom growths slowly but steadily swallowed the green of

⁶⁵² A. C. Spector, *The Exurbanites*, J. B. Lippincot Company, New York, 1955

⁶⁵³ Pahl, op. cit. (2); see also Fairbrother, op. cit., pp.74-6

⁶⁵⁴ Martin Pluss, ‘The Evolution of Strathfield’, in Ian Burnley and James Forrest (eds.) *Living in Cities: Urbanism and Society in Metropolitan Australia*, George Allen & Unwin, Geographical Society of New South Wales, Sydney, 1985 pp.40-5

⁶⁵⁵ Park, op. cit., p.208

⁶⁵⁶ Boyd, op. cit. (1), pp.35-36

little used golf courses and river flats and swept away the gums of the bushlands that had fringed for long years the outer suburbs of Sydney. The golf courses and river flats were largely the preserve of the Housing Commission.”⁶⁵⁸

The importance of the frontier to settlers of developed suburbs is often missed, simply because there is very little rational basis for such yearnings. Broadacre development of urban release areas is clearly urban expansion. Lyn Richards’ sociology of a newly settled Melbourne suburb, given the pseudonym ‘Green Views’ reveals a contradictory and unsustained aspiration for an ill-defined ‘country atmosphere’ among many settlers.⁶⁵⁹ The results of a survey indicate that 67 per cent of residents had decided on the locale partly because of the suburb’s ‘country atmosphere’. This contrasts with the low priority given to proximity to friends, family and employment, which were 21 per cent, 27 per cent and 47 per cent respectively. The dominant motive was home ownership, rating 94 per cent. Home ownership, the Australian dream of private capital accumulation, is attainable, whereas country atmosphere is at best intangible and at worst non-existent, especially where home ownership implies reaping the unearned increment through further development. ‘Country Atmosphere’ was an important tool in marketing the estate, linked only symbolically to agricultural production. To the residents of Green Views, country atmosphere meant cleanliness, privacy and prestige. To a few it also meant a village type community. The extent to which it also meant strategic open space and trees can only be inferred. It should be noted here that trees and strategic open space have been a feature of anti-urban urban planning, at least since Ebenezer Howard’s response to the industrial city. In Green Views the illusion of country living was soon eroded, which caused a good deal of discomfort.⁶⁶⁰ The country atmosphere of ‘Green Views’ was both illusory and ephemeral.

A rural atmosphere of sorts was maintained within the green belt, although sometimes at the expense of agricultural production; the scheme’s rational demarcation of zones was disrupted. The blurring of production and consumption was anathema to forties planning. It was certainly

⁶⁵⁷ William Ashton, ‘A treeless expanse’ (letters), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28.11.68, p.2

⁶⁵⁸ Gwen Kelly, ‘Portrait of a new community’, *Meanjin*, No.4, 1957, pp.399-402, reproduced in A. Birch and D. S. Macmillan (eds.), *The Sydney Scene 1788-1960*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Vic., 1962, p.368

⁶⁵⁹ Lyn Richards, *Nobody’s Home: Dreams and Realities in a New Suburb*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1990, p.4

⁶⁶⁰ Richards, op. cit., pp 30-31

contrary to the wisdom of planning's great patriarch, Sir Patrick Abercrombie, who wrote in his textbook on planning that "there should be no attempt at fusion or confusion between the two: town should be town, and country country; urban and rural can never be interchangeable adjectives".⁶⁶¹ Abercrombie had argued that increasingly mobile urbanites would avail themselves of a second country residence as a reaction to their urban lives, that "the improvement in towns and closer living-in, paradoxically, means more country cottages in spots as isolated as possible."⁶⁶² Abercrombie had not anticipated that these second residences might become a commuter belt. Such blurring was not new, however. Mary Antoinette's Picturesque Jardin Anglais at Versailles is an early example of the mimicry of rustic life, complete with a village of eleven thatched cottages, some fake.⁶⁶³ In suburbanised democracies citizens could conflate production and consumption. The average suburban backyard could be converted to agricultural production. *The Garden and Home Maker of Australia* of 1930, for instance, told its readers that they should "cease being a consumer; become a producer", and that "we are approaching a realisation of what can be done with a very small piece of ground within the vicinity of a great city like Sydney".⁶⁶⁴ Still experiencing war-time shortages, Sydneysiders may have recalled such advice. Indeed, they may have sought to act on it in moving to the suburbs. In the boom, however, many might have forgotten the advice yet still enjoyed the luxury of a little production, or the potential for it. Zones of agricultural production could also be converted to backyards. Urbanites had been making forays into hobby farming throughout the Western world since the late nineteenth-century. In 1908 American agricultural booster Bolton Hall disparaged "the 'gentleman farmer' who runs a model farm, a model of how not to do it, for, notwithstanding its large capital, it seldom pays."⁶⁶⁵ By the close of the long boom 'rural residential' living was well entrenched in Australia. In 1975 the (Commonwealth) Department of Urban and Regional Development commissioned a report by Claire Wagner that began:

Rural leisure on the aristocratic English pattern typified colonial Australia, when Vice-Regal establishments built summer residences in the country. However, for people with more moderate means

⁶⁶¹ Abercrombie, op. cit., p.177

⁶⁶² *ibid*, p.200

⁶⁶³ Andre Lablaude Pierre, *The Gardens of Versailles*, Zwenimer, London, 1995, p.153

⁶⁶⁴ 'The Suburban Farmer', *The Garden and Home Maker of Australia*, 1.4.30, p.274

⁶⁶⁵ Bolton Hall, op. cit., pp.18-19

the seaside house or shack has long been the most typical second home. With population pressures, and the suburbanisation of the coastal areas in recent years, people have begun to look inland.⁶⁶⁶

Rural retreats, it was predicted, might become commuter belts.⁶⁶⁷ In this Wagner was correct, although future settlement would be predominantly on the coast. The Cumberland County Council was initially opposed to the spread of Pitt Street farmers to the green belt it had envisaged supplying fruit, vegetables and recreational opportunities to Sydney.

The planner's chief problem with suburban residences in rural land is one of definition. Wellings, Smith and Byrnes discuss problems of definition in *Development of a Model for Estimating the Demand for Land for Rural Residential Subdivision*, positing a tentative definition themselves.⁶⁶⁸ *The Rural Land Evaluation Manual* defines rural residence as a "broad acre land use class".⁶⁶⁹ Where a planner's agenda is urban containment rural residential development may represent the fragmentation of land, hampering efficient urban development.⁶⁷⁰ Areas of extensive rural residential development may indeed be considered to be ultra low density suburbs, and as such are quite contrary to the goal of urban consolidation. To agricultural planners rural residential development entails the fragmentation of prime agricultural land. None of the classic zones identified by Burgess, discussed earlier, allow for such development.⁶⁷¹ Burnley and Murphy note that the 'land rent model' located the most expensive property close to the urban centre, but that this was no longer the case. Production and population have decentralised.⁶⁷² Patrick Troy defends the amenity of the quarter acre block but dismisses as insignificant the occurrence of rural residences.⁶⁷³ That rural residential development can be at once extensive, low quality, expensive, and insignificant to planning is an odd claim. In the 1991/92 financial year houses in non-urban areas surrounding Sydney accounted for 11 per cent of the distribution of house commencements. If a significant

⁶⁶⁶ Wagner, op. cit., p.2

⁶⁶⁷ Wagner, op. cit., p.3

⁶⁶⁸ Wellings, Smith and Byrnes, *Development of a Model for Estimating the Demand for Land for Rural Residential Subdivision*, NSW Department of Environment and Planning, Sydney, 1985

⁶⁶⁹ Ross Woodward and Fergus Neilson (eds.), *Rural Land Evaluation Manual: A manual for conducting a rural land evaluation exercise at the local planning level*, NSW Department of Environment and Planning, Sydney, 1981

⁶⁷⁰ Richard Cardew with Anne Cameron, *Land Market Supply Relationships, A Report prepared for the NSW Department of Housing at the Centre for Environmental and Urban Studies*, Macquarie University, North Ryde, 1988

⁶⁷¹ Burgess in Hallet, op. cit., p.99

⁶⁷² Peter Murphy and Ian Burnley, 'Socio-demographic structure of Sydney's perimetropolitan region', *Journal of the Australian Population Association*, Vol.10, No.2, November 1993, pp.127-144, p.130

proportion of these houses are taken to be rural residential the success of urban containment policies seems questionable. Rural residential development occurs at approximately one thirtieth of the densities deemed desirable in current urban planning. That is, 11 per cent of Sydney's development required around 30 times the space used by the remaining 89 per cent.⁶⁷⁴

Agricultural bureaucrats have not often welcomed hobby farmers.⁶⁷⁵ The Department of Agriculture defines rural residential development as a dwelling outside an urban area but not situated on a land parcel large enough to provide a living to its occupant through agricultural production. The basic flaw in this definition is that the relationship of farm size to actual production is extremely variable. For instance, Hawkins has shown that a farm of five hundred hectares can be an economic liability, with the farmer's only hope of survival lying in subdivision for the rural residential market.⁶⁷⁶ Climate, soils, terrain, economic conditions and management are at least as important to agricultural viability as the size of the farm. The defence of agriculture against the urban was frustrated by the diversity of rural holdings.⁶⁷⁷ A tax concession might benefit a Pitt Street farmer, and zoning might enrich the speculator. Some rural landholders were claiming rate reductions as they were 'urban farms' under Section 118(4) of the Local Government Act (1919); claims often doubted by local councils.⁶⁷⁸ The rural context of the green belt, as a zone of primary production, diminished in importance with the advent of refrigerated transport and consumer white goods. We might consider at length the implications of refrigerated transport and vacuum packaging on agribusiness, of the shopping centre on consumer behaviour, but the suburban perspective was neatly described by the advertisers of the 'Crosley Kitchen Freezer':

Now at last you can take the longed for holiday you've always planned — away from family cares, away from home. It's so easy with a Crosley Kitchen Freezer. At your leisure, prepare the meals they'll need

⁶⁷³ Patrick Troy, *The Perils of Urban Consolidation*, The Federation Press, Canberra, 1996, p.31

⁶⁷⁴ Figures from Cardew, *UDP Shares Update 1985/86 to 1991/92*, Macquarie University, Graduate School of the Environment, 1992, p.9

⁶⁷⁵ Hawkins, 'Agricultural land and the realities of farm economics', *Review of Marketing and Agricultural Economics*, Vol 54 No.3 1986

⁶⁷⁶ *ibid*

⁶⁷⁷ *NBAC: Australian Farmers' Federation Files, N18/256*, The Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Canberra, Australia, 'Classification of rural holdings by size and type of activity 1959-60', Bulletin No.7 — Australia

⁶⁷⁸ Campbelltown Municipal Council, *Minute Book*, Ordinary Meeting, 5.8.58, p.10

while you're away. Then store them in your Crosley Kitchen Freezer. You can be sure the food will open up flavour-full and appetising, with all the vitamins retained. . .

Take a holiday, too, from daily shopping. Spend less time in the kitchen — planning, preparing, cooking and serving meals. There's leisure ahead for you, the whole year round, when you freeze, store and preserve with a Crosley Kitchen Freezer.⁶⁷⁹

No longer a zone of essential primary production, unless it could be adapted to consumer based recreation the green belt was vulnerable to suburban settlement.

In addition to the unintended residential development, the intended dual purpose of Sydney's green belt, combining farming and recreation, was fraught with tension. Rural retreaters obstructed recreation on their hobby farms, and farmers themselves were not amenable to the idea of a dual use on their freehold property. Wagner noted that

In the last days of Sydney's green belt, surviving farms were distinguished by 'Keep out' notices, with warnings of savage watchdogs and shotguns. Avoiding the socially divisive effects of a rural-urban confrontation will be a prerequisite for success in planning growth regions.

Australia lacks traditions of access to rural land on the lines of the ancient English rights of way, which entitle any pedestrian to traverse privately owned farmland.⁶⁸⁰

Even in Britain, where there were traditional rights of access, incursions on to farms were unpopular with farmers.⁶⁸¹ Yet as discussed earlier the London green belt was envisaged as a dual purpose zoning. Similarly, in the United States the rationalisation of 'recreational' land use in rural areas had more clearly defined the boundaries of private property.⁶⁸² Farmers on Sydney's fringe found the newly mobile visitors to their lands an annoyance. For instance, the Australian Primary Producers' Union demanded stiffer penalties for rubbish dumpers.⁶⁸³ Around Sydney, as urban recreational demands on rural land became more intense, tensions developed over rights of access. Farmers resented trespassers, but also those country-lovers who sought to curb intensive farming practices.⁶⁸⁴ To educate the urbanite, the Australian

⁶⁷⁹ Crosley Kitchen Freezer advertisement, *Sun-Herald*, 3.3.50, p.4; The technology that rendered local agricultural produce less important meant that the urbanites' hunting and angling dividends could be frozen – for instance, see 'Fish-Freezing', *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.16, No.3, January 1957, p.25

⁶⁸⁰ Wagner, op. cit., p.39

⁶⁸¹ Fairbrother, op. cit., p.80

⁶⁸² Greer, op. cit., p.168

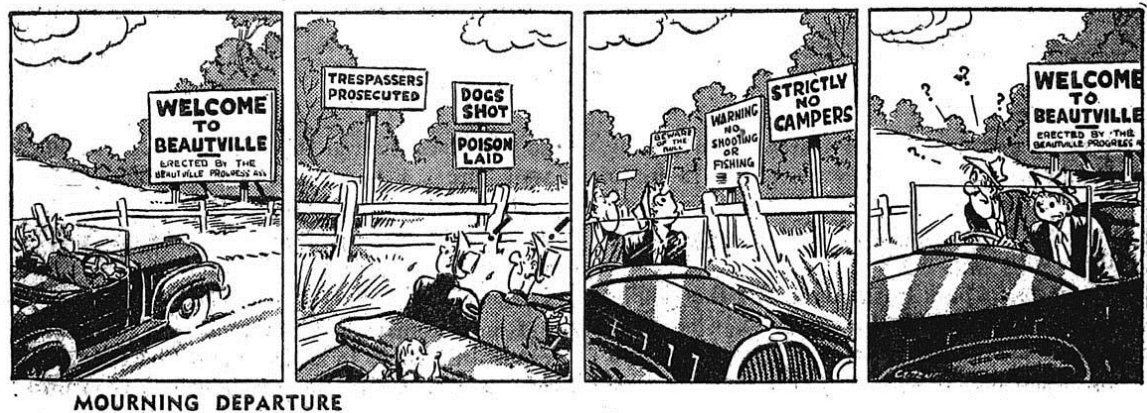
⁶⁸³ Campbelltown Municipal Council Minutes, Ordinary Meeting 4.3.58, p.1

⁶⁸⁴ Fairbrother, op. cit., p.84

Institute of Agricultural Science drafted a “Countryside Code” to educate the city visitor.⁶⁸⁵ In 1953 R. J. Schuller asked the editor of *Outdoors* where he could fish in NSW without “being put out by the station owner”. The editors’ reply hinted at an urban disregard for the rights of rural property:

Fishing is not allowable on private property without the owner’s permission. It is a rarity for owners to forbid access to fishing and hunting if first approached before operations. Accede to direction given by the owner and do not abuse the privilege of access in any way.⁶⁸⁶

Rural residents on Sydney’s fringe resented waking to the sound of gunshot. In 1958 one such interrupted sleeper, a Mr. Jackaman, had the intruder charged with discharging a firearm on private land. The defendant, Vince Corsi of Bigge Street, Liverpool, had been shooting rabbits.⁶⁸⁷ In 1962 *Outdoors* writer Wal Hardy complained that “of our inland waters, a big proportion of the foreshores are out of bounds to the average angler because of the property owners’ right to proceed against trespassers.”⁶⁸⁸ Landowners had long been at an advantage when it came to shooting, especially in duck season when hunters headed out of the cities in “all kinds of conveyances”,⁶⁸⁹ and the right to exclude the public was increasingly exercised. This was no longer the paradise E. J. Brady had described at the turn of the century, where it was “regarded as an act of meanness to refuse a sportsman permission to shoot over private property”.⁶⁹⁰ Bluey and Curley certainly found access limited:



*Bluey and Curley Annual*⁶⁹¹

⁶⁸⁵ Wagner, op. cit., p.40

⁶⁸⁶ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.10, No.11, March 1953, p.302

⁶⁸⁷ *Campbelltown and Ingleburn News*, 29.7.58, p.8

⁶⁸⁸ Wal Hardy, ‘Anglers versus spearmen — and now . . . the problem of the speed boat’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.27, No.3, July 1962, p.46

⁶⁸⁹ Percy Buckley, ‘Shooting’, in Gordon Inglis (ed.), op. cit., pp.80-8

⁶⁹⁰ E. J. Brady, op. cit. (1), p.140

⁶⁹¹ Alex Gurney, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, The Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne, 1951, no page number

If planners had gone into the post-war period with a notionally military mindset, they continued to think in such terms when they were ‘embattled’. Freestone expands on this theme, writing that the Council became “more defensive . . . The Cumberland County Council valiantly stuck to its guns with what remained of the green belt.”⁶⁹² Cumberland planner Rod Fraser told the *Sydney Morning Herald* that “we have to hold the line . . . from now on the green belt must be permanent.”⁶⁹³

The troubles of the green belt showed that recreational space needed a function – to be integrated into the emergent ‘way of life’ as more than a rural background. Cumberland (and later Canberra) planner Peter Harrison recalled

. . . that great rear-guard action that Rod Fraser was conducting to establish the principle of development contributions . . . in the new subdivisions as a consequence of the Green Belt abolitions. Monaghan (who replaced Haviland as Under Secretary to Local Government) was unenthusiastic . . . Rod said that he described them as creeping socialism.⁶⁹⁴

As a direct response to green belt releases, the Cumberland County Council and affect local councils sought to include an alternative rurality in the new subdivisions. The major concerns of Sydney’s peripheral shire councils were to maintain lot sizes at one quarter of an acre,⁶⁹⁵ to enforce Tree Preservation Orders in areas of new development, and to seek a developer’s contribution to a park land fund. This last measure was intended to maintain acceptable levels of public open space in the new suburbs.⁶⁹⁶ Councils set this at the rather arbitrary figure of 10 per cent, to be paid to Council by the developer in money or kind. Like planners world-wide, the Council attempted to adapt to new circumstances. Rod Fraser succeeded in ensuring that new subdivisions would be planned and provided with civic amenities such as parks and schools, and developers should fund water and sewerage reticulation.⁶⁹⁷ Creeping socialism or not, this would later become an accepted and widely expanded practice, known among planners as an ‘s.94’. If this wasn’t a form of rural smallholding, it was certainly good for the likes of Victa Motor Mowers:

⁶⁹² Freestone, op. cit, p.73

⁶⁹³ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24.3.59, p.1

⁶⁹⁴ *SRNSW: AK415, Q 994.41*, Harrison in an aside while interviewing Nigel Ashton

⁶⁹⁵ This was something of a misnomer by this time since the traditional ‘quarter acre’ was more likely to measure one sixth.

⁶⁹⁶ Hornsby Shire Council, *Minute Book*, Ordinary Meeting No.15/59, 23rd July 1959, No.4085, and Ordinary Meeting No.18/59, 3rd September 1959, No.4130

⁶⁹⁷ Harrison, op. cit. (3), p.31



698

Industry could obviously benefit from such market intervention, and developers such as G. J. Dusseldorp gave their support.⁶⁹⁹ Dusseldorp, it might be argued, acted out of enlightened self interest, Lend Lease benefiting greatly from planned releases. In 1970 Lend Lease Homes advertised developments at Carlingford, Campbelltown and Penrith Park Estate.⁷⁰⁰ In a letter to Jack Munday, Dusseldorp revealed the extent to which he valued the interaction of corporations and the state, calling for the nationalisation of the central business district and the empowerment of the state to compulsorily redevelop city property.⁷⁰¹ This was certainly not creeping socialism; to Dusseldorp it guaranteed corporate profits. In 1983 Harrison commented that the developer contributions, under s.94 of the NSW Planning and Environment Act, were “being pressed beyond the point of absurdity”.⁷⁰² Here again, the Council had formalised the process of urban expansion where its original intention had been to contain it. A self described ‘moderate neo-classicist’ in 1985, Richard Cardew argued that development charges were not passed on to consumers, but were borne by the developer.⁷⁰³

⁶⁹⁸ See Appendix 1, Sydney Classified Listings

⁶⁹⁹ Harrison, op. cit. (3), p.31

⁷⁰⁰ *Gregory's Sydney Street Directory*, 1970, p.163; in 2004 Lend Lease are still building suburbs with parkland, albeit on land that some had hoped would be all parkland at St Mary's – see discussion above

⁷⁰¹ *NBAC: Builders' Labourer Federation Green Ban File, Joe Owens Papers, Z235, Box 15*, Correspondence

⁷⁰² Harrison, op. cit. (3), p.31

⁷⁰³ Richard Cardew, ‘Have we been operating under the wrong paradigm? A reinterpretation of urban residential property markets’, in Ian Burnley and James Forrest (eds.), *Living in Cities: Urbanism and Society in*

Wherever the burden of cost lay, it was now apparent that the salaries of planners were linked directly to urban development, not containment. The Council's insistence on detailed local planning fostered the growth of an 'outsourced' planning industry.⁷⁰⁴ Planning was thus professionalised; where planning had once been the domain of those drawn from the ranks Australia's *Who's Who*, the profession became a means of gaining entry into that publication.⁷⁰⁵

The Council's lack of institutional support, its lack of finance and the evident vulnerability of the scheme in such key areas as the green belt were the result of an ideological shift. By the close of the fifties, Sandercock observed, the "Cumberland Plan seemed anachronistic and inflexible in the context of Sydney's rapid postwar growth."⁷⁰⁶ Post-war planning, perhaps not so universally popular as is popularly remembered, had begun to fade in the new order of things. *The London Economist* reported that "in less than five short years the town planners' dream had faded - or would have done so, had they not been too busy making and remaking plans to notice their unreality."⁷⁰⁷ The Cumberland's scheme and post-war plans in general had fallen victim to the prosperity that had come of reconstruction. The media turned away from visionary plans and became critical of their failure, celebrating instead the tangible success of 'progress'.⁷⁰⁸ The Council's troubles were manifold. Peter Harrison observed that "the County Council never became part of 'the ring' of departments and authorities where the workings of the apparatus of government,"⁷⁰⁹ and complained that "these authorities regarded the new Council as a three-year wonder, lower down in the organisational pecking order than the Henry George Society."⁷¹⁰ Spearritt observes that the Water Board at least had some cause

Metropolitan Australia: Urbanism and Society in Metropolitan Australia, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1985, pp.160-171, p.169

⁷⁰⁴ Freestone, op. cit. p.73; According to Sydney's classified listings (See Appendix 1, Sydney Classified Listings) there were 9 private planning consultants in Sydney in 1955, 23 in 1965 and 13 in 1975

⁷⁰⁵ Sandercock notes the class origins of town planning associations in Sydney as being from a diverse but fairly elite set of men; Sandercock, op. cit. (1), pp.19-20; Spearritt notes that middle class reformism had a significant impact on ALP policy in Peter Spearritt, 'Sydney's "slums": Middle class reformers and the Labor response', *Labour History*, No.26, May 1974, pp.65-81

⁷⁰⁶ Sandercock, op. cit., p.178

⁷⁰⁷ (The answer was 'economic stringency'), 'The town planners' dream', extract reprinted from *The London Economist*, *The Town and Country Planning Institute of Australia Bulletin*, Vol.3, No.3, April 1950, p.1

⁷⁰⁸ 'Progress', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25.8.57; the column appeared regularly in the Herald during the late fifties, in this case celebrating the achievements of the water board – a body that had far better anticipated the growth of Sydney's population than had the CCC.

⁷⁰⁹ Harrison, op. cit. (2), p.70

⁷¹⁰ Harrison, op. cit. (1), p.63

to be grateful, but that the Department of Railways virtually refused to acknowledge the plan.⁷¹¹ To the political isolation of the Council should be added the ascendant conservatism of the Menzies era, and of the spreading suburbs themselves. Freestone notes that the “real timebomb ticking under the Cumberland County Council in the 1950s came from the post-war baby boom and international immigration”,⁷¹² these were also products of post-war reconstruction, to which might be added the increasingly conservative political economy that came with the affluence of the long boom.⁷¹³ Beginning outside the institutions of reconstruction, the Council seemed unable to gain access thereafter. Nigel Ashton, former head of the State Planning Authority, suggests that Stan Haviland (Under-Secretary for Local Government) might have secured federal funding had he not delayed the request until after the change of government “. . . for reasons best known to himself”.⁷¹⁴ It is generally agreed that the three year delay between the presentation of the report and its approval was disastrous.⁷¹⁵ The Council did not integrate with programs of decentralisation, limited though such programs were. In 1951 visiting English planner, Professor W. G. Holtford told the Town and County Planning Institute that “there is very little link between the regional development, the industrial development and the town planning — the complementary process of building up communities — perhaps because no one is working on the machinery to produce these complimentary activities.”⁷¹⁶ When approached by the New South Wales Housing Commission concerning a possible satellite city at Minto the Council advised the Commission that residential land was still available within the boundary set by the green belt, and that a satellite town was therefore unnecessary.⁷¹⁷ Freestone has observed that

. . . development of satellite towns was deferred to the long run. The planners were wary of them as an untried concept in Australia and felt that few of the existing outlying towns lent themselves to easy expansion. They believed that predicted population growth could be accommodated within existing and new residential areas in the main built-up area.⁷¹⁸

⁷¹¹ Spearritt, op. cit. (2), p.168

⁷¹² Freestone, op. cit., p.71

⁷¹³ Judith Brett, *Robert Menzies' Forgotten People*, Sun Australia, Sydney, 1993

⁷¹⁴ Nigel Ashton interviewed by Harrison, *SRNSW: AK415, Q 994.41*

⁷¹⁵ Harrison, op. cit. (2), p.67; D. Winston, op. cit. 3, p.59

⁷¹⁶ W. G. Holtford, ‘Planning and Australia’, *The Town and Country Planning Institute of Australia Bulletin*, Vol.3, No.8, September 1951, pp.1-3

⁷¹⁷ *API Bulletin*, August 1957, p.19; H.E. Jackson M.L.A., N.S.W., (Gosford) contended that the land at Minto was better suited to grazing and suggested his own electorate would be a more suitable sight, given the coming electrification of the rail line. *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates* 28 Aug 1957, 3rd Series Vol.21, p.190

⁷¹⁸ Freestone, op. cit., p.70

But there is evidence to suggest that at least some on the Council's staff hoped for an aggressive decentralisation campaign led by state and federal governments. George Clarke, writing in 1960, contradicts the view expressed by Fraser, arguing that the planners rejected the Minto proposal "... because they believed that the State Government should act on a large scale to create major satellite cities between fifty and two hundred miles away from Sydney."⁷¹⁹ Harrison attributed the failure of the green belt to a lack of alternative satellite development, but argued that a state-wide new cities program was hardly within the Council's control.⁷²⁰



Minto, investigated, c.1965⁷²¹

The extent to which the success of the Council's 'dream' had depended on the implementation of the scheme, and the significance of the green belt to the scheme, were (and still are) topics of debate. Despite the Council's failure to preserve a green belt, it did have success in acquiring open space, decentralising industrial employment, and in introducing "some semblance of rationality" to the process of local planning and in limiting the premature release

⁷¹⁹ W. George Clarke, 'Policy conflicts in the green belt controversy', *The Australian Quarterly*, Vol.32, No.4, Dec. 1960, pp.27-38

⁷²⁰ Harrison, op. cit. (1)

⁷²¹ *SRNSW: AK415, EPA 253, FH 136*

of unserviced land on the urban fringe.⁷²² For some, however, the loss of the green belt meant an end to the county scheme. The Council's repeated redefinition of the green belt boundaries were viewed as a 'lottery' for land speculators, and the Council's prevarication did little to instil public confidence in the scheme. In March 1959 the *Sydney Morning Herald* declared that "no other single factor has contributed more to the undermining of public confidence in the Cumberland County Council than the continuous release of land zoned as green belt for new subdivisions."⁷²³ The Chief County Planner, Counsellor Luke declared in the 1956 annual report that

The Green Belt . . . is in my firm conviction, one of the vital components of the County Scheme, the preservation of which must be maintained at all costs. Without it, the indescribable sprawl and indiscriminate development of the metropolis cannot be controlled, nor can decentralisation be brought about. Indeed, it is the very foundation of the county scheme.⁷²⁴

Counsellor Luke was immediately succeeded by Counsellor Scutts as Chief Planner; Scutts insisted that the boundaries of the green belt should be set and respected.⁷²⁵ Historian Ian Alexander writes that the green belt was "to be the undoing of the Cumberland County Council", that planners had underestimated "the power of the land market and the appeal of the suburban dream."⁷²⁶ The erosion of the green belt is certainly a dramatic illustration of the Council's decline, but the green belt itself was not the cause of the scheme's failure. As Leonie Sandercock has argued, "it would be more accurate however to regard the green belt release as a symptom of more basic problems involving the composition and powers of the Cumberland County Council."⁷²⁷

'Achilles' heel' or not, nowhere was the Council's predicament more obvious than in its management of the green belt, and it was here that the rear-guard actions were the fiercest. In 1963 the Cumberland County Council conducted a survey into the 'social aspects of planning', identifying the "five acre farmlet", where country homes were built but where no primary production occurred, as a cause for concern. The Cumberland County Council had lost confidence in the green belt as a haven for agriculture, and there were increasing concerns over what the press termed "misery farms", these being genuine agricultural concerns which were

⁷²² Freestone, op. cit., p.71

⁷²³ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31.3.1959, p.17

⁷²⁴ *SRNSW: AK415, EPA 123, CCC Annual Report*

⁷²⁵ Harrison, op. cit. (3), p.31

⁷²⁶ Ian Alexander, op. cit., p.103

not thriving, as opposed to the five acre farmlets which were. Much of the land zoned as green belt was not arable,⁷²⁸ which added to the confusion surrounding its role in the scheme. Dr J. F. N. Murray, chairman of the Federal Valuation Board, contended that five acre bush blocks were a fire hazard.⁷²⁹ Spearritt observes that the remnants of the green belt “became a conduit for fires” in 1994,⁷³⁰ vindicating Murray’s concerns of thirty five years earlier. A survey of the green belt at Fairfield revealed that much land had fallen into disuse, and “that the present situation is unstable and is oriented towards early release for residential purposes . . .” If the green belt was to be maintained alternative uses needed to be found, such as “large scale recreation (e.g. golf courses) institutional uses, and country dwellings for Pitt Street farmers.” The first two uses, the surveyor advised, might account for some of the land in question, and ‘Pitt Street Farmers’ might be relied upon to preserve the Baulkham Hills green belt, but perhaps not the less picturesque areas at Fairfield, Blacktown or Liverpool.⁷³¹ By 1963, five acre blocks – “25 normal size lots for the price of one!” – were being marketed explicitly to potential “Pitt Street Farmers” for the erection of their “ranch style home”.⁷³² These were certainly advertised by realtors:

⁷²⁷ Sandercock, op. cit. (1), p.185

⁷²⁸ Freestone, op. cit., p.70

⁷²⁹ ‘Green Belt Could Be ‘Fire Belt’’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17.3.59, p.12

⁷³⁰ Spearritt, op. cit., p.267

⁷³¹ *SRNSW: AK415, EPA 123*, Cumberland County Council Annual Report (& Draft), 1956.

⁷³² Advertisement for land at Llandillo, *Daily Telegraph*, real estate, 27.7.63, p.11

LAND FOR SALE SATURDAY DAILY TELEGRAPH JULY 27 1963 REAL ESTATE 11

HOMESITES — FIVE ACRES — 49 MINUTES TO CITY

BECOME A PITT ST. FARMER!



25 NORMAL SIZE LOTS FOR THE PRICE OF ONE!!

SYDNEY (49 MINS TO KINGSWOOD)

PARRAMATTA
NORMAL SIZE HOME SITES. SELL TO £2000.

ST. MARYS

5 ACRE HOMESITES (EQUV 25 NORMAL SITES) FOR SALE

KINGSWOOD

LLANDILLO

FROM £38 DEPOSIT AND £2/17/6 wk. REDUCIBLE INTEREST

YOU GET THESE IMMEDIATE BENEFITS

With five glorious acres ideally suited to take your Ranch style home. Healthy atmosphere; calm carefree living is yours. At really bedrock prices.

FOR THE FUTURE

What an investment! BUY BEFORE PRICES SOAR YOUR CHILDREN WILL BENEFIT

FIVE ACRES FOR FR. £695 FULL PRICE

28 LOTS ALL UNDER £995

FR. £38 DEPOSIT FR. £2/17/6 PER WEEK

5 YEARS REDUCIBLE INTEREST

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE

RING 89-2293 or 44-5892 ANYTIME—ALL WEEKEND

JOHN L. NICHOLS & CO., 67 Castlereagh Street, Sydney. 28-2331

INSPECT WET OR FINE

Meet Rep. 200yds. the City side of Kingswood Station. Look for red-and-white signs—5-ACRE HOMESITES. Greg. Ref. Map 113, 89; Sub. 61, D5.

SAT. & SUN., 8 a.m.—5 p.m.

JOHN L. NICHOLS & CO., 67 Castlereagh Street, Sydney.

Please rush me full details, plan and price list on the five-acre homesites at St. Mary's, Kingswood, WITHOUT OBLIGATION.

Mr/Mrs/Miss

ADDRESS

Phone

Daily Telegraph 27.6.1963, p.11

The Council had arrived at a subtopian solution to the crisis that beset its vision. According to the planners who took over at the State Planning Authority,

There can be little doubt that, in view of widespread car ownership and the high value of suburban land, without zoning control, the rural areas would have been subdivided to form a vast outer 'subtopia' covered with scattered dwellings in pseudo-rural surroundings. Dirt roads, and lack of most services, would have been the general rule for these areas. The County Plan has preserved much of the rural character of the County, though hardly on a scale to provide diversity of employment. The majority of the work force in the rural towns within the region are commuters.⁷³³

Whereas Ross had used the term 'subtopia' to describe Canberra in 1963, Lort-Phillips applied it to the quasi-rurality he saw in his native England; the SPA had found a use for the term in Sydney where both meanings applied.

The Council found itself in a position similar to that of the Baltimore landowners described by William H. Whyte in 1968, who “saw a good bit of development as inevitable, but . . . also wanted to keep the estate-country flavor and if they could not have the best of both worlds, they wanted some of each.”⁷³⁴ Considering the example of the London green belt, Whyte advised that the “only way open land can be maintained against growth pressures is function.”⁷³⁵ An indication of the extent to which the notion of a green belt of agricultural production around Sydney had been abandoned by the time this advice was published can be seen in the State Planning Authority’s proposal to rezone the banks of the Hawkesbury River as Recreational Open Space. Despite the failure of planned natural amenity, some semblance of the dream was still available as a private commodity or local privilege. As Geoffrey Bolton observed, the “moderately affluent could still afford to create a favourable environment in their own homes and suburbs, and would ensure that comely rural and coastal environments remained for their enjoyment.”⁷³⁶ Perhaps it wasn’t so important to maintain agricultural production, after all, so long as the rural scenery was preserved. In 1970 British planner Nan Fairbrother held that most urbanites wouldn’t know the difference, that “most modern country-lovers are now several generations out of touch with farming, and therefore see the country as a charming view, not as working land . . .”⁷³⁷ Sydney’s rural scenery attracted tourism, the “visual consumption” of the environment.⁷³⁸ The quest for visual amenity harked back to the work of colonial landscape painters and photographers, who were not averse to felling a few trees in order to achieve a truly pleasing view of nature.⁷³⁹ Sydney’s rural lands might be privately owned by urban commuters, but so long as they appeared to be rural they served a purpose as sites of cultural rather than agricultural production. Tourism requires that sights are identified, elevated and signposted. MacCannell has called this a process of ‘site

⁷³³ State Planning Authority, op. cit., p.75

⁷³⁴ William H. Whyte, *The Last Landscape, Garden City*, Doubleday and Company, New York, 1968, p.112

⁷³⁵ *ibid*, p.157

⁷³⁶ Bolton, op. cit. (2), p.176; retreats such as Byron Bay have not escaped development, however, despite their patronage by the wealthy.

⁷³⁷ Fairbrother, op. cit., p.80

⁷³⁸ John Urry ‘The tourist gaze and the environment’, *Theory, Culture and Society*, Vol.9, No.3 August 1992, pp.1-26, p.1

⁷³⁹ Tim Bonyhady, *The Colonial Earth*, Miegunyah Press, Carlton, Vic., 2000, pp.192-216

sacrilisation'.⁷⁴⁰ In this there was still a role for planning, creating and codifying a rural atmosphere rather than protecting agriculture.

In the sixties Sydney was developed according to 'Interim Development Orders' issued by the State Planning Authority. The SPA still assumed a certain amount of space to be healthy, and its provision was now built into subdivisions. In 1967 the SPA observed that increased affluence and increased mobility would lead to increases demand for open spaces, and that these could be divided into "regional open space such as national parks, where the object is to retain the best of the natural landscape for people to enjoy" and local open space which should occur at about 10 acres per 1,000 population.⁷⁴¹ National parks had long been, and were increasingly significant as a field of urban interaction with nature, with a massive boom in suburban national parks which complemented urban expansion. In 1966 Denis Winston argued that the need for open space had increased along with urban affluence, and that

A fortunate society, an affluent and mobile society with better education, with more leisure, and an awakened interest in the world, demands every kind of recreational opportunity as never before. As the urban areas spread, with higher densities, more concrete, more machinery, more noise, more artificiality, but less trees and open space, there will be a great flow of people to the bush, beaches, forests and mountains in search of fresh air, quiet, and the contrast and the solace of nature.⁷⁴²

In the following year the prelude to the State Planning Authority's, *Sydney Region: Growth and Change* argued that Sydney needed room to grow from 2.7 million to 5 million by the end of the century. An overall density of 10 persons per acre was deemed desirable, so it followed that between 190,000 – 230,000 acres were needed. This would allow for institutions, low density suburbs and parkland; it was "to be expected as space needs per capita are rising."⁷⁴³ The SPA sought to direct rather than limit this outward thrust. Whereas the County Plan had provided for a "green web and the outlet for major roads of the county transport system, preserving the identity of the urban districts, providing the means for physical recreation of district populations and preserving much of the County's best natural scenery,"⁷⁴⁴ this was not what the successor to the Council's Scheme intended. The SPA stipulated that only very small strips of land were needed to separate communities, and that open space could be divided into

⁷⁴⁰ cited in Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.xxv

⁷⁴¹ State Planning Authority, op. cit., p.33

⁷⁴² Denis Winston, op. cit. (2), pp.14-15

⁷⁴³ State Planning Authority, op. cit., p.20

⁷⁴⁴ Cumberland County Council, op. cit., p.65

regional and local open space. The former included national parks while the latter needed to be immediately accessible to communities.

At the conclusion of the long boom a series of open space audits were undertaken around Sydney, and particularly in the hinterland of the city. In 1976 investigators declared that the demands on Sydney's south-west had increased rapidly, and were likely to increase further. This demand would have to be controlled and catered for if the area was to be "retained, conserved and protected".⁷⁴⁵ There was thus an urgent need for State Recreation Areas, National Parks and parks and playgrounds.⁷⁴⁶ Fortunately the decline of agriculture had allowed a growth in camping, caravan and picnic parks, which were privately owned but fairly cheap.⁷⁴⁷ The SPA had identified the Georges River Gorge as being suitable for recreation, and substantial tracts of regional open space had been declared around the new cities of Campbelltown, Appin and Camden. Although it was felt that "complete protection of the area could only be achieved by total acquisition", the State Planning and Environment Commission was unable to acquire private land deemed to be suitable for conversion to open space, so two forms of zoning were developed within the area, one private and one public. The public space was the 'Open Space Zone', while private land might be declared 'Scenic Protection Areas'.⁷⁴⁸ The need for open space was not so easily defined in the language of mid seventies planning consultants – there was no mention of the mental fitness of the population, as there had been in the Cumberland's report. "In general", wrote the consultants, "the role and function of *Regional Open Space* is not well defined."⁷⁴⁹ Regional Open Space was neither National Park nor Recreational Open Space. It was a place where the community might enjoy the natural environment through picnicking, bushwalking, swimming, boating, fishing, photography, bird watching, viewing, rock climbing and learning. Vehicular movement, horses and bicycles would be restricted and pedestrian access privileged.⁷⁵⁰ Requests were made for access to the

⁷⁴⁵ E. S. & S. Consultants Pty Ltd, *The Georges River Regional Open Space Study*, Campbelltown City Council, 1976, p.iv

⁷⁴⁶ Soros-Longworth and McKenzie Pty Ltd, *Effects of Water-Borne Traffic On the Environment of the Hawkesbury River*, New South Wales Government Inter-Departmental Committee, Soros-Longworth and McKenzie, Sydney, 1977, pp.13-14

⁷⁴⁷ *ibid*, p.16

⁷⁴⁸ E. S. & S. Consultants Pty Ltd, *op. cit.*, p.2

⁷⁴⁹ *ibid*, p.368

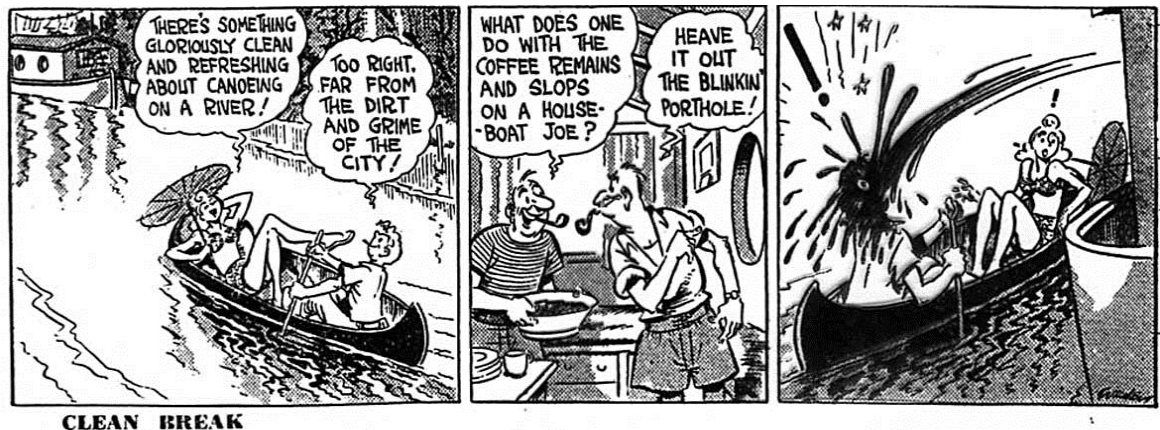
⁷⁵⁰ *ibid*, pp.371-3

land by scouts, pony clubs, church groups, soccer clubs, bowhunters and trailbike riders.⁷⁵¹ The consultants held that leisure time had increased dramatically, as had personal disposable income, levels of education, and mobility (thanks to the motor car). Compounding these quantifiable changes, there was also a change in “attitudes” that had led to greater demand for open space:

Frustration with metropolitan living, concern for the environment and yearning for naturalism have all influenced the upsurge in demand for natural bushland areas. A larger younger population with more leisure time, disposable income, education and mobility have greater opportunity and capability of participating in outdoor recreation and therefore the demand for this area of Open Space will increase.⁷⁵²

The consultants seemed to be avoiding the bold generalisations that characterised earlier planning, or perhaps it was simply that the new breed of consultant, such as these, were trained in the environmental sciences; E. S. & S. Consultants were consulting biologists and ecologists.

Provision was also made for recreational use of waterways, sometimes at the expense of commercial interests. The Hawkesbury River, for instance, attracted public use, government regulation and private investment.⁷⁵³ Conflicting interests were increasingly apparent:



*Bluey and Curley Annual*⁷⁵⁴

Commercial fishing was prohibited on weekends leaving the way clear for anglers.⁷⁵⁵ Water skiing had attained a degree of popularity in the mid fifties,⁷⁵⁶ but its expense made it a rather

⁷⁵¹ *ibid*, p.378

⁷⁵² *ibid*, pp.383-4

⁷⁵³ Soros-Longworth and McKenzie Pty Ltd, *op. cit.*, p.11

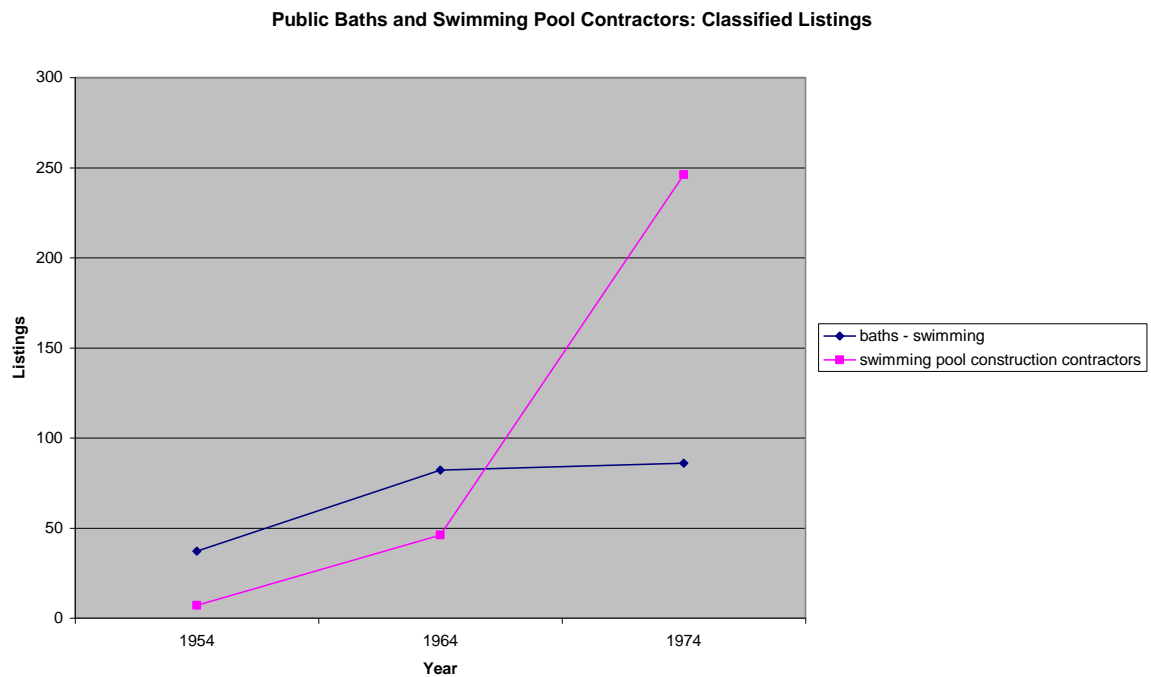
⁷⁵⁴ Alex Gurney, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, The Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne, 1951, no page number

⁷⁵⁵ Soros-Longworth and McKenzie Pty Ltd, *op. cit.*, p.11

⁷⁵⁶ ‘Water skiing is easy’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.14, No.1, November 1955, p.12

exclusive sport, arguments to the contrary notwithstanding.⁷⁵⁷ Increasing affluence made water skiing more accessible through the sixties.⁷⁵⁸ Waterskiers were not universally welcomed. Wal Hardy wrote in *Outdoors* that water skiers were yet another problem for anglers, who already had “maritime services, oil refineries, power stations, chemical factories and sewerage outflows” to contend with.⁷⁵⁹

If waterways and beaches were becoming remote and crowded, privately, Sydneysiders were building their own alternatives to the beach. The supplanting of public by private pools can be seen in the classified listings of public baths versus private pool builders:



760

Public investment had given way to substantial private capitalisation: this was pump priming indeed! Added to the incentive of a privatised indulgence, were also increasing disincentives to public bathing. Spearritt notes that “. . . as pollution problems sounded the death knell of harbourside and bayside public baths and made many near city beaches . . . increasingly unpleasant, the attractions of the backyard pool grew.”⁷⁶¹ While the health benefits of

⁷⁵⁷ ‘Who says water skiing is expensive?’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.18, No.1, November 1957, p.8

⁷⁵⁸ Waters, op.cit., p.427

⁷⁵⁹ Wal Hardy, ‘Anglers versus spearmen — and now . . . the problem of the speed boat’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.27, No.3, July 1962, p.46

⁷⁶⁰ See Appendix 1, Sydney Classified Listings

⁷⁶¹ Spearritt, op. cit. (2), p.226

municipal pools were well appreciated, some doubted their hygiene. In 1958 *The General Practitioner* editorialised on the dangers of thousands sharing bathing water in warm weather:

People who clean out emptied pools are not given to publishing their findings, though we have heard dark hints as to the unpleasant nature of the residues.⁷⁶²

Little wonder then that affluence was accompanied by a retreat from public bathing. The extent to which the affluent had taken up the private option could be seen in 1970 when Mutual Pools mapped the distribution of their pools, impressing the *Sydney Morning Herald*:

Firstly, because of the tremendous number of pools this map gives an accurate idea of the general pool market and it clearly shows that approximately 50 per cent of Sydney's private pools are north of the Harbour and the same number are on the south side.

It shows at a glance those areas in Sydney which have a high penetration of pools, such as St. Ives and Sylvania Waters.⁷⁶³

Given the importance of the local swimming pool to post-war reconstruction, this proliferation of private alternatives pointed to a looming civic crisis. It was a very long way indeed from the example of participatory democracy Chifley had found at Nurioopta in 1944, where the Barossa community had struggled to build a community swimming pool despite war-time shortages.⁷⁶⁴ Collectivism now found itself on the wrong side of Sydney's childproof fences.

The leisure needs of an urban population, not cultural ties to an agricultural mode of production, formed the basis of the new urbanism. Where the Australian Legend was based on a masculine, rural proletariat, the Australian Way of Life was based on the recreation of white-collar urbanites. The citizen was consumer and the state became guardian of open space, leisure time and nature. The environment was increasingly a site of consumption rather than production. Because of this shift in the national character, agriculture did not appear even as a consideration in the SPA's plan for 'growth and change'. Scenes of Australians cavorting on the beach replaced the images of sylvan beauty under threat. New National Parks, recreational open space, better transportation links and lower densities were to be the key to the Australian way of life in the context of increasing urbanisation.

⁷⁶² 'Inquiry urged on health risks in bathing pools', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26.8.58, p.13

⁷⁶³ 'The south side catches up', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21.6.70, p.29

⁷⁶⁴ H. C. Coombs, op. cit., p.61

Urban consolidation

Towards the end of the boom ideas on residential and recreational space were revised, and the extensive suburbia advocated by the Outline Plan gave way to calls for urban consolidation. Consolidation had been proposed by some during the long boom, but was less popular than either the low growth and green belt model favoured by the Cumberland County Council or the extensive suburban model of the *Sydney Region: Growth and Change*. A discussion of these early arguments for urban consolidation follows, with particular reference to consolidation and essential ratios of open space. Spearritt observes of the current debate that the “pros and cons of living in a flat versus living in a house have been much debated in recent years and the detached suburban bungalow still has its champions.”⁷⁶⁵

The County Scheme had sought consolidation of sorts, but not at high densities (except for the inner area slums, which were to be developed as high density estates). Defending the green belt architect Lyle Dunlap insisted that containment was necessary, but that “everyone is not going to be crammed into flats” and that there “will still be plenty of room for suburban development.”⁷⁶⁶ Cramming people into flats, after all, was not what either post-war reconstruction or the long boom were about. Some did advocate flats, however. In *Quadrant* T. Andrezejaczek argued that “inner suburbs and derelict parts of the city itself should be converted into modern estates with blocks of flats for single people and for families with up to three children.”⁷⁶⁷ In 1959 one Harry Howard of Asquith wrote to the *Sydney Morning Herald* to observe that “only by increasing suburban housing densities from the present four to a minimum of ten houses to the acre can public services be adequately and economically provided.”⁷⁶⁸ Soon afterwards the *Sydney Morning Herald*, having consulted R. D. L. Fraser, reported that this was indeed the plan; that “increased population would be accommodated either by higher densities in the inner suburbs or by the expansion of towns, such as Campbelltown, outside the Green Belt.”⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶⁵ Spearritt, op. cit. (2), p.105

⁷⁶⁶ Lyle Dunlap, ‘Difficulties of green belt land’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31.3.59, p.17

⁷⁶⁷ T. Andrezejaczek, op. cit., pp.29-30

⁷⁶⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19.3.59

By 1970 some international planners were advocating that the majority of dwellings be high density. British planner Nan Fairbrother wrote that

. . . the garden city is a reaction not a solution. For though city living has many problems, low densities do not solve but merely dilute them, diluting too the big-city environment which many of us treasure beyond any other, and creating in the process new and equally intractable problems. We shall not have come to terms with our urban state until we build high-density cities which are a pleasure to live in.⁷⁷⁰

Some saw a new urbanism emerging with a boom in unit building during the sixties. Richard Cardew argued that this boom was the result of an upgrading of housing at the lower end of the market and of investments made by young families on their way to purchasing a family home. There was never truly a rejection of suburbia.⁷⁷¹ With the end of the long boom policy began to favour this more economical approach of urban containment. The *Sydney Morning Herald* ran a number of articles on urban consolidation in the mid seventies. The public were introduced to the notion, not as a matter of public policy but of popular demand.⁷⁷² In 1976 the Wran Labor government committed itself to urban consolidation. Added to a change in the economic cycle, the emergence of a green consciousness cast the suburb in an unfavourable light.

Since the boom urban consolidation has become standard policy, integrated with neoclassical economic policy. Richard Cardew asserts that “Urban Containment is the overriding objective of land-use planners”.⁷⁷³ Cardew brought his own economic interpretation to the problem of urban development, and to the study of urban history. Marxists such as Kemeny, and even “a more socio-democratic generalist approach”, as seen in the work of Sandercock and Troy during the seventies, had resulted in an over-emphasis on supply side factors. This was brought about either by a hostility to developers and profit, or because “Marxism lacks a theory of consumer demand, though some argue supplier-induced demand theory.”⁷⁷⁴ Cardew’s neoclassical model attributed an inflationary spiral to the demographic shock of the baby boomers, increased household savings and the limitations of supply. Patrick Troy’s *The Perils of Urban Consolidation* criticises urban consolidation, challenging the alleged

⁷⁶⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24.3.59, p.1

⁷⁷⁰ Fairbrother, op. cit., p.82

⁷⁷¹ Richard Cardew, ‘Flats in Sydney: the thirty percent solution?’, in Jill Roe (ed.), op. cit., pp.69-88, p.84

⁷⁷² Christopher Jay, *Sydney Morning Herald* (Property), ‘Cluster housing alternative to endless urban sprawl’, 29.1.75, Noel Butlin Archives, N134/2873

⁷⁷³ Richard Cardew, ‘Will planning produce the compact city?’, *Polemic*, Vol.5, Issue 2, pp.93-15, p.93

⁷⁷⁴ Cardew, op. cit. (3), p.161

efficiencies of consolidation and pointing to the inequities resulting from such policies promoting consolidation.⁷⁷⁵ Troy's argument that suburban densities allowed flexibility and amenity had been made in *The Financial Review* in 1978.⁷⁷⁶ The amenity of a backyard could be extended to recreational pursuits such as gardening, mechanical repairs, hobbies, sports, and medium scale socialising – those things that post-war reformers had envisaged happening at the community centre. Such functions as home mechanics and back-yard vegetable patch saved money in the direct sense that they replaced items or services which would otherwise need to be bought. In a cluster development some recreation would occur on the commons, while others would be commercialised or lost. Entertaining on anything larger than a small scale would be impossible, with the host obliged to move the soiree to a commercial venue. This might be symbolised by the transition from a back yard home made barby to a communal electric barbecue, to a cook-your-own-steak bistro, to an 'Aussie Burger' at McDonalds.

⁷⁷⁵ *ibid*, p 29

⁷⁷⁶ 'Suburban sprawl may help, not hinder, Australia', *The Financial Review*, 2.11.78, Noel Butlin Archives, N134/287

CHAPTER FOUR

On the Ground: Use of Open Space

There is little doubt that Australians would take “a little more of the world’s pleasure, the world’s leisure, and the world’s treasure”, as the Hon. R. S. Jackson, quoted earlier, had hoped they might.⁷⁷⁷ Previous chapters have given a history of leisure, concentrating for the most part of the actions of the state to provide leisure facilities; in this chapter it is intended that a history of public participation in leisure should be given. In this it is hoped that, as American historian Richard Butsch puts it by “emphasizing process and change, an analysis of practices emphasises that structures may be more or less determinant, more or less fluid, and agency more or less efficacious, without either resorting to structural determinism or ignoring structure altogether.”⁷⁷⁸ Out of the variously successful structural attempts to counteract urbanisation in Sydney a number of institutions and social practices emerged that defined a ‘way of life’ that extended capitalist hegemony through a leisure ethic.

In a general sense planning was successful in bringing urbanising Australia into frequent contact with what may be loosely termed ‘nature’. Attempts to restore Australians to rural life through productivist means, through town planning or decentralisation were only moderately successful, if at all. It was difficult to maintain an agricultural mode of production in a green belt, and decentralisation of urbanites to the countryside was promised far more than it was practised. Such programs were contrary to market forces and required large scale government intervention. Outdoor recreation provided a more successful mediation of Australia’s identity and its residential address. The Planning Scheme for the County of Cumberland proved inadequate to the task of controlling Sydney’s growth during the long boom, but left a substantial legacy of open space. As has been shown, the retreat from the green belt principle was accompanied by an increase in provision of public open space in the form of recreational facilities and national parks, necessarily distinct categories although in some respects functionally identical. The provision of open space within new and existing subdivisions was rationalised, and there was a boom in the *ad hoc* declaration of national parks and similar

⁷⁷⁷ R. S. Jackson, *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates*, 12 Sept, 1950, p.11

⁷⁷⁸ Richard Butsch, ‘Introduction: leisure and hegemony in America’, in Richard Butsch (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp.3-27,

reserves. The recreation that occurred in the city's hinterland was symbolically anti-urban, anti-industrial and even pre-industrial. The rationalisation of time institutionalised the holiday and the necessary rationalising of space catered to increasing numbers of leisured and mobile urbanites. The following chapter examines the use of this recreational time and space, investigating the extent to which the objectives of post-war recreational ideologues, planners and bureaucrats were achieved, transformed or subverted.

Recreation and particularly outdoor recreation were established as fundamental to the 'Australian way of life' as it crystallised through the long boom. Active, participatory recreation increased markedly, despite the introduction of television.⁷⁷⁹ White Australia could define itself in relation to the influx of European immigration and, importantly, find something that the immigrant could assimilate to. The outdoors allowed suburbanising Australian men to re-enact predominantly masculine frontier myths, while baby boomers could be socialised to an appreciation of nature from which they were otherwise alienated in dormitory suburbs. On their occasional excursions Australians could celebrate egalitarianism without confronting class, although this would be challenged as competition for recreational space and resources grew.

Promoters and enthusiasts of outdoor leisure continued environmentally determinist arguments, as did those who argued for more open space. Before the Great War Professor Anderson Stuart, Dean of the University of Sydney's medical school attributed the phenomenal success of Australia's sportsmen to climate, adequate leisure and the hereditary passion for sport "inherent in the people of Great Britain and Ireland."⁷⁸⁰ Between the wars patriotic commentators such as C. E. W. Bean and E. J. Brady had celebrated the outdoor life and its influence on Australian character. Brady's *Australia Unlimited* held that

The breed that stormed and held the heights of Anzac will grow stronger and more self reliant as their generations follow. The home-land sun that browned their burly frames will not cease to shine from out our own blue Australian heavens; the home winds that filled their mighty lungs will not cease to blow, and there will be white Australian loaves and good Australian beef and butter to give them stamina.

p.7

⁷⁷⁹ Waters, op. cit., p.416; J. F. Clark and A. Olley, *Pre-Television Social Survey: The Interests and Activities of Families in Sydney*, New South Wales University of Technology, Sydney, 1958

⁷⁸⁰ Quoted at some length in Gordon Inglis (ed.), op. cit., p.8

Australia Unlimited favoured the gun over the rod, and lists both as being among the modern citizen's healthful pursuits, along with "Golf, bowls, tennis, baseball, lacrosse, yachting, rowing, swimming, hunting, fishing, skating, boxing, wrestling, coursing."⁷⁸¹ For Brady, some sport was more virtuous than others. Horse racing, for instance, was becoming a public evil.⁷⁸² Certain types of outdoors activities were able to reinforce notions of an 'Australian type', particularly as regards the 'legitimate' Australian. These were often consistent with those predatory pursuits identified by Veblen, and with accepted notions of imperial masculinity.

Continuity with 'traditional' recreational activities of the frontier male reinforced this legitimacy while blurring the distinction between exploration, production and recreation. Sometimes the continuity of ideas was due to the close ties of reformers, as with C. E. W. Bean and William Gorgon Young. Progressive's assumptions concerning empire, militarism, civics and mental and moral health were restated; any mention of eugenics, however, was avoided. It has been argued that eugenicist ideas of nurture persisted, however, in arguments for better playgrounds, more open space and conservation of nature. The Commonwealth and State institutions of outdoor education, the National Fitness councils, were in title committed to a eugenicist outlook. In the wider community ideas of the civic importance of environmental conditioning persisted, and this was especially evident in the burgeoning field of outdoors journalism. For instance Vincent H. Frith, trout enthusiast, acclimatisation advocate and conservationist, argued that if "our flora and fauna perish with our inland waterways, what becomes of our natural (sic) parks, which are a far healthier playground for our young people than the endless soul destroying racket of our cities. It is something to think about, isn't it?"⁷⁸³ *Outdoors* journalist Bernard Peach argued in his campaign for game parks that "civilised man, partly from instinct, and out of sheer weariness at the pace of modern life, often is urged to break with normal routine and to seek the freedom of the outdoors."⁷⁸⁴ Australia's primacy in sports seemed to bear out the eugenic arguments that were in currency before the war; few put it in those terms, but the intellectual inheritance is clear enough. It is possible that sporting writers were able to continue the discourse of the inter-war reformers by

⁷⁸¹ E. J. Brady, op. cit. (1), p.101

⁷⁸² Brady echoed the concerns of American 'play theorists', who decried the misuse of leisure. See Gleason, op. cit., p.263

⁷⁸³ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.1, No.1, March 1948, p.58

⁷⁸⁴ 'The national parks setup', *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.29, No.2, June 1963, p.44

virtue of being entirely ignorant of it or its ramifications. In 1954 sports writer and later historian Rex Rienits explained a formidable catalogue of Australian sporting victories as stemming from four influences: “climate, abundant facilities, and their cheapness”, along with a competitive school sports curriculum. During the fifties ‘crypto-eugenics’ was not so much a matter of blood and soil as civics and sunshine. “The steadily toughening competition” wrote Rienits “is undoubtedly why so many Australian athletes achieve maturity in their late teens.”⁷⁸⁵ Even the less impassioned observer would cite the environment’s action on British tradition as having wrought such a sporting nation as Australia.⁷⁸⁶ Sport had been important to the emergent Australian nationalism in the nineteenth-century before eugenics was a well formulated system,⁷⁸⁷ so it is not surprising that environmental determinism should survive in sporting commentary after the moral demise of eugenics.

To an extent the outdoors culture of the post-war era was the realisation of the efforts of reformers discussed above. The basic tenets of Vitalism were crudely reiterated in magazine editorials, travelogues and the introduction to almost every fishing guide published between 1945 and 1975; an excursion with rucksack, rod or rifle was the perfect antidote to urban toil. Paddy Pallin wrote in his ‘Introduction to Camping’ that as urbanites “swelter in the city, how many of us pause at our task and dream of the weeks ahead when, clad in as little as decency permits, we shall idle away the sunny hours on some quiet beach or bank of shady stream?”⁷⁸⁸ *Outdoors and Fishing* editor Barry Cooke wrote from the ‘Back Room’ that “Here in the ‘Big Smoke’ we yearn for the days spent in the bush, forgetful of the hustle and bustle of city life, anxious only that the dream-like holiday existence should go on and on.”⁷⁸⁹ In 1969 Vic McCristal argued that the vacation was more than a simple break from urban life and that “fishing is a free outlet for the extra vigour of youth. It’s a safety vent for the head of pressure men build up under the strain of modern living. For young people facing the pressure of modern education, the freedom of fishing as a sport can make happier and sounder human beings.”⁷⁹⁰ Similarly, John Hedge wrote of angling that fishermen “have few vices, but many

⁷⁸⁵ Rienits and Fingleton, op. cit., pp.163-4

⁷⁸⁶ Waters, op.cit., pp.416-8

⁷⁸⁷ Stratton, op. cit., pp.88-90

⁷⁸⁸ Paddy Pallin, ‘Introduction to camping’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.4 No.4, Dec. 1949, p.220

⁷⁸⁹ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.19, No.2, June 1958, p.7

⁷⁹⁰ Vic McCristal, *The Family Fisherman*, Murray, Sydney, 1969, p.14

virtues. They return to their daily toil as giants refreshed.”⁷⁹¹ The escape was bounded by the strictures of the working week, mechanised through urban industry, and commodified by urban consumer culture.

⁷⁹¹ Hedge, op. cit., p.12

Organised recreation

During the long period of post-war prosperity urban Australia was taught to love the outdoors by a number of organisations, government and non-government. Adult leisure was democratised through the provision of recreational services by sporting and social clubs. It was in socialising the baby boomers, however, that outdoor recreation was deemed most useful.

Clubs were already an established feature of Western leisure. In Britain during the thirties, when unpaid holidays were the norm, the Workers' Travel Association, Holiday Fellowship, the Camping Club of Great Britain, the Co-operative Holiday Association and the Youth Hostels Association provided an organisational framework for leisure.⁷⁹² The middle-classes formed voluntary organisations devoted to the organisation of leisure.⁷⁹³ In Britain, angling, rambling and cycling fostered clubs of enthusiasts. In Britain the Cyclists' Touring Club and the National Cyclists' Union were forerunners of the Automobile Association, and Australian cycling clubs gave way to the various local branches.⁷⁹⁴ These clubs, and their publications and activities, were far more bourgeois than the workers' organisation:

Glancing through such journals as *The Cyclists' Touring Club Gazette*, *Camping*, *Out-O' Doors* and the *Y.H.A. Rucksack* it is clear that, while not appealing to any one section of the population, they catered for those groups whose constituents had a surplus of time and money for recreational activity. Class prejudice was also a dividing factor — workers had a different set of values from their middle-class counterparts — creating difficulties of social mix, group solidarity and popular acceptance of aims and objectives, a common binding ethos.⁷⁹⁵

The church offered respectable recreation to all classes though the YMCA and the YWCA,⁷⁹⁶ through sponsoring sports and scout troops.⁷⁹⁷

Organised adult recreation was closely related to the boom in post-war sporting clubs. Amendments to the *Liquor Act* made by the McKell Government in 1946 greatly expanded the number of club licenses, while stipulating that clubs were to provide 'recreational and cultural

⁷⁹² Stephen G. Jones, op. cit., p.64

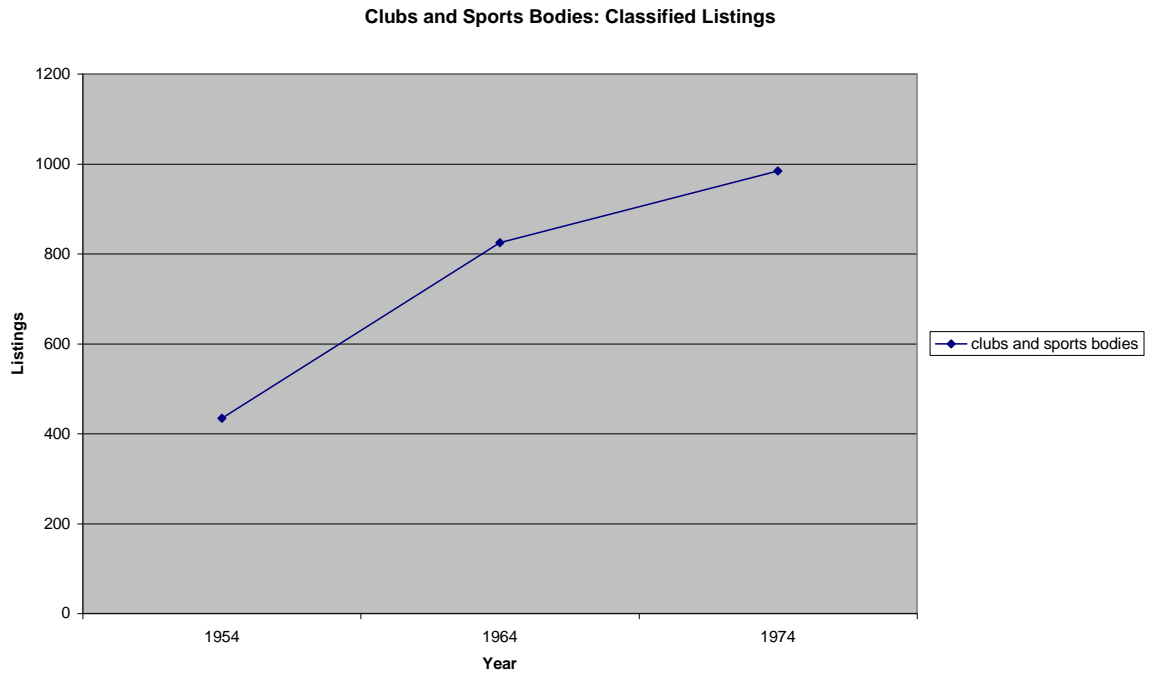
⁷⁹³ Stephen G. Jones, op. cit., 1986, pp.64-5

⁷⁹⁴ Jim Fitzpatrick, *The Bicycle and the Bush: Man and Machine in Rural Australia*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1980

⁷⁹⁵ Stephen G. Jones, op. cit., p.66

⁷⁹⁶ Stephen G. Jones, op. cit., p.67

facilities'. The classified listings of Sydney's clubs are a striking indicator of the importance of leisure to the 'Australian way of life':



798

While Sydney's population increased by a third, its sporting clubs trebled. Although the expansion of club licensing went against McKell's inclinations, the liberalisation of licensing was nevertheless his initiative and an astute political decision. Waterhouse notes that legislation was desired "that would force brewers and hoteliers to provide facilities that would turn 'urinal style' Australian hotels into community oriented English type pubs."⁷⁹⁹ Jack Ferguson, MLA, Merrylands, argued in favour of clubs in outer urban areas due to the service provided. If the clubs weren't exactly English pubs, they did provide a range of recreational activities, becoming "important community institutions, providing not only drinking, gambling and eating facilities but a whole series of organised recreational activities as well: these included chess, fishing, golf, euchre, bridge . . .". Pubs responded with beer gardens.⁸⁰⁰ The liberalisation of club licensing naturally led to the formation of a large number of bowling and golf clubs, booming by the sixties, but also ensured that even those clubs without such recreational facilities would subsidise members' recreational activities through subsidiary

⁷⁹⁷ Gleason, op. cit., p.265

⁷⁹⁸ See Appendix 1, Sydney Classified Listings, Sydney Classified Listings

⁷⁹⁹ Waterhouse, op. cit., p.205

⁸⁰⁰ *ibid*, p.207-8

clubs.⁸⁰¹ These clubs became central features of new communities and increased in importance when, in 1955, liquor licences and poker machines were awarded to sports clubs.⁸⁰² Socially, it was a small revolution. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries bowls and golf had threatened to become exclusively upper class games, but now sporting clubs could pay for the cost of maintaining fairways and greens with poker machine profits, allowing them to lower membership fees.⁸⁰³ As a result golf and bowls became recreations which even people on modest incomes could afford to play.⁸⁰⁴ Gary Cross observes that the participation of the American working-classes in clubs during the boom was not significant, but this was hardly the case in Australia. While previously exclusive sports such as lawn bowls⁸⁰⁵ were democratised, the recreational franchise was still limited: women were generally excluded from club life until the seventies.⁸⁰⁶ In 1956 the young American scholar Bernard Rosenberg explained Veblen's theory of emulation in terms of elite sports:

Regardless of whether polo should be played or should be banned, it is factually accurate to say that the leisure class play this game and that the underlying population would like to play it.⁸⁰⁷

Were the values of elite sports thus eroded or transmitted to the underlying population? Butsch suggests that the effect, if not the intent of such an extension of elite sporting practices to the masses was the extension of hegemonic values.⁸⁰⁸ This goes a long way to explaining the role of leisure in de-radicalising post-war ideology and forming the 'Australian way of life'.

Outdoor recreation was deemed particularly important to the raising of baby boomers. In educating youth to the outdoors established organisations such as the Scouts were joined by the state, predominantly in the form of the National Fitness Councils. In other areas of state activity, such as national park formation, it had long been argued that nature would improve the health of Australian youth. As Mirams observes, it was assumed that they would 'instil

⁸⁰¹ Jennifer Cornwall, 'Clubland: The battler's Vegas?', *Public History Review*, No.8, pp.137-56, p.142

⁸⁰² Spearritt, op. cit. (2), pp.228-9

⁸⁰³ Bowls and golf were popular in Australia at its sesquicentenary, despite class pretensions – see Leonie Sandercock, 'Sport', *Australians 1938*, Sydney, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, 1987, pp.373-4

⁸⁰⁴ Waterhouse, op. cit., p.208

⁸⁰⁵ Cunneen, op. cit. (1), p.108; Waters, op. cit., p.423; Cashman notes that bowls had, in fact, been a game played in public houses before it was gentrified in the 1880s, to be reclaimed by registered clubs in the 1950s – see Cashman, op. cit. (2), p.52

⁸⁰⁶ Cornwall, op. cit., p.149; lawn bowls had an exceptional enrolment of women, despite their limited tenure within the clubs. Their numbers increased in New South Wales from 4,000 in 1952 to 24,000 in 1961 – see Waters, op. cit., p.424

⁸⁰⁷ Rosenberg, op. cit., p.65

⁸⁰⁸ Butsch, op. cit., pp.7-8; Butsch adopts Gramsci's model of hegemony, as does this thesis.

both pride in the unique Australian world and provide a playground for wholesome Australian youth, an antidote to the evils of slum life in cities.”⁸⁰⁹ This harked back to vitalist beliefs that nature might correct in youth those “materialistic and mechanistic human relationships that had developed with industrialisation.”⁸¹⁰ The idea that outdoor adventure as a preventative to delinquency was particularly apparent in the discourse of the Parks and Playgrounds movement, and their international equivalents,⁸¹¹ and of the National Fitness Council.

A remarkable amount of commentary on the fitness of Australian youth revolved around concerns with the physical standard of the citizen, and especially of Australian youth. Wollongong’s *Daily Mercury* declared its alarm in 1962 at the results of a survey of 11,000 schoolchildren conducted by W. G. Young in his capacity as State Director of Physical Education with the NSW Education Department. Although Australian teens proved superior to their American and British counterparts, the results were still “alarming!” The American results could still be looked to for reassurance, since fitness standards there were truly “frightening”.⁸¹² By the early seventies, despite the absence of standardised comparative data, Australia’s children were deemed to be even less fit. In 1972 Dr John Sutton of the Sydney Human Performance Laboratory told *The Sydney Morning Herald* that in his opinion “most school children are less fit now than they were ten years ago.” Lifts, motor cars other modern conveniences were taking their toll.⁸¹³ The editor of *The Sydney Morning Herald* told readers that

Since 1950 only 30,686 of 82,632 applicants have been accepted for Australia’s armed forces. A large number of those who applied unsuccessfully did not have the minimum qualifications, which is a nice way of saying that they were not intelligent enough “to absorb instruction.” An “amazingly high percentage” were rejected, however, because they were not 100 per cent medically fit. Perhaps too much of the famed Australian sun had got into their heads and not enough into their bones.⁸¹⁴

⁸⁰⁹ Mirams, op. cit., p.260

⁸¹⁰ Mirams, op. cit., p.261; we might also consider the role of the Royal Agricultural (Easter) Show in exposing urbanites to agriculture, discussed by Gordon Inglis in Inglis, op. cit., pp.61-5; Although the purpose of agricultural shows was also to educate farmers, the ‘Royal’ had a program of socialisation that has gradually been commercialised – see Kate Darian-Smith and Sara Willis, *Agricultural Shows in Australia A Survey*, Carlton, Vic., University of Melbourne, 1999; Spearritt also traces the social history of the show, in Spearritt, op. cit. (2), pp.5, 267

⁸¹¹ Cross, op. cit., p.118

⁸¹² ‘Alarm over tests on children’, *Daily Mercury*, 18.7.62, p.7

⁸¹³ ‘The fading fantasy of fitness’, 20.4.72, p.10

⁸¹⁴ Editorial, ‘We are not as fit as we think’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4.1.55, p.2

Clearly this was a disaster for the citizen soldier. In 1955 National Fitness Council Chairman Judge Adrian Curlewis observed that 37 per cent of applicants were rejected by the armed forces, largely because they were unfit, and that “The Army’s minimum physical standards are not exacting.”⁸¹⁵ At the end of the boom it was still common to read that Australians were unfit and that this was in part due to a high level of urbanisation,⁸¹⁶ and that too many Australians were not even fit enough to get into the army at a time when the Commonwealth Government was augmenting the ranks with conscripts. John Bloomfield, Associate Professor of Physical Education at the University of Western Australia claimed that 48 per cent of those called up were rejected, largely because they were unfit.⁸¹⁷ Fears of just such a situation had motivated post-war reformers to build an environment in which the soldier citizen would thrive; somewhere their plans had gone awry.

In post-war Australia Scouts, Cubs, Brownies, Guides, Rovers, and Venturers used the bush to promote a revised version of the imperial ethos expounded by Baden Powell at the turn of the century. Scouting had boomed in the inter-war period, already associated with the romance of empire instilled in British and colonial youth.⁸¹⁸ Baby boomers swelled suburban troops. *Outdoors* commented that those “who grow despondent about the world situation might take heart from the fact that scout jamborees are getting bigger and much more frequent. Perhaps they may hold a key for a true world brotherhood on a wider scale.”⁸¹⁹ *Outdoors* editor George Brown held that scouting was a significant contributor to the civic education of Australian youth. Rover Scouts discussed politics explicitly, while the junior scouts were taught good morals and independent thought. By contrast, Brown held that the scouting movement was a poor contributor to outdoor education.⁸²⁰ By 1976 there were about 200,000 scouts in Australia, but there were also a number of alternatives to scouting. In the seventies George Brown established his own outdoors school in the Blue Mountains, no doubt intended to

⁸¹⁵ ‘Standards of national fitness criticised’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28.4.55, p.4

⁸¹⁶ There seems to have been quite a fitness scare at the time – given the size of the beer guts featured on the covers of contemporary *Outdoors and Fishing* we might conclude that there was either cause for concern or very little shame. In contrast to the ballooning bellies featured in the outdoors press, articles on fitness began to appear frequently in *The Sydney Morning Herald*. For instance, Margaret Jones’s, ‘Planning fitness on a national scale’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19.3.71, p.7; ‘National health week: *Herald* feature’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20.10.69, p.12

⁸¹⁷ Bloomfield, ‘The nations health’ (letter), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11.9.72, p.6

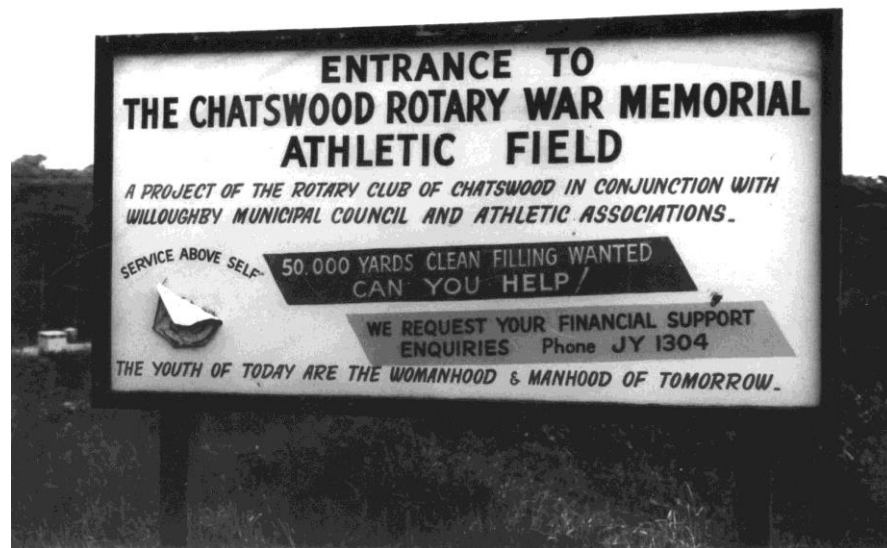
⁸¹⁸ See Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1993

⁸¹⁹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.10, August 1955, p.89

redress the lack of outdoor education offered to scouts. Others, such as Eric Worrell, owner of the Ocean Beach Aquarium (and reptile park) founded educational zoos on the urban periphery. *Outdoors* approved of Worrell's operation, writing of 'Australiana for Young Australians' that

Many Australian birds and animals have gone, or are going the way of the dodo. Most of them were useful, harmless species that were true national assets in every way. Their demise or diminution has been brought about chiefly through ignorance and callousness on the part of Australians who should have known better.⁸²¹

In Wyong a shooting school was formed for 12-15 year-old boys. The school was funded by Wyong Rotary Club and run by Athol Compton.⁸²²



CCC Files: The Youth of Today are the Womanhood and Manhood of Tomorrow⁸²³

Organised camping boomed in post-war Australia. White traces the organised camp to British camps such as Butlin's Holiday Camps, and argues that Australian reformers hoped that communal camping would build community spirit.⁸²⁴ Garry Cross observes that the outdoors had been used to mend the ways of working-class and urban youth in the west since the 1880s. Often there was an implied militarism, with significant exceptions, while girls were less often

⁸²⁰ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.26, No.1, November 1961, p.11

⁸²¹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.6, April 1955, p.15

⁸²² Alan Gibbons, 'School for shooters', *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.19, No.4, August 1958, p.34

⁸²³ *SRNSW: AK415, EPA 253, FH 136*

exposed to the great outdoors than boys.⁸²⁵ The epitome of such camps could be found near Melbourne at Lord Somers' Camp and Powerhouse which had been running since 1929, teaching middle-class boys (who were presumably in need of toughening) and delinquent boys (presumably in need of discipline) the values of imperial masculinity. The camp continued to do so in the sixties.⁸²⁶ The National Fitness Councils looked towards the America, where according to camp bureaucrat Hedley S. Dimock there was "a growing recognition of the impoverishing consequences of an exclusively city experience and education, and an accentuated desire to supplement these with a fresh and vital experience in outdoor living."⁸²⁷ Organised camps were begun by the New South Wales Department of Education before the First World War as part of an effort to "induce boys to take up rural pursuits" and were linked to the rural life movement. Boys toured rural industries, played sport and attended evening entertainment. Young notes that it was through these camps that the "realisation of the opportunities camping provided for character formation and the development of personality" but that the realisation came slowly.⁸²⁸

The most influential institution of the outdoors was the National Fitness Council. The National Fitness Council administered physical education accreditation, advised on facilities and ran various types of camps and events related to youth. The NFCNSW defined an important part of its duty as being "to ensure that, so far as the Council's influence can affect it, each citizen shall be able to enjoy adequate space for his or her needs in respect of recreation and health."⁸²⁹ A federal initiative, each State developed its own Fitness Council which became largely autonomous after the election of the Menzies government. The New South Wales Council of Physical Fitness was established in 1939, to be renamed the National Fitness Council of New South Wales in 1940. The Commonwealth National Fitness Act was passed in 1940.⁸³⁰ A Physical Education and National Fitness Branch was established within the Department of Public Instruction in 1939, supervising physical education in schools,

⁸²⁴ White et al., op. cit., p.140

⁸²⁵ Cross, op. cit., pp.118-9

⁸²⁶ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.30, No.4, February 1964, p.75

⁸²⁷ Hedley S. Dimock (ed.), *Administration of the Modern Camp*, New York, Association Press, 1948, pp.24-3

⁸²⁸ W. G. Young, op. cit. (3), p.57

⁸²⁹ SRNSW: CGS 10663, *Kingswood 11/19038*, National Fitness Council of New South Wales, *Policy Book*, c.November 1939 - 21 May 1959, 'Recreation Areas Committee'

⁸³⁰ SRNSW: CGS 10664, *Kingswood 11/19039*, National Fitness Council of New South Wales, *Precedent Book*, c1945-1966, 'National Fitness Act', p.140

swimming schools and training courses in physical education. The branch was replaced by the National Fitness and Recreation Service in 1969. The National Fitness Act (No. 9, 1971) preceded the formation of a reconstituted National Fitness Council which first met in 1972. In that year the functions of the National Fitness and Recreation Service and some related functions of the Department of Education were transferred to the Sports portfolio of the Chief Secretary's Department. The Sports portfolio was then transferred to the Department of Culture, Sport and Recreation in 1975, and that Department became the Department of Sport and Recreation in 1976, when the National Fitness Council was abolished.⁸³¹ In 1941 the Federal and State Governments, along with the Rotary Club of Sydney and three hundred volunteers established the Broken Bay National Fitness Camp on the Northern Beaches. Young wrote enthusiastically of the good works already achieved by the 'Fresh Air Fund', which with private and government assistance was "making possible a stream of incoming campers" from poorer districts. The second National Fitness Camp, at Lake Macquarie, was opened in 1942.⁸³² Through the provision of rationalised open space, accessed at designated times, children at risk of alienation could be reacquainted with the benefits of nature. Holiday attendance at fitness camps and free play centres was highly popular. 10,000 children, including 1,000 'New Australians' attended free play centres in 1956;⁸³³ 32,000 children were expected in 1959;⁸³⁴ 12,000 were expected in the country play centres alone in 1960.⁸³⁵ On application to the National Fitness Council by a headmaster or headmistress, disadvantaged children could gain access to a 'Fresh Air Fund' that would subsidise their attendance at play centres.⁸³⁶ After-school play centres were established in recreationally disadvantaged suburbs.⁸³⁷

In New South Wales National Fitness was largely the work of William Gordon Young. In 1939 William Gordon Young was the executive officer of the New South Wales National Fitness Council, remaining director of National Fitness until the organisation was abolished.

⁸³¹ Archivists notes, *Concise Guide to the State Archives: National Fitness Council*

⁸³² W. G. Young, op. cit. (1), pp.25-6

⁸³³ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2.1.56, p.6

⁸³⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31.12.59, p.9

⁸³⁵ 'Country play centres expect 12,000', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1.1.60, p.7

⁸³⁶ SRNSW: CGS 10663, Kingswood 11/19038, National Fitness Council of New South Wales, *Policy Book*, c.November 1939 - 21 May 1959, 'Fresh Air Fund'

⁸³⁷ SRNSW: CGS 10663, Kingswood 11/19038, National Fitness Council of New South Wales, *Policy Book*, c.November 1939 - 21 May 1959, 'National Fitness after school play centres'

Born in Ontario in 1904, Young (also known as ‘Mr. Phys. Ed’ and ‘Mr. Fitness’) had taught physical education at the Western University, Ontario and the Y.M.C.A., later being director of physical education at the Montreal Y.M.C.A. and president of the Canadian Physical Education Association. He moved to Australia to become director of physical education for the NSW Department of Education in 1938.⁸³⁸ Young contended that Australia needed to make physical adaptation to the environment a priority, following the example of the Australian Aborigine. He discerned a physical change to Europeans wrought by the continent’s environment;⁸³⁹ the removal of the environment from the lives of Australians, then, was of great concern. Young and the National Fitness Councils boosted the State’s physical education program. The Victorian desire for discipline in the lower orders was expressed in efforts to impose order on students entering and leaving the grounds of government schools. The better class of schools — the grammar and denominational schools — had fine grounds along the lines of English GPS and excellent sporting programs. To compensate somewhat, “Drill” was introduced to state schools, whereby students were taught to march, or at least to walk in line. The activities of the Australian Defence League (formed 1905) and the recommendations of Lord Kitchener led to an amended Defence Act which in 1911 made cadet training compulsory. Defence and education were thus linked, but the program of physical activities was broadened to include swimming and organised games.⁸⁴⁰ In Great Britain physical education was extended to the masses as a response to the depression where, as one sixties history of physical education put it,

The critical social problem of the moment was the plight of the unemployed young. Unable to find work they wandered the streets and engaged in questionable pursuits.⁸⁴¹

A White Paper on Physical Training and Recreation was produced in 1937, a National Advisory Council on Physical Training and Education was created and a British National Fitness Council was formed.⁸⁴² The militaristic approach within schools was derided by at least one eugenicist. At the turn of the century Eugen Sandow, British founder of the Institute of Physical Culture, “father of modern bodybuilding” and travelling showman derided

⁸³⁸ Richard Cashman, ‘Young, William Gordon (1904-1974)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, publication forthcoming

⁸³⁹ W. G. Young, op. cit. (3), pp.11,14

⁸⁴⁰ *ibid*, pp.21,22-6, 33, 49-50, 36-7;

⁸⁴¹ C. W. Hackensmith, *History of Physical Education*, New York, Harper and Row, 1966

⁸⁴² *ibid*, p.229

Australian physical education in schools.⁸⁴³ Perhaps there was more than a little entrepreneurial spirit behind Sandow's remarks. Sandow's Physical Culture Institutes did have an impact on Australia, and elements of his system eventually found their way into the secondary school curriculum. Sandow had argued that instructors in schools should be trained professionals;⁸⁴⁴ as a result of the work of W. G. Young they would be trained at Universities rather than Sandow's Institute. In the United States, which at this stage took a lead in physical education, it was increasingly held that military discipline was best left to the army, while the fitness of prospective soldiers should be taught through games and athletics rather than drill.⁸⁴⁵ The 1936 Olympics in Berlin excited much interest, however, and the selection of Sydney as the host of the 1938 British Empire Games gave further encouragement to state funding. Observations of European fitness caused some concern, while Fascism's fit citizens attracted more than a little admiration.⁸⁴⁶ Australia's observers at the Berlin Olympics included the New South Wales Minister for Education, D. H. Drummond, the Commissioner of Police W. J. Mackay, Mr. B. S. B. Stevens and Captain F. A. M. Webster. Webster later wrote that he had seen "in Germany what appeared to be the commencement of an ideal system for the physical regeneration of the German race."⁸⁴⁷ On returning to Australia Drummond reorganised physical education with a view to putting Australia on a war footing. A tentative link may also be made between the origins of this movement and inter-war concerns that the citizenry of democracies were soft in comparison to those under totalitarian regimes. For instance, in 1938 the National Defence League had declared that the "complacency of the democratic nations may prove their ruin. They must show that Democracy is as strong and as efficient as Fascism or Communism or take the consequences." The National Defence League resolved to urge the government to set up a body with the responsibility of promoting it.⁸⁴⁸ In January 1939 the Commonwealth National Fitness Council (soon renamed the Commonwealth Council for National Fitness) was formed as part of the Commonwealth Department of Health. The National Fitness Act was passed in 1941. The Council agreed that the observably low levels of

⁸⁴³ Daley, op. cit., p.242

⁸⁴⁴ *ibid*, p.243

⁸⁴⁵ Paula D. Welch and Harold A. Lerch, *History of American Education and Sport*, Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Ill, 1981, pp.176-83

⁸⁴⁶ W. G. Young, op. cit. (3), pp.83-105

⁸⁴⁷ F. A. M. Webster, *Sports Grounds and Buildings — Making, Management, Maintenance and Equipment*, Pitman, London, 1940, p.4, cited in W. G. Young, op. cit. (3), p.106

⁸⁴⁸ A. de R. Barclay, 'National Defence League, a crusade for democracy', Barclay personal papers, No.86

national fitness could only be combated through “economic and nutritional assistance”.⁸⁴⁹ Young stressed the importance of camping, since “camping is a popular and very beneficial development which yields social as well as physical values.”⁸⁵⁰ Young was joined by Judge Adrian Curlewis, who as Chairman had sometimes heated engagements with State politicians over the funding of the National Fitness program.⁸⁵¹ Gary Cross notes that proponents of democratic leisure sought to distance themselves from the totalitarian regimes of the thirties, especially through the International Labour Office in Geneva. Nevertheless, Cross maintains that delegates “were frustrated that the democracies had failed to provide those resources that their Fascist and Soviet counterparts enjoyed; but they were adamant that leisure, like freedom, was to proceed from the individual, not the collectivity.”⁸⁵² It is therefore not surprising that at the conclusion of the war, with Fascism only just beaten and the Soviets ascendant there was a renewed interest in National Fitness. Universities offered physical education courses, State Departments of Education boasted branches of Physical Education, and schools were much better equipped.⁸⁵³ Young held that the greatest success of his organisation was the establishment of a great number of recreational areas in and around the cities.⁸⁵⁴ Where attempts to establish green belts ran against the needs of the capitalist city, Young’s scheme helped discipline the future workforce by instilling the leisure ethic in youth. Despite the withdrawal of funding from National Fitness Councils, much of their work has continued under the Department of Sport and Recreation, and as a private enterprise.

National Fitness was allied with the Parks and Playgrounds Movement of C. E. W. Bean and the lesser known Recreation and Leadership Movement led by Edgar Herbert. The Parks and Playgrounds movement was an established response to urbanisation. Richard Butsch writes of the upper and middle-class agenda of Victorian reformers that

they conceived of recreational activities as means of self improvement rather than relaxation. Parks were proposed as sylvan retreats for reflection and repose in nature, restorative antidotes to the degenerative effects of urban life.⁸⁵⁵

⁸⁴⁹ W. G. Young, op. cit. (3), p.134

⁸⁵⁰ W. G. Young, op. cit. (3), p.135

⁸⁵¹ In 1964 Curlewis refused to sit again while Mr. E. Wetherell was Minister for Education, ‘Judge and minister in dispute’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12.11.64, p.11

⁸⁵² Cross, op. cit., p.174

⁸⁵³ W. G. Young, op. cit. (3), p.141

⁸⁵⁴ W. G. Young, op. cit. (3), p.162

⁸⁵⁵ Butsch, op. cit., p.13

Chris Cunneen argued that the Parks and Playground Movement's *Basic Report* of 1932 was influential in the Cumberland County Council's plans for open space.⁸⁵⁶ In the inter-war period Bean was joined by the Sydney Town Planning Association, led by Mrs. Florence Taylor and her husband, who graphed the shortage of recreational space and founded the Parks and Playground Movement. The Recreational Leadership Movement augmented the Parks and Playground Movement by lobbying for physical education programs and community recreation schemes to be extended through schools and the community abroad. The National Fitness Association clearly owed an intellectual debt to Bean. Young's arguments were of the classic mould:

It is obvious that an emphasis upon citizenship training for any new order is required, as we review cases of thieving, vandalism, wilful damage to property, filth and obscenity which results when some youngsters shed the veneer of the classroom and, with their masks off, display themselves as the citizens to be.⁸⁵⁷

In urban areas, wrote Young, an annual vacation – or evacuation – was needed. The NSW National Fitness Council continued the campaign for open space. It produced a report in 1941 warning of the loss of park space within the City of Sydney.⁸⁵⁸

The Commonwealth Council for National Fitness had its thirteenth and final meeting in September, 1954. The war was over, and post-war reconstruction had passed, according to Young, and the organisation withered, misplaced in the Department of Health and without the benefit of strong leadership.⁸⁵⁹ Young considered that the inexperience of State National Fitness Councils meant that the councils tended towards arts, crafts and music, and lost the confidence of the Commonwealth.⁸⁶⁰ Possibly, though, Australians were just letting themselves go a bit in the boom. The editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald* had certainly had enough exercise by 1967, declaring that there was too much emphasis on fitness and that what was needed was a 'National Fatness Campaign.'⁸⁶¹ The editor was offended that the Commonwealth Council for National Fitness had produced 1,000,000 booklets that suggested all Australians should be able to do forty push-ups; the *Herald's* investigations suggested

⁸⁵⁶ Cunneen, op. cit. (1), p.112

⁸⁵⁷ W. G. Young, op. cit. (1), p.24

⁸⁵⁸ National Fitness Council, *Problem of Recreational Space in the Metropolitan Area of Sydney*, Government Printer, Sydney, 1941

⁸⁵⁹ W. G. Young, op. cit. (3), p.139

⁸⁶⁰ W. G. Young, op. cit. (3), p.140

⁸⁶¹ 'Through thick and thin' (editorial), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16.9.67, p.2

many politicians fudged their own fitness and did no push-ups at all.⁸⁶² Young retired in 1969, to be replaced by Cedric L. Bayliss, who saw a greater role for private industry.⁸⁶³ The National Fitness Council was disbanded without much fanfare in 1975.⁸⁶⁴

The National Fitness Camps engendered a host of imitators, according to W. G. Young, with church groups being particularly eager. Youth Hostels were introduced to Australia from ‘the continent’ in 1939, assisted by all State National Fitness Councils except in Queensland.⁸⁶⁵ Each school holidays the Fitness Council opened around a hundred suburban fitness centres to deal with the city’s restless youth.⁸⁶⁶ By the late sixties the camps ran at full capacity, with “more and more people taking up sport, and keeping on after they leave school.”⁸⁶⁷ In 1960 the first purely commercial camping venture traded as a public company.⁸⁶⁸ The Outward Bound movement had similar, although later origins. In 1957 German émigré Dr. Kurt Hahn prescribed healthy outdoor pursuits as a means of taming the baby-boomers, as “the so called deformity of puberty should not be regarded as a decree of fate.”⁸⁶⁹ The Outward Bound Movement was a British initiative that began as a pre-military training camp at Aberdovey, Wales in 1941 and was adapted to peace after the war. Outward Bound was exported to Nigeria, Kenya, Malaysia, Australia, New Zealand, Hong Kong, the United States of America, Germany, Austria and Holland.⁸⁷⁰ In the seventies Emeritus Professor Basil Fletcher argued that the movement could help youth “who have suffered in one way or another from a fault in their upbringing.”⁸⁷¹ Outward Bound sought to reduce class tension and other urban maladies, as the “size and complexity of cities today stun the mind and diminish the sense of self-respect, which inevitably leads to the loss of respect for the personalities of others.”⁸⁷² In the

⁸⁶² Helen Frizell, ‘How to be a 40 push-up man’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25.8.67, p.2

⁸⁶³ ‘Fitness director concerned for youth’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5.9.69, p.5

⁸⁶⁴ ‘Council to disband’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21.8.75, p.10

⁸⁶⁵ W. G. Young, op. cit. (3), p.205; SRNSW: CGS 10663, *Kingswood 11/19038*, ‘Interim Constitution of Youth Hostels Association of the National Fitness Council of New South Wales’

⁸⁶⁶ Notices for which appeared in the press. For example *Sunday-Herald*, 5.12.1950, p.4; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3.1.52, p.2; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22.12.54, p.4; *Sydney Morning Herald* 3.1.55, p.6; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26.8.58, p.13; 9.9.59, p.6

⁸⁶⁷ ‘Holiday recreation at a fitness camp’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15.1.69, p.16

⁸⁶⁸ W. G. Young, op. cit. (3), p.205 (Young does not name the company)

⁸⁶⁹ Dr Kurt Hahn, ‘Origins’, in David James (ed.), *Outward Bound*, Routledge and Keegan Paul, London, 1957, pp.1-2

⁸⁷⁰ Basil Fletcher, *The Challenge of Outward Bound*, William Heinemann, London, 1971, pp.1-31

⁸⁷¹ *ibid*, p.82

⁸⁷² *ibid*, pp.132-3

permissive society, “short-term pleasures are pursued to the defeat of permanent happiness.”⁸⁷³ Outward Bound countered this by rejecting hedonism and embracing “Spartan simplicity” in community life.⁸⁷⁴ Other organisations, such as the Youth Hostels Association and the YMCA had similar aims.⁸⁷⁵

By the end of the boom youth clubs had mushroomed. In the late seventies the National Youth Council of Australia listed a membership of organisations providing outdoor education. Affiliated organisations were the Association of Apex Clubs, The Australian Boy Scouts Association, the Australian Association of Youth Clubs, the Australian Federation of Muslim Students Association, Australian Jaycees, the Australian Union of Students, the Australian Youth Hostels Association, the Australian Young Democratic Labor Association, the Australian Red Cross Youth Department, The Boys’ Brigade Australian Council, the Baptist Fellowship of Australia, the Churches of Christ Federal Board of Christian Education, the Church of England Boys’ Society of Australia, the Committee of Anglican Youth Leaders of Australia, the Congregational Youth Fellowship, the Girls’ Brigade, the Girls’ Friendly Society, the Girl Guides Association of Australia, the Methodist Girls’ Comradeship, the Methodist Order of Knights, Methodist Youth of Australasia, the National Christian Youth Endeavour Union Inc., the National Council of YMCAs of Australia, the Presbyterian Fellowship of Australia, the Re-organised Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints Youth Department, the Salvation Army Youth Department, St John Ambulance Brigade Cadet Section, the Ukrainian Youth Association of Australia, the Young Christian Students’ Movement, the Young Christian Workers (boys and girls), the Young Women’s Christian Association of Australia, the Young Labor Association of Australia, the Lutheran Youth of Australia and the Committee of Anglican Youth Leaders of Australia.⁸⁷⁶ A great majority of these organisations were religious; White argues that the churches were attempting to counter the rising secularism, individualism and consumerism of the holiday.⁸⁷⁷ By the mid fifties a network of youth hostels had been established.⁸⁷⁸ Private enterprise began to cater to the

⁸⁷³ *ibid*, p.136

⁸⁷⁴ *ibid*, p.137

⁸⁷⁵ R. de V. Kidson, ‘Y.M.C.A. centenary: The growth and power of a great organisation’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3.6.44, p.7

⁸⁷⁶ Peter Nichols, *Camping for Beginners*, A. H. and A. W. Reed, Sydney, 1976, pp.107-8

⁸⁷⁷ White et al., *op. cit.*, p.131

⁸⁷⁸ ‘Try youth hostelling’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.14, No.1, November 1955, p.30

emerging market in addition to state and community run ventures. Ausventure Holidays, based at Mosman, offered a number of excursions. There was also the Jackeroo Ranch in Kenthurst, the Teen Ranch at Cobbitty, the Haveta Holiday Camp at East Minto, the Pony Club Instruction Camp at Wilberforce, the Oaklands Holiday Ranch at Mittagong, and the Mountbatten Stud Holiday Farm at Douglas Park.⁸⁷⁹ Unlike the youth camps discussed earlier, these were run for a profit as well as for the edification of youth and the inculcation of appropriate values.

Outdoor camps can undoubtedly be linked eugenicist ideals, yet they (like Vitalism) also had a marked following among leftist organisations. Currawong Cottages, Pittwater, were built by the NSW Labour Council in the fifties to provide cheap recreational facilities for union members, in line with the post-war program of democratising leisure but running counter to the dominant model of individualistic holidaying.⁸⁸⁰ They are now open to the public outside school holidays, and the Labour Council is negotiating with a developer. The communist Eureka Youth League, strongest in Victoria but drawing membership from New South Wales, offered holiday accommodation to youths at Gerroa on the South Coast of New South Wales, Caloundra in Queensland,⁸⁸¹ Springwood in the Blue Mountains,⁸⁸² Corrimal,⁸⁸³ Magnetic Island⁸⁸⁴ and in the Hawkesbury valley. Generally, Junior Eureka Youth League members were to be from 7-15 years old; Eureka Youth League attendees were between 14 and 25.⁸⁸⁵ In 1958 the CPA acquired property in the green belt at Minto, where communist schools ran until the eighties. ASIO and the tabloid press referred to the camp as 'The CPA National Training School, Minto', but the CPA referred to the camp as 'the Bushlovers' Club'. Patricia Gifford's thesis argues that the camp was part of an effort by the CPA to address conservative attempts to marginalise communism as un-Australian. The Bushlovers' Club allowed the communists to make a claim to legitimacy within 'the Australian way of life'.⁸⁸⁶

⁸⁷⁹ Nichols, op. cit., p.109

⁸⁸⁰ White suggests the trade union camps demonstrated persistent working class solidarity. White et al., op. cit., p.141

⁸⁸¹ For instance see *Tribune*, 15.12.65, p.11, for advertisement and application form.

⁸⁸² advertisement, *Tribune*, 1.9.65, p.11

⁸⁸³ *Tribune*, 21.12.64, p.7

⁸⁸⁴ *Tribune*, 2.12.64, p.11

⁸⁸⁵ advertisement and picture *Tribune*, 27.10.65, p.11

⁸⁸⁶ Patricia Gifford, *The Communist Party of Australia Residential National School (Minto) or the Bushlover's Club c 1958-65: Communist Education, Cultural Nationalism, and Conservative Reaction*, unpublished Honours thesis, University of Western Sydney, Macarthur, 1999

When the cohort of baby boomers moved into their majority outdoor clubs for adults boomed independently of suburban drinking holes.⁸⁸⁷ As a result of the expansion of higher education, by 1980 most universities and technical colleges had a number of outdoor oriented clubs. Outside of these institutions, clubs proliferated, too. In New South Wales alone there were the Anglers' Club, the Australian Canoe Federation, Ben Buckler Amateur Fisherman's Club, Cumberland Trail Horse Riders Club, Girl Guides Association of New South Wales, Kosciusko Alpine Club, Landrover Owners Club, Newcastle Bushwalking Club, NSW Canoe Association, NSW Federation of Bushwalking Clubs, Orienteering Association of NSW, Outward Bound Association, River Canoe Club of NSW, Suzuki 4 Wheel Drive Club of NSW, The Australian Ski Federation, The Bush Club, The Coast and Mountain Walkers of NSW, The Outdoor Club of NSW, The Pony Club Association of NSW, The Ramblers, The Scouting Association of Australia, SKOPE Outdoor Club, Span Unlimited, The Sydney Bushwalkers and the Toyota Landcruiser Club of Australia. Most clubs were based in Sydney, which was to be expected. Not only was Sydney the major population centre, but the demands it put on recreational resources meant that organised access was necessary.⁸⁸⁸

⁸⁸⁷ Ted Foster and Jeff Nichols, *Outdoors*, Sydney, Methuen, 1980, pp.154-5

⁸⁸⁸ I. G. Simmons notes that this is a major role of recreational clubs in I. G. Simmons, op. cit., p.4

Private recreation

With the rapid spread of affluence and mobility, institutionally organised leisure was overtaken by a boom in private leisure pursuits. These included pursuits too numerous to discuss in detail. Although some attempt has been made in this thesis to comment on Australian outdoor sports in general, only those with such anti-urban emphasis have been considered in detail. Hence many competitive sports played on suburban ovals have received only the briefest mention, if any; often they embrace the urban rather than rejecting it, and if they do contain some element of reaction to urbanism it may only be minor. That cricket is played on grass (or indeed on a synthetic wicket), is not enough to classify it as symbolically agrarian. Where a sport or recreation implies an interaction with ‘nature’, idealised or real, it has been included. Golf is sufficiently, if symbolically rural in its landscaping, while angling and bushwalking are central to this discussion of Sydneysiders’ reaction to Sydney. Some bias is therefore inherent, but the focus is historically justified. In general leisure activities boomed spectacularly, and participation in outdoor recreation boomed at least as much as spectator sports. By way of contrast, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Sport* notes that interest in Australian cricket (reflected in match attendance) declined after the retirement of Bradman in 1949. Instead, “many Australians seemed to drift away from cricket to tennis, surfing, or more individualistic leisure activities.”⁸⁸⁹ Tennis had been the pre-eminent middle-class sport of the inter-war period, but had given ground to others due, possibly, to rising suburban land values and competition from other sports, such as squash.⁸⁹⁰ This trend towards more post-war leisure was common in the Western world, with one British writer reporting in 1970 that

... leisure in the countryside is vastly increasing – already five million campers and caravanners, three million anglers, a million golfers, half a million sailors, huge numbers more skiers, climbers, shooters and so on, as well as uncounted numbers of walkers. The constantly increasing figures show one thing very clearly – we are spending our increased leisure and prosperity in active not spectator sports, and most of them out of doors.⁸⁹¹

⁸⁸⁹ Wray Vamplew et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to Australian Sport*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1992, p.101

⁸⁹⁰ Waters, op. cit., p.423

⁸⁹¹ Fairbrother, op. cit., p.82; Benaud’s captaincy saw a partial revival of match attendance, but it wasn’t until live television coverage of matches in the seventies that cricket returned to inter-war levels of popularity. Rugby League’s popularity remained fairly steady in the postwar period, dropping in the early seventies due to damaging managerial politics and reviving with John Quayle’s television oriented and corporate approach to administration.

Some recreations, such as swimming, were already well established and these boomed. Associated sports such as surfing, skin diving and spear fishing increased with affluence and available technology.⁸⁹² Outdoor sports expanded during the boom as new technologies, increasing affluence and leisure combined with a reaction to increasing urbanisation. Flying and gliding were adventure sports limited to the wealthy or enthusiastic;⁸⁹³ gliding had a small boom in the early sixties.⁸⁹⁴ Parachuting was another adventure sport with a military pedigree to be converted to civilian recreation.⁸⁹⁵ Sailing was already popular on the harbour, but water sports were motorised through the boom and conflict between water users increased in proportion to horsepower.

It has been argued that democratised leisure had been a promise of post-war reconstruction. White argues that the diminishing importance of communal recreation was less an indicator of rampant consumerism, since family recreation was on the rise.⁸⁹⁶ As will be seen, more individualistic pursuits were on the rise, too, and the kit needed for both family and individual recreation was bought in increasing volume. Some pursuits prospered more than others. The progressive ideal held that leisure activities should be meritorious, and that some forms of leisure had more merit than others; this was the basis of the leisure ethic, and accounts for the rise in popularity of bloodsports. Veblen observed that

. . . those offices which are by right the proper employment of the leisure class are noble; such as government, fighting, hunting, the care of arms and accoutrements, and the like, — in short, those which may be classed as ostensibly predatory employments. On the other hand, those employments which properly fall to the industrious class are ignoble; such as handicraft or other productive labour, menial services, and the like. . . Whenever . . . the menial service in question has to do directly with the primary leisure employments of fighting and hunting, it easily acquires a reflected honorific character.⁸⁹⁷

In a society where leisure was democratised leisured pursuits could thus be arranged according to a hierarchy of utility; in Veblen's sense, that the activity was conspicuous and conveyed status. The democratising of leisure might mean, then, the liberalising of access to previously exclusive 'predatory' pursuits, or the ennobling of previously low status occupations such as

The revival of cricket's fortune's coincided with a decline in leisure time, and was perhaps indicative of a return to vicarious enjoyment of leisure pursuits – see Vamplew et al.(eds.), pp.100-3

⁸⁹² Waters, op. cit., p.425

⁸⁹³ John Allen, 'Soaring on a small salary', *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.19, No.2, June 1958, p.34

⁸⁹⁴ Kenneth Raymond, 'Sailboats in the sky', *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.26, No.3, January 1962, p.26

⁸⁹⁵ Steve Simpson 'Floating in the sky', *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.24, No.2, Dec. 1960, p.20

⁸⁹⁶ White et al., op. cit., p.143

handicrafts.⁸⁹⁸ In Sydney and particularly in outdoor pursuits during the boom the predatory pursuits tended to dominate, although never completely. The rise and fall of hobbies and of hunting will be discussed below; for now it is enough to note the emergence of a leisure ethic. As with the work ethic, the leisure ethic demanded some effort to release its rewards. One outdoors enthusiast wrote that “everyone has his own reasons for wanting to be involved in . . . outdoor activities, but these all have one thing in common – achievement. And through achievement comes a lifelong enjoyment and enrichment from being close to nature.”⁸⁹⁹ The leisure ethic ennobled activities of the everyday. *Outdoors* writer Kenneth Alexander wrote in 1959 of the romance of long distance hitchhiking, contrasting with “. . . the “bums” one sees by the dozen around the suburbs “bludging” their way to work . . .”⁹⁰⁰ Hitching to work was ‘bludging’; hitching to a holiday was commendable!

The beach featured prominently in projections of the Australian way of life. For instance, in 1954 when Rex Rienits described a ‘typical’ Australian scene he wrote that “excluding the very young and active, most people go to the beaches not to indulge in violent exercise but (let’s admit) to relax and laze in the sun.”⁹⁰¹ By 1964 Donald Horne was able to conclude that, if Australia hadn’t really earned its good fortune, it was certainly enjoying it:

Despite the puritanism that seeped into Australia through the Protestant sects, the Evangelical wing of the Church of England, the Irish Catholic Church, the Protestant ethic (for businessmen) and the Nonconformist conscience (for political leftwingers) there has been a counterbalancing paganism among ordinary people. When the waves are running right and the weather is fine the crowds at the beach are doing more than enjoying themselves: they are worshipping the body and feeling identity with the sand and sea and sky. Breaking through the discipline of organised sport, people amuse themselves as they wish in outdoor games or relaxations that express a belief in the goodness of activity and nature . . .⁹⁰²

This puritanism, however, had not been easy to shake off. Davidson and Spearritt describe the emergence of a scantily clad surf bathing culture in the earlier part of the century as an adaptation to Australia’s environment. They observe that “Journalists of the 1960s who likened the ways of surfies to a Polynesian lifestyle wrote truer than they know.”⁹⁰³ Was this

⁸⁹⁷ Veblen, op. cit. (2), p.78

⁸⁹⁸ William Morris, *Architecture, Industry & Wealth: Collected Papers by William Morris*, Longmans, Green, and Co., London, 1902

⁸⁹⁹ Nichols, op. cit., p.6

⁹⁰⁰ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.20, No.6, April 1959, p.8

⁹⁰¹ Rienits and Fingleton, op. cit., p.165

⁹⁰² Donald Horne, *The Lucky Country*, Ringwood, Penguin Books, 1964, p.39

⁹⁰³ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.136

really an embrace of the simple things in life? In 1953 the American social scientist David Riesman suspected that this was simply a more sophisticated type of emulation, that

. . . when I observe women on the beach or in the backyard suffering from sun, sand, and insects in order to become appropriately tanned, I sometimes wonder whether the management of corsets was more comfortable than that of bare skin now. The cult of nature, as Veblen put it, is itself an artifice, and can be a very strenuous one.⁹⁰⁴

Surf culture is a well filled niche in social history. Where Surf Life Saving Clubs had been cooperative organisations drawing on Local Council funding, the surf culture of the sixties spurned such organisation and was lobbied against by the clubs.⁹⁰⁵ Surfboard riding was introduced to Australia quite early, a curiosity in the early part of the century after a visit by surfing legend Duke Paoa Kahanamoku to Sydney in 1915.⁹⁰⁶ Hollow plywood boards appeared on Sydney beaches in the inter-war period, but the sport remained something of a novelty into the early post-war period.⁹⁰⁷ After the Second World War the new plastic foams and resins would dramatically alter the sport. Initially the surf clubs dominated the beach, placing a heavy emphasis on rescue and “the eternal surfboat races”,⁹⁰⁸ but surfing became a significant youth subculture of the fifties⁹⁰⁹ and a feature of the counter culture of the sixties and seventies. Waterhouse identifies the duality of surfing culture:

From 1906, when the first life saving clubs were formed at Bronte and Bondi, lifesavers were associated with the amateur and later Digger values of service, self-sacrifice, mateship and strength. During World War II the Labor politician, H. V. Evatt, attributed the competence and bravery of Australian soldiers to their experience as lifesavers just as C. E. W. Bean had equated the valour of Great War Diggers with the qualities they had attained in the bush. Before the introduction of the lightweight Malibu to Australia in 1956 surfboard riding was confined for the most part to lifesavers. Now a very different type of surfing culture, or rather subculture, appeared . . . they abandoned any commitment to team spirit, or, for that matter, the work ethic.⁹¹⁰

Although such a duality did exist, surfing was eventually brought back into the mainstream of the ‘Australian way of life’, largely through competition and the merchandising of consumer

⁹⁰⁴ Riesman, op. cit. (2), p.177

⁹⁰⁵ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., pp.150-1; ‘Our national pastime’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.2, Dec. 1954

⁹⁰⁶ Nick Carroll, ‘Duke Kahanamoku and the spread of surfing’, Nick Carroll (ed.), *The Next Wave: A Survey of World Surfing*, Sydney, Collins Angus and Robertson, 1991, p.26

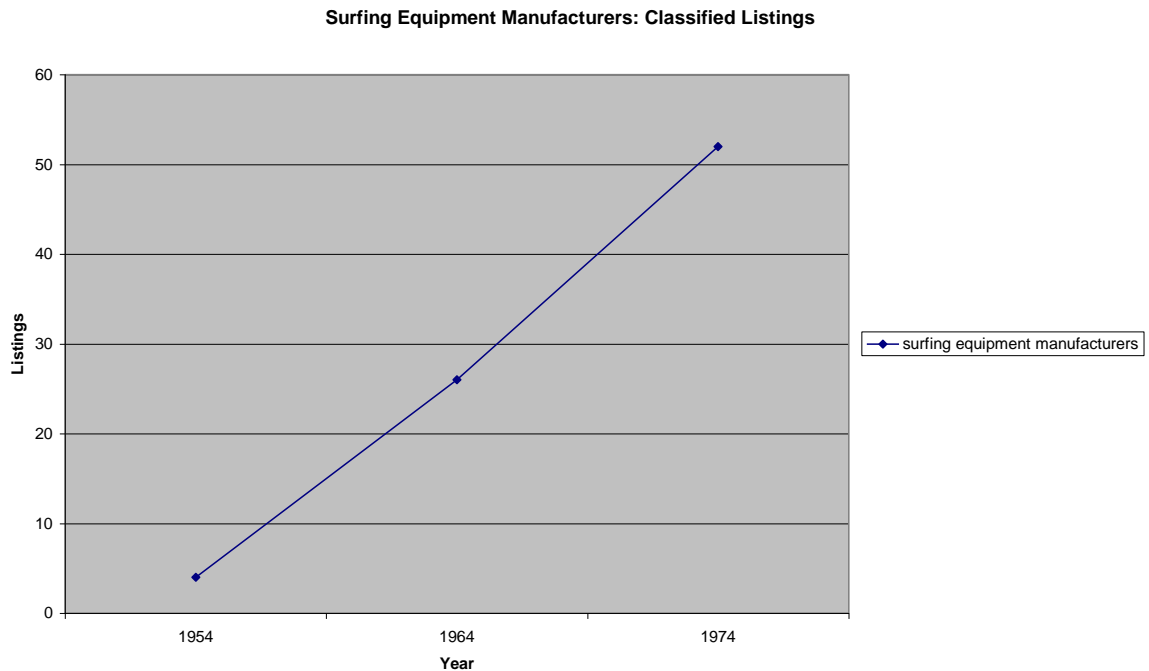
⁹⁰⁷ Brian Chirliar, ‘Surf board riding’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.1, No.3, May 1948, p.223

⁹⁰⁸ Nick Carroll, op. cit., p.28

⁹⁰⁹ Kenneth Alexander, ‘Let’s go surfing’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.20, No.2, Dec. 1958, p.12; Ross Renwick, ‘Boom in Surfboard Riding’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.20, No.1, November 1958, p.8

⁹¹⁰ Waterhouse, op. cit., p.244; Megan Cronly, *The Rise of the Surfing Subculture in Sydney, 1956-1966*, University of Sydney, B.A. thesis, 1983; H.V. Evatt, *The Australian Way of Life*, Australian News and

goods that sponsored competition. Competition rendered surfing more palatable to the outdoors press,⁹¹¹ and it was the ‘athleticisation’ of surfing that rendered it more amenable to commercialisation.⁹¹² The bikini and associated displays of bodily beauty attracted the approval of some sections of the press. The market was certainly stimulated. Classified listings of surfwear manufacturers show a marked increase:



913

The ‘Billabong’ brand is now a listed company on the Australian Stock Exchange; Surfers’ Paradise is a tourist conurbation and surfers are professional sportspeople. This is an example of subversion of reaction according to the post-war dialectic, of the leisure ethic extending the capitalism to recreation.

Australia’s coastal tourism is similar to the nineteenth-century flourishing of seaside resorts in Britain,⁹¹⁴ with important local variation and exaggeration. Australian beaches are significant

Information Bureau, Canberra, 1953, no page number

⁹¹¹ Ross Renwick, ‘What’s your surf rating?’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.24, No.4, February 1961, p.66

⁹¹² Kent Pearson, *Surfing Subcultures in Australia and New Zealand*, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1979

⁹¹³ See Appendix 1, Sydney Classified Listings

⁹¹⁴ Urry, op. cit. (2), Ch.2

leisure sites in their popularity, and because of their public ownership.⁹¹⁵ Davidson and Spearritt note that

the Australian beach remains one of our few free-of-charge tourist landscapes. Many national parks demand an entrance fee, golf courses require either membership or a fee, skiing establishments levy all manner of charges, and most resorts restrict their grounds to paying guests. Not so the beach.⁹¹⁶

National parks began charging entry fees before the ‘user pays’ principle became universal.⁹¹⁷ The beach remained free, although the market for surfing goods and apparel greatly expanded and the coastline was increasingly devoted to commercial development.

We might compare the beach to the less egalitarian ski-fields. Skiing had been an enthusiast’s sport in Australia since the mid nineteenth-century, but it would achieve a wider appeal after WWII.⁹¹⁸ In 1948 *Outdoors* advised readers of the potentialities of skiing in ‘Ski Heil’, a history of Kosciusko skiing.⁹¹⁹ Kosciusko had been visited by American servicemen on ‘R&R’, but there was a dearth of accommodation; in 1949 there were only 200 beds in all the Australian snowfields.⁹²⁰ For those on an average income at the beginning of the boom, skiing required careful planning and a tight budget. As *Outdoors and Fishing* contributor D. M. Richardson wrote in ‘Ski-ing according to your means’,

To those with unlimited funds, the world’s ski-ing is at your feet, you may live on the snow for extended periods at fashionable resorts, flitting from one hemisphere to another as season succeeds season. If, on the other hand, you find ruling tariffs too stiff for your pocket, particularly if you live at a distance from the nearest fields, you must plan carefully to enjoy that holiday within the limits of your budget.⁹²¹

In 1976, when 200,000 Australians would ski, the sport still remained rather expensive, and exclusive.⁹²²

Bushwalking prospered during the boom, although the major developments in Australian bushwalking occurred between the wars and after the long boom, outside the timeframe of this thesis. Sydney’s inter-war bushwalking movement has been the subject of excellent

⁹¹⁵ Cashman, op. cit (2), p.40

⁹¹⁶ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.153

⁹¹⁷ The Blue Mountains National Park charged 30 cents per vehicle in 1968 – *SRNSW: CGS 10664, Kingswood 12/1615, Box 1, File 1968*, National Parks and Wildlife Service, Correspondence Files, 1976-74

⁹¹⁸ Waters, op. cit., pp.427-8

⁹¹⁹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.1, No.6, August 1948, p.407

⁹²⁰ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.238

⁹²¹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.3., No.5. July 1949, p.284

⁹²² Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.238

scholarship in recent years, with particular emphasis on Miles Dunphy's Mountain Trails Club, on the Sydney Bushwalkers and boom in the popularity of bushwalking at the end of the twenties.⁹²³ The level of interest may in part be due to a resurgence of bushwalking and the rise of environmental consciousness in the eighties. Bushwalking remained a significant recreation in the boom period, extending into the proliferating national parks and continuing the themes established in the inter-war years. These themes included conservation,⁹²⁴ endurance and masculinity, and a belief in the recuperative powers of nature.

The sources certainly indicate a lively bushwalking culture, as post-war bushwalkers continued to explore Sydney's hinterland and gradually distinguished themselves from other users of recreational space. For instance, the link between the hinterland and the newly acquired institution of leisure, the weekend, was expressed in John Woore's 1948 article 'Wollondilly Week-End'.⁹²⁵ In 1951 George Brown wrote that "like most Sydney walkers, my regular stamping grounds are the beautiful and rugged Blue Mountains."⁹²⁶ George Brown had attempted to escape the city for good, but a job in Papua fell through and he settled for a job with *Outdoors*⁹²⁷ which he combined with occasional bushwalks.⁹²⁸ The dominant theme during the long boom was the increasing sophistication of camping gear, as will be seen later, and an increasing specialisation among bushwalkers. Old rivalries between the purist and the interloper⁹²⁹ persisted and were exacerbated by the mechanisation of the latter. Camping entrepreneur Paddy Pallin wrote in his article 'Introduction to Bushwalking' of the distinction between walkers:

To many uninformed folks a Bushwalker is one of those hikers, but try calling a dyed-in -the-wool Bushwalker a Hiker and see what happens. If he is a peaceable sort of bloke he will patiently explain the difference, but if he's not it will be as well to duck for cover. To the Bushwalker, Hikers are fellows or girls who go on arduous 2-mile hikes all dressed up in fancy clothes carrying gear in anything from

⁹²³ *ibid*, pp.229-233; Melissa Harper, 'The battle for the bush: bushwalking versus hiking between the wars', *Journal of Australian Studies*, No.45, June 1995, p.41-52

⁹²⁴ Davidson and Spearritt, *op.cit.*, pp.229-33

⁹²⁵ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.1, No.6, August 1948

⁹²⁶ George Brown, 'Blue Mountains Scrapbook', *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.7, No.3, July 1951, p.196

⁹²⁷ A note on *Outdoors*. K. G. Murray's *Outdoors and Fishing* was first published in 1948 and continued to be published under that title until 1958, when its name was changed to *Australian Outdoors*. When referred to in the text of this thesis the title of the magazine has been shortened to *Outdoors*. It should be noted, however, that the magazine published a number of guides, for which purpose it incorporated as 'Outdoors' publishing.

⁹²⁸ George Brown, 'Back to the Blue Mountains', *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.1, November 1954, p.30

⁹²⁹ Davidson and Spearritt, *op. cit.*, p.232; White et al., *op. cit.*, p.143

striped haversacks to string bags and who leave a trail of litter and broken bottles behind them.

Bushwalking is a more serious business. It is almost a way of life.⁹³⁰

Pallin meditated on the virtues of self reliance.⁹³¹ While Dunphy came to be an activist through bushwalking, others came to bushwalking through their activism. “The Million Flowers” club was formed in the late seventies from communist cadre and their friends who enjoyed rambles, often in the Blue Mountains.⁹³² Individual and family camping took off as an individual pursuit as the seventies progressed. This might be taken as a measure of the success of the organised camps, as a reaction to them, or both. Camping was still explicitly a reaction to urban life. It has been noted that Paddy Pallin had asked “how many of us pause at our task and dream of the weeks ahead?”⁹³³ By the end of the boom “camping” was still depicted as a type of access to the commons:

Camping gives you freedom. To escape the city awhile; move and tarry as you will; and enjoy the world around you.

You may like to try your luck at fishing. If they don’t bite in the one place then they will be biting in another. Or you may become tired of the taste of fish day in and day out and wish for a change. You might pick up a few lumps of gold in the next creek. They say there are some places in the bush where rubies and sapphires coat the ground two centimetres thick, or is it only one centimetre? Anyway, you’ll never be sure until you get out there and have a look around.⁹³⁴

But boom camping was characterised by a good deal of consumerism, in practice and in anticipation. As the outdoors became a field of consumer activity the claims of outdoors boosters would be contradicted. Removing urbanites from their industrial settings obscured their class ties, yet as will be demonstrated later the outdoors were a burgeoning field of consumption in which consumers would express their social status through the commodities they took outdoors.

⁹³⁰ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.1, No.1, March 1948, p.48

⁹³¹ *ibid*, p.48

⁹³² See ‘*Tribune’s* What’s On’, *Tribune*, 1979-82, usually p.15 for regular listings of planned walks. Earlier, Communist walkers went up the Colo river to investigate the newly formed National Park, *Tribune*, 6.6.79, p.10; Blue Mountains *Tribune*, 23.5.79, p.15, Nattai River, *Tribune* 4.4.79, p.10; Thousand Flowers Bushwalking Club’s second bushwalk to Valley of the Waters, *Tribune*, 7.3.79, p.10; inaugural walk, Ottford/Burning Palms – Lillyvale, *Tribune*, 7.2.79, p.10; the CPA bushwalking club made an excursion to the Warrumbungles in November 1978, *Tribune*, 25.10.78, p.8

⁹³³ Paddy Pallin, ‘Introduction to camping’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.4 No.4, Dec. 1949, p.220

⁹³⁴ Foster and Nichols, *op. cit.*, p.78

The apotheoses of anti-urban recreation, angling and hunting warrant closer examination. Angling enjoyed a particular boom, and along with hunting symbolised those aspects of democratised leisure and the return to nature that underpinned the developing ‘Australian way of life’. While hunting began as the equivalent of angling, it lost adherents and respectability during the boom. Angling suffered no such reverses. Both were already entrenched markers of the Australian identity. Brady, for instance, held that fishing and shooting were particularly virtuous, and particularly Australian. After all in “no other part of the world can the lung fish be captured, as, in no other part of the world could a sportsman’s bag include, if he so wished, a duck-billed platypus or an echidna . . .”⁹³⁵ Hunting and fishing were particularly apt to perpetuating eugenicist strains of thought; to what sociologists such as Hummel and Franklin term neo-Darwinism.⁹³⁶ Sydney itself offered angling close enough to work to be enjoyed daily. The harbour city produced some high adventure; it even boasted whaling within the heads.⁹³⁷ Accessibility remains a great advantage of Australia’s urban fishing:

Most capital cities are within easy reach of ocean beaches, readily accessed by two-wheel-drive vehicles.

Visiting anglers can have a rod in the water within an hour or two of leaving home, and be back in time to provide the catch of the day for the evening meal.⁹³⁸

Urban hunters were initially well catered for by Sydney and its environs. The Sydney Gun Club opened in 1951, giving shooters a chance to practice their sport close to home.⁹³⁹ The suburban shooter was initially welcome in the city’s hinterland. H. Grogan of Macquarie Fields felt comfortable inviting “city and suburban shooters” to come and clear flying foxes from his and his neighbours’ Hawkesbury orchards.⁹⁴⁰ As shooting intensified, the range of the shooters’ increased and urban shooters simultaneously became less welcome (as was apparent in the green belt, discussed earlier). In 1959 Vic McCristal reported that even in distant Bourke the local newspaper was full of advertisements prohibiting trespassers from shooting and fishing on private property.⁹⁴¹ A ban on Sunday shooting compounded the frustration of Sydney’s shooters. Mrs. E. K. d’Elsa of Bondi complained that “my husband and I are keen

⁹³⁵ E. J. Brady, op. cit. (1), p.140

⁹³⁶ Hummel R., *Hunting and Fishing for Sport: Commerce, Controversy, Popular Culture*, Bowling Green State University Popular Press, Green OH, 1994; Adrian Franklin, ‘Australian hunting and angling sports and the changing nature of human-animal relations in Australia’, *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, Volume 32, No.3, November 1996, pp.39-56, p.51

⁹³⁷ Austal, op. cit., p.9

⁹³⁸ John Ross and Helen Duffy (eds.), *Fish Australia*, Viking, Ringwood, Vic., 1995, p.6

⁹³⁹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.8, No.1, November 1951, p.52

⁹⁴⁰ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.8, No.2, Dec. 1951, p.94

⁹⁴¹ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.20, No.4, February 1959, p.59

shooters, but as we work during the week the only day we have off is Sunday, and because of the ridiculous Sunday shooting ban, we are unable to follow our sport.”⁹⁴² So confident were *Outdoors* of the strength of feeling against the ban on Sunday shooting that in 1957 they mistakenly announced its lifting, and were obliged to publish a retraction in 1959 after readers complained (some of them had been charged by police).⁹⁴³ However Sydney’s parsons were on a losing card against profane conduct on Sunday,⁹⁴⁴ and shooting was among the last activities to remain officially prohibited on the Sabbath. The weekend was increasingly the preserve of secular celebration, the leisure ethic even at times threatening the Protestant divine.

Anglers abounded among the weekend émigré’s from Australia’s industrialisation. Although no quantitative survey of angling was made during the long boom, comprehensive data has been collected since then. This data points to a steady popularity during the period covered by this thesis, if not more recently. In 1977, 1980 and 1996 a series of surveys sought to determine the age of anglers, their residential area, marital status and income group, as well as the time they spent fishing and the type of fishing they pursued. In 1977 30 per cent of New South Wales’s population over 13 years old fished recreationally,⁹⁴⁵ compared to 36 per cent of Victorians.⁹⁴⁶ In 1996 it was found that roughly the same proportion of NSW residents fished. 23 per cent of Sydney residents fished, as compared to 38 per cent of country residents, but since Sydney accounts for such a large part of the NSW population, this means that there were 700,000 anglers from Sydney and 800,000 from rural NSW. In 1996 18.8 million days were devoted to fishing in NSW, as compared to 16.3 per cent in 1977 (although given a population increase of 29 per cent since 1977, average fishing time per capita had actually decreased). Most anglers devoted twenty days or less to angling in 1996. 38 per cent of males fished, compared to 21.5 per cent of females in 1996. More people over 55 fished than did those aged 18 to 24. Although a higher proportion of single persons fished, there were actually more married anglers. There were more lower income anglers in total and blue collar workers (42.3 per cent) were more likely to fish than white collar workers (28.4 per cent). 39.7 per cent

⁹⁴² *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.11, No.6, October 1953, p.363

⁹⁴³ Kenneth Raymond, ‘Misfire on Sunday shooting’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.28, No.5, March 1963, pp.39-43

⁹⁴⁴ Waters, op. cit., p.415; religion itself might be seen as losing to more secular models of leisure, and particularly consumerist leisure, throughout the boom. See White et al., op. cit., p.131

⁹⁴⁵ McNair Anderson and Associates, *A Survey of Recreational Fishing in New South Wales, Report to NSW State Fisheries*, Sentry Holdings, Sydney, 1978

⁹⁴⁶ K. H. H. Beinssen, *Recreational and Commercial Estuarine Fishing in Victoria: A Preliminary Study*, Fish

of people who defined themselves as unemployed or students fished.⁹⁴⁷ Curiously, the roughly 30 per cent of people surveyed during the sixties and seventies in Sweden and North America also listed fishing as a recreation.⁹⁴⁸ In the most recent survey conducted in 2002, however, a change is evident. Lately, angling participation in New South Wales can be seen to have plummeted to 17.1 per cent, with Sydney recording only 13.1 per cent participation,⁹⁴⁹ perhaps marking a new phase of Sydney's relationship to the environment.

No survey has been made of the participation in hunting, although quite comprehensive data was collected on gun ownership when sociologist Richard Harding had questions inserted into the Australian Bureau of Statistics General Social Survey. Harding had conducted a pilot survey into gun ownership in West Australia in 1973, funded by the Criminology Research Council and he followed up the Australian Bureau of Statistics data in 1978 with market research surveys of rural New South Wales and South Australia.⁹⁵⁰ It was discovered that almost as high a proportion of Australian shooters lived in the capital cities as in the nation as a whole.⁹⁵¹ The urban hunter was once prolific. Franklin observes that hunting "became less a matter of the poor supplementing a meagre living with wild game, than of urbanites disappearing into the outback to escape the pressures of work, business and career."⁹⁵² Franklin's enquiries to the editor of *Sporting Shooter* yielded this response:

. . . trade surveys show that shooters fall into two principal groups: rural male youths aged 15-25 and urban males aged 35 plus. It suggests that rural youths take up shooting as an easily available sport but drop it once they enter work and can afford other leisure activities. For urban youths shooting is inaccessible and expensive but many decide to take it up when they can afford to.⁹⁵³

Never as popular as angling, hunting became an increasingly marginalised sport and we can surmise that the survey data taken at the end of the boom gave a conservative picture of gun culture in the boom.

and Wildlife Paper, Vic., No.16

⁹⁴⁷ Julian G. Pepperell, *Recreational Fishing in New South Wales: April 1995 — April 1996*, report prepared for NSW Fisheries, Pepperell Research and Consulting, Caringbah, 1996, pp.1-3

⁹⁴⁸ I. G. Simmons, op. cit., pp.26, 30, 36

⁹⁴⁹ http://www.fisheries.nsw.gov.au/recreational/general/survey_of_recreational_fishing_in_new_south_wales

⁹⁵⁰ Richard Harding, *Firearms and Violence in Australian Life*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, W.A., 1981; NSW gun licensing has a complicated history and enforcement of regulations has been lax. See the section on gun licensing at the end of this chapter.

⁹⁵¹ Australian Bureau of Statistics, *General Social Survey — Firearm Ownership*, ABS, Canberra, May 1975

⁹⁵² Franklin, op. cit., p.50

Hunting had developed as a unifying theme in pan-Atlantic and Imperial masculinity during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. John M. MacKenzie explores the development of the ethos:

It was in hunting that the most perfect expression of global dominance could be discovered in the late nineteenth century. Hunting required all the most virile attributes of the imperial male; courage, endurance, individualism, sportsmanship (combining the moral etiquette of the sportsman with both horsemanship and marksmanship), resourcefulness, a mastery of environmental signs and a knowledge of natural history. It was indeed that scientific dimension, the acquisition of zoological, botanical, meteorological and ballistic knowledge, and the ordering and classifying of natural phenomena which went with it, which helped to give hunting its supreme acceptability among late Victorians.⁹⁵⁴

E. J. Brady, himself the child of an American hunter, soldier and adventurer, transferred these virtues to the Australian civilisation he saw as moving into its manifest destiny as a new world power. The vitalism of Theodore Roosevelt, the great presidential hunter, was transmitted through an enthusiasm for bloodsports as much as for the modern state. To Brady, bloodsports were central to the concept of the modern citizen, just as Bean privileged rural skills in his model of the citizen soldier.

Holiday pursuits were truly a break from the workaday week of industrial production when they involved, if only in imitation, elements of pre-industrial production. Hunting and fishing were obviously such pursuits, although there were other remunerative forms of outdoor recreation. Prospecting enjoyed a post-war revival. 'You can find gold!' *Outdoors* told its readers; 'it might even be in your backyard!' ⁹⁵⁵ If not gold, then other riches might be sought by the amateur.⁹⁵⁶ A brief 'uranium rush' in the fifties gave way to a more sustained interest in prospecting, particularly after affordable metal detection equipment improved in the sixties. Joan Starr told readers that

There is plenty of room at Lightning Ridge for adventurous city folk who want to try for the fabulous black opal. That and rare characters . . . some of them incorrigible fossickers, some of them city folk who have rebelled against punching the Bundy to try and get rich fast.⁹⁵⁷

⁹⁵³ *ibid*, pp.50-51

⁹⁵⁴ John M. Mackenzie, 'The imperial pioneer and hunter and the British masculine stereotype in late Victorian and Edwardian times' in J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (eds.), *Manliness and morality : middle-class masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1987, pp.176-198, p.177

⁹⁵⁵ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.15, No.6, October 1956, p.2; Holly Borge, 'Gold in your backyard', *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.26, No.1, November 1961, p.50

⁹⁵⁶ Susan Powell et al., *The Australian Book of the Road*, Hamlyn, Sydney, 1971

⁹⁵⁷ Joan Starr, 'The ridge awaits you', *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.24, No.2, Dec. 1960, p.17

Although a minor recreation, prospecting was significant in that it evoked the ‘digger legend’ of the 1840s. The Australian urbanite could find wealth on the commons. In 1954 Ian Grey felt that the legend’s continued currency in Australia was rather regrettable, since it distorted history by attributing democratic struggle to the rebels at Eureka and stifled the pioneering spirit.⁹⁵⁸ It is argued above that the conflation of production and consumption in Sydney’s green belt had created a ‘subtopia’ very problematic to planners. Post-war suburban recreation similarly blurred the distinction between production and consumption. In hunting and angling, Australian urbanites could enjoy the recreational mimetic of pre-industrial production; prospecting was an obvious if obscure expression of this phenomenon.

The conflation of production and consumption often blurred the distinction and sometimes strained relations between professional and amateurs.⁹⁵⁹ Where such blurring led to conflict the state intervened. For instance, the state mediated the interests of commercial and recreational anglers. In 1948 the Director of Fisheries, T. C. Roughley, wrote of ‘Amateur Fisherman (sic) v. the Professionals’ that if “all requests for the closure of our estuaries against the use of nets had been acceded to it is questionable whether the estuary would now remain open to commercial fisherman.”⁹⁶⁰ When one *Outdoors* contributor, R. T. Robson advocated a total ban on the sale of Murray Cod in 1949, T. C. Roughley replied that in “doing so he states that he is ‘putting his head out’. Hand me the axe.”⁹⁶¹ *Outdoors* magazine presented ‘Hunting for profit’ as a viable profession to its readers in 1951.⁹⁶² By the end of the decade *Outdoors* regular Vic McCristal was warning “city boys beware”. McCristal referred to the market for ‘roo meat’, made possible by refrigeration but oversupplied, and the unstable skin business.⁹⁶³ McCristal advised that one might try ‘Spotlighting for pleasure or profit’,⁹⁶⁴ but warned that ‘Professional hunting means mass shooting’ and was a difficult path to the Australian dream, and that

⁹⁵⁸ Ian Grey, op. cit., pp.49,53

⁹⁵⁹ This echoed the demarcation between professional and amateur that had characterised organised sport for the first half of the twentieth century – see Stratton, op. cit., pp.96-98 for a discussion of the incorporation of sport. Later, notions of ‘sportsmanship’ reaffirmed the place of the amateur in outdoor recreation.

⁹⁶⁰ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.1, No.1, March 1948, p.52

⁹⁶¹ T. C. Roughley, ‘Conserving the Murray cod’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.4, No.3, November 1949, p.179

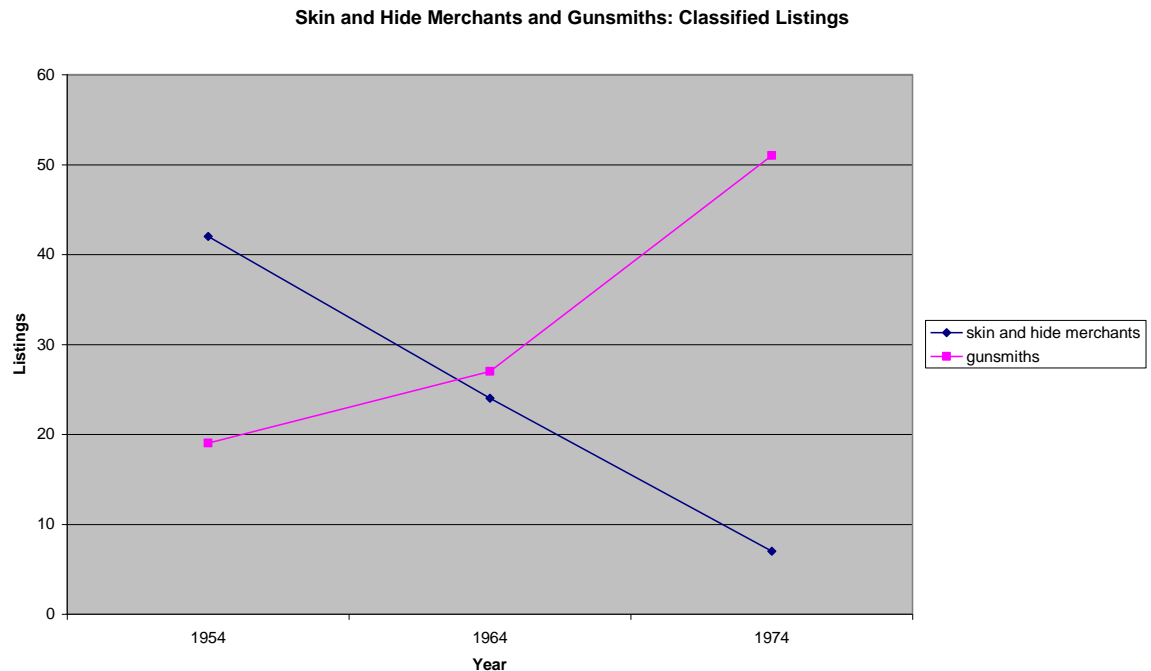
⁹⁶² ‘Tips for professional hunters’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.7, No.6, October 1951, p.431

⁹⁶³ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.24, No.2, Dec. 1960, pp.12-15

⁹⁶⁴ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.26, No.6, April 1962, p.18

It takes a particular kind of man to make a successful professional shooter. Usually it is a bushman, who knows nothing of the seeking for success which is the mainstay of his city cousin.⁹⁶⁵

The extent to which Sydney's shooters profited by their sport can be estimated to some extent by comparing the number of skin and hide merchants (who bought the pelts taken by professional shooters) to gunsmiths operating in Sydney:



966

Even allowing that a number of guns may not have been used for hunting, gun culture was clearly increasingly recreational; for the suburban bushman the conflation of production and consumption was highly symbolic. While rural communities might still supplement their budget through hunting and fishing, in post-war suburban Australia the nutritional and remunerative importance of the kill was of rapidly diminishing significance.⁹⁶⁷

The urbanite's fantasy of living the life of the bushman, while having little objective basis, was extended by the appropriation of selected Aboriginal customs. Where the tourist imagined themselves to be living something of an 'Aboriginal lifestyle', this was more often in accordance with some Polynesian ideal of leisure. Where the tourist hunted or fished, direct comparisons to Aboriginal culture and methods were often made; the outdoor sportsman (and

⁹⁶⁵ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.27, No.2, June 1962, p.19

⁹⁶⁶ See Appendix 1, Sydney Classified Listings

⁹⁶⁷ L. Sue Greer, makes a similar observation of the United States, in Greer, op. cit., p.159

more rarely sportswoman) being the inheritor of a hunting tradition. Davidson and Spearritt have commented that tourism “has always been a kind of appropriation, and nowhere more so than in a seemingly empty continent. Journeying near and far was a way of making good one’s claim, of giving one’s emigrant existence an imaginative dimension.”⁹⁶⁸ The title of Australia’s first official tourist magazine, *Walkabout*, illustrates the rather self conscious nature of this appropriation. Appropriation is exemplified at Uluru (formerly Ayer’s Rock), where the Aboriginal owners of the site have been variously excluded and exploited by tour operators and authorities, eventually regaining ownership of the site in the eighties.⁹⁶⁹ Chauvel’s *Jedda* (1955) and the art of Albert Namatjira (1938 onwards) are examples of popularly consumed Aboriginality, yet in many depictions of outback life Aborigines were excluded.⁹⁷⁰ In the early post-war period, however, the more adventurous tourist was likely to compare themselves to ‘the Aborigine’. Writers on the subject of ‘the outdoors’ were, from 1945, increasingly likely to make some mention of Aborigines: either as a patronised curiosity, as an idealised type, or more rarely with some degree of sensitivity. Rarely was appropriation of Aboriginal culture acknowledged. Hence when Ian Bevan opened the first chapter of the staunchly Anglophile *The Sunburnt Country* by observing that “this land has no mystery to lure tourists; no distinctive native dress except the wide-brimmed felt hat; no quaint customs except those resulting from licensing laws”,⁹⁷¹ Bevan ignored entirely Loudon Sainthill’s ‘Aboriginal’ (in as much as it used Aboriginal motifs) artwork, decorating the covers and endpapers of the book. The great Australian classicist, Gilbert Murray, O.M. had introduced the book by observing that there was some great nobility to be tapped in the Australian Aborigine⁹⁷² but this seems to have been lost on the editor, as are comments of other contributors.

Hunting and fishing embedded an ethos of the frontiersman in the tourist, restating race relations of the frontier. Where the tourist took “the odd shot at passing blacks”,⁹⁷³ the frontier

⁹⁶⁸ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.xxix

⁹⁶⁹ *ibid* p.187-219

⁹⁷⁰ *ibid*, op.cit., p.187-193

⁹⁷¹ Bevan (ed.), op. cit., p.15

⁹⁷² Gilbert Murray O.M., ‘Introduction’, in Ian Bevan (ed.), op. cit., pp.11-15, pp.13-14

⁹⁷³ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.198; see also Boyd’s (hopefully) apocryphal account of an American tourist paying to shoot Aborigines in *The Great, Great Australian Dream*; the rather oblique reference made by Stratton, op. cit., p.93; and the account of ‘sporting’ genocide related in Keith Dunstan, *Sports*, Cassel Australia, Melbourne, 1973, pp.318-9

was too realistically recreated. The history of white Australian fishing began with appropriation of Aboriginal knowledge, as well as fish. Sportsmen were sometimes accompanied by Aboriginal guides. For instance on the Murray River in the 1890s, King Pinbocoroo guided a group of sportsmen to a catch of ninety-three fish “and a few lobsters”.⁹⁷⁴ Books on fishing during the boom often began with a discussion of Aboriginal fishing techniques, making the connection implicit, and sometimes explicit, between modern and ancient fishing in Australia. Jack Pollard’s *Australian and New Zealand Fishing* devoted two pages to the subject.⁹⁷⁵ Duncan Jones’, ‘Fishing — the Native Way’ was composed after the author observed Aborigines spearing fish in Queensland and wondered about Aboriginal fishing around Sydney.⁹⁷⁶ He investigated ‘reference books’; chiefly T. C. Roughley, *Fish and Fisheries of Australia*, the last section of which was devoted to the subject.⁹⁷⁷ Outdoors journalists in the immediate post-war years still followed the inter-war fashion of using pseudonyms. Many of these were of an Aboriginal flavour, such as “Won tolla”⁹⁷⁸ and “Karliboodi”;⁹⁷⁹ adding an air of legitimacy to their writings on bushcraft. Select activities were mimicked. *Outdoors* introduced white Australia to the boomerang in 1949, the weapon having been popular among American and Australian troops.⁹⁸⁰ By the sixties boomerang throwing was described as a minor ‘sport’, having thus been assimilated to Australian culture;⁹⁸¹ by the seventies there was an all white national boomerang competition.⁹⁸² Aborigines appeared on the cover of *Outdoors*; Natapintja of the Pitchendajara tribe featured on the cover of the January issue, 1952.⁹⁸³ In 1954 *Outdoors* changed its layout to include ‘Aboriginal’ style artwork.⁹⁸⁴ A ‘Walkabout’ section began in 1958,⁹⁸⁵ ending in 1959.⁹⁸⁶ For a time the ‘walkabout’ described a great many outdoor adventures. Brian Reeve’s ‘Western Walkabout’, described a pigshoot in Western NSW, with a Holden but with no Aborigines.⁹⁸⁷

⁹⁷⁴ P. Boeridge, *Aboriginals of Victoria and the Riverina*, M. C. Hutchinson, Melbourne, 1897, pp.85-92

⁹⁷⁵ Jack Pollard, *Australian and New Zealand Fishing*, Books for Pleasure (Paul Hamlyn), Sydney, 1969, pp.12-13

⁹⁷⁶ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol. 18, No.2, December 1957, p.34

⁹⁷⁷ T. C. Roughly, *Fish and Fisheries of Australia*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1951, pp.317-27

⁹⁷⁸ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.1, No.1, March 1948, p.46

⁹⁷⁹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.2, No.2, October 1948, p.48

⁹⁸⁰ K. Norman, ‘The amazing boomerang’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.2, No.6, February 1949

⁹⁸¹ Dal Stivens, ‘Boomerang baloney’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.26, No.6, April 1962

⁹⁸² Stratton, op. cit., p.94

⁹⁸³ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.8, No.3, January 1952

⁹⁸⁴ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.12, No.4, August 1954

⁹⁸⁵ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.19, No.4, August 1958

⁹⁸⁶ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.20, No.5, March 1959

⁹⁸⁷ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.19, No.5, September 1958, p.23

Harry Frauca wrote of his 'Mt. Wellington Walkabout' near Hobart.⁹⁸⁸ Rolf Harris, who had appropriated the didgeridoo as part of his variety act, went bush in the late sixties; the book of his trip was called *Rolf's Walkabout*.⁹⁸⁹ In the field of organised sports Aborigines were being accepted into the public life they had been excluded from in the late nineteenth-century, finally being freed from official travel restrictions in 1967;⁹⁹⁰ in the disorganised sports of the outdoors a version of Aboriginal culture was being assimilated.

While outdoors activities and media appropriated imagined and real aspects of Aboriginal culture, they were also the sites in which white, suburban Australia had some contact with Aboriginality. ANU academic Peter Read has suggested that white Australia's attachment to the outdoors might help in reconciliation.⁹⁹¹ A look at the sources of popular outdoor culture suggests that there may have been some movement towards understanding. The naturalist Melbourne Ward, F.R.Z.S., F.Z.S., introduced readers of *Outdoors* to 'Primitive Fishing' in 1948,⁹⁹² and expanded to other anthropological topics in later articles.⁹⁹³ Jean Bull described the customs of Nyngan Aborigines in 'The Feast of the Bunyip'.⁹⁹⁴ "Karliboodi" recommended that readers 'Learn from the blackfellow',

Because the blackfellow has developed no means of clothing himself and does not erect substantial dwellings, we are prone to condemn him for showing no intelligence. But the blackfellow is a nomad — he is constantly moving from place to place following food supplies, and he would rather suffer the temporary discomfort of cold and heavy rain than the permanent discomfort of carrying clothes and camping equipment.⁹⁹⁵

The pages of *Outdoors*, while more often patronising and quite often simply racist, could occasionally present progressive views. French Australian and president of the Australian Crocodile Shooters' Club, Rene Henri described his contact with Aborigines:

⁹⁸⁸ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.20, No.2, Dec. 1958, p.42

⁹⁸⁹ Carol Serventy and Alwen Harris, *Rolf's Walkabout*, Rigby, Adelaide, 1971

⁹⁹⁰ Stratton, op. cit., p.90-4

⁹⁹¹ Peter Read, *Belonging: Australians, Place and Aboriginal Ownership*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000

⁹⁹² *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.1, No.1, March 1948; Ward had instructed the AIF in jungle survival and operated a museum in the Blue Mountains which displayed Aboriginal art, among other things, to Sydney's tourist trade, Martha Rutledge, 'Ward, Charles Melbourne (1903 - 1966)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 16, Melbourne University Press, 2002, pp 485-486.

⁹⁹³ Melbourne Ward, 'Fabulous monsters of the bush', *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.2, No.1, September 1948, p.31; 'Legends of the Mountains', *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.4, No.2, October 1949; 'Spirits of Flame', *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.6, No.6, April 1951, p.479

⁹⁹⁴ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.26, No.1, November 1961

⁹⁹⁵ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.2, No.1, September 1948, p.41

I liked him the moment I saw him – standing knee deep in the shimmering water of the Endeavour River, spearing fish. His powerful figure and the dexterity with which he used his spear remained impressed in my memory, and I was pleased to find a few days later that we could sign him up as native guide for our croc hunting expedition.

The police sergeant in Cooktown, North Queensland, informed me while I was signing the necessary papers that I would be responsible for Toby's welfare and behaviour while he remained in my charge. I had heard a lot about how one should treat an aborigine (sic), but I disregarded that advice. I treated him as a man – and a man and a half he turned out to be.⁹⁹⁶

Henri described burial rights, firestick farming, and tribal law, and genocide.⁹⁹⁷ David Arch described the usurpation of Aboriginal lands.⁹⁹⁸ In 1955 "Karliboodi" celebrated the ('genuine', as opposed to urban) Aborigine, in 'Hunting with the Australian blacks':

When the modern sportsman steps out for a weekend's shooting he's as well equipped as he can afford to be. He probably drives fifty or a hundred miles in this year's convertible or maybe he's the rugged type who can put up with a Land Rover. There's an icebox in the back with a few delicacies and stimulating bottles, waders to keep his feet dry, mackintoshes, plenty of warm clothes and anti-glare glasses. His guns are shining precision instruments.

I think he's a cissy. When the Australian Aborigine goes walkabout he goes without all these refinements and he's deadly serious.⁹⁹⁹

Clearly, some outdoors writers were of little help to the Aboriginal cause,¹⁰⁰⁰ but the outdoors media at least raised the issue of Aboriginality in a nation that was actively continuing the dismantling of Aboriginal culture.

Other aspects of the frontier could be found on a weekend away. As well as providing a theatre in which to re-enact colonial relationships, in post-war Australia 'nature' was seen as a site to re-enact military traditions. "D-Day" means "Duck Day" declared *Outdoors* in 1954.¹⁰⁰¹ *Outdoors* firearms expert and one time secretary to the Sporting Shooter Association R. B. Tunney presented his militaristic philosophy to readers in a series of articles titled 'Arms and the Man', wherein he argued that the atavistic tendencies of men were essential to civilisation:

⁹⁹⁶ 'This fella Toby', *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.6, No.4, February 1951, p.296

⁹⁹⁷ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.6, No.4, February 1951, p.298

⁹⁹⁸ David Arch, 'Australia's greatest outdoorsmen are a dying race', *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.8, No.3, January 1952, p.197

⁹⁹⁹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.12, September 1955, p.32

¹⁰⁰⁰ Of an abundance of examples, take E. A. Yarra, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.15, No.5, September 1956, p.35

¹⁰⁰¹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.9, July 1955, p.21

And so the wheel turns. Weapons as first developed were essentially defensive instruments and rapidly became diverted to the requirements of the chase. Then they became adapted to warfare, greater and greater emphasis being placed on this aspect until today this is the major consideration. Throughout their history the trend has been more and more from the close-quarters weapon towards that of the missile projector, until today we can hit and kill at ranges undreamed of even fifty years ago. Where we go from here is anybody's guess, but one thing is certain: bombs of alphabetical type notwithstanding if we are to hold this country it must be by proficiency at small arms. Those of you who exercise yourselves in their use will prove to be the mainstay of our defence.¹⁰⁰²

Recreation, defence, and therefore civil defence were thus linked in the minds of some. *Outdoors* correspondents included ex-army bushcraft instructor R. H. Graves¹⁰⁰³; Colonel Townsend Whelen, 'bushcraft correspondent'¹⁰⁰⁴; and Major R. O. Ackerman, muzzle loading enthusiast.¹⁰⁰⁵ Others went under pseudonyms, much as correspondents had done in that chummy journal of repatriation, *As You Were*.¹⁰⁰⁶ Post-war men sought reassurance in the role of soldier when suburban life became too close. Gunsmith Sil Rohu included the information that he was 'late AIF' in his advertising.¹⁰⁰⁷ Even the polite post-war bushwalker might resort to military analogy when describing otherwise peaceable adventure, as did Bernard Peach, in 'Assault on Mount Guougang', when writing of a climb twenty miles west of Katoomba.¹⁰⁰⁸ Davidson and Spearritt note the "almost military demeanour" of an early twentieth-century touring party,¹⁰⁰⁹ while Miles Dunphy's selected writings feature a photograph of an armed bushwalker. "Hikers" might still be photographed with rifles in their kit as late as the fifties.¹⁰¹⁰

The Second World War had not blunted the popularity of gun sports in Australia. Indeed, the war had been beneficial. On the improvements to the sporting rifle after WWII, one contributor to *Rod and Gun* commented that "the most outstanding event of recent history of the sporting rifle is the marked improvement in ballistics of the many types of cartridges".¹⁰¹¹

¹⁰⁰² *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.12, No.5, September 1954, p.55

¹⁰⁰³ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.5, No.1, March 1950, pp.38-9

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.8, June 1955, p.10

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.19, No.4, August 1958, p.7

¹⁰⁰⁶ *As You Were*, op. cit.; *As You Were* forms part of a war memorial series that continues, functionally and aesthetically, the work begun by Bean in *The Anzac Book*.

¹⁰⁰⁷ *Gregory's 100 Miles 'round Sydney*, 1st edition, Gregory's Guides and Maps, Sydney, c1947, p.68

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.28, No.1, November 1962, p.10

¹⁰⁰⁹ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.230

¹⁰¹⁰ W. A. Beatty, *Beyond Australia's Cities*, (2nd edition), Cassel & Co, Melbourne, 1959, photographic plate opposite p.64

¹⁰¹¹ *Rod and Gun*, November 1948, p.6

Major G. D. Mitchell advised his readership on 'Living off the Rifle'. The bushman and the Anzac were of the same stock, as far as the Major was concerned and the gun symbolised the relationship.¹⁰¹² Guncraft, then, was essential to the modern citizen if they were going to be of service in times of war. *Rod and Gun* approved sporting uses for military rifles but advised that readers regard "that war souvenir Jap rifle with the same suspicion as you did the enemy himself".¹⁰¹³ A thriving gun culture, wrote R. B. Tunney (then Vice-President and Secretary of the Sporting Shooters' Association) was essential to Australia's defence:

The sporting rifleman trains himself in shooting under conditions almost identical with those he will experience in battle, and by reason of his acquaintance with firearms will quickly learn to use a new weapon efficiently. On these grounds he is a better soldier than the man unacquainted with arms, or a man who's only shooting has been under entirely artificial range conditions. Will anyone contend that Australia need not look to her defences?

Inevitably, Tunney linked the right to bear arms to democratic freedom, warning "that blueprints for conquest and oppression, whether Communist or Fascist, call for licensing and registration of arms, so that their task may be simplified."¹⁰¹⁴ Curiously, Tunney was contradicted when *Outdoors* interviewed the USSR's Olympic shooting team in 1956. Jeff Carter reported that Russians were keen shooters. Soviet shooting, however, was not a family sport, and was pursued by clubs.¹⁰¹⁵ The 'Australian way of life' rejected communism and embraced outdoor sports, making *Outdoors'* investigation of the Soviet shooters a rather unusual piece of investigative journalism.

The association of masculinity and the hunt for fur, fin, feathers or adventure was a recurring theme through the twentieth-century. There were exceptions to the rule, of course – gender roles became curiously ambiguous around the campfire. Camp cookery in the family camp generally fell to the woman camper, but on more masculine, non family hunting and angling expeditions this gendered division of labour was not possible and the rules were relaxed. Some forms of cookery, especially those involving meat and fire, were more acceptably 'male'. The division of labour was repeated in the barbecue. Many books on angling and shooting included a cooking section. Recipes appeared alongside hunting and fishing articles.¹⁰¹⁶ Jack Pollard's

¹⁰¹² *ibid*, p.13

¹⁰¹³ *ibid*, p.1

¹⁰¹⁴ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.7, No.1, May 1951, p.123

¹⁰¹⁵ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.17, No.2, June 1957, p.8

¹⁰¹⁶ 'Preparing game birds for the table', *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.17, No.1, May 1957, p.38; 'Cooking

1969 *Australian and New Zealand Fishing* devoted 16 pages to cookery, and a further ten to smoking fish.¹⁰¹⁷ The construction of smokehouses and the advice of the CSIRO were discussed at length and with illustration; smoking was by far the manliest of cooking techniques.¹⁰¹⁸ Smoking could be an ‘emergency’ procedure, and was hence more masculine:

In Australia and New Zealand ideas as to what constitutes a good fish-smoker have changed somewhat in recent years. But it must not be forgotten that the construction of one is often an emergency matter, or has to be carried out in some remote spot where materials are at a premium.¹⁰¹⁹

Some forms of cooking seem to have been more acceptably masculine than others. Smoking and building smokehouses were manly pursuits deserving of detailed explanation.¹⁰²⁰ With the advent of the barbecue in the mid fifties a whole new realm of cooking opened up to masculinity, particularly where the barbecue itself was home-built.¹⁰²¹

If women were nudged away from the barbecue, they were actively excluded from the developing ‘outdoors way of life’. This is not to say that women did not participate despite efforts to exclude them. Post-war repatriation entailed the exclusion of women from employment which they had taken up as part of the war effort; typically this has been interpreted as an exercise of patriarchal hegemony within the labour market, which it undoubtedly was, but the de-industrialisation of women also had implications for leisure. This was an attempt to restore women to that role Veblen described as ‘vicarious leisure and consumption’, whereby women as wives would reinforce the status of men through conspicuous consumption and engagement in non-productive labour. Veblen had explained that the wife’s role increased in importance the more the husband was engaged in humiliating productive labour.¹⁰²²

Empirical evidence suggests a persistent minority presence of women hunters, who have at times attempted to assert their existence. In the immediate post-war period the pages of *Outdoors* resounded to the strident words of Tess Travers. In her column, ‘For the Girls’, Ms

Rabbits’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.17, No.2, June 1957, p.21; Wal Hardy, ‘Preparing fish for the pan’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.26, No.3, January 1962, p.46

¹⁰¹⁷ Pollard (ed.), op. cit. (2), p.141-59

¹⁰¹⁸ *ibid*, p.695-705

¹⁰¹⁹ *ibid*, p.700

¹⁰²⁰ John Sadler, ‘Simple method for smoking trout’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.4, No.3, November 1949, p.154; Wal Hardy, ‘How to Smoke Fish’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.29, No.3, July 1963, p.53

¹⁰²¹ Alan Gibbons, ‘£1 builds a barbecue’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.18, No.3, January 1958

Travers challenged assumptions of male readers and columnists. 'For the Girls' began March 1953¹⁰²³ and finished early in 1954,¹⁰²⁴ but the brevity of her career obscures the importance of Travers' contribution. Travers was not careful to hide her ambition, asking "what's nicer than a real fishing holiday? Well, could be when you go out and catch one bigger than hubby's!" Months later she asserted that the "age of male supremacy with the rod and reel is seriously being challenged."¹⁰²⁵ Nor was Travers polite to unenlightened male colleagues:

Says "Bellbrook" in the *Glen Innes Examiner*: What patience these women have! They'll flog the same spot of water for hours, until the fish takes the fly out of exasperation rather than be tormented for hours on end by this incessant playing."

Of course, if the fish took a fly that had been dipped in the same spot by a MAN, that would be termed "skill" at the following club "smoke" night.

Travers did not confine her interests to fishing, either. She interviewed a woman who had shot a record bag of crocodiles in the Northern Territory and then driven back to Adelaide after her husband fell sick. The remarkable Mrs. Gerlach said that "When I get out in the full set of skin accessories, I guess I'll look just like a dyed crocodile"¹⁰²⁶ In a following issue Travers investigated spearfishing, then published no more.

Although the most strident, Tess Travers was not the only woman to challenge men's privileged relationship to nature as it appeared in *Outdoors*. Travers may have been edified when the following year American adventurer and ichthyologist Eugenie Clark published *Lady with a Spear*.¹⁰²⁷ Another female contributor, J. C. Young declared:

See here now, these men have had a monopoly on fishing for long enough. Don't let anyone tell you a woman can't catch fish, and just to prove it, I propose, on these pages, to show how we girls go about bringing home the bacon . . . or fillets . . . or whatever it is.

Young employed a good deal of self deprecation in making her argument, explaining that "he always looks resignedly at me as he takes the rod, and ALWAYS explains that the reel is to be used to reel the fish in with, and that there's no need to run up the bank with all the gear."¹⁰²⁸

¹⁰²² Veblen, op. cit. (2), pp.80-5

¹⁰²³ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.10, No.11, March 1953

¹⁰²⁴ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.11, No.11, March 1954

¹⁰²⁵ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.11, No.6, October 1953, p.399

¹⁰²⁶ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.11, No.9, January 1954, p.556

¹⁰²⁷ Eugenie Clarke, *Lady With a Spear*, The Scientific Book Club, London, 1955

¹⁰²⁸ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.11, No.1, May 1953, p.30

Self-deprecation proved an essential prerequisite to publication. Take Sara F. McErvell's 'Confessions of an angling Widow', 1956, for instance:

Let's say the curiosity which is supposed to characterise my sex prompts me every now and then to take a peep at the fishing magazines which my man receives every month. Mind you, when I've done with them, I take care to see that I leave them exactly as I found them. Frankly, my cautiousness doesn't stem from any feelings of reverence for the publication. It has a more personal background. Years of experience point up the domestic upheavals which can occur when the "lord and master's" pet reading matter has been mislaid. Thank goodness, such instances are rare, and better still, I'm never the culprit.

Nor am I the only woman who's fond of having a squint at the contents of these magazines of the great outdoors. In the correspondence I sometimes see where one of my own sex is so indiscreet as to query the Editor on some technical point. Sure she's courageous, but she's foolish to enter the boy's den.¹⁰²⁹

Emily Hyland took a more active interest in her husband's leisure pursuits, declaring that "I was a green weed widow", "Not a grass widow, a green weed widow, until I decided to see what this fishing was all about. It really has something."¹⁰³⁰ Hyland suffered lonely weekends 'till she ventured out fishing with hubby. There she caught a 20lb fish:

Although I only caught two fish, and Jack caught ten (his were bigger, too), I decided I liked this fishing game and wondered how I'd endure the next five weeks, before I'd be able to go fishing again.

From now on my week-end address will be "somewhere out fishing" with Jack, being mates, and sharing the good luck with the bad, and then talking about it for the rest of the week.

"Going fishing?" — Yes, thanks.¹⁰³¹

Although a willing participant, Mrs. Hyland was not claiming to be her husband's equal on the water.

Women game anglers enjoyed the nearest approximation of equality on the water. "Big game" fishing was far more glamorous, and capital intensive, than other forms of recreational angling. Dolly Dyer, a pioneering television celebrity and wife to Bob Dyer, enjoyed the sport in the company of the entrepreneurial Bullen and the jet-setting American author Zane Gray.¹⁰³² *Outdoors* reported that 'Big catches hush critics':

¹⁰²⁹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.14, No.6, April 1956, p.43

¹⁰³⁰ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.17, No.4, August 1957, p.16

¹⁰³¹ *ibid*, p.77

¹⁰³² Robert Neal (Bob) Dyer came to Australia from the United States to perform in variety shows. He married Dolly Mack in 1940, produced 'Pick-a-box' for radio from 1948 and television from 1957 until 1971. He and

Over the doorway of Bob Dyer's lounge room there are two matched yellow fin tuna. Both are world record catches. A plate on the larger one on the left says "His". The smaller one is labelled "Hers".¹⁰³³

"Hers" was of course Dolly Dyer's, who demurred

I suppose I don't look capable of landing 1000lb monsters, but I think it is largely knowing the tricks, a little skill, a lot of stamina and the boatmanship of a good crew.¹⁰³⁴

Women from Sydney's smart set were attracted to the sport, and they themselves attracted the attention of fishing magazines and male anglers. Bob Dyer had no problem with competition from women anglers. When Kenneth Raymond, in 'Blue Water Heroin', interviewed game angler Mrs. Signa Paton, who was 8 1/2 stone and fished without a harness for marlin and shark, Bob Dyer appeared on the scene to offer assistance, the moment a fish was caught. Evidently, for single women the game fishing interview was likely to be followed by matrimony. Miss Anne Malone became Mrs. John Southam, and Miss Joan Watkins became Mrs. Toby Wansey in the short time between interview and publication of a story.¹⁰³⁵

Women's experience of the hunt was similar to their experience of fishing. American journalist Jane Dollinger, in 'We caught condors barehanded', wrote that "I was a woman, to be sure, but I had built my reputation on the fact that I could go anywhere and do anything a man could do."¹⁰³⁶ Women, however, were less likely to write articles on shooting. There were exceptions such as Sandra McLay's '16 Shots, 1 Deer'. Sandra hunted with her father for a fallow stag, which she eventually shot. She did not mention gender, ever, but praised her father's experience and skill. After the hunt she wrote that "Dad has mounted my head and it looks fine. He measures it by the Douglas System and it scored 209 points. His Australian record fallow scored 217 1/2 points so I was not far behind him."¹⁰³⁷ There was no shortage of sharp shooting women in Australia. Lionel Bibby ("famous Australian marksman") was moved to ponder 'Why women outshoot men'. Bibby recounted the case of Annie Oakley; a professional trick shooter with Buffalo Bill's troupe, she had had to fake a loss to win a husband. A more modern example was Mrs. A. Topperwin (nee Elizabeth Servanty), the first

Dolly held a great number of world and Australian game fishing records. Graeme Aplin, S. G. Foster and Michael McKernan (eds.), *Australians: A Historical Dictionary*, Fairfax, Syme and Weldon Associates, Sydney, 1987, p.123

¹⁰³³ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.24, No.1, November 1960, p.8

¹⁰³⁴ *ibid*, p.9

¹⁰³⁵ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.26, No.4, February 1962, pp.25-7

¹⁰³⁶ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.24, No.5, March 1961, p.23

¹⁰³⁷ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.30, No.5, March 1964, p.27

person in the world to break 25 skeet targets. Another was a Miss Foster, who took out the British “holy of holies”, the .303 Military Rifle Championship, in 1930 in open contest. Women were banned from competition thereafter: Bibby supposed that “Men found skirts disturbing, immodest, and unladylike. And they didn’t like ‘em in pants, either. Can’t say that I do myself.”¹⁰³⁸ Bibby interviewed the women of Bronte-Rose Bay R.S.L. Rifle Club, of which club one third of the members were women. Miss Sheila Cummings of the NSW Police Traffic Branch was singled out for photographic attention. Bibby waxed lyrical, barely able to conceal his subtext:

. . . one is forced to admire the tenacity of women who take up, and like, .303 rifle shooting, and, full of purposeful determination and skill, endure the sour-tempered, mule-like kick of the Army rifle; a weapon basically designed to be handled by rugged, heavy handed, hard faced men — not cuddled against peach-like cheeks and softly contoured shoulders which, when generously exposed to vulgar vision on the floor of the ballroom inspire the mighty male with an almost irresistible, hungry desire to bite chunks out of them.¹⁰³⁹

“They are just good looking girls who like to shoot”, concluded Bibby.¹⁰⁴⁰ Women shooters were sexy indeed, it seemed, although they were sexier at targets than they were on the hunt.

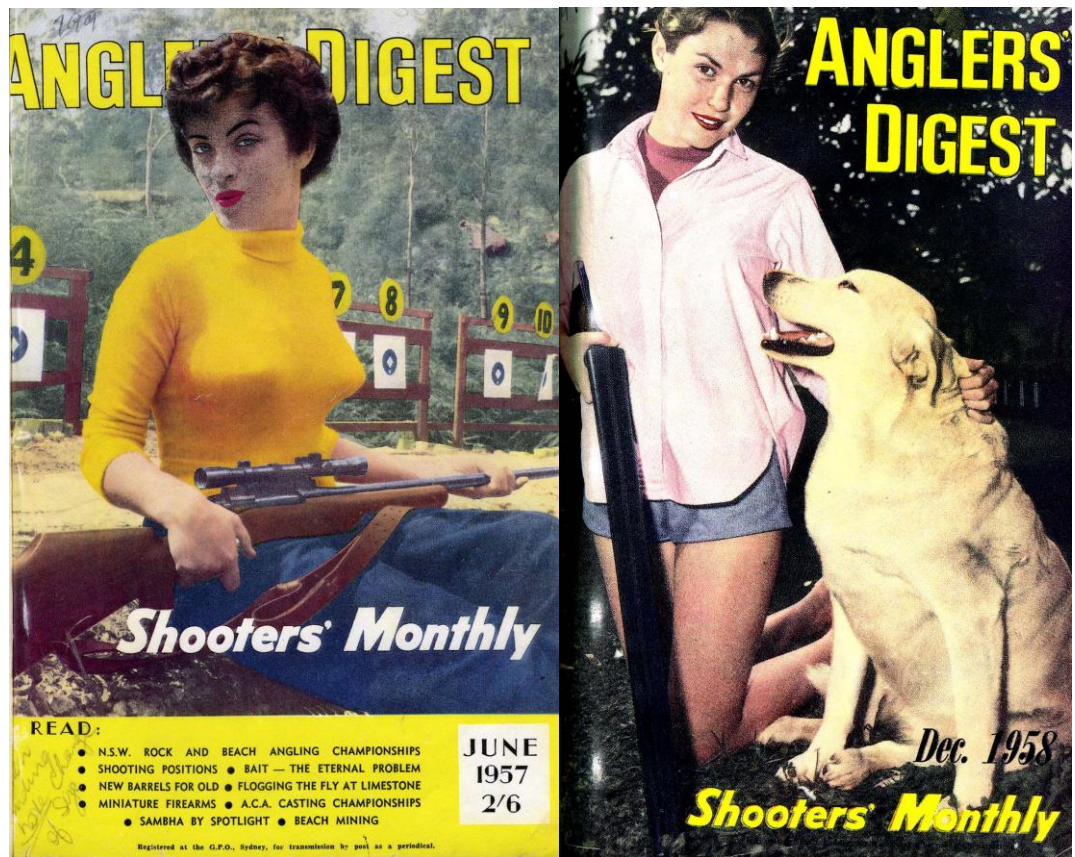
As the sixties approached women were less and less likely to be celebrated for skill, and more likely to appear posing on outdoor magazine covers. In the last half of the fifties *Anglers’ Digest and Shooters’ Monthly* began decorating its cover with armed women, devoting pride of place to each year’s Miss Sporting Shooter. When Danielle Boon (surely a pseudonym) submitted ‘Annie, Get Your Gun’, she wrote very little text but included many pictures herself on the rifle range.¹⁰⁴¹ Ms Boon was no fool.

¹⁰³⁸ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.27, No.3, July 1962, p.24

¹⁰³⁹ *ibid*, p.25

¹⁰⁴⁰ *ibid*, p.54

¹⁰⁴¹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.7, May 1955



Anglers' Digest and Shooters' Monthly, June 1957; Anglers' Digest and Shooters' Monthly, December 1958

There are many examples, such as “Miss Sporting Shooter”, above right, or Pam McGee, star of Barrier Reef film ‘Under Down Under’.¹⁰⁴² Other covers included ‘Girls’ skiing,¹⁰⁴³ a woman spearfishing.¹⁰⁴⁴ Another woman spearfishing,¹⁰⁴⁵ Barbara Frances trout fishing (*Outdoors* asked if readers had “Ever heard a trout wolf whistle?”),¹⁰⁴⁶ a woman gutting fish in a Slazenger top,¹⁰⁴⁷ women bonito anglers¹⁰⁴⁸, even more women anglers,¹⁰⁴⁹ and so on. This had the curious effect of showing women engaged in activities that the text of the magazines suggested they had no aptitude for.

¹⁰⁴² *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.11, No.4, August 1953, p.208

¹⁰⁴³ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.12, No.3, July 1954

¹⁰⁴⁴ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.4, February 1955

¹⁰⁴⁵ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.14, No.2, Dec. 1955

¹⁰⁴⁶ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.18, No.6, April 1958

¹⁰⁴⁷ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.19, No.6, October 1958

¹⁰⁴⁸ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.17, No.2, June 1957

¹⁰⁴⁹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.11, No.2, April 1953

Some outdoorsmen, unsportingly, responded to the feminine challenge with derision. Trans-Atlantic humorist Lawrence Lariar wrote in 1956 that the “best method for handling your little woman’s yen for rod and reel requires will power, self-control and a good stomach.”¹⁰⁵⁰ Vic McCristal initially declared the battle lost, and then sought to find resolution in the invention of the ‘family fisherman’. Some men embraced the company of their wives and advised other men to do so too. Others, such as the aforementioned R. B. Tunney, were intransigent chauvinists. In ‘Arms and the Man’ Tunney defended the outdoors as a male preserve, declaring that

even today, in this artificiality presently masquerading as “civilised” living conditions, the primordial huntsman in a man turns his hand to the weapons of the chase. More; that deeply-rooted instinct that is in a man to provide for and protect his family, an instinct as primal and essential as that of motherhood in a woman (though less insistently advocated by what today does duty as an educational system), must, be he a true man, at least stir within him at the clean, sharp crack of the nitro.

Tunney supposed his attitude was atavistic, but then

. . . if it be atavistic to lean towards circumstances where each man stands on his own two feet, then I thank the Red Gods that I am no effete by blow of a Welfare State that would reduce each to the level of the lowest common denominator. And let you all return thanks with me, and let none take away your rightful heritage, that sign of the free man through aeons of time, the right to keep and bear arms.¹⁰⁵¹

The male response to urban living and modern production, it was argued, was to indulge the atavistic.

¹⁰⁵⁰ L. Lariar, *Fish and Be Damned*, Hammond, Hammond and Co., London, 1956, p.10

¹⁰⁵¹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.11, No.11, March 1954, p.92

For some this was the meaning of life and the defining fantasy of their masculinity. The fantasy was often advertised:

A SPORT FOR THE SELECTIVE GENTLEMAN . .

Women admire him for his unerring judgement. He is the man of affairs—today's sophisticated who sets the pace, the modern, skilled way.

Of course he's a Shooting Club Man. These informal, relaxed clubs, conveniently situated have skilled instructors to quickly school you in the art of shooting. Such a fun way to spend leisure time.

Join the set. Become a Shooting Club Man.

GET THE FACTS.

Talk it over at your nearest sports store, or fill-in the coupon and post it away . . .

Right Now.

Become a Shooting Club Man who commands respect. Own a quality gun . . . S.K.B. brand will supply the image.

A range of fast-firing Autos, hard-hitting Side-by-Sides or pattern-perfect Over and Unders can be viewed at any real gun store.

Only men who know guns, men that can help you with your Club or hunting enquiries are franchised to sell S.K.B.

S.K.B. Shotguns
5-shot Automatics from \$140.
Double Barrel Side-by-Sides from \$137.
Over and Under Field or Trap Models from \$197.

To Gollin & Co. Ltd.,
G.P.O. Box 549, Sydney, 2000.
Send me the name of nearest
Shooting Club and S.K.B. Dealer.

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Outdoors, November 1967

This was certainly the thesis presented in Col Allison's *The Australian Hunter*:

Man is basically a hunter. Psychologists agree that hunting is one of the strongest fundamental urges. Primeval man hunted for food, shelter and women; it is a very puissant force indeed. Today people still hunt — only in a more sophisticated manner: in the big cities and small towns all over the country we find the hunt for wealth, power, prestige, bargains and a companion with whom to share them. Modern man's goals have evolved somewhat from the basic, continual hunt for food but, nonetheless, he is still a hunter: one who finds by search. Sophisticated urban man does this by *education* and *application* in his metropolitan environment, just as the hunter does in the wilderness.¹⁰⁵²

¹⁰⁵² Col Allison and Ian Coombs, *The Australian Hunter*, Cassell, North Melbourne, 1969, p.ix

As women were excluded from the mainstream of outdoors culture they found more feminised niches. Gwen Haslar edited *Caravan World* magazine, signifying the marginalisation of women in the outdoors and the domestication of outdoor leisure that the caravan entailed.¹⁰⁵³

While women might be excluded, hunting and fishing were salient features of an 'Australian way of life' to which it could be insisted male immigrants should assimilate. Sociologist Adrian Franklin has stressed the importance of hunting to the 'naturalisation' process of urbanised Australians:

Part of the Australianisation process consists of establishing or re-establishing custodial familiarity and rights of use in the landscape. Hunting, then, is one of the many ways in which Australian men have naturalised themselves into the landscape. This is particularly important for some categories of new migrants. The association of hunting and angling with masculinity, or at least with masculinity with specific class fractions, is very strong in Australia and deserves more attention.¹⁰⁵⁴

Franklin referred to the Australian population in general; in the context of migration outdoor sports took on a special meaning. In John O'Grady's assimilationist classic *They're a Weird Mob* Nino Culotta is accepted by his Australian workmates when they invite him rabbit shooting on the weekend. Culotta declines and his mates return from the hunt after seeing not one rabbit but many hunters.¹⁰⁵⁵ Significantly, in the sequel Culotta is advised by his doctor to take it easy and try a bit of fishing, whereupon Culotta becomes a professional fisherman; out-naturalising the Australians; he is at once more than and never quite 'one of us'.¹⁰⁵⁶ An English immigrant, Paddy Pallin described feeling "thoroughly Australianised" on becoming "Sydney's expert on bush matters" in the thirties.¹⁰⁵⁷ The protection of national identity against post-war migration seems to have led to a renewed, and until then fairly rare appreciation of native fauna. *Outdoors* editorialised:

Much of our native fauna is destroyed in the name of sport, or of pest reduction, unjustly. Ignorance concerning the laws that protect our animals and birds is another important factor, particularly among the younger generation and new arrivals to this country.¹⁰⁵⁸

¹⁰⁵³ Gwen Haslar, *Caravanning in Australia*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1974

¹⁰⁵⁴ Franklin, op. cit., p.51

¹⁰⁵⁵ Nino Culotta (John O'Grady), *They're a Weird Mob*, Ure Smith, Sydney, 1957

¹⁰⁵⁶ Nino Culotta (John O'Grady), *Gone Fishin'*, Ure Smith, Sydney, 1962

¹⁰⁵⁷ Paddy Pallin, *Never Truly Lost*, Sydney, UNSW Press, 1987

¹⁰⁵⁸ Editorial, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.5, March 1955, p.13

To remedy this, the magazine printed a ‘Hunting Guide for New Australians.’¹⁰⁵⁹ Ethnic minorities came to be scapegoated as being ‘unAustralian’ when they were blamed for behaviour which brought the sport into disrepute. Vic McCristal refers to some “gun-crazy Balts” who shot near him when he was 21; the young McCristal returned fire!¹⁰⁶⁰

While the outdoors were important to ‘naturalising’ ‘new Australians’, they were crucial to socialising the baby boomers. The abundance of outdoor institutions catering to baby boomers has been noted above, where it has been argued that reformers, planners, politicians and the public imagined the outdoors ameliorating the undesirable aspects of urbanisation, and that this ameliorative influence was deemed particularly important when it came to raising children. American ‘play theorists’ had long been of the opinion that children’s play reflected their ‘primitive’ impulses, and that these were determined by the child’s gender. Boys chased and hunted, while girls mothered.¹⁰⁶¹ In post-war Australia a gendered, leisured childhood in the ‘great outdoors’ was a cornerstone of ‘the Australian way of life’ enjoyed by the baby boomers. Veblen might have interpreted this as working fathers enjoying conspicuous leisure through their children, although fathers too enjoyed their ration of leisure. In 1954 author George Johnston wrote of Australia’s virtue as a nursery:

It is the Australian expatriate with young children who always goes home, for he it is who sees far away on the other side of Capricorn an image of long limbs and sunburnt skin, of laughter never pegged to requirements of politeness or class, of something which for all its uneasiness and confusion seems to talk of a true democracy of the spirit. He sees suddenly a promise for his own children which is dwindling, or has gone, in the older world.¹⁰⁶²

The outdoors provided masculine roles for fathers and sons, in contrast to the domestic sphere. Family camping, for instance, was deemed an ideal place to build healthy citizens and a healthy relationship between man and child. Peter Nicholl’s *Camping for Beginners* (dedicated to his son) began with the observation that “. . . fresh air, wholesome food and

¹⁰⁵⁹ Kenneth Raymond, ‘Hunting guide for new shooters’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.29, No.1, May 1963, p.13; Raymond’s advice is enlightening. A hunter was allowed to shoot the fox, dingo, pig, rabbit, pied cormorant, little pied cormorant, black cormorant, little black cormorant, pied currawong, eastern rosella, crimson rosella, white cockatoo, galah, wedge-tail eagle and the crow. A hunter was not to shoot the peregrine falcon, the little falcon or the Australian goshawk.¹⁰⁵⁹

¹⁰⁶⁰ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.20, No.4, February 1959, p.62

¹⁰⁶¹ Gleason, op. cit., p.157

¹⁰⁶² Johnston, op. cit., p.158

plenty of exercise are just what growing children need.”¹⁰⁶³ Veteran New Zealand deer shooter Jack McNair reminisced:

I was born in 1882, and I was very young when my father first taught me to shoot. He would aim his gun at a cluster of sparrows and I would stand beside him and pull the trigger . . . When I was ten years of age, he bought me an old single-barrelled muzzle-loading gun, but he would never buy me any ammunition for it. So I had to save the rabbitskins I could lay my hands on and sell them to hawkers who, with their horses and vans, were very common on country roads at the time.¹⁰⁶⁴

Values were a gift that kept on giving, just like your son’s first .22. The blooding of a child was deemed appropriate to the natural order of things. *Outdoors and Fishing* advised young readers that the “hunting instinct begins at an early age — around eight or nine — and there’s no better time for youngsters to learn to use a rifle. Good rifles are within the reach of every boy’s and girl’s pocket book.”¹⁰⁶⁵ Girls, however, were rarely encouraged to take up arms. Near Wyong in 1958 a shooting school for 12 - 15 year-old boys was formed. Girls were not invited.¹⁰⁶⁶ The reliably outrageous R. B. outlined his sexual politics and educational philosophy in ‘Training youngsters to shoot’:

Matrimony being a state which overtakes most men as the years blunten (sic) the fine edge of their evasive skill, I suppose that the time will come to most of us when we are confronted with youth willing and anxious to learn how to handle firearms. To those, especially those fortunate enough to be blessed with sons, I say a tremendous responsibility rests on your shoulders, the responsibility of ensuring that those who come behind you are properly taught, so that they may use firearms safely and accurately.¹⁰⁶⁷

There is on the market a squirter formed like a Thompson sub-machine gun, a very exact replica, and dimensioned about right for a child of four to six.¹⁰⁶⁸

Tunney advised youngsters on shooting etiquette, such as the importance of asking permission from farmers before shooting on their lands, sharing rifles, conserving game and protecting songbirds (while shooting ‘crows and marauders’).¹⁰⁶⁹ Familiarity with firearms was to be fostered from an early age, as was the blooding of a young man. Jack La Forest, for instance, reported in ‘His first wallaby hunt’ on a young lad’s first hunt for “rare”

¹⁰⁶³ Nichols, op. cit., p.5

¹⁰⁶⁴ Jack McNair, *Shooting for the Skipper*, A. H. and A. W. Reed, Wellington, 1971, p.15

¹⁰⁶⁵ ‘How to use your rifle’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.12, No.4, August 1954, p.36

¹⁰⁶⁶ Alan Gibbons, ‘School for shooters’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.19, No.4, August 1958, p.34

¹⁰⁶⁷ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.8, June 1955, p.14

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.8, June 1955, p.15

¹⁰⁶⁹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.12, No.4, August 1954, p.36

swamp wallabies.¹⁰⁷⁰ The advice of *Outdoors*' columnists was reinforced by the Australian film industry. In Anthony Kimmins' 1957 production of *Smiley*, the young larrikin protagonist learns the value of work and thrift and is rewarded with a bicycle. The sequel, *Smiley Gets a Gun*, the little bush boomer learns social responsibility and is rewarded with a .22 rifle.¹⁰⁷¹ The Australian outdoors could be a harsh tutor, exposing the boomers to all manner of risk. In the forties the State Crown Solicitor's office reported that the State's playgrounds were a battlefield. In one case cited a ten year old boy crossed the road and purchased a bow and arrow, returning to the playground to shoot out the eye of an infant; it was deemed that supervision had been adequate, that "the bow and arrow was not in itself a dangerous thing to put into the hands of the particular purchaser" and that it was the boy who was at fault.¹⁰⁷² Fishing was similarly on the syllabus of masculine education. In 'Teaching youngsters to fish', Jeff Carter stressed the importance of positive role models.¹⁰⁷³ Jack Pollard advised readers of *Gregory's Australian Fishing Guide* that

One of the best things that a man can do for his son is to teach him to fish. For the young, it is one of the best character forming pursuits. Every angler is an active participant in his sport. This contrasts sharply with some of the more highly organised and commercialised sports where thousands of followers merely sit on benches and boo far more often than they cheer.

Fishing brings out initiative in the young and trains them to be self reliant. It teaches them to apply themselves persistently to the job in hand until it has been brought to a successful conclusion or has been proved beyond all doubt not to be worth while. It teaches them to plan ahead, and breeds an ability to meet emergencies with a cool head. It produces a love of our great outdoors and a knowledge of nature that could not be gained in any other way.¹⁰⁷⁴

The outdoors were deemed useful in training the young in skills they would need to succeed when participating in the industrial city.

¹⁰⁷⁰ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.27, No.4, August 1962, p30

¹⁰⁷¹ Anthony Kimmins, *Smiley*, London Films and Twentieth Century Fox, 1957; Anthony Kimmins, *Smiley Gets a Gun*, Twentieth Century Fox, 1959

¹⁰⁷² SRNSW: CGS 10664, *Kingswood 11/19039*, National Fitness Council of New South Wales, *Precedent Book*, c1945-1966, 'Accidents to school pupils', *Ricketts v. Erith Borough Council and Another*, October 18th, 1943

¹⁰⁷³ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.16, No.6, April 1957, p.18

¹⁰⁷⁴ Jack Pollard (ed.), *Gregory's Australian Fishing Guide*, Third Edition, Sydney, Gregory's, 1964, p.4

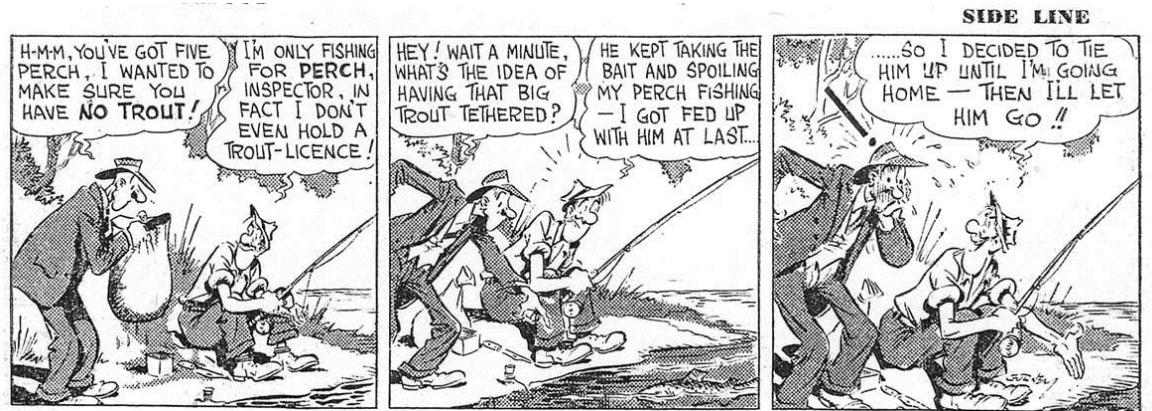


Smiley learns the value of thrift, work, citizenship and consumerism¹⁰⁷⁵

The outdoors, then, proved a significant site in the enactment of ‘the Australian way of life’. If schemes for the redistribution of the population through decentralisation had proven rather too grand, and if the market had proven rather too expansive to curtail, the more pragmatic of planners and the more suburban solutions proved eminently successful. Particularly in their rear guard action, the Cumberland County Council had struck upon a response to urbanisation that was sympathetic to the political economy of a booming Australia. Planners were successful in their efforts to provide recreational space where leisure time could be used productively. Men could be reassured of their masculinity, women could be reminded of their femininity, Aborigines could be imitated, migrants assimilated and children socialised. This was particularly so in those democratised, predatory pursuits of the leisured class. Through planned and then commodified recreation a leisure ethic was instilled in the population which augmented the work ethic, removing from the immediate landscape all the “isms” that had so concerned thinkers from across the political spectrum, from R. S. Jackson to R. G. Menzies. The forgotten people had somewhere to play with the toys newly on the market. Recreational space, however, was limited and as the boom continued this presented challenges to the Australian way of life.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Kimmins, op. cit.

A better class of outdoorsman: conflict, conservation and sportsmanship



*Bluey and Curley Annual*¹⁰⁷⁶

The efforts of reformers to provide and then partially to protect open space for the newly leisured was effective, even if it did entail the revision of the more utopian of post-war goals. At least one stated aim of leisure reform, the removal of “isms” from the political landscape, was achieved with only one notable exception. Leisure tended to bolster, not undermine the functioning of post-industrial capitalism, drawing the polity away from socialism and communism but giving a great boost to consumerism. The success of the program was, of course, dependent on finite recreational resources. The rationalisation of time and space to allow for suburban interaction democratised leisure but gave rise to competition for recreational space as the population increased and concentrated in cities. This challenged, extended and transformed the outdoors ethos. An emergent environmental consciousness drew on earlier arguments for conservation that had often been allied to the vitalist, social Darwinist strains of social reform. Early ‘conservationists’ such as the acclimatisation societies had aristocratic pretensions that informed their concept of nature and empire. The democratic ideal held that nature was a commons, but conservation increasingly held that nature was an estate to be protected from poachers. To some extent this had been anticipated by planners, who had seen themselves as the ideal mediators of the various ‘outdoor’ interests. Patrick Abercrombie advised the student of planning of “the need for a systematic study of this aspect of country planning: farmers, ramblers, riders,

¹⁰⁷⁶ Alex Gurney, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, The Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne, 1951, no page number

motorists, landowners, country dwellers, hunters, shooters, fishers and amenity organisations – each have their points of view which require harmonising.”¹⁰⁷⁷ Although the eighties saw a heightening of environmental concerns, the rationalisation of environmental management began somewhat earlier. Mirams has noted that environmental histories tend to present the linear progression of an environmental consciousness from the fauna and flora protection campaigns of the late nineteenth-century, through the inter-war struggles of such figures as Miles Dunphy, to the ‘Green Revolution’ of the late seventies and eighties, yet the historical progression was rarely so clear. Often scientists, eugenicists and other social reformers, acclimatisers and hunters were behind early conservation initiatives.¹⁰⁷⁸ Depletion of resources was evident to anglers, shooters and outdoors writers. Some called for state intervention, usually in the form of subsidies but also regulation and licensing. The debate over licensing revealed existing class demarcation among bloodsport enthusiasts, challenging the post-war democratisation of leisure. These class tensions were expressed, repressed or resolved by the emergence of a sporting ethos. In privileging the ‘art’ of hunting and angling and in denigrating the wholesale harvesting of game and fisheries, ‘sportsmanship’ removed all but the purely symbolic elements of production that still accrued to Australian ‘bloodsports’. Bloodsports thus became a site of consumption, and it is not then surprising that a great deal of commodification followed.

Over the post-war period, and increasingly as a result of pressure on game and angling resources, class distinctions already present in the outdoor sporting community became more prevalent, and new divisions appeared. Conflict arose between bushwalkers and other ‘traditional’ users of open space. The purist bushwalker competed with those on horseback,¹⁰⁷⁹ four-wheel drives, trail bikes and more recently mountain bikes, but especially with shooters.

It has been seen that the intended dual use of Sydney’s green belt degenerated into conflict and exclusion. Signs of tension were also evident in that far more extensive, and public open space that was managed by the newly formed National Parks and Wildlife Service.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Abercrombie, op. cit., p.227

¹⁰⁷⁸ See for instance Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., pp.226-7

¹⁰⁷⁹ Joan Starr, ‘Bushwalking the Easy Way’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.26, No.2, Dec. 1961

The National Parks and Wildlife Service Infringement (Offence) Files¹⁰⁸⁰ show that some Sydneysiders viewed the parks as a commons, while rangers divided their time between prosecuting such poachers and policing recreational and environmental amenity. Older attitudes to the environment persisted despite their efforts. In 1972 one Western Sydney stock and wildlife dealer saw no need for a licence, and refused to recognise the authority of the state in regulating his business. “Bugger the Police!” he declared, “This is my private room and my office is out there.”¹⁰⁸¹ Dealers showed flagrant disregard for regulation. Take this exchange between a parks officer and Fairfield pet shop owners, reported to the Fairfield Court of Petty Session in 1976:

I said: “Where did you obtain these three Eastern Rosellas?”

He said: “A bloke who buys seed here came in the other day and swapped 20 budgerigars for these 3 Eastern Rosellas.”

I said: “Who was he?”

He said: “I don’t know his name but I’ll find out when he comes in next.”

I said: “Did you get a receipt from him?”

He said: “No.”

I said: “Why not?”

He said: “I didn’t think of it.”

I said: “Where did you buy the five Diamond Doves?”

He said: “My wife bought them off a woman.”

I said to Ethel: “Can you tell me the name and address of the woman?”

Ethel said: “I’m afraid I don’t know who she was.”¹⁰⁸²

Such laconic disdain was reminiscent of Bluey and Curley, but may have been hard to maintain on leaving court with a \$50 fine, plus costs. While some harvested wildflowers,¹⁰⁸³ the majority of offences related to the taking of birdlife and selling it without a licence.¹⁰⁸⁴ Another conflict, between graziers and rangers in the Kosciuszko National Park, was ongoing. A lack of fences in the high country and an ‘impound now, fine later’ culture among rangers generated extensive correspondence.¹⁰⁸⁵ Among recreational users, motorcyclists were particularly problematic. The service showed

¹⁰⁸⁰ SRNSW, CGS 10674, Kingswood 3/17935-36, National Parks and Wildlife Service, Infringement (Offence) Files, 1972-76; These records are restricted and it is condition of their release that personal details of offenders or potential offenders not be cited, where the prosecution of a case was unsuccessful.

¹⁰⁸¹ SRNSW, CGS 10674 Kingswood 3/17935, A3888

¹⁰⁸² SRNSW, CGS 10674 Kingswood 3/17936, A7420

¹⁰⁸³ SRNSW, CGS 10674 Kingswood 3/17935, A3889; SRNSW, CGS 10674 Kingswood 3/17936, A7469

¹⁰⁸⁴ SRNSW, CGS 10674 Kingswood 3/17936, A7412-59

¹⁰⁸⁵ SRNSW, CGS 10674 Kingswood 3/17935, A3906

leniency towards a first offence when a parent insisted that the “boys are quite responsible for their years and they have had it drummed in that all fire tracks are out of bounds, in my view their straying was by mistake, and not in defiance of your regulations.”¹⁰⁸⁶ Where motorcyclists were a menace to other recreational users, however, prosecution ensued. When Roger Cameron of Dee Why was apprehended at Ku-ring-gai Chase he was confronted with the possibility that he might have hit a picnicker; “I guess you are right” he told the ranger, “I was silly riding there”.¹⁰⁸⁷ Others were unrepentant. The response of Kevin Quin of GyMEA to a ranger’s challenge in the Royal National Park was that he had ridden in the area many times.¹⁰⁸⁸ Apprehended on dunes behind a sign prohibiting vehicular access, Karsten Weber of Canley Vale told the ranger that he had “wanted to see what was out here”. The ranger was careful to remind the court that picnickers were close by, privileging this form of family recreation.¹⁰⁸⁹ Others said they thought cars, not motorbikes, were prohibited.¹⁰⁹⁰ In other cases the picnickers called rangers to the scene.¹⁰⁹¹ The service also acted to protect Aboriginal artefacts, prosecuting such vandals as Evelyn Jesse Wiles of Merrylands in 1974. Ms. Wiles had actually signed her name over Aboriginal paintings in the snake cave at Mootwingee Historic Site (now Mutawintji National Park), including her suburb of residence and providing a signature for comparison in the site’s visitors’ book.¹⁰⁹² Sydney’s recreational shooters were evidently a problem in parks, as well as on private property. In 1976 Michael Kavouras of Toongabbie told a ranger that he had no idea that either the coot or the little grebe that he had just shot, and which he wanted to eat, were protected species. “I just come from Sydney to shoot a bit”, he said.¹⁰⁹³ Some offences were not taken very seriously at all. When a ranger approached a couple who were picnicking on a service trail with their dogs, the man shrugged his shoulders and asked: “Why pick on us? We are only trying to enjoy ourselves.” The court

¹⁰⁸⁶ SRNSW, CGS 10674 Kingswood 3/17935, A3890

¹⁰⁸⁷ SRNSW, CGS 10674 Kingswood 3/17935, A3892

¹⁰⁸⁸ SRNSW, CGS 10674 Kingswood 3/17935, A3895

¹⁰⁸⁹ SRNSW, CGS 10674 Kingswood 3/17935, A3896

¹⁰⁹⁰ SRNSW, CGS 10674 Kingswood 3/17935, A3898

¹⁰⁹¹ SRNSW, CGS 10674 Kingswood 3/17935, A3896

¹⁰⁹² SRNSW, CGS 10674 Kingswood 3/17935, A4004; The subsequent theft of rock paintings by a group of university students resulted in the park’s return to Aboriginal custodianship – see http://www.teachingheritage.nsw.edu.au/c_resaping/reconciliation_meta2.html . The snake cave is now off limits.

¹⁰⁹³ SRNSW, CGS 10674 Kingswood 3/17936, A7357

found that the allegations were proven, but dismissed the case.¹⁰⁹⁴ John Boardman of Vacluse thought it “ridiculous” that dogs be required to wear a leash in Nielsen Park, but found that the courts did not share his views.¹⁰⁹⁵ Indeed, the worst place to be caught with your dog running was Nielsen Park, where Ranger Kenneth Arthur Blade enforced the law to the very letter and built the largest single contribution to the archival record of transgressions against the service.¹⁰⁹⁶

Urban hunters and anglers inevitably impacted on the natural resources on which their recreation depended. It has already been seen that they were increasingly unwelcome in Sydney’s rural hinterland; the notion of the hinterland was itself changing as technology brought greater access and extended the reach of the city. *Outdoors* contributor Kenneth Raymond pondered the problem of ‘where to shoot’ against a background of increasing competition:

. . . many forms of gun sports, all of which boomed spectacularly after World War II, are showing signs of withering because of shrinking facilities . . . Expanding settlement is pushing unprotected game further beyond the reach of the weekend shooter.¹⁰⁹⁷

From the early fifties anglers noticed a decrease in the number of fish, sometimes recognising that this was partly a result of their own depredation. While one contributor to *Outdoors* contended that there probably were less fish, but held there were “still enough to go around,”¹⁰⁹⁸ many were less sanguine. Jeff Carter’s ‘Sixty years in search of the Murray cod’ described the alarming decline of the Murray River fishery.¹⁰⁹⁹ In 1948 *Outdoors* reprinted an American article, ‘Fishy accidents’, in which it was noted that

Many kinds of ocean fish get foreign objects stuck to or around their bodies. Off the American coast, not far from towns, great quantities of sewage and street garbage are tipped into the sea, among them large numbers of rubber bands, circular washers and the like. Fish like mackerel, garfish, needlefish, haddock and bluefish sometimes run into these and are caught wearing them like girdles.¹¹⁰⁰

Wal Hardy wrote that ‘Tailor, everyman’s game fish’ was becoming rare as a result of overfishing. “Nowadays,” wrote Hardy “the big game fishing spots near the big centres are

¹⁰⁹⁴ SRNSW, CGS 10674 Kingswood 3/17936, A7380

¹⁰⁹⁵ SRNSW, CGS 10674 Kingswood 3/17936, A7403

¹⁰⁹⁶ SRNSW, CGS 10674 Kingswood 3/17936, A7380; A7403; A7404; A7464; A7465; A7485

¹⁰⁹⁷ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.29, No.5, September 1963, p.42

¹⁰⁹⁸ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.11, No.10, February 1954, p.676

¹⁰⁹⁹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.16, No.6, April 1957, p.38

¹¹⁰⁰ David Gunston, ‘Fishy accidents’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.3., No.1, March 1949, pp.40-1

usually over-run with anglers, and the big resorts are crowded.”¹¹⁰¹ T. C. Roughley contended that there had been a veritable invasion of the inland rivers, as there was

. . . much evidence presented to us to indicate a greatly increased intensity of fishing since transport by motor car became so widespread. Wherever we went we heard the same story – motorists in their hundreds flocked to the Murray and its tributaries such as the Wakool, Moulamein and Edwards Rivers and with cross-lines, spinners behind power boats, springers – yes, and drum nets sufficient in numbers to make a professional fisherman envious – they fished the streams and removed vast numbers of Murray cod. But, here’s the rub, it was invariably presented to us that the great bulk of fish caught were below the legal limit of fifteen inches.

So great were these catches that at times the fish were taken away in truck-loads, and it was not uncommon for these “sportsmen” to sell much of their catch locally¹¹⁰²

A decade later Roughley declared that there was scarcely a decent fish to be had within 500 miles of Sydney.¹¹⁰³ Near the big cities, competition between outdoorsmen became intense and the range of their travels increased accordingly.¹¹⁰⁴ Sydney’s anglers might travel to Hawks Nest and Tea Gardens,¹¹⁰⁵ take up the ‘Shoalhaven Challenge’,¹¹⁰⁶ or explore the Hawkesbury, which was “within easy striking distance of Sydney and suburbs, and along much of its length remains comparatively unspoiled.”¹¹⁰⁷ At times the competition drove men to desperate measures; in 1959 a Sydney magistrate was compelled to fine two men for using explosives to catch fish on the Georges River.¹¹⁰⁸

¹¹⁰¹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.15, No.6, October 1956, p.23

¹¹⁰² T. C. Roughley, ‘Conserving the Murray Cod’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.4, No.3, November 1949, p.179

¹¹⁰³ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.23, No.5, September 1960, p.62; Brown refers to Roughley in ‘a newspaper’ as having said that it was impossible to catch fish within a reasonable drive of Australia’s cities, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.23, No.5, September 1960, p.14

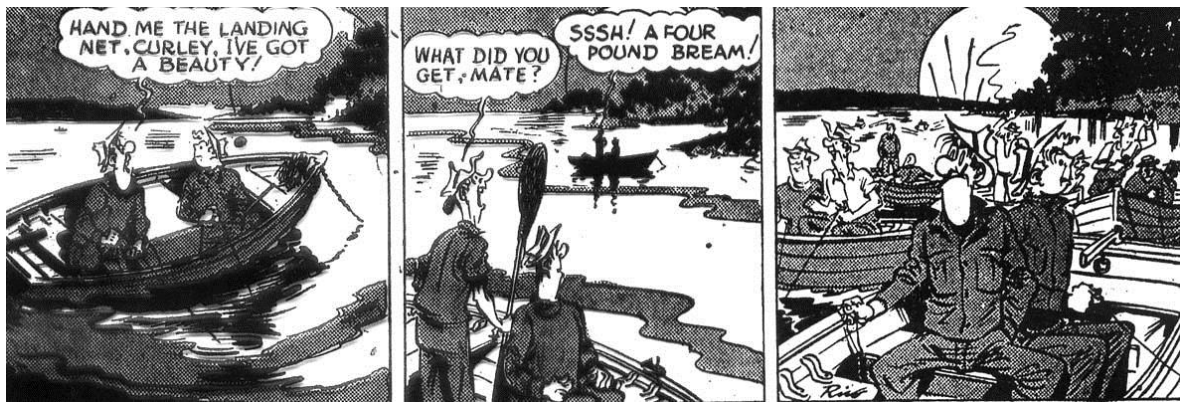
¹¹⁰⁴ Brian Phillips, ‘Stop this fish slaughter’; Phillips refers to T. C. Roughley’s comment that “. . . there isn’t a decent fish to be caught within 500 miles of Sydney,” *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.23, No.5, September 1960, p.62

¹¹⁰⁵ Alan Gibbons, ‘300 miles of fishing’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.6, No.4, February 1951, p.299

¹¹⁰⁶ Bernard Peach, ‘Shoalhaven challenge’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.19, No.4, August 1958, p.38

¹¹⁰⁷ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.19, No.1, May 1958, p.47

¹¹⁰⁸ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.3, January 1955

*Bluey and Curley Annual*¹¹⁰⁹

Outdoors authors and journalists called for state intervention in Australia's recreational fisheries, either as a regulator or scientific manager. Amateur fishermen blamed their diminishing catch on "professional fishermen, spearfishermen, motor launches, pollution and anything that may or may not have a bearing on the question."¹¹¹⁰ Spearfishing, it was declared, impacted heavily on groper and rock blackfish, and needed regulation. Brian Phillips complained that people kept four and five inch bream if left to their own devices.¹¹¹¹ In 1969 Jack Pollard wrote that the species had suffered from the introduction of carp, redfin "and even trout", and the building of locks and weirs. "Native fish need natural rivers for survival and these waters are becoming scarcer" wrote Pollard, before describing the best methods of catching the cod.¹¹¹² Wal Hardy argued for conservation measures, by which he meant the limiting of commercial harvesting, stressing the social importance of the tailor, appealing to the democratic principle:

But the merits of the case for conservation do not rest on the money involved. The growing boy, and the man of moderate means who can afford only a moderate amount of tackle have a right to be able to go out and catch a fish without having to travel 200 miles to do it.¹¹¹³

R. M. Mackenzie argued that the ban on taking large cod should be lifted, because large cod eat small ones. In the early sixties Athel D'Ombrian emerged as an ecological advocate in *Outdoors*, beginning with 'Tag the fish, don't bag it!'.¹¹¹⁴ In 'My friend the dolphin',

¹¹⁰⁹ Norman Rice, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, The Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne, 1956, no page number

¹¹¹⁰ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.11, No.10, February 1954, p.676

¹¹¹¹ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.23, No.5, September 1960, p.62

¹¹¹² Pollard (ed.), op. cit. (2), pp.382-3

¹¹¹³ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.15, No.6, October 1956, p.24

¹¹¹⁴ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.25, No.4, August 1961, p.54

D'Ombra brain complained that dolphin were routinely killed for shark bait.¹¹¹⁵ Harry Frauca, was another early proponent of 'catch and release', if only in the case of *Ceratodus*, the Lungfish, in the Burnett River. "Vandals" still kill them, he said.¹¹¹⁶ By the early eighties the NSW Department of Agriculture had become concerned that "the recreational fishing pressure on Sydney Harbour was heavy in comparison to other Australian estuaries."¹¹¹⁷

In the spirit of the boom, it was hoped that science might help do away with the need for regulation. A. Dunbavin Butcher, Director of Fisheries and Game, Vic., informed readers of *Outdoors* on 'How science helps to fill your creel.'¹¹¹⁸ Readers were told that "fish farms may in future years become a major industry along the Murray River."¹¹¹⁹ Vic McCristal conceded that the hoodlum element presented a problem, but contended that

When science becomes wedded to nature, man's intelligence can be used to great effect.

Redfin have upset the balance of the native fish in south eastern Australia . . . Last year Victoria declared the European carp a noxious fish.¹¹²⁰

But why not acclimatise the American Bass?¹¹²¹ Science was the fisherman's friend and might make regulation unnecessary. In 1964, however, those who had faith in science might have found John Fitzgerald's, 'The Murray cod riddle' disturbing. Fitzgerald discussed the difficulties of propagating cod, and the problems facing its habitat. Excessive soil from erosion, the taking of undersized fish and foreign fish were mentioned as causes of low numbers.¹¹²²

Even with applied science, some regulation was clearly necessary and this brought changes to the outdoor ethos. Licensing in particular enforced new standards of sportsmanship. Angling licensing in New South Wales has been more liberal (that is, until the last decade,¹¹²³ non-existent) than in Victoria, although there has been agitation for licensing

¹¹¹⁵ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.25, No.6, September 1961, p.21

¹¹¹⁶ Harry Frauca, 'We caught a living fossil', *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.26, No.6, April 1962, p.24

¹¹¹⁷ Gary Henry, *Commercial and Recreational Fishing in Sydney Estuary*, Sydney, Department of Agriculture, 1984, p.2

¹¹¹⁸ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.5, No.6, September 1950

¹¹¹⁹ 'Plan For Fish Farming', *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.4, February 1955, p.50

¹¹²⁰ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.28, No.6, April 1963, p.70

¹¹²¹ *Ibid*, p.70

¹¹²² *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.31, No.1, May 1964, p.18

¹¹²³ 'Anglers must pay', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6.12.97, back page

from some quarters. In 1949, 226 people were fined in NSW for infringements. *Outdoors* contributor H. O. Hopkins didn't think it reflected accurately the number of infringements, which were far more numerous, while fish stocks were in decline. Hopkins had once been able to go out with a few mates and take a hundred bream off the beach. This was no longer possible – and Australian salmon had all but disappeared. Hopkins demanded that the laws be policed.¹¹²⁴ Perhaps surprisingly, there was some demand for licences to be introduced from organised fishing clubs during the sixties. Angling licences have been the focus of conflict between recreational and commercial anglers, environmental advocates and the state. There has been some distinction between salt and freshwater licences, the former being less popular due to the attitude that the oceans are a commons, while the latter is a managed resource. Vic McCristal recognised that angling was likely to deplete fish numbers and insisted on licensing. McCristal was prepared to accept a £2 license fee applied to all 'sportsmen', or anglers. This approach was favoured by the NSW Institute of Freshwater Fishermen, with advice from their patron Sir Garfield Barwick.¹¹²⁵

Hunting showed an even more pronounced cultural shift over the boom. While never universally accepted, hunting was socially widespread, was often grouped with angling in outdoors literature and was very often mentioned as one of Australia's sports. As Major Percy Buckley of the Royal Australian Engineers told readers of Inglis' *Sport and Pastime in Australia* in 1912: "Any one who contemplates paying a visit to Australia should certainly be provided with a good double-barrel shot-gun."¹¹²⁶ The gun was at one time such a symbol of refinement that many an artist and photographer included a weapon or two in their kit.¹¹²⁷ Over the next four decades the two bloodsports took different paths. That the gun was a commonplace among suburban Australians after World War Two seems bizarre from the vantage point of post-Port Arthur Australia, yet it was nonetheless so. This is not to say that there were not shootings, accidental or otherwise during the heyday of Australian bloodsports; shootings, however, received curiously small notice in the press.¹¹²⁸ As with angling, hunting was confronted with the depletion of resources and called for the

¹¹²⁴ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.7, No.5, September 1951, p.379

¹¹²⁵ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.23, No.5, September 1960, p.42

¹¹²⁶ Gorgon Inglis, op.cit., p.80

¹¹²⁷ Tim Bonyhady, op. cit., p.211-14

¹¹²⁸ Incidences of shootings were given a couple of column inches, unless the detail was salacious. For instance, see 'Youth shot while handling rifle', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5.1.55, p.4

intervention of the state. Hunters were far more likely to call for government investment in scientific management than regulation. *Outdoors'* editor told shooters of game fowl propagation and elaborated on the role of state.¹¹²⁹ Wildfowl were revered, and it was considered that "only sound conservation measures can maintain our waterfowl population."¹¹³⁰ A Victorian Game Shooters' Council formed in 1958.¹¹³¹ Tom Wardle wrote on 'Saving our ducks'; Victorian ducks were getting more difficult to bag. Fisheries and Game Department research pointed to the destruction of breeding grounds.¹¹³² A month later Wardle asked Dr. Joe Linduska of the Remington Arms Company for his views on conserving deer.¹¹³³ C. R. Bernhardt's 1961 article, '50 Years of duck shooting', mentions a slump in the duck population.¹¹³⁴ In the same issue the aforementioned A. Dunbavin Butcher, advised readers on the 'Conservation of game birds'.¹¹³⁵ Later that year the editor declared 'Let us be far-sighted about game',¹¹³⁶ publishing Butcher's request that a questionnaire to be filled in concerning Victorian hunting.¹¹³⁷ *Outdoors* was not always a bastion of enlightenment, however. In 'Facts, not fancies about survival of game' it was argued that hunting simply weeded out the unfit,¹¹³⁸ as if a shotgun made such distinctions. McCristal called for a complete scheme of licensing all hunters and anglers.¹¹³⁹ The *NSW Game and Feral Animal Control Bill, 2002* established a game council with members drawn from hunting organisations, vindicating the hunting reformers of the post-war years.¹¹⁴⁰

Shooters were often hostile to gun licensing. To R. B. Tunney licensing was a euphemism for prohibition.¹¹⁴¹ C. O. Shadbolt saw no need for pistol licensing as "pistols have their

¹¹²⁹ Editorial, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.5, No.2, April 1950

¹¹³⁰ M. C. Downs, 'Our wild fowl to thrive or perish?', *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.4, February 1955, p.14

¹¹³¹ Barry Cooke, 'Back Room', *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.20, No.2, Dec. 1958

¹¹³² *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.23, No.1, May 1960, p.21

¹¹³³ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.23, No.2, June 1960

¹¹³⁴ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.25, No.2, June 1961

¹¹³⁵ A. D. Butcher, 'Conservation of game birds', *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.5, No.2, April 1950, p.107

¹¹³⁶ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.5, No.6, September 1950, p.381

¹¹³⁷ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.6, No.4, February 1951

¹¹³⁸ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.6, No.5, March 1951, p.383

¹¹³⁹ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.28, No.6, April 1963, p.7

¹¹⁴⁰ *Game and Feral Animal Control Bill (2002)* –

[http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/parlment/nswbills.nsf/0/a3eafffc49e932ffca256b7c007d0825/\\$FILE/b00-076-p08.pdf](http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/parlment/nswbills.nsf/0/a3eafffc49e932ffca256b7c007d0825/$FILE/b00-076-p08.pdf)

¹¹⁴¹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.7, No.1, May 1951, p.123

uses and the bad old days are fortunately behind us, except when one of our mid-Europeans goes on the rampage because some lass says “no” and means “no” — not “maybe”.¹¹⁴² Col Allison maintained that education, not regulation was the answer to Australia’s firearm problems, although he conceded that there were probably too few restrictions on the calibre of rifle available.¹¹⁴³ Regulation came, despite the opposition of hunters. The *NSW Gun Licence Bill, 1914* regulated the licensing of the sale, hiring, carrying and use of firearms; *The NSW Gun Licence Act, 1920*, providing for the licensing of all shooters and the registering of all firearms; this was repealed in 1927, having been deemed “administratively unwieldy”. The *NSW Pistol Licence Act, 1927* required that concealed weapons be registered. The *Firearms Act, 1936* regulated and restricted concealable weapons, also restricting the use of firearms by youths, drunks or those “of unsound mind”, and required the consent of the property owner for guns to be used on private property. The *NSW Firearms Act, 1946* was introduced in response to the “increased number and sophistication of weapons available.” (The Parliamentary library does not elaborate.) *The NSW Firearms and Dangerous Weapons Act, 1973* repealed the *NSW Pistol Licence Act, 1927*, reintroducing the licensing of shooters over 18. Shooters now needed a licence to shoot in a public place, but not if they were the occupier or guest on private property. The *NSW Firearms and Dangerous Weapons (Amendment) Act, 1985* followed the 1984 Milperra Massacre, requiring the registration of all firearms, the licensing of all shooters, and a “good reason” was required of the applicant for a license. The 1973 Act was amended again on the first of January 1988, prohibiting self-loading rifles except when a Ministerial permit was held. Self loading weapons were to be handed in during an amnesty, and compensation was made. A “good reason” for holding a firearm license could only be “sporting” if the licensee was a member of a club. “Vermin control” was deemed a good reason, but required a letter from a rural property owner verifying permission. The Act was again amended on the first of March 1988, introducing a scheme to register firearms. The Unsworth government lost office on the 19th of March 1988, its tough stance on guns playing a role in its unpopularity.¹¹⁴⁴ Yet many of the Labor government’s amendments were introduced by

¹¹⁴² *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.17, No.1, May 1957, pp.28-9; the full text of the article does nothing to clarify Shadbolt’s argument

¹¹⁴³ Allison and Coombs, op. cit., p.xi

¹¹⁴⁴ Nathan Vass, ‘Gun Laws: too prickly for any party — the Crescent Head killings’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11.7.95; Jim Hagan (ed.), *People and Politics in Regional New South Wales*, Vol. 2, Federation Press, Sydney, 2006, pp.306, 320

the Greiner government. On the first of December 1988 the *NSW Firearms and Dangerous Weapons Act, 1973* was repealed and replaced by the *NSW Firearms Bill, 1988*, and the *NSW Prohibited Weapons Bill and the Crimes (Firearms) Amendment Bill, 1988*. Registration of firearms was shelved. In August 1991 the Commonwealth government banned the importation of “military-style” automatic and semi-automatic weapons under the *Customs (Prohibited Imports) Regulations*. “Non-military style” centre fire self-loaders could still be imported, and rim-fire self loaders used for hunting were unrestricted. The *NSW Firearms Legislation (Amendment) Act, 1992*, amended NSW legislation to comply with the Commonwealth restrictions. On the 2nd of May 1996, following the Port Arthur massacre and a number of other firearm related incidents, the *Commonwealth Powers (Firearms) Bill, 1996* gave the Commonwealth power over firearm legislation.¹¹⁴⁵

Shooters seem to have disregarded regulation during the boom, and they were not coerced by the state. *The NSW Firearms Act, 1946* was intended to remove military weapons from public circulation (and from the hands of a black market still thriving on post-war rationing) but surplus Lee Enfield .303 rifles were a common farm gun. Australian (branches of multinational) manufacturers and black marketeers found profit in the import restrictions that the regulations entailed:

With heavy restrictions placed on imported sporting lines Australia has been forced to look to her own resources for supplying, what has now become, the greatest demand ever for items associated with outdoor recreation.

It was obvious that Australia must produce her own if she was to survive the wrath of her up-and-coming sportsmen and counter what was developing into an active black market in sporting firearms.¹¹⁴⁶

As one observer noted, military rifles were still available to citizens who joined the army, and

At any rate, if, and when, East and West clash, most able bodied young men will get to know the FN very well. Let’s hope it performs as well as the S.M.L.E.¹¹⁴⁷

¹¹⁴⁵ Marie Swain, *Gun Control: Historical Perspective and Contemporary Overview*, (Briefing Paper No.11/96), Sydney, New South Wales Parliamentary Library Research Service, 1996, pp.1-29; see also Crook, J., *Under the Gun: High Noon for Australian Gun Laws*, Gun Control Australia Inc, 1994; actually there were a steady stream of gun-deaths throughout the boom, but a seemingly greater acceptance of their occurrence. See for instance ‘Youth held after fatal shot’, *The Sunday-Herald*, 5.12.50, p.4

¹¹⁴⁶ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.3., No.1, March 1949, p.47

¹¹⁴⁷ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.18, No.5, March 1958, p.24

Indeed, the 1946 Act was so poorly enforced that military rifles were still available to all shooters well after the Act was passed. Hence when Owen F. James, in ‘Illegal calibres’, referred *Outdoors* readers to section 41 CB of the *NSW Police Offences Act* which made it an offence to “use, discharge, carry, have in his possession, sell, or otherwise dispose of, any military rifle of military ammunition” many were surprised that the following rifles were illegal:

.303 Rifle (Lee-Enfield, Ross, etc.)

.280 Ross (Britain and Canada)

.30 Carbine (America)

.30 Springfield (America)

6.5 mm. Krag Jorgensen

7.62 mm. Moisins-Nagant (Russia)

8 mm. Lebel (France)

7 mm. Mas (France)

All Mauser, and Mauser type rifles, of calibres ranging from 6.5 mm. to 8 mm.

All Mannlicher type rifles, of calibres ranging from 6.5 mm. to 8 mm.

.310 Single Shot Cadet Rifle.

All automatic rifles, of whatever country, with the exception of those of .22 calibre or less, and the

.351 Winchester.¹¹⁴⁸

Readers were further astounded to read Kath McDicken’s ‘The shooter and the law’, which appeared in *Outdoors* in response to a “stunning” rate of accidents, as well as vandalism “on such an appalling scale that few property owners will allow city shooters on their land”, and a general ignorance among shooters.¹¹⁴⁹ McDicken defined the “military rifle” as any rifle over .22 calibre “used by the naval, military or air forces of any country” since 1890, and noted that these were restricted to gun club members.¹¹⁵⁰ Tom Dean of Pymble thought that there must have been some mistake. Excepting the .303, most military rifles were available:

Probably I am being too pedantic but if these other cartridges and/or rifles (other than .303) — and it must be cartridges since you can’t buy 7.7x54 SMLE — are supposed to be banned, why aren’t they?¹¹⁵¹

The rifles in question were:

¹¹⁴⁸ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.8, No.5, March 1952, p.357

¹¹⁴⁹ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.28, No.1, November 1962, p.30

¹¹⁵⁰ *ibid*, p.31

¹¹⁵¹ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.28, No.5, March 1963, p.43

M1730-60; Springfield 30-60; Mauser M98 8mm; M91 7.65mm; M95(SS) 7mm; M93 G33/50 6.5mm; SMLE .303 and P.14 .303 (do not count as the cartridges are obsolete in Australia); Russian 91/30 7.62mm; M1916 Mannlicher 8mm Level.¹¹⁵²

Kath McDicken responded on behalf of *Outdoors*:

Theoretically the rifles Mr. Dean has listed are illegal. In practice, however, I imagine any of them, with the possible exception of the .303, can be bought on the open market. Even the .303 is offered openly to graziers, although the law makes no provision for this.¹¹⁵³

Outdoors and its readers soon lost interest in NSW firearms legislation. If the state was not going to enforce its own legislation, there seemed very little point in explaining it to the public – and for those readers who happened to enjoy picking off fauna with military hardware, ignorance was preferable.

Awareness of diminishing resources brought debate over their correct use. The choice of quarry, while admittedly opportunistic, reflected changes to the political culture of hunting. Initially exotic species were the most prized trophies. The gradual acceptance of native species as desirable might be seen to signify an emergent nationalism, although it must be noted that this coincided with increased competition for traditional quarry. In the seventies there was a revival of interest in exotic species, as hunters in particular attempted to justify their sport in terms of the new discourse of environmentalism by hunting ‘feral’ species. Sociologist Adrian Franklin has noted the importance of ‘legitimacy’ to the emergent outdoors literature of the post-war era, culminating in three developments:

Introduced species came to dominate the hunted species; hunting became one of a number of ways in which a largely urban Australian society naturalised itself into the landscape; and hunting redefined itself in terms of national organisations with a growing sense of propriety, self regulation and responsibility.¹¹⁵⁴

Increased competition and a class dynamic drove this discourse. Human attitudes to nature have changed over history. Thomas’ *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* describes the emergence of an urbanised sentimentality towards animals as pets.¹¹⁵⁵ Elais’ *Quest for Excitement*¹¹⁵⁶ investigates the process by which hunting was legitimated by its reinventing as sport, with fox hunting a prime example.

¹¹⁵² *ibid*, p.4

¹¹⁵³ *ibid*, p.43

¹¹⁵⁴ Franklin, *op. cit.*, pp.49-50

¹¹⁵⁵ K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800*, Allen Lane, London, 1983

Tester revisited the Thomas thesis, but applied a Foucaultian sensitivity and suggested that much anti-cruelty legislation was linked to similar discourse relating to cruelty to children.¹¹⁵⁷ In this thesis it is argued that the practice of post-war bloodsports changed as a bourgeois discourse of 'sportsmanship' emerged as a response to competition for resources and the environmental concerns of the wider community.

Nineteenth-century acclimatisers abhorred native game as being unfit for the sportsman, and those with the means to do so set about importing the right sort of animal. The denigration of Australian species as beneath the sportsman persisted into the boom.¹¹⁵⁸ Adrian Franklin contends that early hunting of acclimatised animals was linked to the 'Britainisation' of the landscape;¹¹⁵⁹ Franklin cites Stratton¹¹⁶⁰ and Rolls for their discussion of acclimatisation, of the fox in the case of Stratton, and the fox, the deer and the trout in the case of Rolls.¹¹⁶¹ Many acclimatisers sought to anglicise not only the landscape but the whole set of social relations that went with British notions of the countryside. One acclimatiser with aristocratic pretensions, Thomas Austin, was rewarded for his success in introducing the rabbit to Australia in 1867 by a visit from H. R. H. Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh. In 1901 the Duke of Cornwall and York, later to become King George, rewarded acclimatisers by shooting their game. In the 1870s and 1880s a coursing craze swept the colony, at first chasing kangaroos and wallabies but with the successful acclimatisation of the hare and the fox it was possible for the squattocracy better to imitate the British aristocracy. The New South Wales Coursing Club was based at Woodstock Estate, Rooty Hill.¹¹⁶² Sydney's classifieds still listed three coursing clubs in the mid seventies. Gordon Inglis held that coursing was not as popular in Sydney as in Melbourne, however, as the countryside was not conducive to the hunt.¹¹⁶³

¹¹⁵⁶ N. Elias and E. Dunning, *Quest for Excitement*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1986

¹¹⁵⁷ K. Tester, *Animals and Society: The Humanity of Animal Rights*, Routledge, London, 1992

¹¹⁵⁸ Waters, op. cit., pp.426-7

¹¹⁵⁹ Franklin, op. cit., pp.46-7

¹¹⁶⁰ Stratton, op. cit., p.96

¹¹⁶¹ E. C. Rolls, *They All Ran Wild*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1969

¹¹⁶² Dunstan, op. cit. (2), pp.318-32

¹¹⁶³ Gordon Inglis (ed.), op. cit., p.60

Post-war ‘hunting conservationists’ continued the nineteenth-century campaign to preserve imported game,¹¹⁶⁴ later extending their interest to indigenous fauna. So influential were hunters that the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Act (1974) included provisions for game parks. The NSWNPWS first director, Sam Weems, had brought ideas from the United States on game parks, which he hoped to form from Crown Land.¹¹⁶⁵ The idea seems to have lost currency. Hunters increasingly sought state management of game. Sarah Mirams, quoted above, argues that many members of the ‘Society for the Preservation of Fauna of the Empire’ were once big game hunters.¹¹⁶⁶ Kenneth Raymond called for game reserves for the protection of exotic fauna. Hunters’ ambitions for conservation often included state run game parks. John Monk’s ‘Game reserves must come’ put the case for a conservation devoted to bloodsport:

In the days before Sputniks and television, before supermarkets and parking problems, our hunting scene was different from today’s. It was a much brighter scene, for the game was much more numerous, in numbers and in variety. Where are the ducks, the quail, and even the hares that abounded in those days?¹¹⁶⁷

Monk held that most game had lost habitat, farmers were killing the quail and closer settlement had used up the land. Big holdings, such as were to be found in South Australia, Western Australia and the Northern Territory were better for game.¹¹⁶⁸ By 1963 *Outdoors* regular Vic McCristal had developed an urgent tone on conservation, declaring that ‘Nature needs a lawman’:

According to our detractors, Man has no place in the scheme of things. The hunter should not follow his basic instincts, amongst the most basic and deep-rooted of things; the angler with his modern gear can never compete with the Aboriginal and his spear, and bushwalkers should all stay home because once in a while somebody gets lost.

It’s worse than a fallacy — it’s a lie. We are part of the scheme of things, and man is the only creature endowed with enough gifts to wish the weaker forms of life to prosper.¹¹⁶⁹

Col Allison argued that game stocks, such as deer, should be preserved by the state.¹¹⁷⁰

¹¹⁶⁴ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.233

¹¹⁶⁵ *SRNSW: CGS 10664, Kingswood 12/1615, Box 1, File 1968*, National Parks and Wildlife Service, Correspondence Files, 1976-74, Correspondence between Sam Weems, Director of NSWNPWS and Pete Hanlon, North Carolina, 16.5.67, National Parks and Wildlife Service, Correspondence Files, 1976-74

¹¹⁶⁶ Mirams, op. cit., p.264

¹¹⁶⁷ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.23, No.4, August 1960, p.18

¹¹⁶⁸ *ibid*, p.20

¹¹⁶⁹ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.28, No.6, April 1963, p.12

¹¹⁷⁰ Allison and Coombs, op. cit., p.ix

These significantly urban bloodsport enthusiasts claimed to be the ‘legitimate’ environmentalists. Pig shooter W. O. Bluett of Brindabella told *The Herald* that sportsmen were restoring ‘the balance of nature’.¹¹⁷¹ Readers of *Outdoors* magazine were informed of conservation issues. Vic McCristal argued in ‘Field sport — or massacre?’ that “a record bag isn’t always the sign of a good sportsman. Next time the game is plentiful, ask yourself: ‘How many can I make good use of?’”¹¹⁷² In the fifties, *Outdoors* began a campaign to stop the shooting of birds of prey.¹¹⁷³ In 1962 Les Hulands wrote than the “experienced” hunter knew the eagle to be a boon, while farmers want to kill them.¹¹⁷⁴ Jack Bauer, in ‘protection that doesn’t protect’, blamed Tasmanian farmers for killing Tasmania’s emus and the thylacine. *Outdoors* could deliver mixed signals, however. ‘Goats, roos and eagles’ was an enthusiastic narrative on shooting said specie.¹¹⁷⁵ Readers’ letters showed divided opinion.¹¹⁷⁶ The normally sensible Vic McCristal shot an eagle for the August 1960 issue,¹¹⁷⁷ and repeated his tales of eagle shooting in 1962.¹¹⁷⁸ Later McCristal relented, writing of ‘Taking wedgetails alive’, using a rabbit trap, then photographing and releasing them.¹¹⁷⁹ The cormorant was least fortunate in its representation in *Outdoors*. E. P. Waddison’s ‘War on Victorian cormorants’ advocated their massacre, declaring that “when flocks of a hundred to a hundred and fifty birds make a concerted attack – driving fish before them into the shallows and there gorging until they cannot fly – then the time for argument has passed.”¹¹⁸⁰ In 1961 the cormorant was still under attack. Harry Frauca’s article ‘Cormorant bounty’ suggested the bird might be both sport and profit in the off season, that “Those sportsmen who get itchy trigger fingers between duck seasons should check with the wild-life and fisheries authorities in their State on regulations controlling the shooting of cormorants. They are fine game birds and provide as good shooting as ducks.”¹¹⁸¹ Ducks were inexplicably rare that year. R. B. Tunney responded to suggestions

¹¹⁷¹ W. O. Bluett, ‘Perils of pig-hunting in the bush’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4.12.54, p.8

¹¹⁷² *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.11, September 1955, pp.27-8

¹¹⁷³ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.6, No.6, April 1951

¹¹⁷⁴ Les Hulands, ‘Shoot them — or thank them?’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.27, No.5, September 1962, p.22

¹¹⁷⁵ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.23, No.3, July 1960, p.16

¹¹⁷⁶ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.28, No.2, Dec. 1962, pp.24-7

¹¹⁷⁷ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.23, No.4, August 1960, p.13

¹¹⁷⁸ Vic McCristal, ‘Hunt in high country’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.26, No.4, February 1962, p.22

¹¹⁷⁹ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.24, No.6, April 1961, p.18

¹¹⁸⁰ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.11, No.1, May 1953, p.23

¹¹⁸¹ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.25, No.6, October 1961, p.16

of the Wild Life Society that shooters should be regulated, restricted and fined by averring that it had “been shown that ordinary activities such as farming, destroy incalculably more game than the shooter ever takes; it is beyond question that the shooters’ activities cull out the weaker members; and unless predator-control is maintained (largely by shooting), our game stores will quickly vanish.”¹¹⁸² Henry Lack urged that Australians ‘Curb the carp’, describing the American experience is “frightening” and looking at the work of the Victorian Fisheries and Wildlife Department. Dams were being drained and pet carp were being killed in Victorian homes. The Department was reported as feeling “. . . that any moves, any amount of expenditure, any number of man-hours devoted to keeping us free of this menace are worthwhile.”¹¹⁸³ Not that everyone wanted to hunt exotic species to extinction. Wal Hardy’s ‘Mad redfin’ described Hardy killing some small cod and celebrated the redfin, which was “an active fighter, and this, coupled with the fact that it generally moves in schools, makes it an excellent sporting fish.”¹¹⁸⁴ Hunters seem to have been moderately successful in their campaign for legitimacy; in *Wildlife Conservation* H. J. Frith suggested that hunters played an important role in controlling feral animals.¹¹⁸⁵

Some nineteenth-century attitudes to game persisted. Acclimatisation societies still interacted with the state to anglicise the Australian landscape. Trout anglers remain the main beneficiaries of acclimatisation, a process still undertaken by government. John Hedge wrote that

Their rewards from the sport are great, and most are mindful of the selfless work, the long years of trial and error by Government officials and private individuals, before trout fishing in Australia becoming a reality.¹¹⁸⁶

Tasmania was a particularly successful example of this,¹¹⁸⁷ but the mainland boasted the trout as well. In 1948 R. F. Parten (Supervising Inspector of Monaro District Acclimatisation Society) wrote that acclimatisation played “an important part in the general plan of conservation and this is a vital point which far too few people realise.”¹¹⁸⁸ Parten was against flooding, but was for conservation in the form of more dams. To the

¹¹⁸² *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.7, No.1, May 1951, p.123

¹¹⁸³ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.30, No.1, November 1963, p.60

¹¹⁸⁴ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.20, No.5, March 1959, p.42

¹¹⁸⁵ H. J. Frith, *Wildlife Conservation*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1973

¹¹⁸⁶ Hedge, op. cit., 1962, p.12

¹¹⁸⁷ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., pp.45-6; W. A. Beatty, op. cit., p.76

¹¹⁸⁸ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.2, No.2, October 1948, p.243

acclimatiser, conservation entailed the adaptation of the Australian environment to the needs and tastes of the “white man”. *Outdoors*’ ‘Blueprint for future’ called for a federal game conservation and acclimatisation panel. As well as habitat conservation, the article suggested the acclimatisation of pheasants, grouse, Indian chuchor and partridge.¹¹⁸⁹ On visiting Australia in 1970, an American hunter declared he couldn’t shoot anything native. Having shot polar bears, “hippopotamuses”, tigers and three different types of sheep, millionaire Mr. Ned Payne said that he planned to shoot a water buffalo, but that he wouldn’t have the heart to shoot a kangaroo.¹¹⁹⁰ The hunting of Australian natives is closely linked with the hunter’s identification with the landscape, whether as a mystified American tourist, an Anglophile ‘courser’, an ‘Aussie’ roo shooter or an environmentally righteous feral exterminator. The emergence of an Australian nationalism more closely identified with local biota¹¹⁹¹ heralded the more enthusiastic hunting (and, paradoxically, conservation) of Australian game.¹¹⁹²

Whether as a result of continuing environmental consciousness among hunters, a developing awareness of diminishing resources or an effort to establish legitimacy, it is possible to glimpse the extent to which Australian hunters did indeed target feral species. A quantitative survey conducted in the late seventies at the University of Newcastle analysed Australian hunting magazines published between 1969 and 1978, determining the number of pages and photographs devoted to a range of species.¹¹⁹³

¹¹⁸⁹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.6, No.3, January 1951, p.239

¹¹⁹⁰ ‘He’s hunting on the last frontier’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21.6.70, p.5

¹¹⁹¹ Franklin, op. cit., pp.48-9

¹¹⁹² *ibid*, pp.49-50

¹¹⁹³ Clem Tisdal, *The Relative Values Placed on Species for Amateur Hunting in Australia: Observations from Hunting Magazines*, Department of Economics, The University of Newcastle, 1978, pp.1-14

Proportion of game in hunting articles, *Outdoors* and *Shooters' Journal*, 1969-1978

Game	<i>Outdoors</i> %	<i>Shooters Journal</i> %
Pig	26.5	40.5
Small Game	23	6.5
Deer	17	28.3
Waterfowl	17	15.5
Goat	14.5	9
Kangaroo	1	0
Crocodile	1	0
Buffalo	0	0
Total	100	100

1194

Proportion of game in hunting photographs, *Outdoors* and *Shooters' Journal*, 1969-1978

Game	<i>Outdoors</i> %	<i>Shooters Journal</i> %
Pig	24.5	36
Small Game	23	20
Deer	18.5	21
Waterfowl	14.5	13
Goat	13.5	10
Kangaroo	3.5	-
Crocodile	2.0	-
Buffalo	0.5	-
Total	100	100

1195

Tisdell concluded that Australian hunters preferred to shoot European species, although the scholar admitted that there were some restrictions on the shooting of native species that may have biased the sample (if not the actual shoot – readers might not send pictures of protected species to magazines).¹¹⁹⁶

¹¹⁹⁴ *ibid*, p.4

¹¹⁹⁵ *ibid*, p.4

¹¹⁹⁶ *ibid*, p.5

More interesting is Tisdell's analysis of change in shooting preferences between 1951 and 1975, determined by five yearly averages in *Outdoors*:

Percentage change to coverage of selected species at five yearly intervals, *Outdoors*, 1951-1975

Species	Articles %	Pages %	Photograph %	Net Change
Deer	+3.5	+3.9	+3.6	+
Pig	+0.6	-1.5	-1.4	?
Goat	+0.9	+3.3	+3.2	+
Small Game	+4.2	+3.6	+3.8	+
Kangaroo	-5.8	-2.7	-4.0	—
Buffalo	-0.9	-2.5	-2.8	—
Waterfowl	-1.8	-1.4	-1.6	—
Crocodile	-0.6	-2.6	-1.0	—

1197

Tisdell speculated on the trend towards shooting introduced species. Trends between 1978 and 1979 revealed only that pig and small game had gained popularity at the expense of goat.¹¹⁹⁸ Tisdell concluded that hunters were fulfilling a positive role in conservation. Conversely, it might be argued that Australian species were not favoured because they were less a sporting target than the exotic species¹¹⁹⁹ – which hardly points to an emergent environmental consciousness among hunters.

Despite these assertions of legitimacy the shooter was increasingly marginalised. There were some early post-war objectors to the shooter, but these were characterised as a marginal group, 'anti-firearm cranks', by *Outdoors* editorials,¹²⁰⁰ but in the late twentieth-century the shooter lost a good deal of social standing. One bushwalker even wrote to *Outdoors* to notify shooters of their demotion:

Sir, – I am a bushwalker and outdoors enthusiast, and I like the occasional week-end at beach fishing, so I get a lot of interest and sound information from "O&F". But I feel out of sympathy with people who go out shooting indiscriminately at wild creatures, and I think there are many who deplore the encouragement which "O&F" gives to such slaughter. In my view, shooters could get all the sport they want from target shooting and trap-shooting. I, and such as I, would like to see your policy directed more toward preserving our wild life rather than destroying it.

¹¹⁹⁷ *ibid*, p.7

¹¹⁹⁸ *ibid*, pp.8-9

¹¹⁹⁹ Waters, *op. cit.*, p.426

¹²⁰⁰ Editorial, 'Those who would damn the shooter', *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.5, No.3, May 1950, p.149

G. Alford, Parramatta, N.S.W.¹²⁰¹

The editor replied that it was only a few irresponsible shooters who were the problem. These few bad sorts were spoilers, it seemed. In *The Australian Book of the Road* prospective adventurers read that

Hunting is being jeopardised at present by two types of shooters (sic). The weekend tally shooter, who shoots anything in sight – cattle, sheep, horses, signs and water tanks - and the professional kangaroo shooter. Station owners are becoming increasingly uneasy about shooters who are familiar with the area and can enter the property by back tracks. Many professionals, they say, will cut fences to gain entry or will even shoot stock for food. I've often visited station homesteads to be greeted by the accusing question, 'You're not a roo shooter are you?'¹²⁰²

As will be seen, the debate over shooting was a discourse of class.

In outdoor culture the emergent discourse of class centred on the construction of a sporting ethos which contrasted with 'the bodgy element'. Criticisms of the bodgy element, the hoodlum, the errant city shooter or the profligate angler abounded. Invariably, such criticism was followed by demands for stricter licensing which would repress the irresponsible. Authors might write of the 'irresponsible southern shooters' (presumably from the capital cities), who get the rest banned from properties,¹²⁰³ but the inference that these were a lower class of hunter was never far from being expressed. The phenomenon was often observed, but a classic example of the editorial refrain can be seen in the 1979 publication, *Fishing and Hunting Guide: the Sportsman's Guide to Australia and New Zealand*, wherein the "mug gunman" is distinguished from the 'sportsman'.¹²⁰⁴ 'Respectability' was more and more often the central argument of those southern shooters who would distinguish themselves from 'the bodgie element'. Attitudes to conservation distinguished the sporting angler or shooter from this dangerous social atavism. In both fishing and shooting a new discourse of 'sportsmanship' redefined bloodsport as a bourgeois pursuit. It has been argued above that post-war ideologues tended to view the environment as a commons, that outdoor pursuits were thought to reduce class distinctions and promote egalitarianism.¹²⁰⁵ 'Dual uses' of the environment as agricultural land,

¹²⁰¹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.8, No.2, Dec. 1951, p.94

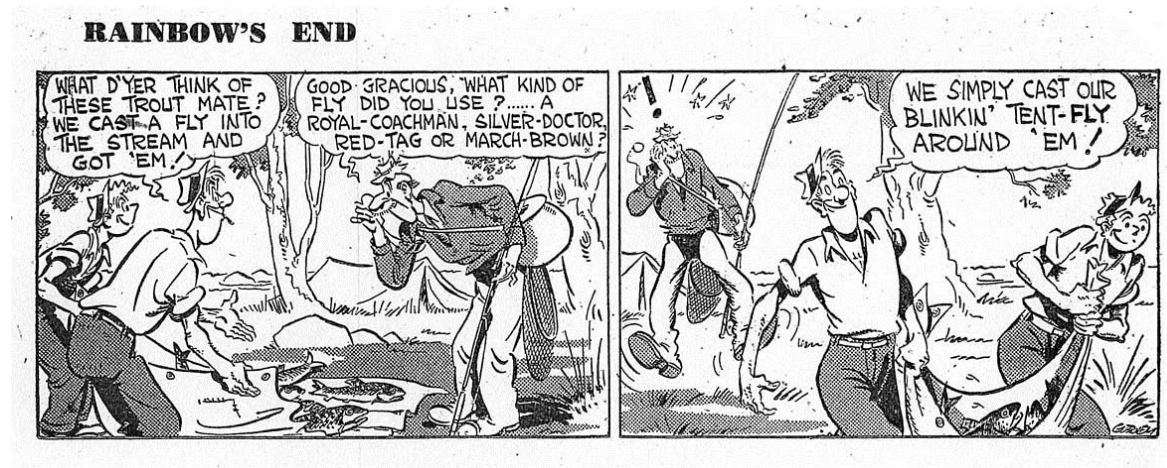
¹²⁰² Powell et al., op. cit., p.99

¹²⁰³ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.23, No.4, August 1960, p.20

¹²⁰⁴ *Fishing and Hunting Guide: the Sportsman's Guide to Australia and New Zealand*, Outdoors, Sydney, 1979, p.39

¹²⁰⁵ Which has been said of sport in Australian generally – see Waters, op. cit., p.419

recreation ground, and nature reserve were deemed acceptable. This egalitarian ethos was most marked when it came to bloodsports, which combined recreation and production and contrasted in Australia with class bound England. To some, such as the happy British migrant Derrick Whitelock, democratised trout fishing was the epitome of Australian equality. "In contrast to New England", quoth he, "English trout fishing is a wealthy man's sport, like grouse shooting, golf and polo."¹²⁰⁶ Even in Scotland, where the most democratic sport of the British Isles was to be had, the angler was far from free.¹²⁰⁷ Any retreat from egalitarianism would not have pleased Whitelock. Of course, some managed to strike a blow for the battler:



*Bluey and Curley Annual*¹²⁰⁸

Post-war Australian hunting was similarly egalitarian. Geoffrey Bolton observed that "it became a mark of Australia's standing as a democratic society that the poorest man had the right to kill as many animals as he liked without interference from the laws or from the power of the rich."¹²⁰⁹ Keith Dunstan remarked that this was thought to be Australia's great advantage over Britain, that Australia has "no problems about poaching, anyone with a gun could get out and start slaughtering."¹²¹⁰ Shooting journalist Col Allison averred that

In many countries it is a legal necessity to hire guides, to pay exorbitant fees for shooting rights, gun licences and game licences, and to be subjected to the whole gamut of bureaucracy, just to hunt game animals and birds. The countries which charge token game fees only and which allow a man to

¹²⁰⁶ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.30, No.6, April 1964, p.66

¹²⁰⁷ The Automobile Association, *Illustrated Road Book of Scotland*, Automobile Association, London, 1952, pp.35-8

¹²⁰⁸ Alex Gurney, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, The Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne, 1948, p.36

¹²⁰⁹ Bolton, op. cit. (2), p.15

¹²¹⁰ Dunstan, op. cit. (2), p.321

choose and freely hunt his preferred animal, avoiding the condescending white-hunter-client relationship, and carry his own rifle, cook his own food, and skin his own trophies, are very few.¹²¹¹

Allison lists wombats and emu as game. The new sporting ethos was discontinuous with an earlier tradition of egalitarianism on the commons. The development of 'sportsmanship' placed limitations on the democratisation of leisure that had been central to post-war recreation; to a great extent, however, it was democratisation that brought such pressure to bear on the recreational commons. 'Sportsmanship' legitimised hunting, and fishing.

The emergence of a class rift was particularly noticeable in spearfishing. Post-war spearfishing, as viewed through the pages of *Outdoors*, is a symptomatic tale of post-war leisure, class and competition for resources. Initially a generally well accepted recreation, spearfishing soon became a hotly debated topic, occasioning conflict and eventual regulation.



Outdoors and Fishing November 1952

In 1950 *Outdoors and Fishing* declared without a hint of alarm that 'Spearmen bag fish by the ton', celebrating the carnage at the annual meet of Underwater Spearfisherman's Association.¹²¹² The following year, however, there were editorial references to a rift between anglers and spearfishermen.¹²¹³ Handspearing with lights in tidal waters was banned for five years in New South Wales, from November 23, 1952.¹²¹⁴ Editorial licence still allowed for illustrations of massive speargun takes accompanying advice on

¹²¹¹ Allison and Coombs, op. cit., p.xii

¹²¹² *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.6, No.1, October 1950, p.21

¹²¹³ Editorial, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.7, No.3, July 1951

¹²¹⁴ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.12, No.3, July 1954, p.18

'Spearfishing for beginners' in 1956.¹²¹⁵ By 1960 the lines of demarcation were clearly drawn. Soon to be editor of the magazine, George Brown explained to readers 'Why we hate spearmen', that "anglers everywhere have a disgust for spearfishermen, a deep, searing hatred, which has completely ruined the traditional good fellowship of one fisherman for another."¹²¹⁶ Worse, their numbers were 'snowballing', and "even the hostility of the man on the land to irresponsible shooters from the city cannot match the hatred orthodox fishermen hold for spearmen along the NSW coast."¹²¹⁷ Bluey and Curley were, of course, in the thick of the action:

HE DIDN'T SEE THE POINT!



*Bluey and Curley Annual*¹²¹⁸

The class context of the conflict was apparent. Brown complained that spearfishers were of the worst type, of "greedy, selfish, fish slaughter on rock fishing grounds, so much so that now a bag limit of two groper per day had been imposed on the angler in NSW to try and conserve the fish."¹²¹⁹ Spearfishing plundered resources, and was "unworthy of the name of 'sport'".¹²²⁰ 'Sportsmanship' was a bourgeois value under attack from undesirables. Brown spoke to a caravan park operator and veteran, who banned spearfishermen from his park because they used bad language and drank too much; they cut down shade trees for tent poles; they worked in gangs to clean out areas of fish; they left campsites filthy. Anglers, by contrast, were 'family men'. This euphemistically described class conflict threatened to erupt into violence. Indeed, Brown himself threatened that "if I'm in first, and some ill-mannered lout with a snorkel comes diving around my line, I tie on a big sinker and a row

¹²¹⁵ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.14, No.3, February 1956, p.21

¹²¹⁶ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.23, No.5, September 1960, p.12

¹²¹⁷ *ibid*, p.12

¹²¹⁸ Alex Gurney, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, The Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne, 1948, p.33

¹²¹⁹ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.23, No.5, September 1960, p.12

¹²²⁰ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.23, No.5, September 1960, p.13

of 8/0 hooks; if he can't learn smartly the lessons his father neglected, he'll either get a sinker behind the ear, or a jagging . . ."¹²²¹ Over the next two months passionate letters on the subject poured into the editor's mailbag. Kenneth Raymond, 'The Underwater Man', sought to cast oil on the waters after further letters to the press and occasional violent action on the fishing grounds: a South Australian angler even appeared in court on a charge of firing a rifle at a spearfisherman. Raymond referred to the responsible attitude of Edward du Cros, expressed in 'Skin diving in Australia', and described the self regulation adopted by the Underwater Spear Fishing Association.¹²²² The conflict was caused, Raymond asserted, by ". . . a minority that could be called an idiot fringe or bodgie element."¹²²³ Bourgeois spearfishers strove to distance themselves from the harpooning yahoos of the proletariat. Gabrielle Car wrote in 'Speargun to adventure' that spearfishing was sporting so long as the fish were very large; manta rays, sharks, crocodiles, giant groper were fair game.¹²²⁴ Associations attempted to legitimise the sport by imposing codes of conduct. John Fitzgerald's, 'Skindivers unite' included a picture of "Federal Treasurer Holt, emerging from the water at the Lord Somers Camp" with a fish on a spear.¹²²⁵ Holt was a member of the Self Contained Divers' Federation. The Victorian Sub Aqua Group opposed spearing, as did the Underwater Explorers Club (Melbourne) and the Scuba Diving Club (Melbourne).¹²²⁶ On the frontier however, away from the cities, conservation didn't seem so important; 'Outwitting the groper packs', uncritically described herding groper like 'a mob of cattle' near Bundaberg, QLD.¹²²⁷ Bourgeois responsibility seems to have been confined to the southern states.

Angling had its own class conflict. Many argued for the eradication of the less sporting methods of capturing fish; for the elimination of the 'bounder'. John Hedge wrote that "if the "common of piscary" is to prevail, at least the authorities should extend the range of the sixth commandment to the finny tribe and punish the use of all cruel and unfair devices in

¹²²¹ *ibid*, p.14

¹²²² *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.27, No.1, May 1962, p.31

¹²²³ *ibid*, p.32

¹²²⁴ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.24, No.6, April 1961, p.16

¹²²⁵ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.29, No.4, August 1963, p.56

¹²²⁶ *ibid*, p.57

¹²²⁷ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.26, No.5, March 1962, p54

their capture.”¹²²⁸ Licenses were a good thing, according to Hedge, as were bag limits.¹²²⁹ The distinction between the sporting angler and the common catcher of fish was one of class. In 1912 Frank Farnell, an ex-Chairman of the New South Wales Fisheries Board wrote that angling was “no ordinary pursuit, fitted for ordinary minds, for it is hedged round with so many niceties that can only appeal to the right peculiar kind of temperament”. Keeping only a part of the catch was chief among these ‘niceties’.¹²³⁰ Of all fish, the trout was most likely to be the subject of philosophical musing, and the focus of snobbery. It was not unusual for trout enthusiasts to make literary allusions. David Scholes finishes his book on the noble trout by expounding his philosophy of trout angling. Many authors mention Izaak Walton, while some make other reference to British traditions of angling. Scholes refers to Wordsworth, John Armstrong, Thomas Westwood and John McDonald.¹²³¹ It has been argued that acclimatisation was a method by which the Australian landscape could be anglicised, and that in some ways social relations were also anglicised; the acclimatisation of the trout was successful indeed, but an underlying tension built as trout fishing was democratised. Trout devotee Vincent H. Freeth considered that the NSW trout was a victim of the darker side of democratisation in post-war Australia, as “vandals from every strata of society have been allowed to rake our streams with nets, spears, carbide and dynamite until the wonder is that we have any trout left at all.”¹²³² Freeth considered that there was a political conspiracy:

The political mind which is attuned to vote getting, says trout fishing is a rich man’s sport and, therefore, of little interest. The fact is, of course, that trout fishing is the most democratic sport in the world. The vast majority of devotees are working men.¹²³³

The Lithgow Rod Fishers’ Society, continued Freeth, were exemplars of conservation and predominantly miners. The strain placed on the environment challenged this ethos. The method of angling, as much as the quarry, delineated the vulgar from the refined angler. Fly fishing has been especially esteemed as a gentlemanly pursuit and a sound form of

¹²²⁸ Hedge, op. cit., p.13

¹²²⁹ *ibid*, pp.13-14

¹²³⁰ Gordon Inglis (ed.), op. cit., p.99

¹²³¹ David Scholes, *The Way of the Angler*, Jacaranda Press, Brisbane, 1963, pp.175-80

¹²³² *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.1, No.1, March 1948, p.58; it has been noted above that such behaviour was in evidence near Sydney in the mid fifties, when two men were fined for using explosives to catch fish on the Georges River, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.3, January 1955, p.21

¹²³³ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.1, No.1, March 1948, p.58

conservation¹²³⁴ that also “naturally appeals to the accomplished sportsman.”¹²³⁵ With its British aristocratic overtones and the attraction of allowing conspicuous leisure (less catch and more effort), fly fishing appealed to the upwardly mobile. See, for instance, the introduction to John Turnbull’s *A Fly on the Stream*:

There is something of the poet in all of us, and I somehow think that trout fishermen know perhaps more than most people of the wonder and delight that exists in the harmony of living things.

Trout fishermen as a group *care* for the outdoors more than any other section of the community, and are more aware of the interacting relationships within an environment . . . It is to this thinking sportsman that this book is dedicated. . .¹²³⁶

The poet Douglas Stewart lent his literary talents to the celebration of fly fishing. Stewart recounts Australasian fishing adventures with friends such as “Professor Manning Clark”¹²³⁷ and Percy Mathers, who carried with him the odes of Pindar in Greek and who had been “something at Oxford.”¹²³⁸ Some were willing to admit the ‘bait-angler’ to the ranks of the true sportsman, however, as there was

. . . great skill in bait fishing. Although, to some of us, the inveiglement of coarse fish with dough or gentles may not appeal or may even invoke disgust, everyone to his taste.¹²³⁹

Fly fishing spread from trouting enthusiasts to other anglers; that most colonial pursuit,¹²⁴⁰ salt water angling was opened to fly fishing in the mid fifties.¹²⁴¹ By 1980 ‘catch and release’ was established practice among anglers, signifying a move away from angling as production (of fish), angling now being more firmly a sport and the domain of consumption.¹²⁴² If Rex Hunt was an enlightened television evangelist of the catch and release method, he showed a good deal of self interest in releasing his own line of fishing gear with which to catch, release and catch again.

¹²³⁴ Hedge, op. cit., p.15

¹²³⁵ Gordon Inglis (ed.), op. cit., p.93

¹²³⁶ John Turnbull, *A Fly on the Stream*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1967, p.2

¹²³⁷ Douglas Stewart, *The Seven Rivers*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1966, p.193

¹²³⁸ *ibid*, p.209

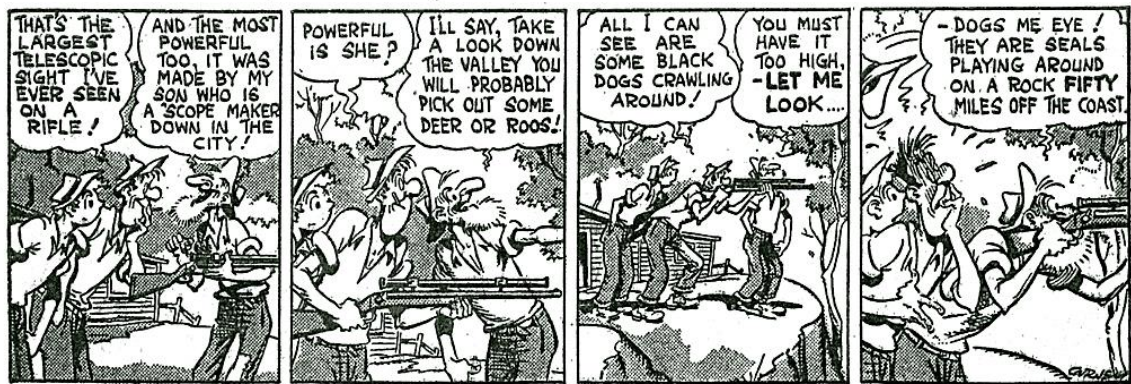
¹²³⁹ T. A. Powell, op. cit., p.117

¹²⁴⁰ Gordon Inglis (ed.), op. cit., p.96

¹²⁴¹ Lance Wedlick, ‘Down to the sea with a fly rod’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.17, No.2, June 1957, p.14

¹²⁴² As national president of the Australian National Sportsfishing Association, Dick Lewers recommended the catch and release principle to the next generation of anglers in his foreword to Martin Bowerman, *Catching Fish for Beginners*, Golden Press, Sydney, 1980

Class tensions were also expressed, and to some extent resolved, by the development of a sporting ethos among hunters. This became apparent in hunting literature as improved methods of hunting – or slaughter – were developed. ‘Sporting’ shooting entailed debate over a code of conduct. Frank O’Callaghan published such a code in *Outdoors*, ‘Honour the foe’ being a discourse on shooters’ etiquette and conservation.¹²⁴³ As with angling, conflict over resources brought social divisions to light. Lower class hooliganism was alluded to by Kenneth Raymond in ‘The vandal shooter’.¹²⁴⁴ Technological improvements meant that shooting was becoming far less sporting, too. The telescopic sight astounded some, including Bluey and Curley:



SEEING IS BELIEVING?

*Bluey and Curley Annual*¹²⁴⁵

Peter Brown told *Outdoors* readers that, ‘Guns are getting better’, but made no suggestion that this wasn’t sporting.¹²⁴⁶ Steve Simpson told of the joys of ‘Deer-shooting from a car’.¹²⁴⁷ Far from worrying about the depredation of increasing numbers of shooters on decreasing game stocks, some writers advised that vanishing game could still be got at with improved weaponry. “Varminter” recommended long shots with the .243, .270, .25/303, scope sights.¹²⁴⁸ Increasingly, though, the slaughter was thought to be in poor taste. Vic McCristal argued in ‘Field sport — or massacre?’ that “A record bag isn’t always the sign of a good sportsman. Next time the game is plentiful, ask yourself: “How many can I make good use of?”¹²⁴⁹ A 1955 editorial declared that “We use the term “shooter” in preference

¹²⁴³ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.28, No.4, February 1963, p.21

¹²⁴⁴ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.28, No.5, March 1963, p.18

¹²⁴⁵ Alex Gurney, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, The Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne, 1951, no page number

¹²⁴⁶ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.16, No.1, November 1956, p.24

¹²⁴⁷ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.24, No.3, January 1961, p.47

¹²⁴⁸ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.20, No.3, January 1959, p.44

¹²⁴⁹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.11, September 1955, pp.27-8

to hunter advisedly, because modern developments in firearms and ballistics have stripped the once noble sport of game stalking of its previous finesse.”¹²⁵⁰ One contributor disliked soft nosed and notched slugs and taking pot-shots at running game because such things weren’t sporting.¹²⁵¹ Some evinced nostalgia for old fashioned shooting. “Lignum”, for instance, praised the ‘.22 for all game’.¹²⁵² N. Harvey wrote in ‘Roo hunt — 19th century style’ that

Were it possible for one of the first settlers to come back to life today, he would no doubt be amazed at how easy hunting has become. Admittedly, the swarms of wild life he knew have been progressively thinned out, but compared to what he endured to bag his game, hunting now is comparatively simple.¹²⁵³

Some turned to pre-industrial forms of hunting.¹²⁵⁴ Advocating a sporting approach to the kangaroo in 1949, P. Sims wrote that

the most sporting way to shoot them is to more or less “put yourself on the same footing with them” — walk. Only bad sportsmen shoot them with shotguns from cars.¹²⁵⁵

Spotlighting had become such a controversial issue by the mid sixties that *Outdoors* ran a special feature on it, asking whether spotlighting was ‘Sport or slaughter?’ The ‘experts’ were interviewed, and their view reported. Vic McCristal permissively conceded that “a spotlight is no worse than the man behind it. Nearly every shooter I know uses one.”¹²⁵⁶ John Bradbury, President of the National Sporting Shooters Association was critical, responding that “a spotlight is the city slicker’s way to an easy trophy. It’s completely ruined trophy values.”¹²⁵⁷ Firearms expert Colin Shadbolt supported the practice, averring that it was “as permissible a technique as fox whistles or duck decoys”.¹²⁵⁸ Lionel Bibby held that one “cannot accept spotlight shooting for the animal is held immobilised by the beam.”¹²⁵⁹ Allen A. Strom, New South Wales’ Chief Guardian of Fauna thought that

¹²⁵⁰ *ibid*, p.5

¹²⁵¹ Joe Blake, ‘Have we got the right idea about shooting?’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.8, No.5, March 1952, p.338

¹²⁵² *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.16, No.1, November 1956, p.21

¹²⁵³ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.16, No.3, January 1957, p.11

¹²⁵⁴ Harry Frauca, ‘Dying art of snaring’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.23, No.2, June 1960, p.12; Kenneth Raymond, ‘Stooping to conquer’ (on falconing), *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.26, No.1, November 1961, p.30; Kenneth Raymond, ‘Bow and arrow pig hunt’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.26, No.6, April 1962, p.41; Jim Gilder, ‘Bowhunting for pigs’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.30, No.3, January 1964, p.25

¹²⁵⁵ P. Sims, ‘Who said roos?’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.3., No.4, June 1949, p.21

¹²⁵⁶ Bill James, ‘Special Inquiry — Sport or Slaughter?’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.29, No.2, June 1963, p.58

¹²⁵⁷ *ibid*, p.58

¹²⁵⁸ *ibid*, p.5

¹²⁵⁹ *ibid*, p.59

noxious species should be eradicated by the most effective means but that “When one considers the large numbers of animals protected in this State, it is obvious that only duck shooting may be regarded at the present time as legitimate from the sporting angle.”¹²⁶⁰

Caravan and camping aficionado Keith Winser argued that

Australia is practically the only country today where one may live the outdoors life in the luxury of a caravan with sport near your door. Help to keep it that way by observing closed seasons and bag limits.¹²⁶¹

Ron Green, in ‘Bow Hunting in the Australian Bush’ presented bowhunting as a more sporting approach to hunting.¹²⁶² *The Sun-Herald* told readers of Bob Wilson’s passion for stalking and killing wild boar with a longbow. “To me, hunting with a bow is true sportsmanship; getting back to a dying art”, said Wilson.¹²⁶³ Ian W. Mitchell wrote of catching ‘Wild pigs by hand’.¹²⁶⁴ Barry Cooke editorialised from the ‘back room’ “on getting animals the old way — shoot ‘em, stab ‘em, choke ‘em if you have to” and even “taking animals alive, and keeping them to study, make pets, photograph.”¹²⁶⁵ In 1971 *The Australian Book of the Road* defined the new sporting approach to the environment in a section on ‘Wildlife: Photography and Shooting’:

Hunting with a camera or gun satisfies the same instincts, but photographing has the advantage that it captures the actions and expressions of the animal. And the same animal may be captured more than once. However, by culling the deformed and shooting only the oldest males as trophies, hunters can become part of the balance of nature.¹²⁶⁶

Cooke advised that some of this was illegal, in some states. The less efficient the method of hunting, or angling, the higher was the level of pecuniary labour.

Hence it can be seen that planned space was used extensively by an increasingly mobile population. With a 40-hour week, extensive if finite recreational space and the automotive means of reaching it, the leisured urbanite could escape to nature. Ostensibly this was an achievement in vitalist terms, and would help bolster the ‘mental health of the population’, as the planners of the County Scheme had hoped. The reinforcement of masculinity, the democratisation of leisure and the amelioration of urbanisation were discernable outcomes

¹²⁶⁰ *ibid*, p.72

¹²⁶¹ Keith Winser (ed.), *Wild Game of Australia*, 2nd ed., Keith Winser Motor Manual, Melbourne, 1963, p.4

¹²⁶² *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.11, September 1955, p.18

¹²⁶³ Grant Thomson, ‘He hunts game with a longbow’, *Sun-Herald*, 30.12.73

¹²⁶⁴ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.11, September 1955

¹²⁶⁵ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.19, No.6, October 1958, p.7

of the rationalisation of time and space that had taken place as a part of post-war reconstruction. The cultural dynamic of the boom, however, led to unforeseen developments. Where the reformist tradition that can be traced to the Vitalists of the nineteenth-century envisaged the democratisation of leisure and the preservation of a frontier, increased competition for resources entailed increasing conflict, delineating class interests and accentuating the difference between country and city. The state was increasingly called on to regulate resources, rather than simply ensuring access to them. The emergence of an 'Australian way of life' transformed the outdoors from being a release from urban confinement and industrial servitude into a field of consumption. A leisure ethic had emerged through the democratisation of leisure, redefining leisure in relation to work just as the citizen was being redefined as a consumer. Competition over resources revived class tensions that outdoor recreation had initially masked, and these were resolved in the extension of hegemony through the concept of 'sportsmanship'; the outdoors were thus redefined as a site of consumption rather than production, opening the way for commodification. The following chapter deals with the commodification of the outdoors and outdoors culture, showing that leisure, in accordance with Veblen's formula of the last century, had become a form of conspicuous consumption.

¹²⁶⁶ Powell et al., op. cit., p.99

CHAPTER FIVE

Bread and Circuses: Commodification

Having begun as a fulfilment of war-time promises, the increasingly affluent enjoyment of leisure had come to epitomise that ‘way of life’ that partially but increasingly defined cold war Australia. Douglas Pringle, who had developed an insight into the Australian character while working as editor of *The Sydney Morning Herald*, had thought the working-class’ quest for leisure a good thing since it showed a lack of materialism.¹²⁶⁷ Ironically, though, it was through leisure that materialism flourished in Australian material culture. White contends that “since the 1940s, leisure had been seen as an alternative to consumerism” and that the arguments against hedonistic consumerism in leisure put by such critics as R. S. Conway were thus ill founded.¹²⁶⁸ As the boom moved into the seventies, however, the figures do seem to support Conway’s thesis. If Australians were not paying for a great many holiday services, they were certainly well kitted out for their adventures and were increasingly conscious of their status at rest.

Developed capitalist societies tended to develop a materialist paradigm of leisure during the long post-war boom. Butsch notes that “A study of commercialisation of leisure reveals how that part of our lived experience supposed to be free of domination is transformed by capitalist development.”¹²⁶⁹ William A. Gleason identifies the essentially dialectical nature of this ‘leisure driven’ consumerism as it occurred in the United States:

The dialectic that emerged between workers’ new emotional needs and the strategies of advertisers thus helped channel Americans’ increased leisure into the consumption of products that would enable the creation of those selves.¹²⁷⁰

White argues that the Australian holiday remained self serviced and family oriented – much to the chagrin of those who would provide more intensively serviced arrangements – but observed that there was substantial growth in the consumption of holiday goods, if not of services.¹²⁷¹ The equipment bought to achieve such independence was increasingly

¹²⁶⁷ J. D. Pringle, *Australian Accent*, Chatto and Windus, London, 1958, pp.101-2

¹²⁶⁸ White et al., op. cit., pp.149-50

¹²⁶⁹ Butsch, op. cit., p.8

¹²⁷⁰ Gleason, op. cit., p.308

¹²⁷¹ White et al., op. cit., p.141

sophisticated, expensive and status laden. In Australia outdoor recreation was a prime site of intensive commercialisation, and was central to the development of a leisure ethic that entailed a thriving consumer culture. White observes that

As often happens, the forms of escape took on the forms of what was being escaped from. While the holiday might have been an escape from the home and its consumerism, the home and consumerism insisted on coming along.¹²⁷²

White contends that this was a “peculiarly democratic” sort of consumerism, that

While there were comparisons to be made between the biggest caravan or the latest model Esky, the comparison did not necessarily correlate to non-holiday indicators of status, the size of the home or the features of the refrigerator. Holidays provided workers with an opportunity to display a superiority in the realm of possessions that their homes never could.¹²⁷³

This seems to be a contradictory argument, particularly when considering the importance of leisure to the automotive market (as White does) and the increasing commercialisation of all types of leisure pursuits throughout the boom. In post-war Australia the unfolding dialectic of leisure and consumerism was closely associated with the intervention of the state in public life and in the subsequent boom in material culture that came with increasing affluence. Outdoor excursions augmented the work ethic by the addition of a leisure ethic, and expanded the market for consumer goods. Consumerism abounded. It appeared to such econocrats as H. C. Coombs that consumption was not, after all, related in a stable way to personal income; ‘the Australian way of life’ was funded by higher income, but also by the rise of hire purchase and other forms of debt.¹²⁷⁴ This was part of a process whereby, as White argued when discussing the emergence of a discourse on ‘the way of life’, “interest in a national type was being replaced by interest in a broader social pattern; economic man and his standard of living acquired new moral and cultural dimensions”.¹²⁷⁵

These dimensions are clearly, if imprecisely, quantifiable through a study of the growth of the recreational economy during the long boom. The value of sporting goods sales increased from £2,645 in 1948 to £12,501 in 1962; the value of sporting goods, bicycles and toy sales increased from \$69,278 in 1969 to \$445,907 in 1980. This was quite an increase, even allowing for inflation. After almost fifteen years of less than 5 per cent inflation, a static

¹²⁷² White et al., op. cit., p.133

¹²⁷³ White et al., op. cit., p.133

¹²⁷⁴ H. C. Coombs, op. cit., p.54

¹²⁷⁵ White, op. cit., p.534

rate of sales would have seen the 1962 figure at less than £6,000. Even during the eleven years of compound inflation that included the seventies, when inflation averaged 10.5 per cent, sales value managed to outstrip the falling value of the dollar. The \$69,278 Australians spent on recreational consumer goods in 1969 would have been worth \$205,708 in 1980; more than twice that was spent in 1980.¹²⁷⁶ The efforts of planners and reformers to provide leisure time and leisure space had certainly resulted in a diminution of the 'isms' that had seemed so powerful at the end of the war. Except, of course, for consumerism.

The concomitant of the parkland that was planned into Sydney's suburban expansion was a proliferation of recreational retail outlets. The growing volume of leisure goods required more store frontage. Australia's sporting goods stores multiplied from 368 in 1948 to 825 in 1962; sporting goods, bicycle and toy stores increased from 2,020 in 1969 to 2,701 in 1980.¹²⁷⁷ This was despite the competition from department stores. Reaction to urbanisation had contributed to the expansion of a new market. L. Sue Greer notes that

Outdoor recreation provides a market for a variety of products, such as camping paraphernalia, outdoor sports equipment, and clothing, as well as a bewildering array of trail bikes, four-wheel-drive vehicles, and snowmobiles. There are also transportation tours, lodging, and dining intended for outdoor recreationists. The profitable production and sale of these recreational goods and services requires the existence of certain kinds of physical settings and an elaborate infrastructure of roads, trails, ski runs, and campsites. Even the physical setting becomes a commodity to be consumed in all its beauty, grandeur or peace via the purchase of a particular recreational good or service.¹²⁷⁸

Thanks to the interventionist policies of the post-war period and the role of the state in capital accumulation through investment in recreational infrastructure a leisure ethic emerged and capitalism thrived. In many ways the Australian experience mirrored the earlier commercialisation of American leisure, where leisure industries "prospered as higher wages and shorter hours permitted workers . . . to increase their consumption of commercially provided goods."¹²⁷⁹ Due to the increasing penetration of American multinationals, some of the same firms (such as Spalding's) were involved in both countries. In leisure one's skill was obviously important, but one's spending power would

¹²⁷⁶ Commonwealth Treasury, *Australia's century since Federation at a glance*
<http://www.treasury.gov.au/documents/110/PDF/round3.pdf>

¹²⁷⁷ Data from Vamplew (ed.), op. cit., p.229-31; Retail census years were not sufficiently regular to allow the creation of a useful chart.

¹²⁷⁸ Greer, op. cit., p.152

¹²⁷⁹ Butsch, op. cit., p.14

become an increasingly decisive factor in one's participation in this crucial feature of the Australian way of life. Veblen had noted that modern society often exposed one to transient observers "in such places as churches, theatres, ballrooms, hotels, parks, shops, and the like", that "it is evident, therefore, that the present trend of the development is in the direction of the heightening of the utility of conspicuous consumption as compared with leisure", and that conspicuous consumption "claims a relatively larger portion of the income of the urban than of the rural population".¹²⁸⁰ Where conspicuous consumption was associated with the unproductive and predatory pursuits of the traditional leisured classes – with shooting, yachting and gambling cruises on the Riviera – its utility would increase accordingly.

Leisure and consumerism had an established association in Western societies that dated back to the Victorian era¹²⁸¹ but post-war conditions saw both boom, and the relationship between them grew in significance and complexity. The boom in the material culture of outdoor leisure occurred within the context of a boom in tourism throughout the Western world. While outdoor recreation in Australia represented a very small section of the booming tourist market, it was itself a booming field of commodification and of great local significance. The 'sportsman' was a salient market for advertisers, who targeted this not entirely novel but rapidly expanding audience with advertisements for everything from automobiles, alcohol and tobacco,¹²⁸² to sporting goods. Leisure was commercialised early in the history of industrial capitalism. Davidson and Spearritt note that in 1996 world tourism involved about 595 million trips abroad and that by 2010 the figure might be 937 million.¹²⁸³

The fifties produced a consumer culture quite independent of outdoor recreation. In the United States, from which country Australia was increasingly taking its lead, what might be called "an orgy of mass buying" began in the fifties.¹²⁸⁴ Where it had proven difficult to control production and population patterns, consumption decentralised spontaneously.

¹²⁸⁰ Veblen, op. cit. (2), p.87

¹²⁸¹ Cross, op. cit., p.193

¹²⁸² 'Goodonyer sport!' (advertisement), *The Sun-Herald*, 3.12.78, p.29

¹²⁸³ Davidson and Spearritt, op. cit., p.xvii; admittedly optimistic figures, projected before the 'S11' incident in New York.

¹²⁸⁴ Cross, op. cit., p.195

Shopping centres proliferated. Geographer James Bird commented on what was in 1977 still a fairly new phenomenon, as being the result of “a rising standard of living, leading to increasing car ownership, altered shopping habits, and decreasing tolerance thresholds of discomfort.”¹²⁸⁵ Working in the industrial or increasingly post-industrial city, urbanites purchased commodities at decentralised locations to be consumed in their decentralised dormitory suburbs, or beyond. The gear they needed to enjoy their leisure was bought in ever increasing volume as the post-war era continued, and commercialised destinations appeared to assist them in their recreations. In this the leisure ethic was completed, rewarding urban toil through ‘natural’ reward while expanding the market for commodities. As with the drive-ins proliferating in Sydney’s suburbs (and often in its green belt), this was a symptom of Australia’s increasing Americanisation.¹²⁸⁶

With the growing commodification of leisure culture and leisured space, there was also an increasing commodification of leisure time. In 1958 the American sociologist David Riesman complained that there was precious little relaxation in Western leisure time, despite the apparent abundance of leisure.¹²⁸⁷ In 1970 the Swedish economist Staffan Burenstam Linder considered the emergence of a ‘harried leisure class’:

We had always expected one of the beneficent results of economic affluence to be a tranquil and harmonious manner of life, a life in Arcadia. What has happened is the exact opposite. The pace is quickening, and in fact our lives are becoming steadily more hectic.¹²⁸⁸

Linder held that increasing affluence brought with it increasing pressure to consume goods and services in what was an increasingly large but also increasingly scarce apportionment of leisure time. Hence idleness was almost unknown in advanced capitalist cultures.¹²⁸⁹ The democratisation of leisure, then, had resulted in mass participation in conspicuous leisure. Leisure time, while perhaps not so destructive to the common good as some had feared, was also not entirely the harbinger of a leisured utopia: leisure tended to be used for pecuniary labour, and for consumption. What follows is a discussion of the forms of consumption that accrued to Australian outdoor recreation.

¹²⁸⁵ Bird, op. cit., p.109

¹²⁸⁶ Bolton, op. cit. (1), p.128

¹²⁸⁷ David Riesman, ‘Leisure time and work in post-industrial society’, in Eric Larrabee and Rolf Meyersohn, *Mass Leisure*, Free Press, Glencoe, IL, 1958, pp.363-388

¹²⁸⁸ Staffan Burenstam Linder, *The Harried Leisure Class*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1970

¹²⁸⁹ *ibid*, p.22-3

The expanding range of holiday migration

Central to the emergent, consumerist leisure ethic was the increasingly ubiquitous trend towards automobile ownership. The automobile transformed the post-war suburb and the shape of post-war cities, however inequitably,¹²⁹⁰ but it also transformed the city's relationship with the hinterland and beyond. While the automobile was primarily a suburban commuter vehicle it assumed an important secondary, recreational function. Australians were increasingly to be found in cities, and they were increasingly to be found in motor cars on their way out of them. As Ian Frencham put it in 1969:

Man to-day is more mobile than in the past, but it is a mobility which depends on the machine. The number of motor vehicles on Australian roads has increased steadily from a figure of 285 per 1000 of population in 1961, to 344 per 1000 of population in 1966. The motor car has become an instrument of social change. It is a major status factor in our society. Car ownership has greatly enhanced the independence of each family or group. . . Home is primarily a kind of "launching platform" with the car a dominant factor in the family¹²⁹¹

The Australian Book of the Road described the recreational exodus from the cities in 1971:

If it is a better world we seek, the car is a means to that end if only in providing escape and perspective. Out there beyond the polluted haze of industrial suburbs lies a beautiful land . . . Most of Australia's scenic delights and holiday resorts are within comfortable motoring range of all the big state capitals. Less than a day's drive from Sydney and its blue pacific are the Snowy Mountains with modern ski lodges, trout streams and fine Alpine scenery.¹²⁹²

According to the admittedly partial authority of *Highways of Australia*, "the only way to see this Australia close-up is by highway."¹²⁹³ Historian Ian Manning notes that during the twentieth-century faster transport "enabled the city to grow geographically with a falling population density, and enabled its people to pursue the Australian suburban ideal that each family should live by itself in a house with its own garden",¹²⁹⁴ but Manning's work focuses solely on the journey to work. While living further from work, suburbanites could have easier access to remote holiday locations through the automobile. Gary Cross contends that the car "revolutionised leisure time by liberating the pleasure-seeker from the

¹²⁹⁰ Spearritt, op. cit. (2), pp.106, 149-51

¹²⁹¹ Frencham, op.cit., p.9

¹²⁹² Powell et al., op. cit., p.10

¹²⁹³ Winser (ed.), op. cit. (1), p.57

¹²⁹⁴ Manning, op. cit., p.193

timetables and routes of the streetcar and train.”¹²⁹⁵ The democratisation of leisure was increasingly reliant on (and limited by) widespread, though not universal car ownership. White contends that it was the motor car itself that “made the holiday democratic”.¹²⁹⁶ Driving was certainly central to Australia’s leisure. In consequence, parkland was increasingly built to accommodate roads, rather than the reverse. In the early seventies Victoria led New South Wales in the creation of designated ‘highway parks’,¹²⁹⁷ but New South Wales followed the southern example. Democratisation had its limits, no matter the rate of car ownership. In particular, there was increasing competition for recreational space around capital cities. In 1977 the American economist Mordechai Schechter suggested a ‘doomsday’ scenario where recreational resources were completely overrun by the growing, mobile urban population and wondered if zero population growth might be the best answer.¹²⁹⁸ The state’s response was generally to increase the provision of open space where that was politically expedient.

This increased mobility and leisure changed the relationship of urbanites and the environment. On the one hand there were attempts to rationalise space, to plan leisure into the suburban metropolis. On the other hand, time was rationalised, the weekend enshrined in a 40-hour week. The process did not so much return Australians to the soil, as extend the suburb well beyond the suburban fringe — even as the suburban fringe receded from the metropolis. Tourism increasingly entailed ‘exploring’ the long discovered. The influential British planner, Sir Patrick Abercrombie argued that the influence of the city was significantly extended through the mobility of the modern citizen that “the urban invasion of the county went well beyond suburban subdivision.” Or as one outdoors publication put it,

With ever-increasing pressure on fishing around the big centres of population more and more anglers are going on . . . fishing trips to remote parts of the State to escape the milling throng.

¹²⁹⁵ Cross, op. cit., p.185

¹²⁹⁶ White et al., op. cit., p.133

¹²⁹⁷ ‘Hamer wants garden state’, *Sun*, 5.4.76, Noel Butlin Archives, N134/2873

¹²⁹⁸ Mordechai Schechter, ‘Open-access recreational resources: is doomsday around the corner?’, in Jay M. Hughes and R. Duane Lloyd (eds.), *Outdoor Recreation: Advances in Applied Economics*, Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1977, pp.35-41

Nothing releases the tension of city life as effectively as a holiday in the great outdoors. Out there one finds room to expand the mind as much as the arms.¹²⁹⁹

Pleasure spots were more often frequented by urbanites, roads were widened to cope and more tourists were thereby attracted to the charms of the countryside. So permissive was the new mobility that “the owner of a car is now able to get away on Friday night or Saturday midday and spend his weekend in completely country surroundings, without the old need for packing up, catching trains, arranging to be met at the other end, etc.”¹³⁰⁰

The motor car was already a pervasive force in twentieth-century leisure. The middle-class pioneered the driving holiday, beginning before the First World War and extending their reach in the inter-war period. For the masses other modes of transport remained popular; as Stephen G. Jones observed of the British experience between the wars, “although the motor-car remained a middle-class luxury, the working-class increasingly had access to motor-cycles, trams, motor-buses and, of course, bicycles.”¹³⁰¹ The bicycle enjoyed a boom in the 1890s,¹³⁰² but was quickly superseded by the motor car despite the high price of motor travel. Davidson and Spearritt contend that “Australia’s terrain, its rough, usually unmade roads, and its long distances between settlements did not make for the village-to-village cycling opportunities offered in Great Britain.”¹³⁰³ This claim seems to be contradicted by the evidence. During the late nineteenth-century cycling was highly popular over quite long distances, democratising travel in search of work and leisure. The bicycle continued as a utility vehicle for a time but lost its public appeal with the arrival of motorised transport.¹³⁰⁴ Throughout the twenties access to the motor car gradually spread, if not generally then pervasively through the community as incomes increased.¹³⁰⁵ The Australian embrace of the motor car was similar to that of Britain; if not more significant due to the special place distance has played in Australian cultural development. John William Knott has argued that “Australians took to the motor car like few people on earth. . . . Today, with six motor vehicles for every ten people, Australia still ranks as one of the

¹²⁹⁹ *Fishing and Hunting Guide: the Sportsman’s Guide to Australia and New Zealand*, Outdoors, 1979, Sydney, p.39

¹³⁰⁰ Abercrombie, op. cit., p.200

¹³⁰¹ Stephen G. Jones, p.21

¹³⁰² Jim Fitzpatrick, op. cit.

¹³⁰³ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.154

¹³⁰⁴ Keith Dunstan, *Confessions of a Bicycle Nut*, Information Australia, Melbourne, 1999, p.98

¹³⁰⁵ Lester Hovenden, ‘The impact of the motor vehicle, 1900-39’, in Gary Wotherspoon (ed.), op. cit.,

most motorised nations in the world.”¹³⁰⁶ Geoffrey Blainey notes that although the motor car did help Australians conquer the tyranny of distance, it also marked a move away from self sufficiency in energy resources;¹³⁰⁷ Australia’s motorised suburban expansion, and its recreational exploration of itself tied it into the global energy market as never before.¹³⁰⁸ The recreational possibilities afforded by the motor car were appreciated quite early, particularly where these might have health benefits.¹³⁰⁹ If automobiles were more frequently involved in accidents it was not due to a fault in the machine but, as the New South Wales Commissioner for Road Transport and Tramways, Mr. A. A. Shoebridge insisted in 1951, to the “moral deterioration” of drivers.¹³¹⁰ It is remarkable that early motoring was the province of the wealthy, used more often than not for leisure. Doctors sometimes used automobiles between the wars, but it was only in the affluence of the boom that other professions and trades and the populace in general could enjoy the motor car. Australia’s early embrace of motor vehicles was due to their ability to transport people to leisure, not work.¹³¹¹

Where between the wars the ordinary citizen might hope to hire a truck, or even own a motor cycle, post-war affluence democratised the automobile and leisure both the extent that many families could aspire to own their very own motor car.¹³¹² Australia’s post-war embrace of the motor vehicle is charted below:

pp.139-54, pp.141-2

¹³⁰⁶ John William Knott, ‘The ‘conquering car’: Technology, symbolism and the motorisation of Australia before World War II’, *Historical Studies*, Vol.31, No.114, April 2000, pp.1-27, p.3

¹³⁰⁷ Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance*, Sun Books, Melbourne, 1966, pp.292-8, 310-15

¹³⁰⁸ Graeme Davison with Sheryl Yelland, *Car Wars: How the Car Won Our Hearts and Conquered Our Cities*, Allen and Unwin, Crows Nest, NSW, 2004

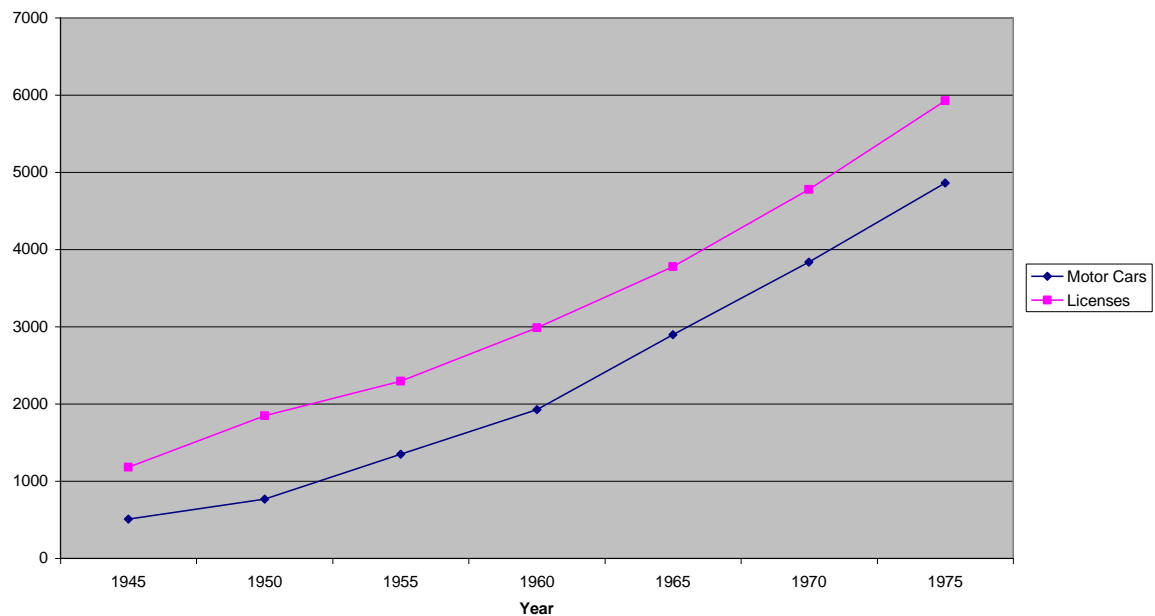
¹³⁰⁹ Knott, op. cit., p.8

¹³¹⁰ ‘Big road toll due to ‘moral deterioration’’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28.12.52, p.4

¹³¹¹ Hovenden, op. cit., p.141

¹³¹² White observes that car hire firms, beginning with Avis in 1955, also prospered. White et al., op. cit., p.13

Motor Cars Registered and Drivers' Licenses in Force, Australia 1945-1975



1313

Henry Ford had prophesied that a 40-hour week would boost demand for his motor cars,¹³¹⁴ and in this he seems quite vindicated. In 1945 there were 506,000 motor vehicles registered to Australians, 1,181,000 of whom were licensed to drive. In 1955 the figures were 1,347,000 and 2,296,000 respectively. In 1965 the figures were 2,895,000 and 3,775,000. In 1975 there were 4,859,000 motor cars and 5,926,000 motorists.¹³¹⁵ The Sydney Area Transportation Study of 1971 found that 60 per cent of Sydneysiders who travelled to work did so by car. The neat, discrete sections of the Cumberland's scheme were scrambled early in the process as the figures more than quadrupled over thirty years. The irony of an automobile led release from the urban industrial environment is clear; Knott asks, "how can the motor car, a symbol of progress and modernity, have provided relief from the consequences of that same modernity?"¹³¹⁶ Although new forms of transport facilitated more commuting time, and hence less leisure time,¹³¹⁷ the commuter travelled from work, where working hours were shorter, to the increasingly leisured space of the suburb. The motor car was a means by which nature could be conquered, as well as communed with.

¹³¹³ See Appendix 1, Sydney Classified Listings

¹³¹⁴ Cross, op. cit., p.167

¹³¹⁵ Vamplew (ed.), op. cit., p.171

¹³¹⁶ Knott, op. cit., pp.1-27, p.10

¹³¹⁷ *ibid*, p.21

Some exurban excursions would have had a less than wholesome motivation in the search for a beer on a Sunday. Until the late sixties (roughly at the time that six o'clock closing was repealed, but before the introduction of random breath testing in the seventies), New South Wales liquor licensing required that a person travel twenty miles from home before they were allowed a drink in a hotel as a *bona fide* traveller. Hence hotels such as The Crossroads at Glenbrook and The Bluegum at Hornsby were attractive to the more meandering of Sydney's Sunday drivers.¹³¹⁸ Some of these were photographed by the Cumberland County Council:



James Ruse Hotel, c.1965¹³¹⁹

¹³¹⁸ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.102

¹³¹⁹ SRNSW: AK415, EPA 253, FH 136



Crossroads Hotel, Glenbrook, c.1965¹³²⁰

After 1947 suburban clubs, on the other hand, were able to open after six o'clock and on Sundays, provided alcohol was only purchased through table service, and not at the bar.¹³²¹ After a test case in 1959 it was determined that a guest of a member could drink outside of trading hours, too.¹³²² It was not always easy to obtain membership to clubs, however, and a long drive might be called for (as well as a huge car park at the club itself).¹³²³ Until the seventies, women were only welcomed to clubs as male members' guests.¹³²⁴ The social hierarchies of Australian suburbia were reinforced, rather than undermined by leisure. Even at the club or pub the leisure ethic acted as a supplement to the work ethic.

The automobile, the greatest of all post-war consumer goods, quickly became central to the leisure ethic; significantly, the car was both for work and play and this dual function resulted in tensions in its design and marketing. Taking the automobile on holidays was initially such a novelty that the tent was extended over the vehicle to form a garage. *Gregory's* advised post-war motor campers that a number of tents were available that gave protection from the elements to automobile and camper alike. The 'single-sided' partitioned

¹³²⁰ *SRNSW: AK415, EPA 253, FH 136*

¹³²¹ Cornwall, op. cit., p.141

¹³²² 'Decision in test case on club drinking', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24.10.59, p.7

¹³²³ Cornwall, op. cit., pp.144-5

the car from campers with a sheet of light duck. The ‘double’ featured a compartment in the middle for the car, the occupants sleeping to either side. The ‘lean-to’ simply stretched over car and travellers. The marquee stretched from a centre pole to include a compartment for the car.¹³²⁵

The car was soon cast from the tent, however. The sophisticated automotive market that emerged during the long boom produced vehicles specifically tailored to camping. P. A. Laskey Pty. Ltd. of 565-567 Parramatta Road, Leichhardt were early innovators, offering custom conversions of all makes of vehicle into campers. Others offered the simpler alternative of a ‘lay back auto seat’.¹³²⁶ The local branches of automotive multinationals began to supply this niche market directly. Thomson Ford of Parramatta advertised their range:

It’s the great way to get away this summer for weekends or a full-scale, do-it-yourself holiday — the new fantastic Ford range of leisure vehicles. Sleep away in economical Escorts and Surfer vans, or mobile homes complete with stove, oven and fridge. All the comforts and all the freedom to do your own thing!¹³²⁷

Freedom, at reasonable prices. Models included the Escort Sunstar, Escort Sundowner, Escort Outback, Escort Overlander, Falcon Surferoo, Falcon Surfsider, Falcon Overniter, Transit Vacationer and the Transit Sightseer. Later in this thesis it will be seen that caravans were a well developed market, but at the end of the boom a range of utility-mountable ‘campers’ were released, such as the Millard Camper, which turned any working ute into a holiday on wheels.¹³²⁸ Car manufacturers promised to provide the ideal vehicle for the urban escape. To be authentically Australian, General Motors Holden claimed, a car had to be ‘made for Australian conditions’. The modelling and marketing of Australia’s first Holden, the 48-215 sought to exploit this. Thereafter manufacturers sought to acclimatise the fruits of multinational manufacturing to the local environment. This was initially to be achieved in a rugged sedan. Later, cars were tailored to the suburbanites’ recreational needs. The station wagon appeared as an early alternative to the family saloon. Vacationers were available, the Sandman appealed to racier youths. The Sandman also adapted a commercial,

¹³²⁴ *ibid*, p.142

¹³²⁵ *Gregory’s 100 Miles ‘round Sydney*, 13th edition, c.1960, p.111

¹³²⁶ Advertisement and listing, *Sydney Pink Pages*, 1974, p.165

¹³²⁷ ‘Follow the sun, follow the fun’ (advertisement), *Sun Herald*, 8.12.74, p.101

¹³²⁸ ‘The new Millard Camper’ (advertisement), *Sun Herald*, 8.12.74, p.101

sometimes agricultural vehicle to suburban recreational use.¹³²⁹ A popular motorised caravan before the seventies was the Volkswagen converted for camping by the owner. The Volkswagen Campmobile superseded this. The first two Australian made motor homes to be commercially marketed were based on a Ford chassis. These were the Dolphin, built by Harry Smith, Dandenong, Victoria, and the Freeway built by Bruce Binns of Thornleigh, Sydney. These were later fitted to the chassis of the Ford F100, Bedford, Datsun, Land Rover, Land Cruiser and so on, the Holden one-ton utility becoming the most popular chassis. Freeway also produced a utility mounted camper, or 'tray camper'. Carlite began building motorised campers in Cheltenham, Victoria, as did Coronet Caravans, Millard, Franklin and Lowline Caravans at the luxury end of the market. Other luxury models were imported. Classic Caravans and Villa Nova of Perth entered the tray camper market (Villa Nova's 'Cabana' model was "something rather special"). Haslar advised that the motor caravan was the ideal vehicle for travelling overland to Europe, and that the resale value of the vehicle would be high when you arrived.¹³³⁰

The consolidation of the leisure ethic, and its confluence with suburbanisation, was amply demonstrated by the increasing popularity of the caravan. Some took the suburbs with them on holiday, tethered to their automobile. White observes that the "beauty of the caravan was how it combined domesticity and the flight from it in the one package."¹³³¹ With the caravan "the suburbs had colonised the wilderness over quite a few long weekends".¹³³² The caravan was occasionally to be seen on inter-war roads,¹³³³ but after the Second World War it would become an institution. In 1948 *Outdoors* contributor John D. Porter diagnosed a case of "traileritis", spreading from Britain to the United States and Australia.¹³³⁴ We might take 'the Kleinigs' as exemplars:

Recent recruits to the army of "see Australia first by caravan" are Mr. and Mrs. Vic Kleinig and family of Granville. Just returned from a sightseeing tour in their motor caravan and trailer, the Kleinigs literally went everywhere to satisfy a long felt craving to really get out into the bush.

¹³²⁹ Richard Strauss, *Up for Rego: A Social History of the Holden Kingswood*, Pluto Press, Sydney, 1998, p.61-6

¹³³⁰ Haslar, op. cit., pp.100-5

¹³³¹ White et al., op. cit., p.137

¹³³² Strauss, op. cit. (2), p.73

¹³³³ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.176

¹³³⁴ 'Caravanning in comfort', *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.3., No.6, August 1949, p.376

The Kleinigs caravan-house would have been, without doubt, beyond the wildest dreams of early caravan builders. In itself it offered all the features of a modern bungalow.¹³³⁵

Not that there were enough bungalows in Australia to go around. Such was the housing shortage that *Outdoors* estimated 25,000 Australians living in caravans, and Harold Holt hoped British migrants would bring their well crafted caravans with them when they migrated.¹³³⁶ While it may not have been true that the “hearts of all true caravanners are always pitched to a high key because of their inherent, nomadic urge to go and see things”, as John D. Porter claimed in ‘Caravanning Comes of Age’, many did take their caravans on vacation, and more would do so as post-war shortages abated and the long boom began. Porter estimated that there were 21,000 owners in NSW and 40,000 in other states in 1950.¹³³⁷

It has been argued that the automobile was a leisure good as well as a commuter vehicle; changes to the design of the automobile suggest that, at least as a selling point, the automobile was of growing importance to leisure. Cars were increasingly used for towing power boats¹³³⁸ and caravans and their design changed to suit, culminating in the popularity of the four-wheel-drive. American author and suburban observer John Keats prophesied the coming of the suburban four-wheel drive in 1958. The station wagon, he observed, was an unacceptable compromise and unsuitable to the leisure pursuits of consumers:

If Detroit were to build an honest-to-goodness family vacation car for athletes like the Vandervogels — and people who *look* like the Vandervogels are shown simpering at us from every station wagon advertisement — it would seem logical that such a car would not only have high road clearance but more enduring paint, a larger gas tank, stiffer springs, a truck transmission and four-wheel drive. In short, it would be a machine able to go anywhere in any weather and it would resemble an Army weapons carrier, complete to water cans, shovel and picks strapped to its sides.¹³³⁹

Early warning of the four-wheel drive’s recreational popularity was evident in *Outdoors* in 1951.¹³⁴⁰ By 1980 outdoors writers had accepted the four-wheel drive as an optional extra of outdoor life:

The top family activity in Australia is going for a drive; it accounts for more than half our outdoor activity, though people in cars naturally don’t get very far into the bush. Though the answer seems to

¹³³⁵ ‘Life on the open road’ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.4, No.6, February 1950, p.383

¹³³⁶ ‘Editorial’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.5, No.4, June 1950,

¹³³⁷ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.5, No.5, July-August 1950, p 317

¹³³⁸ Waters, op. cit., p.426

¹³³⁹ John Keats, *The Insolent Chariots*, J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1958, p.2

be the four-wheel drive vehicle, only a small number of these are ever taken off the made road. Driving and navigating through untracked country is usually far too uncomfortable and time-consuming for the weekend adventurer, but go-anywhere vehicles are ideal for getting quickly to a good place to start a bushwalk or canoe trip.¹³⁴¹

Jeff Carter similarly recommended the four-wheel drive to families and criticised other users, as the “four-wheel drive *machismo* calls for all manner of ‘off road’ additions and adaptations, but most are unnecessary and some create more problems than they solve.”¹³⁴²

Spearritt and Davidson comment that

Four-wheel drive vehicles became popular in the 1980s and, as more and more manufacturers entered the market, cheaper to buy. They even had concessional rates of sales tax, supposedly to cater for their use as farm vehicles. Most 4WD vehicles are garaged in large cities, however. In the 1990s they were nicknamed ‘Toorak Tractors’.¹³⁴³

The four-wheel drive had become the vehicular equivalent of the Pitt Street farmer’s rural retreat, a blurring of the distinction between production and consumption, and a certain amount of chicanery common to both.

The planned extension of suburban leisure made itself felt in other areas of economic activity, as alternative means of escaping the city proliferated. The urbanite could escape the throng by going to sea, joining ‘Sydney’s Sunday fishing fleet’.¹³⁴⁴ In 1953 Wal Hardy declared that ‘Sand bikes get the fish’.¹³⁴⁵ The busy executive keen for a shot at the trout had only to travel ‘Ninety minutes from Sydney to the Snowy’ by air, when Wal Reed began operating his Avro Anson Ski Flier in 1949.¹³⁴⁶ Thus an exclusive version of ‘paradise’ was available, epitomised in the Whitsunday resorts of Ansett and later TAA. The first of these, Royal Hayman, opened in 1950 with more than a little government assistance.¹³⁴⁷ In 1975 O. S. Hintz relocated the fisherman’s paradise to New Zealand.¹³⁴⁸ If a holiday wasn’t ‘paradise’, outdoors writers’ hyperbole might make it a ‘utopia’. In 1949 John Gundry, described a ‘Sportsmen’s utopia’ at New Zealand’s Bay of Plenty.¹³⁴⁹ In 1956

¹³⁴⁰ J. H. Prince, ‘Jeeping Across Canada’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.7, No.5, September 1951, p 389

¹³⁴¹ Foster and Nichols, op. cit., p.73

¹³⁴² Jeff Carter, *Jeff Carter’s Guided Tours of the Outback*, Rigby, Sydney, 1979, p.7

¹³⁴³ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., pp.170-1

¹³⁴⁴ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.11, No.2, April 1953, p.405

¹³⁴⁵ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.30, No.1, November 1963, p.49

¹³⁴⁶ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.2, No.5, January 1949, p.286

¹³⁴⁷ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., pp.297-304

¹³⁴⁸ O. S. Hinze, *Fisherman’s Paradise*, Sydney, Max Reinhardt, 1975

¹³⁴⁹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.1, No.1, March 1948, p.24

Ron Green, writing of Tahiti, declared that ‘Utopia is an island’,¹³⁵⁰ utopia was by then no longer on the political agenda, although it might be visited on annual leave.

Some sought adventure in foreign climes. *Outdoors* told readers of ‘Big game hunting in neighbouring countries’,¹³⁵¹ and reported the African adventures of suburban men such as Melbourne’s Graham Strong.¹³⁵² As the seasons passed and times changed Australians looked closer to home. When Jeff Carter reported on a ‘Chance for our big game’, he wasn’t advocating conservation:

It’s hard to imagine the short, happy life of Hemingway’s Francis Macomber coming to an end anywhere but in the foothills of the lion-infested territory around the snow-capped Kilimanjaro. But it’s time to readjust our thinking on the subject. Those big-gamers and their retinues of publicity writers and movie cameramen aren’t flocking to Africa anymore.

Facing a lion or elephant charge is one thing, but getting caught up in shooting wars and other forms of racial skirmishes is a different kettle of fish. Most of the one-time African adventurers now stay home and thumb through back issues of hunting magazines. And since India became independent and the price of porters willing to call you “sahib” went up, that country has lost much of its previous attraction for striped-rug hunters. They also stay home and read.¹³⁵³

Australia had its own version of ‘the dark continent’ in the north, which was quite a development on the weekend fishing trip. At Pine Creek in the Northern Territory, for instance, Don McGregor’s Safaris required a greater capital investment on the part of the tourist. *Outdoors* advised that “your old bomb won’t make it from Sydney to Arnhem Land and back.”¹³⁵⁴ Don’s “pretty blonde wife” cooks the dinners¹³⁵⁵ and if “you want your buff or croc skinned, native helpers will do this for you, at a price that varies according to your bargaining powers.”¹³⁵⁶ For those keener on comfort Karumba Lodge, Queensland, “Australia’s only outback hunting and fishing lodge” might have fitted the bill.¹³⁵⁷

¹³⁵⁰ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.15, No.1, May 1956, p.22

¹³⁵¹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.11, No.11, March 1954, p.923

¹³⁵² Tom Wardle, ‘Aussie man, African buffalo’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.25, No.4, September 1961, p.22

¹³⁵³ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.27, No.3, July 1962, p.14

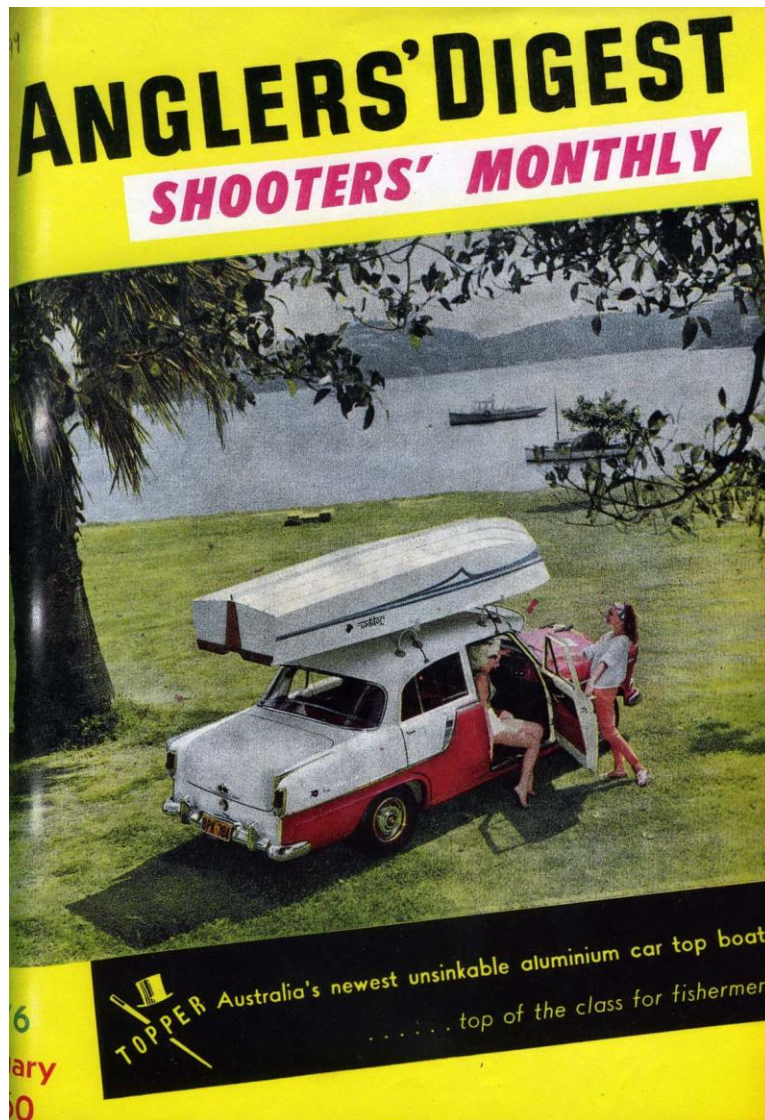
¹³⁵⁴ *ibid*, p.16

¹³⁵⁵ *ibid*, p.59

¹³⁵⁶ *ibid*, p.59

¹³⁵⁷ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.27, No.1, May 1962, p.8

Post-war planning had rationalised time and space to benefit the citizens of Sydney, but it was the motor car that enabled unfettered access to the environment. If this was in accord with modernist nostrums of technology and progress, it also entailed tremendous capitalisation on the part of the individual in a piece of complex machinery that required ongoing maintenance. Increasingly a commuter car was not enough, and specialist vehicles appeared on the market. Yet again, the escape from the industrial city was a means by which the citizen was transformed into a consumer, and a voracious one at that.



Mobile leisure, 1960¹³⁵⁸

¹³⁵⁸ *Anglers' Digest and Shooters' Monthly*, January 1960

Hotels, motels, resorts and caravan parks



Mittagong Tourist Park, c.1965¹³⁵⁹

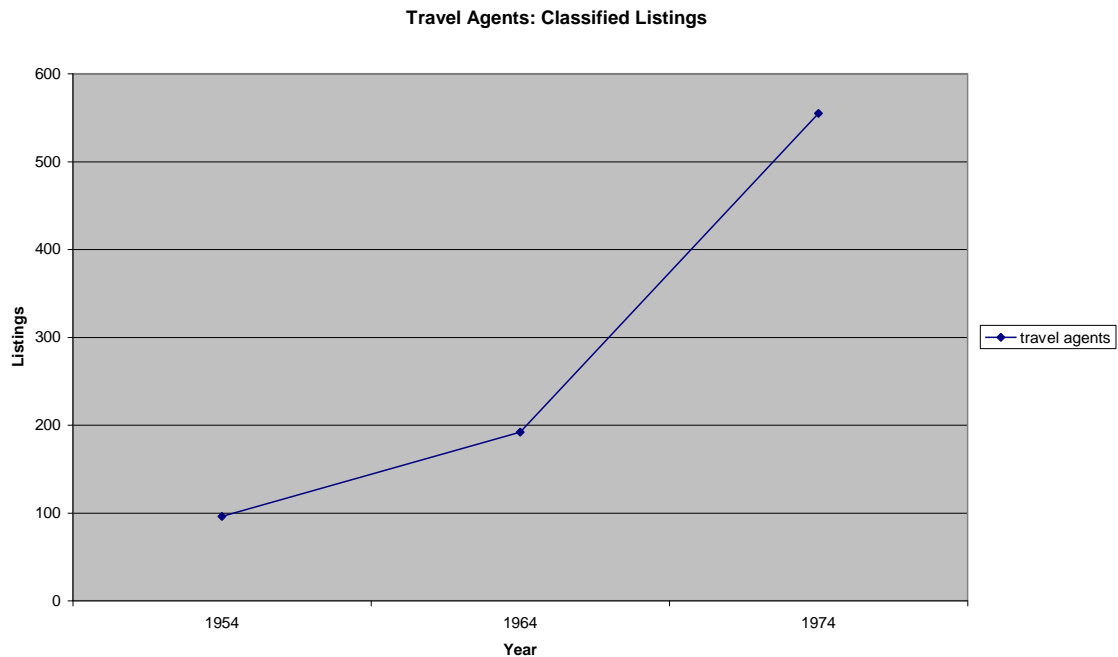
Another area of economic activity in which the planned extension of leisure had a resounding effect was commercial accommodation. Outdoor recreation created a demand for indoor accommodation, for extensive capitalisation in the destination areas catering to the Australian way of life. The state was initially the main proponent, if not provider, of holiday accommodation; Davidson and Spearritt note that in the first third of the twentieth-century the provision of campsites often fell to local councils in affected areas.¹³⁶⁰ As the post-war boom escalated private industry developed to the extent that it eventually set up its own representative bodies to lobby government. This is a repetition of the model of post-war reconstruction, private industry following state driven development programs. As it did in its post-war automobile culture generally, Australia's automotive tourism imitated the

¹³⁵⁹ *SRNSW: AK415, EPA 253, FH 136*

¹³⁶⁰ Davidson and Spearritt, *op.cit.*, pp.174-5

American model. American ‘cabin camps’ were a precursor to the motel, which first appeared in the thirties along with highways. The motel was standardised in the fifties. American caravans first appeared in the thirties, although as often as living quarters as holiday accommodation during the depression.¹³⁶¹

This trend towards commodification was, of course, not new. Organised tourism certainly existed before its exponential boom in the fifties. Thomas Cook and Son were early to recognise the potential for profit in group tours. In 1841 Cook, a teetotaler and Baptist, began his business in the name not simply of profit, but of ‘the advancement of Human Progress’.¹³⁶² Cook claimed that his tours would promote egalitarianism, and remove class divisions in a Britain increasingly marked by class strife.¹³⁶³ Post-war leisure differed in that greater affluence and developments in the technology of transport allowed wider participation. Travel agencies multiplied, in Australia as well as Britain, although the state still played a major role in the provision of this service. Sydney’s classified listings show a dramatic increase in travel agents over the post-war period:



1364

¹³⁶¹ Cross, op. cit., p.186

¹³⁶² Quoted in Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.xix

¹³⁶³ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., pp.xix-xx

¹³⁶⁴ See Appendix 1, Sydney Classified Listings

True to the economic model of the post-war reconstruction, the State Tourist Offices fostered a boom and were supplanted by private industry. Bus touring was a popular alternative to the well established train trip. In 1950 Pioneer Tours offered a ‘Capricornian holiday’, featuring a tour up the Pacific littoral and a return trip on an Ansett Aircraft.¹³⁶⁵ In the mid seventies the Government Tourist Bureau still ran tours of Sydney and surrounds. According to Ruth Park,

Each comprises a longish but enjoyable day 9.30 to 5.30, to and from the Western side of Circular Quay. The most comprehensive tour takes in Koala Park, where you may admire the ‘bears’ and feed the kangaroos, then circles around the old reedy swamps between the Cattai Ridge and the old Pitt Town Road. This was famous shooting country once - ducks, swans, bitterns, herons, which naturally became rarer and rarer, so that now the local excitement comes from the Amaroo Park Motor Racing Circuit, one of the fastest in the world.¹³⁶⁶

Travel agencies integrated their operations into the rationalised routine of the Australian wage earner. The Central Travel Bureau of Melbourne, for instance, advertised its ‘Lay-by Holiday’:

Consider how much more enjoyable it is to take a fortnight’s holiday when you already have – £20 or £30 to your credit. Your holiday pay easily covers the rest, and leaves enough over for spending money.¹³⁶⁷

Davidson and Spearritt suggest that private travel agencies “from the 1950s seriously undermined” the State Tourist Bureau,¹³⁶⁸ yet it is also probably true that this was in accordance with the developmentalist ethos. The state had created an environment in which private enterprise could flourish.

At the end of the boom Australian caravan park culture was thriving. One of the first caravan parks to be built in Australia was at Port Fairy, in 1938.¹³⁶⁹ In 1954 it was estimated that of Australia’s 1500 camping grounds, only ‘several dozen’ were up to the standard of a United States trailer park.¹³⁷⁰ There were around 2000 caravan parks in 1965.¹³⁷¹ By 1974 there were between three and four thousand ‘true blue’ caravan parks

¹³⁶⁵ ‘Capricornia holiday’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7.3.50, p.8

¹³⁶⁶ Park, op. cit., p.184

¹³⁶⁷ Alex Gurney, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne 1951, inside back cover

¹³⁶⁸ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.94

¹³⁶⁹ *ibid*, p.177

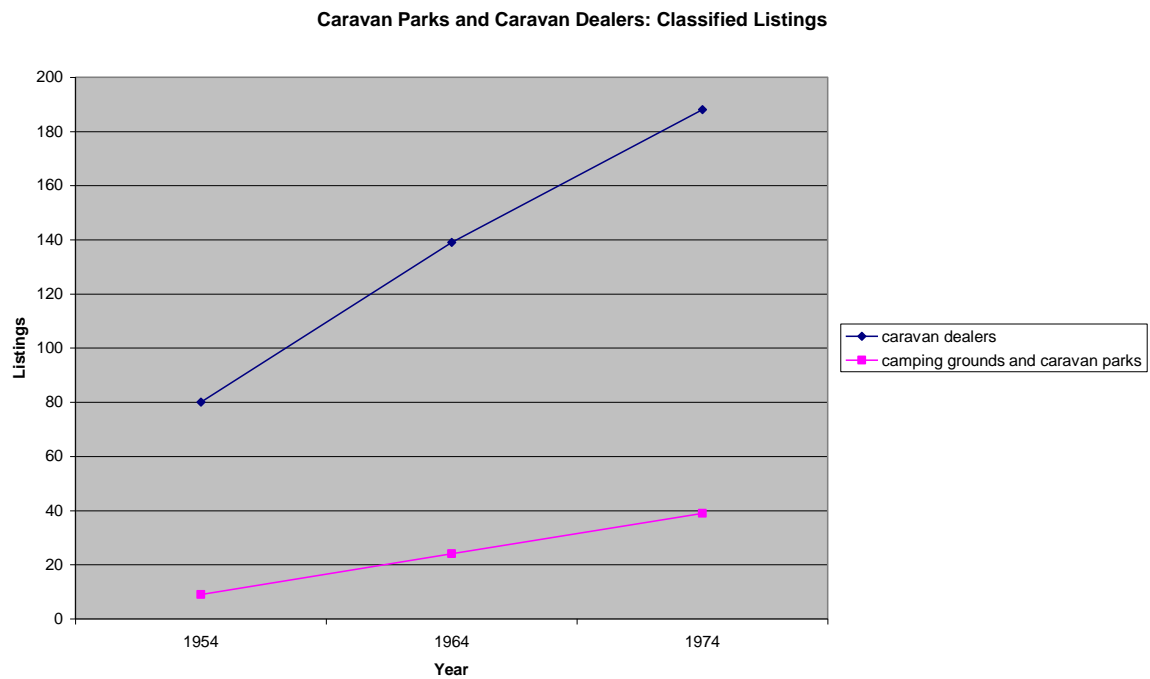
¹³⁷⁰ *ibid*, p.177

¹³⁷¹ *ibid*, p.178

around Australia.¹³⁷² In 1976 the caravan was the second most popular holiday accommodation, after the private house.¹³⁷³ Gwen Haslar described the lavish arrangements of the modern caravan park:

Nowadays when you book into a modern tourist park you can expect to pull up on a well-lit, made road outside a modern office and manager's residence, be shown to your large, shady, powered site by a manager on a motor scooter, hook into power (and in some cases water and sewerage as well) and after you've fixed up the annex over the concrete patio, use the washing machines in the park laundry, cook supper on their outdoor gas barbecue surrounded by landscaped flowerbeds and have a swim in the filtered pool before watching television in the recreation room.¹³⁷⁴

Some caravan parks were even beginning to host permanent residents; Haslar does not consider that this might be a last resort of pensioners or the poor.¹³⁷⁵ Caravanners were becoming fastidious, demanding suburban standards in their well appointed caravan parks. The classified listings of Sydney's caravan parks and caravan dealers show that both prospered:



1376

Caravan dealers increased more rapidly than did caravan parks, Sydney's caravanners perhaps travelling further to find a park.

¹³⁷² Haslar, op. cit., p.xv

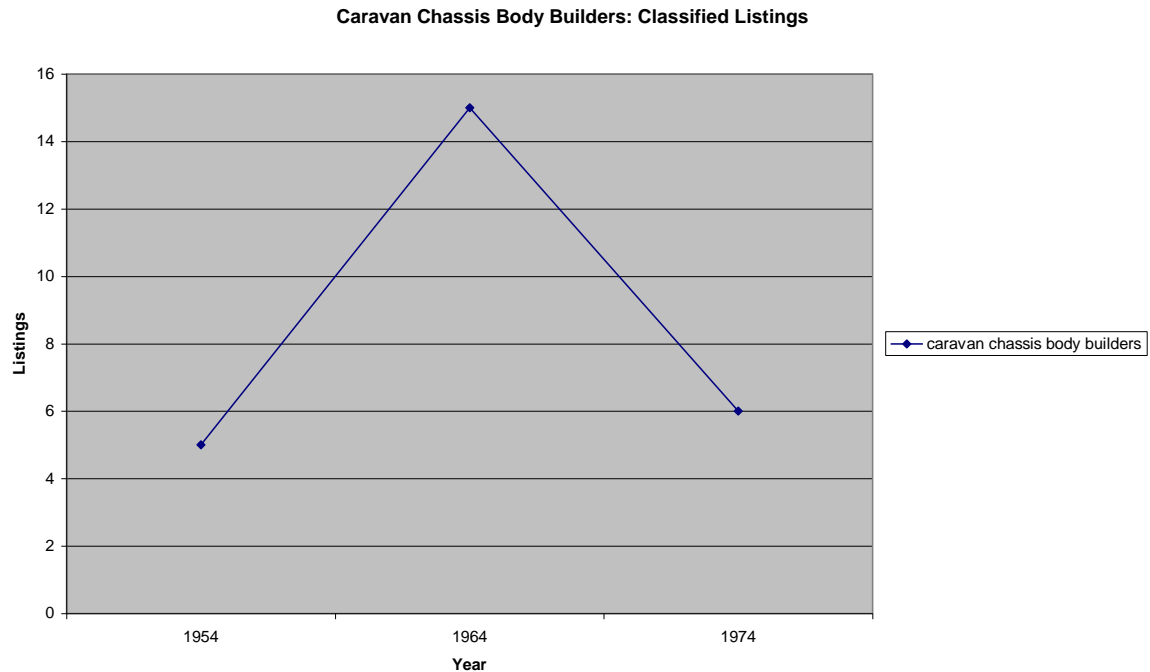
¹³⁷³ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.178

¹³⁷⁴ Haslar, op. cit., pp.xvii-xviii

¹³⁷⁵ *ibid*, p.xx

¹³⁷⁶ See Appendix 1, Sydney Classified Listings

Although immediately after the war some caravans might have been described as ‘Luxury on wheels’¹³⁷⁷ most early caravanners had to build their own caravan before setting off. Or they had to improvise. Henderson’s Federal Spring Works (NSW) Pty. Ltd. supplied the booming do-it-yourself market with ready-made chassis.¹³⁷⁸ By 1962 *Outdoors* magazine’s ‘Choosing a caravan that suits you’ was an eight page guide, demonstrating the extraordinary growth that had occurred in the market. The magazine still included advice to the ‘DIY’ caravan builder, however.¹³⁷⁹ Although White notes that ready made caravans first appeared in the thirties,¹³⁸⁰ it was not until the mid sixties that the home production of caravans peaked, as seen in the classified listings:



1381

The decline in home production can be compared to the boom in caravan dealerships referred to earlier.

¹³⁷⁷ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.2, No.2, October 1948, p.85

¹³⁷⁸ *Gregory's 100 Miles 'round Sydney*, 1st edition, Gregory's Guides and Maps, Sydney, c1947, p.64

¹³⁷⁹ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.28, No.1, November 1962, pp.41-9

¹³⁸⁰ White et al., op. cit., p.137

¹³⁸¹ See Appendix 1, Sydney Classified Listings

By 1974 the editor of *Caravan World*, Gwen Haslar, was able to write of the great progress that had been made in the home away from home. Introducing *Caravanning In Australia*, Haslar wrote that

Years ago a family wanting to get away from it all for a few days now and then might have had a tent, or an old panel van with curtains at the window, or a makeshift annex for the family station wagon. Nowadays, with better salaries, shorter working hours and the low cost of reasonably well built production-line caravans, many families are the proud owners of their own mobile home. It may be small. It may be second-hand. But with it, no matter how far they travel and what hour they arrive, they are assured of a comfortable bed in an insect-screened, ventilated, private bedroom and a home-style meal whenever they feel like it. Supper at 1 a.m.? Certainly. Breakfast at 5 a.m. on freshly caught rainbow trout? What could be better, as you watch a copper disc of a sun rise between the ghost gums.¹³⁸²

The caravan offered the joys of a nomadic existence, enabling the tourist to move from place to place in search of the idyll, or when the recreational possibilities of an area were exploited; a sort of slash and burn vacation. Caravanning at the end of the long boom could be divided into a number of categories. The family was foremost amongst these, but there was also an option for the sportsman – the Millard camper mounted on the back of a Falcon 500 utility being ideal. The boom had seen the spread of egalitarianism amongst caravanners, creating a fraternity of the road:

Caravanners from the Broken Hill miner to the city architect, from the fisherman to the Member of Parliament, and from the railway clerk to the orthopaedic surgeon with a private practice. Their outfits will vary in size and shape, but for the most part they are all warm and friendly people who do not hesitate to give a hand to anyone in difficulties on or off the road.¹³⁸³

The caravanner would find adventure without need for passport, over “vast tracts of unspoiled territory”.¹³⁸⁴ There was a need for a caravanners’ code of ethics, however, to ensure that all caravanning continued to give enjoyment to all.¹³⁸⁵ Those wishing to join others in the pursuit of mobile pleasure and leisure could join a caravanning club, which were appearing throughout Australia. New South Wales residents could join the Caravan Club of Australia, the Caravan Touring Club, the Chesney Caravan Club of New South Wales (all based in the suburbs of Sydney), or the Newcastle Caravan Club.¹³⁸⁶

¹³⁸² Haslar, op. cit., p.vii

¹³⁸³ *ibid*, p.ix

¹³⁸⁴ *ibid*, p.ix

¹³⁸⁵ *ibid*, pp.131-2

Haslar traces the heritage of the caravan to the conveyances of the spice road and the covered wagons of the American West (and Australia). Gipsies and travelling salesmen trekked over Europe for centuries, and in 1885 a retired naval surgeon outfitted a horse drawn carriage so that he could tour the English countryside in style. The surgeon wrote a book about his travels, publishing at the turn of the century.¹³⁸⁷ In Australia E. J. Brady did something similar, driving a covered wagon from Sydney to Townsville and publishing a record of the journey as *King's Caravan*.¹³⁸⁸ In the novel *Sydney and the Bush*, set in the depression, the fictional family escape the troubles of inner city Sydney by driving their covered wagon north to Grafton. Immediately on leaving Sydney there was fishing to be had, the fraternity of the road and a restoration of dignity.¹³⁸⁹ "Sydney businessman and keen outdoor sportsman" R. J. Rankin built himself a simple car-drawn caravan in 1928, and in response to demand from admirers he began producing more for sale in a small workshop. In 1932 Rankin marketed the 'Teardrop' caravan, selling and hiring them from a factory in Newtown. In 1934 the hire fleet had grown from six to 25, and 'Carapark Ltd', which Haslar believed to be the first Australian caravan company, was formed. Early caravans were built of marine ply on a welded chassis. After the Depression more home-built motor homes appeared, usually of the teardrop type, or simpler. The fifties heralded "radical changes" to the caravan. Franklin, Viscount-Ambassador, Millard and Coronet began operations, building new designs in new materials. Electrically welded chassis, aluminium siding, alloy frames, ply, and particle board were used in construction. Over the next two decades firms such as Chesney (Qld), Olympic (Qld), Kennedy (Vic) and Quest (SA) appeared, producing caravans clad in fibreglass. The seventies saw development in insulation and a boom in fittings.¹³⁹⁰ Caravans were becoming big business, and big business was moving in. Eastralia bought out Franklin Caravans, and was in turn bought out by Bowater Scott. Chesney Industries was bought out by Monier Besser. Sunshine Biscuits were moved into camper trailers.¹³⁹¹ Peters Ice Cream moved into recreational vehicles,

¹³⁸⁶ *ibid*, pp.128-9

¹³⁸⁷ *ibid*, pp.x-xi

¹³⁸⁸ E. J. Brady, *King's Caravan: Across Australia in a Wagon*, Edward Arnold, London, 1911


¹³⁸⁹ Elwyn J. Wallace, *Sydney and the Bush: A Light Hearted Adventure*, Australian Book Society, Sydney, 1966

¹³⁹⁰ Haslar, *op. cit.*, pp.xii-xvii

¹³⁹¹ *ibid*, p.xxiii

building Tagalong Campers and Expandavans, and confirming the importance of recreation to the 'milk bar economy'.

Types of caravans varied to accommodate the types of consumers to which they were marketed. Family models varied from the lavish, multi-roomed to the stream lined, budget models. One early model was the Gipsy Caravan.¹³⁹² Note that the boy in the advertised idyll has his very own rifle:



Gypsy 10

Leader of the 10cwt. Class

Here is the sportsman's answer to making those hunting trips a family affair. A Gypsy 10 will give you comfort and practical living in the most remote and out of the way beauty spots.

Literature gladly sent on request.

HERBERT STREET, ST. LEONARDS
Phone: XA 2297
(NEXT TO RAILWAY STN.)

GYPSY CARAVAN COMPANY

16

OUTDOORS AND FISHING

November, 1952

*The Gypsy 10*¹³⁹³

The camper trailer entered the market in the seventies, these being cheaper and more manoeuvrable (a particular advantage for women drivers, suggests Haslar). The camper trailer could not be locked against thieves, however; neither could a camper trailer be fitted with an air conditioner.¹³⁹⁴ The Chesney Kampa was a full adventure pack, with GT stripes to match a Chrysler Charger, or similar, and a fibreglass boat to be carried atop the trailer.¹³⁹⁵ The motorised caravan was also making inroads in the market. In the United States they were already the most popular touring vehicles, while in England and Europe

¹³⁹² 'Tho' I Roam I'm Home', *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.2, No.6 February 1949, p 381

¹³⁹³ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.10, No.1, November 1952, p.16

¹³⁹⁴ Haslar, op. cit., pp.95-7

they vied with the caravan in popularity. Haslar wrote of the benefits of being able to have a nap while your partner drove.

Caravans domesticated adventure, projecting the comforts of the suburban home into the wilderness. Wildlife cinematographer Noel Monk describes his home away from home:

While awaiting my return to the south from the crocodile country, my wife, Kitty, had been fitting out a motor caravan for our next expedition. And while I revelled in hot showers, clean clothes, fresh fruit and vegetables, and a welcome respite from leeches and mosquito and sandfly bites, Kitty was thoroughly happy planning her household arrangements for caravan life. With great pride she showed me her built-in kerosene cooker, a sink with a shiny water tap above it, built in bunks and store cupboards, dainty window curtains, and all the other feminine trimmings so essential to make a contented housewife: and as a crowning glory there was a nook that became a shower-room. I must admit that my main concern was a good engine and the arrangements necessary to turn the caravan into a darkroom, with a solid built-in table to bear the weight, without tremors, of my optical bench for photo-micrographic work.¹³⁹⁶

Ostensibly liberating its owner from the city, the caravan extended the suburb into the interior and along the coast. Suburbia was manifest in the rolling architecture of the 'bungalow' on wheels.¹³⁹⁷ In the caravan park, however, suburbia itself was recreated in miniature. This was a kind of nomadic decentralisation. Caravan park operators and owners had their first official meeting in Lismore in 1966, forming the Caravan and Tourist Parks Association. Minimum standards of membership were drawn up.¹³⁹⁸ On the manufacturing side the Caravan Trades and Industries Association (CTIA, now the Caravan and Camping Industry Association) organised caravan shows, set manufacturing standards and sought to standardise state laws relating to caravans. The CTIA was affiliated with the Standards Association of Australia, the Australian National Travel Association and the Motor Traders Association of New South Wales.¹³⁹⁹

Before the Second World War a tourist would most likely have found accommodation in a hotel. The 'guest house', where temperance was often observed, was more a holiday destination than the hotel and boasted a number of amusements. By the long boom,

¹³⁹⁵ *ibid*, pp.97-8

¹³⁹⁶ Noel Monkman, *Escape to Adventure*, Halstead Press, Sydney, 1956, p.26

¹³⁹⁷ 'Life on the open road' *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.4, No.6, February 1950, p.383

¹³⁹⁸ Haslar, *op. cit.*, p.xx

¹³⁹⁹ *ibid*, pp.125-6

however, these were run down and did not attract great patronage (to be revived as the ‘bed and breakfast’ in the eighties).¹⁴⁰⁰ Hotels had often been built along railway lines, sometimes along roads and more rarely as ‘guest houses’ at tourist destinations.¹⁴⁰¹ The Australian hotel was synonymous with the public house, but in the post-war years the ‘motel’ developed as a separate entity. In 1948 touring aficionado T. Turnbridge revealed the splendours of American motel accommodation in ‘Tourist travel deluxe’.¹⁴⁰² In ‘Modern auto camps for Australia’ he described the scene in Australia, where from “11⁰S to 43⁰S and 113⁰ to 143⁰E lies this wonderful land with its potential places of tourist drawing power, which if properly developed, would more than favourably compare with anything abroad.”¹⁴⁰³ Tunbridge gave two examples of such development, one at Mt. Victoria and the other at Nowra. Developers were discouraged more because the *NSW Local Government Act* prohibited cabins less than 100’ from the road. The amenities of these parks included barbecues and a riding school.¹⁴⁰⁴ White notes that the successful motels that followed offered anonymity rather than organised activities.¹⁴⁰⁵ When motels came they easily out-competed the rather austere and run down local hotel.¹⁴⁰⁶ In 1954 Ian Bevan suggested that the hotels were a deterrent to outback tourism, but allowed that they were run down because the ‘city dweller’ rarely visited the outback.¹⁴⁰⁷ The motel heralded that auto-centric era that would see the rise of the ‘drive in’ and ‘drive through’.

In the immediate post-war period the State government was active in promoting modern tourist accommodation. The basic tenets of the “ambitious tourist projects planned for New South Wales”, according to H. E. Best, Director of Tourist Activities in NSW in 1949, were to “1. establish self contained holiday cabins near Sydney, Newcastle, Wollongong; 2. co-operate with private enterprise. . . in the building of luxurious tourist hotels at Bennelong Point and Rose Bay; 3. an Alpine Village at Smiggins Holes.”¹⁴⁰⁸ Private enterprise responded eagerly. Too eagerly, according to *Outdoors*:

¹⁴⁰⁰ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.110

¹⁴⁰¹ *ibid*, p.97-109

¹⁴⁰² *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.1, No.1, March 1948, pp.40-2

¹⁴⁰³ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.1, No.2, April 1948, p.120

¹⁴⁰⁴ *ibid*, p.121

¹⁴⁰⁵ White et al., op. cit., p.138

¹⁴⁰⁶ Davidson and Spearritt, op. cit., p.104

¹⁴⁰⁷ Bevan (ed.), op. cit., p.69

¹⁴⁰⁸ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.3, No.. 3, May 1949

It's nearly time we left off hoodwinking ourselves that the annual holidaymaker was nothing more than an individual who was prepared to put up with sub-standard accommodation and high rentals.

The holidaymaker is a tourist in every respect and under every possible definition of the word.

Before the war and, more particularly since the war, he has been exploited to the highest limits of human decency – and then even beyond that . . . ¹⁴⁰⁹

Such was the shortage of holiday accommodation, and housing in general, immediately after the war that staggering prices were being paid, one estate agent commenting that “owners could charge almost what they liked and get it”. Manly Council vowed to prosecute abuses and appointed additional rental inspectors over the Christmas period.¹⁴¹⁰ Gosford Council was compelled to action too:

Gosford Council has decided to end the exploiting of holiday makers by the owners of hundreds of garages, boatsheds and shacks on the Central Coast.

Owners of every class of “temporary dwelling” at the seaside resorts have obtained as much as £15/15/- a week for shacks which would not pass any Council's regulations, particularly on sanitation.

Some owners, after applying for permits to build cottages or garages, have erected sheds for letting to holiday makers.

It was estimated that the coast between the Hawkesbury and Swansea had an annual influx of over a million ‘holiday makers’.¹⁴¹¹ In 1952 *Walkabout Magazine* exhorted Australia to build motels.¹⁴¹²

Again, the dynamic of state intervention and private capitalisation is discernable. By 1954 *Outdoors* reported that supply had begun to meet demand, thanks to government intervention and a fledgling industry. *Outdoors* declared that the “Central Coast of New South Wales encompasses fishing territory that is as diversified as it is rich with fish”, moreover the NSW Government Tourist Bureau recommended accommodation at Durras Water, Bateman's Bay, Narooma and Corunna Lake.¹⁴¹³ By 1959 *Outdoors* were able to

¹⁴⁰⁹ Editorial, ‘Let's be fair to the tourist’ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.5, No.1, March 1950, p.13

¹⁴¹⁰ ‘Owners of holiday flats charging ‘what they like’ – and getting it’, *Sunday-Herald*, 17.12.50, p.6

¹⁴¹¹ ‘Expensive shacks: holiday racket to end’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1.11.48

¹⁴¹² Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.178

¹⁴¹³ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.12, No.6, October 1954, p.53

report a profusion of motels, such as were to be found on the Pacific Highway between Sydney and Byron Bay.¹⁴¹⁴ In 1960 Australia rejoiced in 272 motels; of these thirteen were in Sydney and 128 were in country NSW.¹⁴¹⁵

The urbanite could thus expect to reap the rewards of post-industrial toil in state regulated, commercially operated and rationally designated locations that gave immediate access to nature. The more commercialised, the purer was the operation of the leisure ethic; yet as will be demonstrated even those who sought a more intimate, or a more 'authentic' interaction with nature would be inducted into the consumer culture of leisure through means both subtle and otherwise.

¹⁴¹⁴ 'On the Road to Byron Bay', *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.20, No.6, April 1959

¹⁴¹⁵ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.180

A girdle of theme parks

Confirming the hypothesis that post-war leisure planning tended to encourage capitalisation, it can be seen that the more successful attempts to mitigate Sydney's urbanisation have been those that catered to affluence. Those institutions and reservations that have endured, and indeed flourished, have profited by association with a leisure ethic that reinforces rather than remedies urban capitalism. In addition to those leisured spaces provided by the state, Sydney's recreational needs were catered to by a growing number of tourist attractions, leisure facilities and tourist parks. These, as discussed earlier, increased in the 'rear guard action' of the Cumberland County Council as it sought to convert green belt lands to sustainable, commercial use without the loss of open space. This was quite in keeping with the expressed aims of the Cumberland County Council at the end of the fifties, but it was not in keeping with the more leftist aspirations of post-war ideologues. In some ways this trend represented a return to the privatisation of public space that had begun to appear in the mid to late nineteenth-century.¹⁴¹⁶ Drive-in cinemas were an odd way of preserving rural scenery; successfully preserving the green belt, golf courses imposed an idealised British rurality on tracts of Sydney and its environs. Many theme parks, marketing nature, safaris, colonial heritage or rural charms performed a similar function in preserving visual and recreational amenity. As argued above, they also turned Sydney's hinterland from primary to tertiary production, extending the urban economy while limiting the urban environment.

From the early sixties onwards theme parks proliferated. Cattai's Paradise Gardens and the Mandalay Pleasure Grounds at Colo offered a privatised version of the leisured spaces that had been provided by the post-war state.¹⁴¹⁷ In the Whitlamite early seventies Claire Wagner envisaged the development of decentralised zones of urban leisure:

Traditionally, the area around a large centre — its hinterland, has provided it with food and raw materials. This is still partly true, but hinterlands are beginning to take on a new function, as urban playgrounds. In other words, whether or not farms are subdivided or rural retreats, there are pressures

¹⁴¹⁶ Cunneen, op. cit. (1)

¹⁴¹⁷ Peter Lacey, *Weekend Sydney: Where to go and what to do in the Sydney area at the Weekend*, Explorer Books, Thornleigh, 1978, pp.88-9

on other outdoor amenities — forests, rivers, mountains, national parks. To which may be added holiday farms, children's summer camps, and caravan parks.¹⁴¹⁸

In the nineties one sociologist, Kathleen Mee observed a continuing discourse of “beach alternatives, such as rivers and theme parks” in Western Sydney.¹⁴¹⁹

Sometimes the theme of a park was a version of that rurality that the theme park replaced. L. Sue Greer notes this rather odd phenomenon occurring in the United States, where the United States Forest Service actually resumed land and evicted farming communities in the Mount Rogers National Recreation Area so that white and blue-collar workers might have “a revitalizing respite from modern industrial life in ‘Rural Americana’”.¹⁴²⁰ The evictions were necessary because “the Forest Service wished to exchange the untidy, dynamic reality of farm life for a neatly packaged but static bucolic image served up as a recreational commodity.”¹⁴²¹ Such rusticity could be bought around Sydney. By 1978 horse riding could be had at The Butterfly Farm Picnic Grounds on the Hawkesbury, the Gledswood Winery, Narellen, ‘Packsaddlers’ in the Megalong Valley, at Jenolan, Centennial Park, and at Smoky Dawson’s Ranch at Ingleside. Smoky’s ranch also featured stunts and an after lunch wild-west shootout.¹⁴²² There is evidence of a prosperous exurban ‘pony club economy’ in the classified listings:

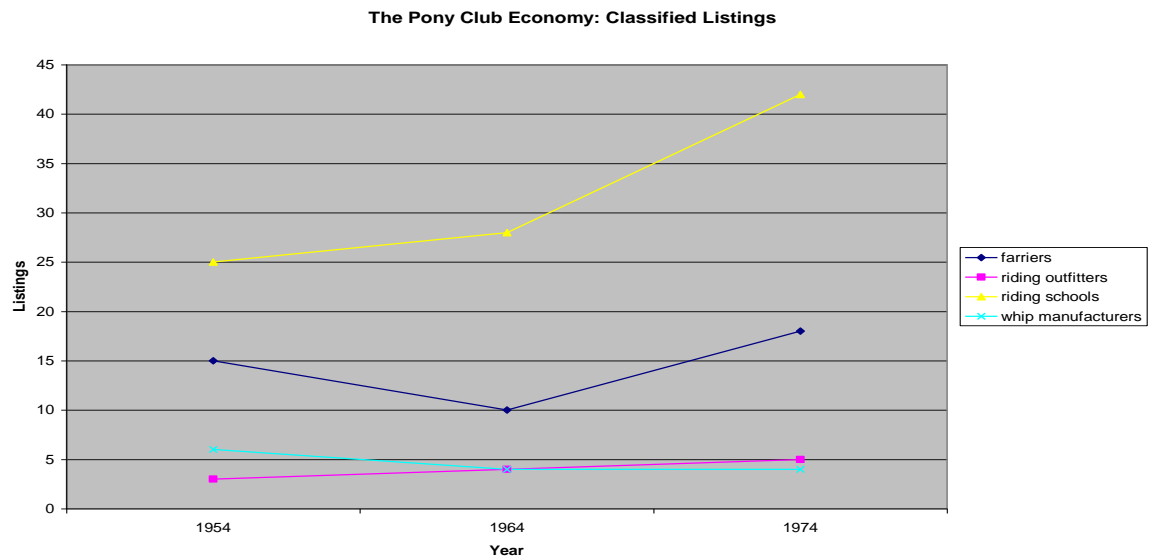
¹⁴¹⁸ Wagner, op. cit., pp.37-8

¹⁴¹⁹ Kathleen Mee, ‘Dressing up the suburbs: representations of Western Sydney’ in K. Gibson and S. Watson, *Metropolis Now: Planning and the Urban in Contemporary Australia*, Pluto Press, Sydney, 1994, pp.60-77, p.66

¹⁴²⁰ Greer, op. cit., p.159

¹⁴²¹ Greer, op. cit., p.161

¹⁴²² Lacey, op. cit., pp.41, 42, 62, 64, 88, 89, 90



1423

Riding outfitters held their own, farriers went through a lean period, and whip manufacturers went into decline, but riding schools thrived in teaching suburbanites the rural skill of horseriding. More recently Hornsby Shire Council's *Rural Lands Study* envisaged a sort of regional theme park centred on Fagan Park and the villages of Galston and Dural. 'Rural scenery and atmosphere' is cited as the major tourist attraction of the area. Much more than actual agricultural production, rural atmosphere was a viable commodity in the capitalist city. It enabled urbanites to enjoy a leisured escape from the urban environment while engaging them in a market.¹⁴²⁴ In this way the rural atmosphere envisaged in theme parks is viable in a way that Sydney's green belt, which was intended to halt the progress of the urban capital, wasn't.

History was harnessed in the search for commercial leisure activities. The Australian Pioneer Village, with re-enactments of bushranging and battles, but not of massacres, was established near Wilberforce.¹⁴²⁵ Ruth Park gave the park warm reviews in 1973, declaring it "extremely entertaining for tourists and yet magically not at all touristy."¹⁴²⁶ The park was built around sportsman Bill McLachlan's motel, originally a water-ski park. The land was originally taken up by William Rose, and Rose Cottage still survives there.¹⁴²⁷ The park

¹⁴²³ See Appendix 1, Sydney Classified Listings

¹⁴²⁴ Hornsby Shire Council, *Hornsby Shire Rural Lands Study*, Hornsby, 1995, Ch.6 pp.33-4

¹⁴²⁵ Lacey, op. cit., p.41

¹⁴²⁶ Park, op. cit., p.200

¹⁴²⁷ Park, op. cit., p.200-2

survives as Hawkesbury Heritage Farm. History was commodified, either as a 'genuine' historic site, or one reproduced.¹⁴²⁸ Commodification did not guarantee profits. Old Sydney Town opened in 1975, and lost up to \$600,000 a year for the next five years. It was backed by the federal government (Gough Whitlam attended its opening), then by the State. The state government then sold its interest at a discount in 1987, and the park is now closed.¹⁴²⁹ Old Sydney Town was inspired by the Victorian 'open air museums' at Swan Hill and Ballarat ('Sovereign Hill'), established in the mid to late sixties; these in turn were inspired by 'Skansen' in Stockholm and Sturbridge Village in Massachusetts.¹⁴³⁰ With an emerging appreciation of Australia's built heritage¹⁴³¹ Sydneysiders might tour the 'real' heritage treasures preserved in the rural hinterland. At Berrima, 'real' heritage might be as commercialised as the theme parks.¹⁴³²

Other theme parks packaged nature for leisured consumption. Native wildlife could be seen in the wild, but more easily at such places as Featherdale Wildlife Park, Doonside. At Duffy's Forrest, the home of Skippy the Bush Kangaroo,¹⁴³³ youngsters were treated to Skippy film screenings. Throughout the seventies Bullen's Animal World offered encounters with elephants, buffalo and llama on 80 hectares on the upper Nepean. Similarly, the African Lion Safari at Warragamba allowed motorists to drive their vehicles among its 50 hectares of lions and tigers. Deer Park at Wentworth Falls boasted deer and a trout lake. Eric Worrell's Australian Reptile Park on the Central Coast had grown to the proportions of a small privately run zoo in 1978. There were also the Riverside Animal Park at Nowra¹⁴³⁴ and the Symbio Animal Gardens, just off the Princess Highway at north of Wollongong.

¹⁴²⁸ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.xxvii

¹⁴²⁹ Claire O'Rourke, 'Farewell to old Sydney Town forever', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25.01.03, p.13; Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., pp.266-8

¹⁴³⁰ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., pp.263-6

¹⁴³¹ *ibid*, pp.253-261

¹⁴³² *ibid*, pp.260-1

¹⁴³³ The 'true' home of Skippy was in fact Ku-ring-gai Chase National Park, where the series was filmed by arrangement with the NSWNPWS. *SRNSW: CGS 10664, Kingswood 12/1615, Box 1, File 1968*, National Parks and Wildlife Service, Correspondence Files, 1976-74, Correspondence between Sam Weems, Director of the NSWNPWS and Mr. Lee Robinson, Fauna Productions, 21.6.68

¹⁴³⁴ Lacey, op. cit., pp.57, 67, 75, 89

In a less commercial vein, spiritual retreats multiplied. As well as monasteries, places such as the Uniting Church's Vision Valley at Arcadia offered a reprieve from the urban environment, and more lately eastern oriented religious centres have been established with similar objectives. Postgraduate student Stacey Quayle interpreted these later developments in terms, if not in language, that would have been familiar to a twenties vitalist:

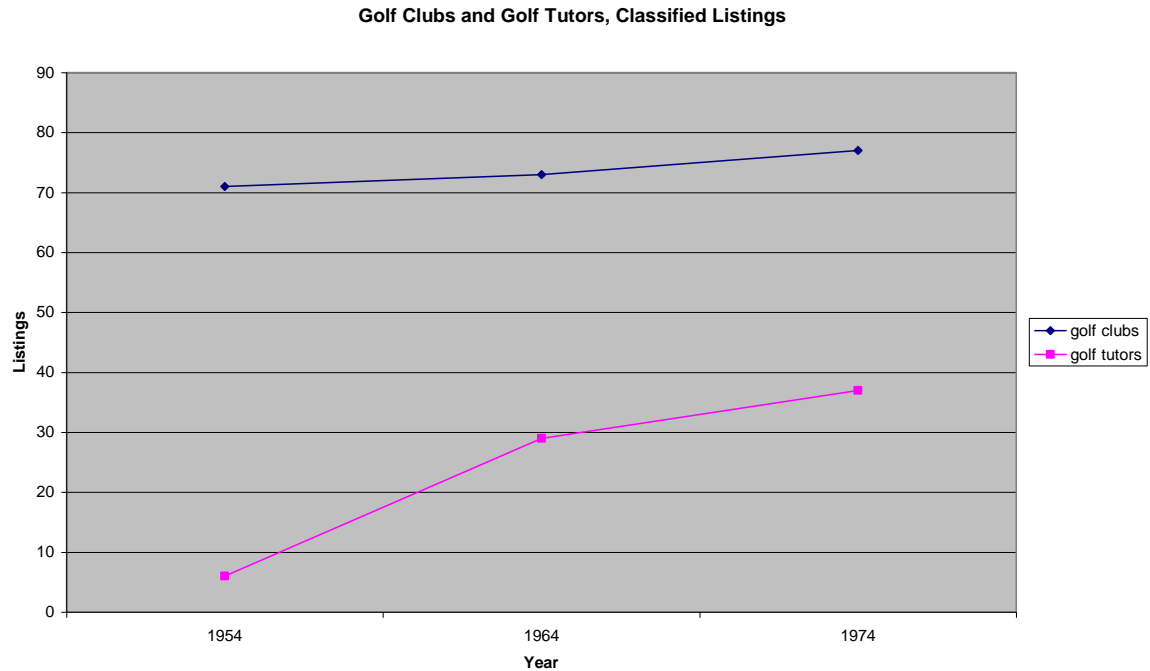
With the increasing preference of the Sydney population towards Eastern/Oriental cultures and personal development and the stress that city living can place on an individual, many religious groups have established meditation/spiritual centres in bushland centres away from external urban disamenities.¹⁴³⁵

Spiritual anti-urbanism continued as a theme in the 'counter culture' which blossomed as the baby-boomers left home, prompting sociologist Margaret Monro-Clark to propose that although "obviously different in important ways, modern communitarian secession is not altogether discontinuous in other ways with the flight".¹⁴³⁶

The post-war golf course is a classic study of increasing leisure, state intervention and increasing consumerism. The postcolonial semiotic of the golf course, complete with anglicised landscape and social relations, were among the most interesting of theme parks. Post-war golfing was increasingly democratised in Australia, booming in the expanding suburbs. After an initial spate of post-war construction, the supply of golf courses remained fairly steady, although the professionals who earned a living as tutors multiplied, presumably as Sydneysiders took up clubs:

¹⁴³⁵ Stacey Quayle, *Exurban Dreaming: A Case Study of the Macdonald Valley*, undergraduate thesis, Faculty of the Built Environment, UNSW, 1995, p.102

¹⁴³⁶ Margaret Monro-Clark, *Communes in Rural Australia: The Movement Since 1970*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, 1986



1437

Nineteenth-century golf was notable for its exclusivity,¹⁴³⁸ making post-war developments all the more significant. Although there were still exclusive clubs (at least one was anti-Semitic into the sixties)¹⁴³⁹ the vast majority were public golf courses managed by municipalities.¹⁴⁴⁰ Golf courses were implicitly an antidote to the increasing urbanisation of Sydney. Fifties sports journalist Rex Rienits noted that

In Sydney, a grossly overcrowded city, there are at least five first-rate golf courses within half an hour of the city's centre by bus or tram. Within an hour, there are a couple of score; and not so far beyond that again, scores more.¹⁴⁴¹

These are a landscaped imitation of rurality dedicated to servicing the leisure needs of the suburbanite golfer, not to the preservation of a mode of production. Golf courses may be divided into three main types: the exclusive, the private, and the public. The exclusive golf course imitated English social relations as well as landscape, since entry was only allowed by association with a member, and membership is only open to those of a certain class. The average Australian could only gain entry as a caddie:

¹⁴³⁷ See Appendix 1, Sydney Classified Listings

¹⁴³⁸ Cashman, op. cit (2), p.51

¹⁴³⁹ Colin Tatz and Brian Stoddard, *The Royal Sydney Golf Club: The First Hundred Years*, Allen & Unwin, St. Leonards, NSW, 1993

¹⁴⁴⁰ Waters, op. cit., p.423

¹⁴⁴¹ Rienits and Fingleton, op. cit., p.163



*Bluey and Curley Annual, 1947*¹⁴⁴²

The private golf course was similar to the exclusive one, but it was more aspirational and limited access to its fairways on the basis of money. The public golf course was a typically post-war phenomenon, as it sought to make available to the Australian citizen that which was traditionally only available to the British aristocracy and their colonial imitators. Rex Rienits praised the egalitarianism of golf in Australia:

A few of these courses, very few of them, are exclusively for members and invited friends. Many more are for members and “visitors” – a category stretched in the most elastic manner to include almost anyone who wants to play and has the green fees. But the majority are municipally controlled, and open to all, so that golf is one of the most democratic games.¹⁴⁴³

The public golf courses of Sydney are often built on perceived waste lands, including filled rubbish tips and mangrove swamps.

Post-war efforts to provide recreational space to increasingly leisured Sydneysiders met with mixed but marked success. As noted above, the conditions of the boom necessitated an increasingly commercial approach to the conservation of open space; private enterprise was certainly active in supplying commercial recreational space in Sydney’s rural and recreational hinterland. Whether Sydneysiders were consuming leisure services provided by the state or business, their increased activity generated demand for a profusion of goods as they sought the accoutrements of adventure.

¹⁴⁴² Alex Gurney, *Bluey and Curley Annual*, The Sun News Pictorial Feature, Melbourne, 1947, p.19

¹⁴⁴³ *ibid*, p.163

The accoutrements of adventure

It has been noted that Sydneysiders were far greater consumers of leisure goods than leisure services, and as the boom continued an extensive market in leisure goods developed. Automotive and caravan sales and the development of a tertiary accommodation industry, discussed above, were clearly key areas of economic activity; an equally important area of capitalisation was private investment in the commodities needed to enjoy the 'Australian way of life'. Australian outdoors culture began as quite an austere concern, of necessity but also as an expression of an ethos of self sufficiency that married well with the outdoors. This ethos survived in some forms, especially where there was a concern to establish the legitimacy of one's claims to 'outdoorsmanship' (and it was often 'manship' that was at issue). Much of this bush-lore was book learned, feeding a booming market in do-it-yourself manuals. Increasingly, however, bush-lore gave way to product knowledge. Pallin's *Bushwalking and Camping* is an early and often reprinted example of the advice popularly sought by those wishing to indulge but not rely on their instincts for the outdoors.¹⁴⁴⁴ The book had sold over 50,000 copies by the mid eighties. More than automobiles and hotels, the sale of outdoors equipment contributed to the commodification of outdoors culture and by extension of the 'Australian way of life'. Marx described the commodity fetish as resulting from labour's alienation in capitalist production; in post-industrial Sydney a commodity fetish was the result of this and the urbanites alienation from nature. Marx wrote that

A commodity is therefore a mysterious thing, simply because in it the social character of men's labour appears to them as an objective character stamped upon the product of that labour; because the relation of the producers to the sum total of their own labour is presented to them as a social relation, existing not between themselves, but between the products of their labour. This is the reason why the products of labour become commodities, social things whose qualities are at the same time perceptible and imperceptible by the senses.¹⁴⁴⁵

Leaving aside for a moment Marx's conception of 'use value' (as perhaps we must), it is nevertheless striking that the social character of commodities in post-war Australia was

¹⁴⁴⁴ Pallin, op. cit., pp.54, 222

¹⁴⁴⁵ Karl Marx, 'The Fetishism of Commodities', in David McLellan (ed.), *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1977, p.436

defined not by production but by consumption; a phenomenon made more remarkable by the fact that the commodities in question were increasingly the product of Japanese labour.

Doing it yourself

The post-war commodification of the outdoors was so marked because it began with rationing and a tradition of austerity. Beginning within the context of post-war shortages and continuing a depression era emphasis on thrift, Australian outdoors culture, much like its British counterpart placed a heavy emphasis on the making of one's own gear. While doing it yourself was popular in many fields of endeavour, the production of one's own outdoor gear was an act imbued with extra overtones of self sufficiency. Englishman Harry Brotherton put his argument for home made rods thus in 1960:

Even if you can well afford to go out and buy them there is a lot to be said for making your own fishing-rods. In the first place, if you are a normal sort of person you will get quite a lot of enjoyment out of making them, for we all have the creative instinct to some degree, and there is always a deep satisfaction in making 'something from nothing', so to speak. I must have made scores of rods in my time, yet I still get a lot of pleasure out of the fashioning of an elegant fishing-rod from an unpromising assortment of raw bamboo cane.

Then again, when you make your own rods yourself you get exactly what you want - or at least, it is your own fault if you do not. . .

Perhaps the most important, however, to most of us, is the fact that you can make your own rods far more cheaply than you can buy them in a shop.¹⁴⁴⁶

In 1969 another English rod maker, G. Lawton Moss, looked back at the excellent sales of his books over two decades and declared that "few thrills, as I know well, can equal that of catching one's first fish on a rod of one's own making."¹⁴⁴⁷ 'How-to' books were big sellers in the post-war period. As Bolton Hall had observed in 1908,

In olden times anyone could "farm," but it is necessary to-day to teach people to obtain a livelihood from the earth. Scientific methods of agriculture have revealed possibilities in the soil that make farming the most fascinating occupation known to man. People in every city are longing for the freedom of country life, yet hesitate to enter into its liberty because no one points the way.¹⁴⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴⁶ Harry Brotherton, *Making Fishing Rods as a Hobby*, Stanley Paul, London, 1960, p.11

¹⁴⁴⁷ G. Lawton Moss, *How to Build and Repair Your Own Fishing Rods*, The Technical Press, London, 1969, p.vii

¹⁴⁴⁸ Bolton Hall, op. cit., p.3

Initially post-war adventurers built a great deal of their own gear. *Outdoors* magazine began its career as a source of advice on the building of caravans,¹⁴⁴⁹ rucksacks,¹⁴⁵⁰ skis,¹⁴⁵¹ telescopic gunsights,¹⁴⁵² boats,¹⁴⁵³ spearfishing gear,¹⁴⁵⁴ hunting gear,¹⁴⁵⁵ beach rods,¹⁴⁵⁶ fishing rods,¹⁴⁵⁷ fishing lures,¹⁴⁵⁸ hunting bows,¹⁴⁵⁹ duck decoys,¹⁴⁶⁰ surf boards,¹⁴⁶¹ bush huts,¹⁴⁶² and underwater cameras.¹⁴⁶³ By the mid sixties the readership had been noticeably de-skilled. In terms of the commercialisation of leisure, this is quite significant. Butsch remarks that

... hegemony in leisure may be assessed by the degree to which practitioners of leisure are not the producers of their own leisure, the degree to which they are constrained by the conventions of the practice or limited by their access to the means of “producing” that leisure activity. Just as access to the means of production shapes the organisation of production, access to the means of consumption shapes leisure. People’s leisure choices are constrained by the skills, knowledge, space, equipment available to them.¹⁴⁶⁴

The caravan, the most ambitious of backyard projects, had reached its apotheosis in the late fifties. Alan J. Gibbons praised the improved standards of Australia’s home craftsmen

The “do-it-yourself” craze seems to know no limits. Nowadays home handymen attempt jobs that a few years ago they would have stepped around. And what’s more, they make good jobs of them, too.¹⁴⁶⁵

The craftsman, however, was beginning to cheat, having the option of buying kits from such firms as ‘Carapark’. A few years later *Outdoors* was advising its readers on caravan

¹⁴⁴⁹ ‘Making a modern rucksack’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.1, No.2, April 1948, p.123; book review, John D. Porter. ‘How to build caravans’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.3., No.6, August 1949, p.376

¹⁴⁵⁰ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.1, No.3, May 1948, p.208; Donald Knightly, ‘Make your own rucksack’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.3., No.5, July 1949, p.312

¹⁴⁵¹ D. M. Richardson, ‘Making a pair of skis’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.2, No.1, September 1948, p.16

¹⁴⁵² *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.2, No.1, September 1948, p.36

¹⁴⁵³ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.4, No.2, October 1949, p.78; Charles Maxwell, ‘Build yourself a car top dinghy’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.16, No.2, Dec. 1956, p.22

¹⁴⁵⁴ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.6, No.1, October 1950, p.27

¹⁴⁵⁵ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.9, No.5, September 1952, p.30

¹⁴⁵⁶ Wal Hardy, ‘Build your own beach rod’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.9, July 1955, p.22

¹⁴⁵⁷ Eric Lamonte, ‘Make your own fishing rods’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.18, No.4, February 1958, p.30; ‘Make a Rangoon cane beach rod’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.20, No.6, April 1959, p.24; George Brown, ‘Making a Rangoon rod’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.23, No.1, May 1960, p.15

¹⁴⁵⁸ Vic McCristal, ‘Make your own lures’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.29, No.4, August 1963, p.24

¹⁴⁵⁹ John Allen, ‘Bow building is easy’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.19, No.1, May 1958, p.18

¹⁴⁶⁰ ‘Make your own duck decoys’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.19, No.1, May 1958, p.34

¹⁴⁶¹ Ross Renwick, ‘Build yourself an Okinnee board’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.18, No.1, November 1957, p.16; ‘How to build a foam plastic surf board’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.20, No.1, November 1958, p.11

¹⁴⁶² Harry Frauca, ‘Build a bush hut’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.20, No.1, November 1958, p.17

¹⁴⁶³ ‘Make an underwater camera’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.24, No.6, April 1961, p.4

¹⁴⁶⁴ Butsch, op. cit., p.8

¹⁴⁶⁵ Alan Gibbons, ‘All about those Do-It-Yourself caravans’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.20, No.5, March 1959

maintenance, recommending that those intending to build their own should purchase a steel framed kit.¹⁴⁶⁶

Taxidermy was a niche hobby that deserves mention, more for its symbolism than its popularity. The trophy display relocated the proceeds of adventure to the suburbs, translating the hunter/angler/tourists experience of the other to a form of interior decoration. Urry has argued that the post-modern tourist does this through photography, that the tour is a series of snapshots captured by the tourist with the aim of display on returning home.¹⁴⁶⁷ This developed from earlier forms of acquisition, however, many of which survive to the present. A true adventurer in the modern era would have on display a number of preserved objects; a nod to anatomy, or ethnology, but really a souvenir of time and place. Take, for example, the masculine and macabre collection of rally champion and raconteur (Gelignite) Jack Murray:

On the wall near him were posters from the Round Australia Trial Days, some newspaper cuttings, the jaws of a tiger shark, the five-foot-long saw from a sawfish, and the skull of a steer with an ingrown horn. Also wired to the wall were two elephant tusks, a fin from the biggest hammerhead shark ever caught in Australia, a turtle shell four feet across, the head of a large crocodile, ten feet of whale rib and one of its vertebra, the tail of a five hundred pound dugong, a set of buffalo horns won from the original owner with the aid of an axe and four hours hard labour, the jaws of a dolphin, and several human skulls. All but the latter were hunting trophies, gathered by the Murray brothers and their friends. The skulls were presumably Aboriginal and had come from a cave in the Northern Territory.¹⁴⁶⁸

Gelignite Jack's display was at his Bondi garage, and not at home, but the urban context of the display remains. Outdoors literature advised on methods of taxidermy,¹⁴⁶⁹ so that suburban hunters could mount their own trophies for the edification of family and friends.

Post-war leisure began with an emphasis on self sufficiency that was quickly replaced by a recreational commodity culture. What bush-lore did survive the process of commodification was often transmitted via a booming outdoors media. In numerous recreational endeavours, discussed below, bush-lore gave way to product knowledge.

¹⁴⁶⁶ 'Caravan maintenance is easy', *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.28, No.1, November 1962, p.49

¹⁴⁶⁷ Urry, op. cit. (1), pp.1-6

¹⁴⁶⁸ Evan Green, *Journeys With Gelignite Jack*, Rigby, Sydney, 1966, pp.15-16

¹⁴⁶⁹ Belvedere, 'Be your own taxidermist', *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.2, No.6 February 1949, p 396; Allison and Coombs, op. cit., pp.189-95

Camping gear

Camping was a major field of commodification. At the outset, post-war camping was an modest enterprise. Family tents were still of the inter-war type, a solid canvas construction.¹⁴⁷⁰ For the bushwalker comfort was a minor consideration. Some relished the challenge, the no-nonsense roughing it of camping. In 1948 Paddy Pallin produced a purist's manifesto for the newly leisured in his 'Introduction to Bushwalking', quoted above.¹⁴⁷¹ In 1949 Pallin described the fetishism of camping gear:

There'll be more folks than ever under canvas this summer. Some will go as bushwalkers, humping house furniture and food on their backs, equipped with the spartan-like simplicity which makes this miracle of compactness and lightness possible. Many will go to the other extreme and take belongings including radio, ice chest, piano AND the kitchen sink in a truck to their chosen camp site.

Some hardy types will use the canvas valise or bed roll, "I used it in the North African campaign, old boy!"¹⁴⁷²

Pallin himself was supplying a market with 'good' gear,¹⁴⁷³ advertised in the *Outdoors* a few years later.¹⁴⁷⁴ Pallin had begun producing camping gear when he was laid off during the depression. During the war he had enlisted, but was discharged as belonging to an essential industry. The business's post-war expansion was checked by a fire in its premises, but help from the YMCA and a boom in sales saw it back on its feet.¹⁴⁷⁵ By the close of the boom Pallin's business was thriving.¹⁴⁷⁶ When writing his memoirs in the mid eighties Pallin named stores in Sydney, Katoomba, Canberra, Melbourne and outlets in Jindabyne, Hobart, Launceston, Adelaide and Perth.¹⁴⁷⁷ The product range had grown from canvas rucksacks to billy lifters, lightweight buckets, sleeping bags, groundsheets, fast boiling billies and a new range of rucksack.¹⁴⁷⁸ "In economics it is said that a demand creates its own supply", wrote Pallin, "but with my little business it was almost a case of supply

¹⁴⁷⁰ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.173

¹⁴⁷¹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.1, No.1, March 1948, p.48

¹⁴⁷² Paddy Pallin, 'Introduction to camping', *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.4 No.4, Dec. 1949, p.220

¹⁴⁷³ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.231

¹⁴⁷⁴ 'Paddy made gear' ad., *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.11, No.9, January 1954, p.563

¹⁴⁷⁵ Pallin, op. cit., pp.38, 55, 71, 90-2

¹⁴⁷⁶ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.243

¹⁴⁷⁷ Pallin, op. cit., p.221

¹⁴⁷⁸ *ibid*, p.222

creating demand.”¹⁴⁷⁹ In Pallin’s economic model it was the camping gear itself that drew suburbanites out of the cities and into his shop, and presumably into the bush.

Camping presented some problems for outdoors entrepreneurs who were marketing the trappings of affluence. As the editor of *Outdoors* explained,

. . . more young men and women (some not so young) are to be found tramping our bush tracks during vacation time – and most of them, once they have had a taste of this healthy recreation, wouldn’t change places with the most affluent sightseer who ever “saw the country” per medium of his shiny car and ultra-modern caravan.¹⁴⁸⁰

The editor went on to note the tremendous improvements in camping gear that were taking place and resolved to educate the reader in its use. Some made tentative suggestions that camping was not primarily about camping gear. George Brown warned that an excess of equipment “will ruin the best-planned vacation.”¹⁴⁸¹ Camping was quickly commercialised, however. The first Outdoors Show, where the wealth of new gear was displayed and demonstrated to the urban masses advertised was coordinated by *Outdoors and Fishing* and held at the Sydney Town Hall, November 20-24th, 1951.¹⁴⁸² Throughout the sixties camping gear steadily improved, and was more often imported.¹⁴⁸³ Camping advice was dispensed with a tank of fuel at every British Petroleum service station.¹⁴⁸⁴ Advice to campers gradually moved from imparting bush skills to product knowledge. Jack Bauer’s 1961 ‘Bushcraft’ section, ‘How to Sleep in the Open’ began with a product review of the Bergans, Federation and Yukon packs. (‘The Federation’ was Australian made.)¹⁴⁸⁵ *Outdoors*’ ‘Special Camping Feature’ of the following year was an eight page catalogue. Its preamble ran:

Modern camping accessories can make that holiday easier and more enjoyable.

¹⁴⁷⁹ *ibid*, p.38

¹⁴⁸⁰ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.10, No.1, November 1952, p.25

¹⁴⁸¹ George Brown, ‘Everyman’s guide to camping’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.2, Dec. 1954, pp.20-1

¹⁴⁸² *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.7, No.5, September 1951, p.397

¹⁴⁸³ Davidson and Spearritt, *op.cit.*, p.173

¹⁴⁸⁴ ‘BP Holiday Digest’ (advertisement), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21.12.59, p.5

¹⁴⁸⁵ Jack Bauer, ‘Bushcraft’ section, ‘How to sleep in the open’, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.24, No.3, January 1961, p.45

Not so many years ago the camper had little choice except to “rough it” when he packed his tent and gear and set out on vacation. Camping in luxury, or at least in reasonable comfort, meant taking with him such a large amount of cumbersome equipment that it seemed hardly worth it.¹⁴⁸⁶

Manufacturers such as Paddy Pallin had made ‘roughing it’ unnecessary and lightweight luxury a reality. In 1963 ‘Outdoors Product Reviews’ began as a regular feature of *Outdoors* magazine.¹⁴⁸⁷ By the mid seventies good gear was without much argument *the* meaning of camping. This promotion of ‘luxury’ was more than advertising bumph; it signified the extension of middle-class values, at least as they were perceived, to the masses and was thus important to the hegemonic function of the leisure ethic. As Butsch notes,

Catering to the “masses” required a leisure firm to develop a marketing strategy that would appeal to many classes and groups at the same time. Ironically, the result was not a class neutral product or marketing approach but one “with class”, encouraging consumers’ identification with the upper class and its luxury in an effort to promote consumption as a value.¹⁴⁸⁸

By the close of the boom camping had been imbued with a middle-class respectability that was almost always to be purchased. While in 1977 *The Sun Herald* still advised its summer readership on the best ways to fashion camping gear (“An icebox on a camping trip can be made by fitting a four-gallon kerosene tin inside a slightly larger wooden box with corrugated cardboard packed between them”¹⁴⁸⁹), including a pattern for a canvas tent,¹⁴⁹⁰ this was an exception to the rule. The camping catalogue had by now become a regular feature of outdoor periodicals, and publications offering advice on camping, from magazines to books like *The Camp Fire Book*¹⁴⁹¹ had become a boom industry. In 1976 one camping writer was able to declare that

The modern bushman and camper doesn’t have to rough it quite as much as his ancestors. Modern equipment, sealed roads, well-equipped camping and caravan parks, dehydrated foods and many other conveniences have made the modern camp a real home away from home. From the car load or caravan and trailer of luxury items to a rucksack of essential lightweight camping equipment, the philosophy of camping remains the same – ‘Getting away from it all’.¹⁴⁹²

Camping gear retailers multiplied throughout the boom:

¹⁴⁸⁶ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.27, No.6, October 1962, p.40

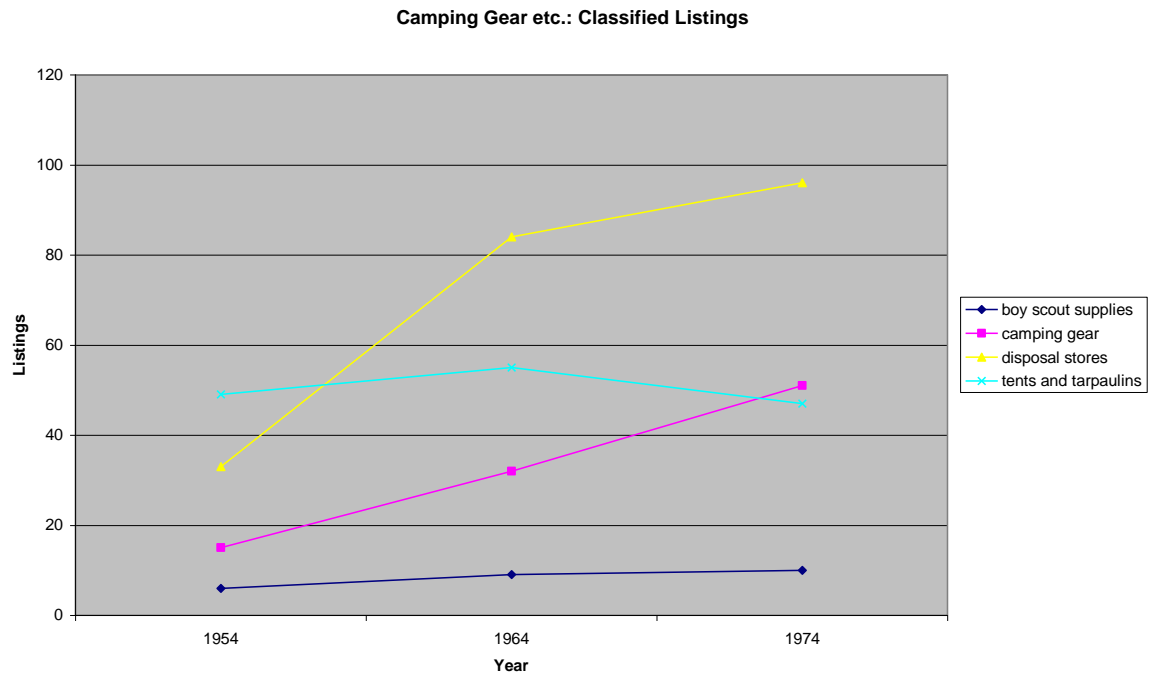
¹⁴⁸⁷ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.30, No.1, November 1963

¹⁴⁸⁸ Butsch, op. cit., p.16

¹⁴⁸⁹ ‘Useful ideas for that holiday under canvas’, *Sun Herald*, Jan 2, 1977, p.25

¹⁴⁹⁰ ‘Right tent is important’ *Sun Herald*, Jan 2, 1977, p.25; ‘Luxury camping’, *The Sun-Herald*, 18.12.77, p.51

¹⁴⁹¹ David Wickers, *The Camp Fire Book*, Cassel and Collier Macmillan, Sydney, 1977



1493

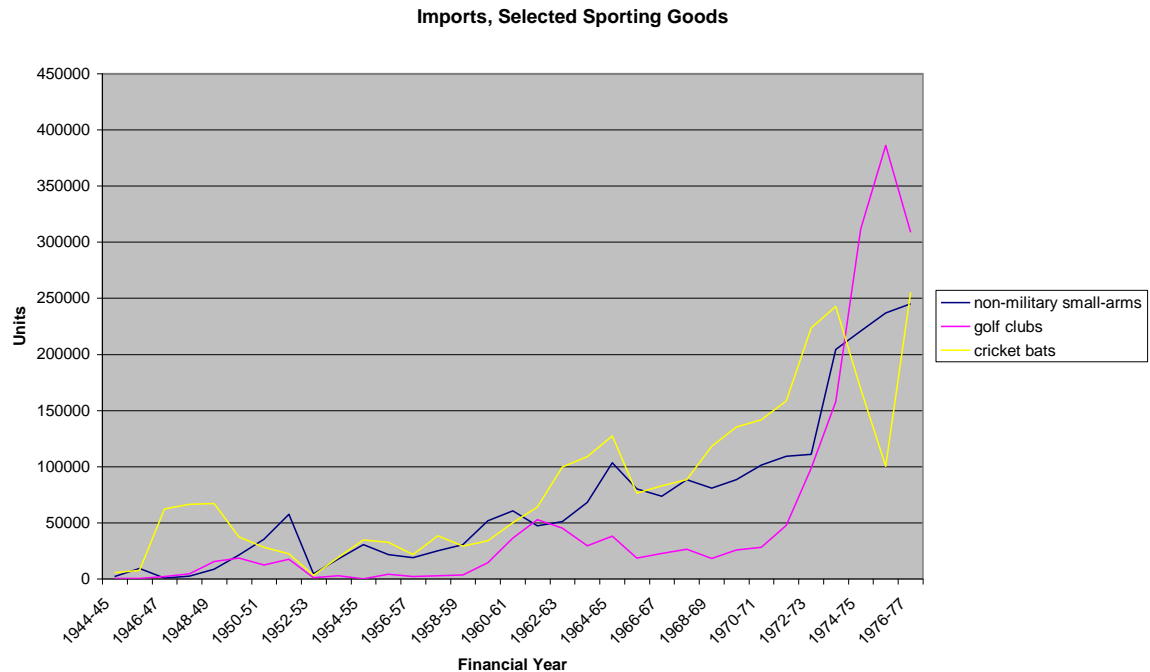
Looking at the classified listings, it can be seen that boy scouts remained relatively uncommercial, while tent suppliers kept up a steady business and camping gear stores proliferated. Disposal stores were more numerous than camping gear stores, adding to the outdoor retailers. The increase of both camping gear and disposal stores, compared to tent suppliers, suggests an increased diversity in camping gear. Overall, the sector thrived: clearly ‘getting away from it all’ did not mean getting away from consumerism. Rather, it entailed an increasing engagement with commodity culture.

¹⁴⁹² Nichols, op. cit., pp.5-6

¹⁴⁹³ See Appendix 1, Sydney Classified Listings

Guns ‘n’ ammo

Firearms were a booming commodity in the leisure economy, highlighting the importance of overtly ‘anti-urban’ activities to the suburban leisured. More suburban, less reactionary recreation were clearly also important, but tatistics show that Australians were almost as fond of exotic firearms as they were of imported cricket bats:



1494

These figures represent only the weapons imported, ostensibly for farming, hunting and sporting shooting. Hunting and sporting shooting seem to have generated the bulk of demand: where the import data allow cross referencing, it is clear that recreational weapons were in frequent use. During the financial year ending in 1966, 97,499,206 cartridges were imported for ‘sporting and hunting purposes’.¹⁴⁹⁵ Suburban gun culture, then, was significant because it was symbolically a reaction to urbanisation, but also because it was a statistically significant field of leisure goods consumption. Indeed, the true size of the ‘non-military’ arsenal is difficult to gauge since a great many guns were produced locally. Australia’s military made its contribution to import replacement by producing its standard

¹⁴⁹⁴ Data compiled from Australian Bureau of Statistics, *ABS Historical Statistics: Overseas Trade Bulletin*, ref 54-019, 020 – see Appendix 2 for a full discussion

¹⁴⁹⁵ See Appendix 2

firearm, the SMLE No.1 Mark III locally, notably at Lithgow, until 1955. The plant was retooled and in 1959 production switched to the L1A1 SLR.¹⁴⁹⁶ When the government small arms factory at Lithgow contemplated the end of the war and the redundancy of a good many of its 600 workers it was decided to keep a few of them on for the production of a sporting rifle. The American sporting goods manufacturer, Slazenger was invited to produce a range of sporting rifles under the 'Sportsco' brand, under tariff protection and with the technical assistance of Lionel Bibby (the great marksman, quoted earlier for his views on women and spotlighting). Over the next decade the government's plant produced 20,000 .22 Sportsco rifles. Slazenger had gained its weapons expertise as a war-time annex of the small-arms factory.¹⁴⁹⁷ Much of Australia's recreational arsenal was imported, moreover, and it is in the import statistics that the scope of the armed commodity culture is revealed above. Indeed, as discussed earlier the importation of firearms thrived in spite of the banning of most popular weapons.

Outdoors treatment of guns demonstrated the commercialisation of shooting culture during the long boom. The 'Shooting' section became 'Hunting and guns' in 1957.¹⁴⁹⁸ This in turn became a 'Review of guns', which was in turn replaced by a 'Consumer report'.¹⁴⁹⁹ Australian consumers built a surprising arsenal of sporting weaponry over the boom, both domestically produced and imported.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Christopher Hall, *Guns in Australia*, Paul Hamlyn, Sydney, 1974, p.158

¹⁴⁹⁷ Christopher Hall, p.153

¹⁴⁹⁸ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.17, No.3, July 1957

¹⁴⁹⁹ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.20, No.2, Dec. 1958

In the creel

While shooting generated a remarkably lucrative market it was the other bloodsport, fishing, that was the most enduring and expansive. Post-war anglers became increasingly acquisitive over the boom, as access to amenities expanded the market and suburban pressure increased competition. Fisheries bureaucrat and author T. C. Roughly described the modern angler as a consumer:

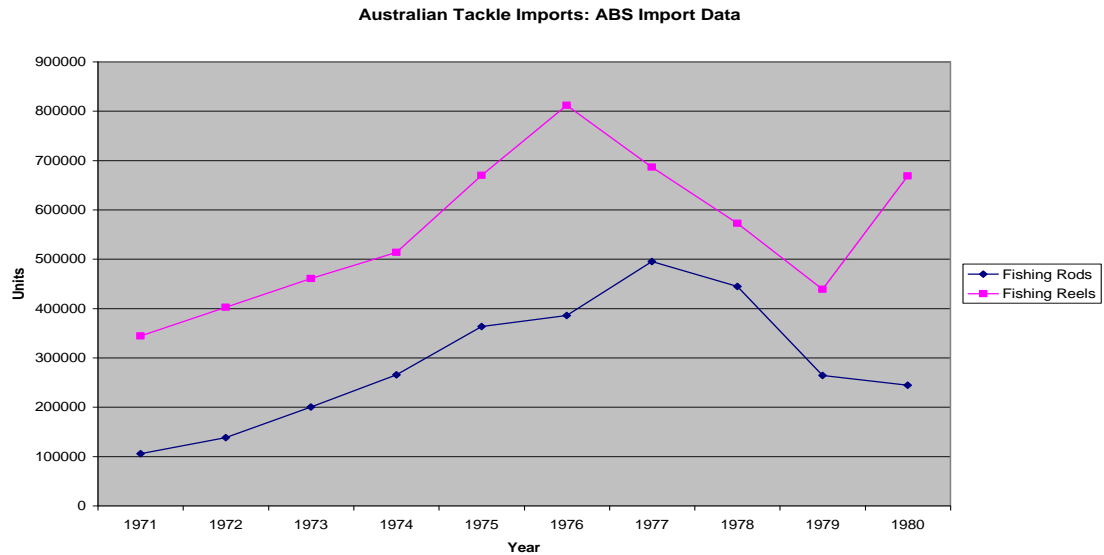
Few of us give much thought to the increasing numbers of amateur fishermen that join the ranks each year, or to the possibility that there are thousands of amateurs intensely interested in the sport who must be following blind trails. Unfortunately, many such trails have been blazed by tackle manufacturers who, attracted by the fabulous sales potential of the fishing fraternity, produce fishing tackle of a kind.¹⁵⁰⁰

Although there was a proliferation of tackle over the post-war boom, there was a corresponding decline in locally manufactured tackle (of the more elaborately transformed type, at least.) Reels are a good example. Australian reels were first produced in 1912. The first Alvey reel was produced in 1920, and is still being produced.¹⁵⁰¹ The leisure ethic made the weekend a reward for a week well spent in the service of urban industry, and in that way reinforced rather than undermined the work ethic. Indeed, the leisure ethic encouraged consumption. Sporting goods stores played a minor but increasing role in expanding retail sales.

It can be said with certainty that Australians bought more and better tackle than ever before. The import data has been presented below:

¹⁵⁰⁰ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.11, No.10, February 1954, p.676

¹⁵⁰¹ John Softly, 'Alvey reels: Low tech — high tech', *New South Wales Fishing Monthly*, Dec. 1998, p.51



1502

Australia imported over 800,000 fishing reels in 1976. In the following year it imported about a half a million fishing rods. There may be a bias in the figures, as imports replaced locally produced gear throughout the seventies. However it is fair to say that increased leisure was having an effect on national spending, and in a small way on the national account.

Australian reel manufacturing had its heyday in early post-war Australia, losing market share over time to imported models. In 1949 *Outdoors* magazine listed a plethora of locally produced casting models, such as the Graeme Surf Reel, Graeme Takeapart and Surf Reel, Steelite “Fishkill”, Surfmaster Surf Reel, Graeme Star Drag Surf Reel, Dopper All-Metal Spinning, Graeme Junior, Castmaster, Neptuna Big Game, Tasman Heavy Duty, “Alpha” Fishing Reel, Steelite Centre Pin, Steelite Beach Casting, Steelite Nottingham, Walnut Centre Pin Reel, Steelite Centre Pin, Nottingham Type Reel and an array of centre-pin reels.¹⁵⁰³ Lures such as the ‘Bellbrook wobbler’ were produced locally throughout the boom.¹⁵⁰⁴ Plastic technologies were introduced early in the period.¹⁵⁰⁵ Due to Australia’s hefty import restrictions new technologies were introduced to angling by local branches of multinationals. In 1954 the editor of *Outdoors* declared jubilantly in the title that ‘Slazenger release glass fibre fishing rods!!’:

¹⁵⁰² See Appendix 2

¹⁵⁰³ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.4, No.1, September 1949, new tackle section

¹⁵⁰⁴ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.8, No.3, January 1952, p.178

¹⁵⁰⁵ ‘The mysteries of nylon’, *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.2, No.2, October 1948, p.112

Made in Australia from start to finish, and equal to the world's best, we were told.

They certainly looked and felt good. The action seemed different from our veteran split canes.

Some imported fibreglass rods were on the market, but the technology was still unproven:

Only time will tell whether the new equipment will achieve the same popularity here that it has overseas. Some veterans frown on it, but the small number acquainted with fibreglass rods are enthusiastically in favour of the modern gear. They claim that all who try it long enough to "get-the-feel" will never go back to Rangoon or splitcane.¹⁵⁰⁶

Some clung to tradition. Daniel F. McCrea, in 'Salute to a rod' celebrated his broken splitcane, which he felt was unlikely to be satisfactorily replaced by plastic.¹⁵⁰⁷ *Outdoors* helped readers over their conservatism by devoting more and more column inches to product reviews.¹⁵⁰⁸

So pronounced was the consumerism of the post-war angler that 'modern angling' was more often focussed on tackle than on fish. *Outdoors* editorialised:

The need for more advanced tackle could be the answer to the empty creel but, whatever the cause of less fish in the bag, present day methods of angling do provide us with the pleasure of using instruments . . . that require mastering so that we can appreciate the effort of angling as much as we enjoy the creeling of fish"

This was deemed to show human progress:

Fishing was old thousands of years ago. Back in the days of stone (and determination) ardent writers carved the deeds of fishermen in the hardest rock they could find . . .

Angling ways will always change but angling days will live forever despite the kind of tackle that we carry to the water . . .

Taken as a whole there is no more pleasing sign of man's development than the age old story of fishing tackle from the Palaeolithic Age right down to the angling ways of today."¹⁵⁰⁹

Angling magazines certainly began to devote more of their pages to tackle than to fish.

Commenting on an array of tackle pictured on the front cover, *Outdoors* observed that

¹⁵⁰⁶ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.12, No.4, August 1954, p.13

¹⁵⁰⁷ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.16, No.2, Dec. 1956, p.26

¹⁵⁰⁸ Cover featuring 'surfmaster' reel, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.27, No.5, September, 1962; Vic McCristal, 'The ultimate in spinning rods', introduces the ABU Atlantic 425 Zoom, 'A Rolls-Royce outfit', *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.29, No.4, August 1963, p.50; Wal Hardy, 'Let's look at geared reels', a product guide, *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.29, No.6, October 1963, p.48; Wal Hardy, 'Into the breakers with the right gear', *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.30, No.2, Dec. 1963, p.43;

¹⁵⁰⁹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.4, No.1, September 1949, p.15

Equipment and experience isn't everything when it comes to catching fish! Each year many thousands of pounds worth of angling tackle is sold, but the amateur fish catch certainly hasn't increased proportionately. Not that we're suggesting current atom-age tackle isn't all it's cracked up to be. Far from it . . .¹⁵¹⁰

Despite a widely held enthusiasm for tackle, pockets of conservative resistance remained. This was particularly so in the fly-fishing community. David Scholes was dismissive of new fangled gear in 1963:

The past several decades have seen unparalleled and spectacular technological progress in many directions, but no such extensive alteration has overtaken the path of the fly-fisher; in fact, apart from his modern attire and trimmings, the similarity between the angler of yesterday and that of today is close indeed. Likewise the trout himself has made no great change, either in his habit or general behaviour, nor has the fly-anglers methods of pursuing him. Even in tackle, in which field particularly we might expect some notable advancement, there has been no revolutionary change. While the split-cane rod has certainly outclassed those made from materials like greenheart, the comparatively recent fibreglass article has not been generally acceptable and does not seem likely to become so – not amongst serious and experienced anglers anyhow.¹⁵¹¹

Scholes et al. were in the minority; the new gear was certainly catching on.

¹⁵¹⁰ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.3, January 1955, p.13

¹⁵¹¹ Scholes, op. cit., p.176

Guided exploration

Publishers added to the material culture of the outdoors, encouraging the exploration of recreational amenity and advertising the commodities that could be employed in the great outdoors. White notes that “Holiday-making became increasingly visible, as the media advised on where to go, how to get there, what to take, what to see and, particularly by the seventies, how to spend your money.”¹⁵¹² Tourist guides to Australia began to appear in the mid nineteenth-century. *Bradshaw’s Guide to Victoria*, published in 1856 was soon followed by a guide to Sydney.¹⁵¹³ Davidson and Spearritt describe earlier works as being intended for the benefit of immigrants, not tourists.¹⁵¹⁴ Later works, such as Leigh’s *Handbook of Sydney and Suburbs* conceded that there was not so much to see around Sydney as there was in Europe, but they assayed some pleasant trips.¹⁵¹⁵ Maps of Sydney’s surrounds developed slowly through the early twentieth-century; Paddy Pallin describes the excitement with which he greeted Myles Dunphy’s not entirely accurate map of the Blue Mountains, and those that followed in the late thirties. After the war, thanks in part to a war-time mapping bonanza and an expanded market for maps, adventures need not have been ‘exploration’.

In the post-war years demand for travel guides boomed. Motoring organisations began to issue accommodation guides, usurping the role formerly performed by the railways,¹⁵¹⁶ and continuing the work of cycling organisations (at first using the same maps and personnel).¹⁵¹⁷ In their Fiats, Morrisies, Vauxhalls, Austins, Buicks, Fords, Rileys, Renaults, Packards, Holdens, Humbers and Hillmans, Sydneysiders stretched the boundaries of the weekend. The provision of maps for these drivers was initially a government affair, much as governments had first produced railway guides,¹⁵¹⁸ but was soon taken up by private publishers. Robinson’s and Gregory’s were early rivals; Universal Business Directories was an early version of the ‘yellow pages’, moving into maps later. Gregory’s began publishing

¹⁵¹² White et al., op. cit., p.129

¹⁵¹³ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.3

¹⁵¹⁴ *ibid*, pp.4-5

¹⁵¹⁵ *ibid*, pp.4-5

¹⁵¹⁶ *ibid*, p.93

¹⁵¹⁷ *ibid*, pp.155, 163-4

in 1934, and thereafter brought out an edition annually.¹⁵¹⁹ Robinson's Guides (owned by Kenneth Cragie¹⁵²⁰) first directed tourists to attractions via *Pearson's Road Guide to 50 Miles around Sydney*.¹⁵²¹ Pearson, who was a keener cyclist than he was a motorist, enthused:

Probably there is no country in the world, not even Great Britain, France, Italy, nor any place on the Continent, which offers such inducements for touring as New South Wales.

Possessing as it does scenery that is unrivalled, and which is so easy of access, it is no wonder that tourists from various countries speak so highly of our State as an ideal touring resort.

Even within a few miles of Sydney, beautiful country reached by excellent roads, may be visited by cycle or other conveyance. Take for instance the magnificent country around Parramatta, which includes Dural, Hornsby, Castle Hill, Baulkham Hills, Seven Hills, &c., with their lovely orange groves. Such surroundings could not be eclipsed in Spain, Portugal or Italy. Where could more charming scenery be found than that so convenient to the visitor on North Sydney heights? The view from the Spit Road is enchantingly lovely. It would be impossible to imagine anything more picturesque than the sight that awaits one at that portion of Military Road overlooking Clontarf . .

.¹⁵²²

Gregory's guides began publication in the mid thirties, Cecil Albert Gregory having been publicity director for the NRMA. At the NRMA Gregory produced a number of strip maps detailing motorists trips, sold the idea to Robinson's and then formed his own company.¹⁵²³ Out-competing Robinson's in suburban street directories, Gregory's extended the range of the touring guide to *100 Miles Around Sydney*, later to become a decimal *200 Kilometres 'round Sydney*. Sydney, said the people at Gregory's, was "A motorist's paradise":

Few great cities in the world are endowed with such a rich and varied collection of scenic gems and attractions and recreational facilities for the motorist as Sydney. Within the range of the excellent roads covered by this Guide are incomparable golden beaches whose number is difficult to compute; headlands, valleys, highlands and mountain recesses that make up a patchwork of beauty and rugged wilderness, in striking contrast to the undulating farmlands and peaceful riverside flats; bush retreats and innumerable quiet picnicking spots whose virginity is almost as compete as when the first white men penetrated them over 150 years ago; popular holidaying centres whose population is swollen several times in the summer season when the smooth paved surfaces converging on them carry almost

¹⁵¹⁸ *ibid*, p.17

¹⁵¹⁹ *Gregory's Sydney Street Directory*, 35th edition, Gregory's Guides and Maps, Sydney, 1970, p.10

¹⁵²⁰ Davidson and Spearritt, *op.cit.*, p.164

¹⁵²¹ J. Pearson, *Pearson's Road Guide to 50 Miles around Sydney*, Robinson, Sydney, c1945

¹⁵²² *ibid*, p.9

unbroken lines of cars and tourist coaches; and quaint old secluded localities and century-old buildings hallowed by associations leading back to the earliest days of Australia's civilised history.¹⁵²⁴

The Gregory's guides gave tour directions for day and weekend trips; maps accompanied flowing prose wherein *Gregory's* gave detailed directions and discussed sites of interest to the tourist. For the newly mobile *Gregory's* included information on automobile maintenance, motor camping and picnic and camping grounds. The guides also included advertising for other tourist goods and services. Automotive parts featured of course, as did other Gregory's products. Other products advertised in the *Gregory's* included harbour cruises, Birkmyre tents, Kodak cameras, caravans, caravan chassis, holiday home rentals, fishing tackle and firearms, hotels, insurance, golf courses, and the National Park. Later editions included such bucolic attractions as the rotolactor at Camden Park.¹⁵²⁵

Although possibly a better indication of the extent of suburban settlement than the range of tourism, standard street directories of Sydney had extended their range, too. The sixteenth edition *Robinson's Directory of Sydney and Suburbs* extended only as far as Terrey Hills to the north, Vineyard to the north-west, Emu Plains to the west, Camden to the south-west and Heathcote to the south (with special maps for Mt Colah and Campbelltown).¹⁵²⁶ *Robinson's* 22nd edition included maps of Palm Beach, Berowra, Campbelltown, Engadine, Windsor, Richmond and Penrith.¹⁵²⁷ The *Collins Sydney Street Directory* of 1962 attempted to fit Sydney's new suburbs into its one compact volume by using the new modern method of representing streets by single lines only.¹⁵²⁸ The 26th edition of *Gregory's Street Directory*, published in 1961, was bounded by Mt. Colah to the north, Castle Hill to the north-west, Blacktown to the west, Casula to the south-west and Loftus to the south. The 36th edition of the *Gregory's* had expanded to include Mt. Kuringai to the north, Galston, Glenorie and Vineyard (with special maps describing Windsor and Richmond) to the north-

¹⁵²³ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.164-5

¹⁵²⁴ *Gregory's 100 Miles 'round Sydney*, 1st edition, Gregory's Guides and Maps, Sydney, c1947, p.19

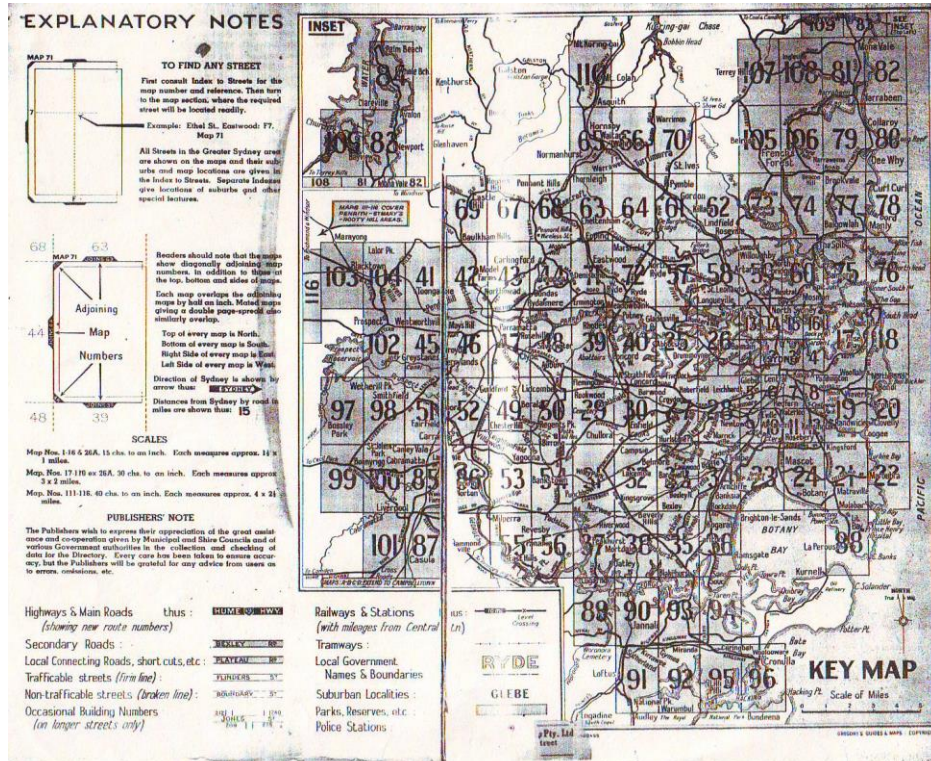
¹⁵²⁵ *Gregory's 100 Miles Around Sydney*, 24th edition, Gregory's Guides and Maps, Sydney, no date, p.43

¹⁵²⁶ *Robinson's Directory of Sydney and Suburbs*, 22nd edition, RPLA Map and Guide Division, Sydney, c.1965

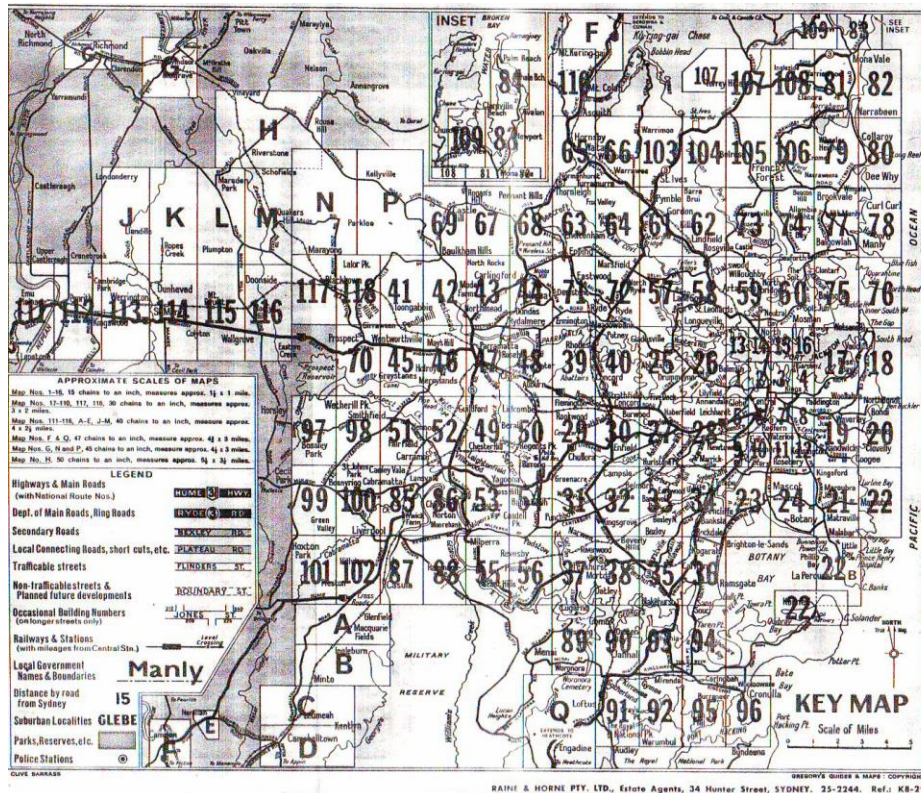
¹⁵²⁷ *Robinson's Directory of Sydney and Suburbs*, 22nd edition, RPLA Map and Guide Division, Sydney, c.1970

¹⁵²⁸ *Collins Sydney Street Directory*, Collins Book Depot, Sydney, 1961, (Collins persisted in a centralised view of the city, showing distances of locations from the city along with the shortest possible route to the CBD.)

west, Emu Plains to the west, Campbelltown (with a special map of Camden) to the south-west and Engadine to the south:



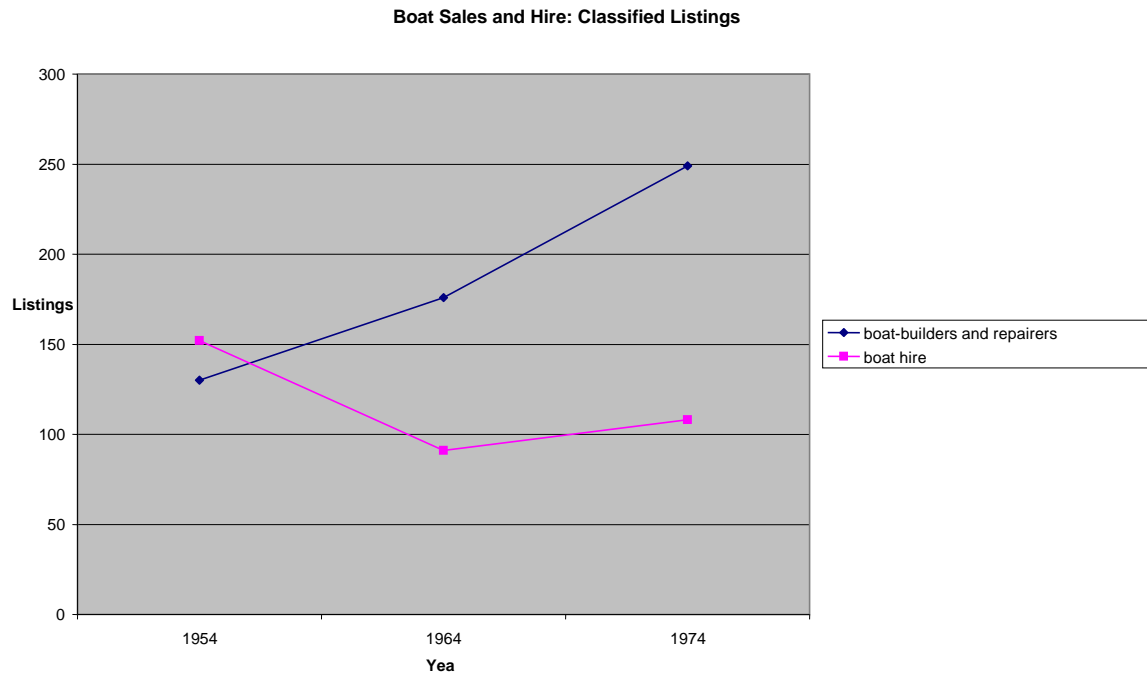
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1529 Gregory's 26th Edition, 19611530 Gregory's 31st Edition

Within Sydney there was an abundance of adventure to be had, maps to be made and guides to be sold. Graeme Andrews of Gregory's Guides and Maps advised readers of *Gregory's Waterways Cruising Guide: Sydney Area* that they should use the guide "to get the best from your car and your boat of a weekend."¹⁵³¹ Incidentally, private boat ownership had boomed, if the number of boat builders is an indication:



1532

Evidently ownership was better than mere access, as rentals declined and ownership increased. The availability of mass produced 'tinnies' and affordable outboard motors no doubt reconciled the purchase of a boat to the family budget. Merely owning the means of leisure was not enough; one needed to seek advice on how to best to pursue the leisure ethic. *Outdoors* assumed an educational role in its editorials:

More people than ever will probably spend their annual vacation under canvas this coming holiday period, and while the marked trend towards outdoor living represents a healthy facet of our national development, it also calls for a note of warning. Yes, we're on another "safety first" dissertation.¹⁵³³

Gregory's also produced guides on where to fish, even where to play golf, collaborating with the staff of K. G. Murray's *Outdoors*.¹⁵³⁴ The magazine advertised its centrality to

¹⁵³¹ *Gregory's Waterways Cruising Guide: Sydney Area*, Gregory's Guides and Maps, Sydney, no date, introduction

¹⁵³² See Appendix 1, Sydney Classified Listings

¹⁵³³ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.13, No.2, Dec. 1954, p.13

¹⁵³⁴ It has been noted earlier that K. G. Murray's *Outdoors and Fishing* was first published in 1948 and

recreational adventure in Gregory's publications, proclaiming: "Fishing, shooting, climbing, caving, bushwalking, fossicking — the dramatic adventure of life outdoors and the intimate knowledge needed to get the most out of it."¹⁵³⁵ Jack Pollard, editor of *Outdoors* and several of *Outdoors*' topical collaborations with Gregory's, wrote of the democratising mission of outdoor publishing in the introduction to *Gregory's Guide to Australian Hunting and Shooting*:

Every man — and an increasing number of women — fancies himself as a marksman. But the chance to perform the shooting of our dreams by picking off difficult targets with nonchalant mastery always seems to elude us.

From the time our curiosity in firearms is stirred in adolescence, whether by a TV film or a movie shot of character like Billy The Kid, we mostly are frustrated in our desires to execute those rare feats of marksmanship in which Hollywood specialises. This is never more so than in the Australian outback where targets are plentiful enough to the knowing hunter but difficult enough to unmask the pseudo expert.¹⁵³⁶

The theme was revisited in *Gregory's Australian Fishing Guide*, as "the lure of fishing" was explained:

Australian fishermen are lucky. They have a remarkable variety of fish that can be caught by raw beginners or experienced specialists out on the beaches, off the rocks, in the blue water, or from our streams. They have, too, a climate which enables them to match wits with these fish on most days of the year.

These factors have helped give Australian fishing an enormous following, adherents from all age groups, all religions, both sexes, and all States, men and women, girls and boys who, if they ponder about it, would appreciate that there are no social barriers in this beguiling sport. The status of an angler is not judged by the cost of his gear, but by his ability to use what he has. That and the trick of knowing where to fish and when.¹⁵³⁷

continued to be published under that title until 1958, when its name was changed to *Australian Outdoors*. When referred to in the text of this thesis the title of the magazine has been shortened to *Outdoors*. It should be noted, however, that the magazine published a number of guides, for which purpose it incorporated as 'Outdoors' publishing.

¹⁵³⁵ *Gregory's Waterways Cruising Guide: Sydney Area*, Gregory's Guides and Maps, no date, adjacent map 18

¹⁵³⁶ Jack Pollard, 'Introduction', in Jack Pollard (ed.), *Gregory's Australian Guide to Hunting and Shooting*, Gregory's Guides and Maps, Sydney, c.1960

¹⁵³⁷ Pollard (ed.), op. cit. (1), p.4

Gregory's also published in association with *House and Garden Magazine*, *Gregory's Guide to Better Outdoor Living*, which presented a more domestic vision of escape from the urban hubbub:

This is an age when we use all of the home site for living; an age when we have discovered that a goldmine of pleasure lies in our own plot of land. Outdoor living provides a needed escape from the strain of modern life and has developed into an ideal form of relaxation which can be enjoyed in the most convenient place — that is, at home.

Attaining all-season backyard enjoyment need not break the budget or take years to accomplish. The majority of outdoor improvements are not difficult for the average Australian handyman to tackle; none of them require the fine finish that is necessary for projects inside the house. Many outdoor building jobs can be a joint effort between family and friends.¹⁵³⁸

In this the backyard was linked to that great outdoors beyond the metropolis.

In 1980 Gregory's guides moved away from shooting and into the National Parks, in collaboration this time with the National Parks and Wildlife Service. The State Minister for Planning and Environment, Eric Bedford, commented on the significance of the publication:

Without the sanctuary provided by our national parks, many of our native species would be faced with extinction.

But our national parks also serve another important function. They are places of retreat and recreation for the people who live in or visit New South Wales.¹⁵³⁹

51 parks and 2 historic sites were listed in the first edition. The guide itself defined national parks and visited briefly on their history in New South Wales. Before the Second World War, the guide asserted with some accuracy, there was indifference to the lands of marginal economic value that were accessible to urbanites. The Royal and Kuringai-Chase National Parks were well established, but they were conceptually limited to 'recreation and pleasure'. Post-war attitudes differed. There was an emergent nature conservation movement, an observable depletion of wildlife, scientific demand for undisturbed natural sites and a "more urbanised society with increasing leisure time and greater mobility created a need for

¹⁵³⁸ Beryl Guertner (ed.), *Gregory's Australian Guide to Better Outdoor Living*, Gregory Guides and Maps, Sydney, 1965, p.4

¹⁵³⁹ Groves (ed.), op. cit., p.10

open space and natural areas for relaxation and recreation.”¹⁵⁴⁰ Hunting was not mentioned as a possible use of National Parks. *Gregory’s Four-wheel Drive* first appeared in 1984. The publication begins with a ‘Recreational Vehicle Code of Ethics’, and an epistle to responsibility:

As drivers of recreational vehicles we have a vested interest in seeing that the natural environment in which we drive is not spoilt. Without a suitable environment we are largely deprived of our recreational opportunities. It is vitally important that we all act responsibly and observe the recreational vehicle code of ethics.¹⁵⁴¹

Cross promotion and collaboration was common. Gregory’s collaborated with *Outdoors*. Books for Pleasure advertised in Gregory’s street directories.

The NRMA ran its own series of publications, including its own series of maps and magazine, *The Open Road*. The NRMA published *Camping and Caravanning In N.S.W.*¹⁵⁴², *Caravan Camping Director*,¹⁵⁴³, *Motor Camping Guide*,¹⁵⁴⁴, *NRMA Camping and Caravanning Guide*,¹⁵⁴⁵ *NRMA Camping, Caravanning and Boating Directory*,¹⁵⁴⁶ *Holiday Directory*,¹⁵⁴⁷ and *NRMA Guide to Camping And Caravanning*.¹⁵⁴⁸ Industry groups such as the Caravan and Camping Industry Association (CCIA) also produced guides to camping facilities. *The C.C.I.A. Complete Guide to Caravanning and Camping: New South Wales* was produced in 1984,¹⁵⁴⁹ followed by the *CCIA Directory* in 1985 and *Let’s Go!* from 1986¹⁵⁵⁰ and so on.

Towards the end of the boom, guide books to the Australian outdoors proliferated. There are many examples of the genre and more than a few have been cited in this thesis. K. G. Murray’s authors were often printed by Paul Hamlyn, as they were for example in the

¹⁵⁴⁰ *ibid*, p.10

¹⁵⁴¹ *Gregory’s Four-wheel Drive*, 2nd ed. Gregory’s Publishing, Sydney, 1995, p.7

¹⁵⁴² NRMA, *Camping and Caravanning in N.S.W.*, NRMA, Sydney, 1956

¹⁵⁴³ NRMA, *Caravan and Camping Directory*, NRMA, Sydney, 1960-1984

¹⁵⁴⁴ NRMA, *Motor Camping Guide*, NRMA, Sydney, c.1935-45

¹⁵⁴⁵ NRMA, *NRMA Camping and Caravanning Guide*, NRMA, Sydney, c.1958

¹⁵⁴⁶ NRMA, *NRMA Camping, Caravanning and Boating Directory*, NRMA, Sydney, NRMA, 1961-75

¹⁵⁴⁷ NRMA, *Holiday Directory*, NRMA, Sydney, 1968-74

¹⁵⁴⁸ NRMA, *NRMA Guide to Camping and Caravanning*, NRMA, Sydney, 1960

¹⁵⁴⁹ CCIA, *CCIA Complete Guide to Caravanning and Camping: New South Wales*, CCIA, Wentworthville, 1984

¹⁵⁵⁰ CCIA, *Let’s Go!*, CCIA, Wentworthville, 1984

encyclopaedic and rather excellent *Camping and Caravans*¹⁵⁵¹ in 1973. Another ‘complete guide’, *The Australian Book of the Road* was a compendium of advice and information.¹⁵⁵² In 1975 *The Australian Guide to Camping* reproduced a good deal of material from *Camping and Caravans*, this time using the Summit Books imprint.¹⁵⁵³ In the late seventies Rigby harnessed the talents of Jeff Carter to produce such classics as *Jeff Carter’s Great Book of the Australian Outdoors*¹⁵⁵⁴ and *Jeff Carter’s Guided Tours of the Outback*.¹⁵⁵⁵ Carter had published extensively with Angus and Robertson throughout the seventies.

For those with a bent for heritage, the car and specialised guide books allowed one to visit scenes of faded rusticity. Daphne Kingston made a limited release of her sketches of destinations, the location provided for those who wished to visit, in *Highways and By-Ways of the Sydney Region: A Selection of Pencil Drawings of 19th Century Barns, Buildings, Farmhouses & Cottages*.¹⁵⁵⁶ Other topical guides aimed at the leisured, mobile urban population included Peter Lacey’s *Weekend Sydney: Where to go and what to do in the Sydney area at the Weekend*.¹⁵⁵⁷ Lacey’s family oriented guide included picnic and barbecue spots, short bushwalks and some details of admission charges (between \$1 and \$10 per family). *Weekend Sydney* ranged from The Rocks to St. Albans, Lithgow, Camden and Nowra. Ruth Park’s (1973) companion guide was more erudite than most guide books, although it would certainly have functioned well as one. It combined quite a gritty historical discussion of Sydney and locale with contemporary commentary and some useful tips for the tourist, including a listing of shops selling toy koalas and other souvenirs.¹⁵⁵⁸ Its emphasis was on heritage and heritage tourism.

Outdoors literature promoted involvement in outdoor activity, glamorising outdoor sports and educating suburbanites in outdoors culture. As well as serving as a medium of

¹⁵⁵¹ *Camping and Caravans*, Paul Hamlyn, Sydney, 1973

¹⁵⁵² Powell, et al, op. cit.

¹⁵⁵³ *Australian Guide to Camping*, Summit Books, Sydney, 1975

¹⁵⁵⁴ Jeff Carter, *Jeff Carter’s Great Book of the Australian Outdoors*, Rigby, Adelaide, 1976

¹⁵⁵⁵ Carter, op. cit. (2)

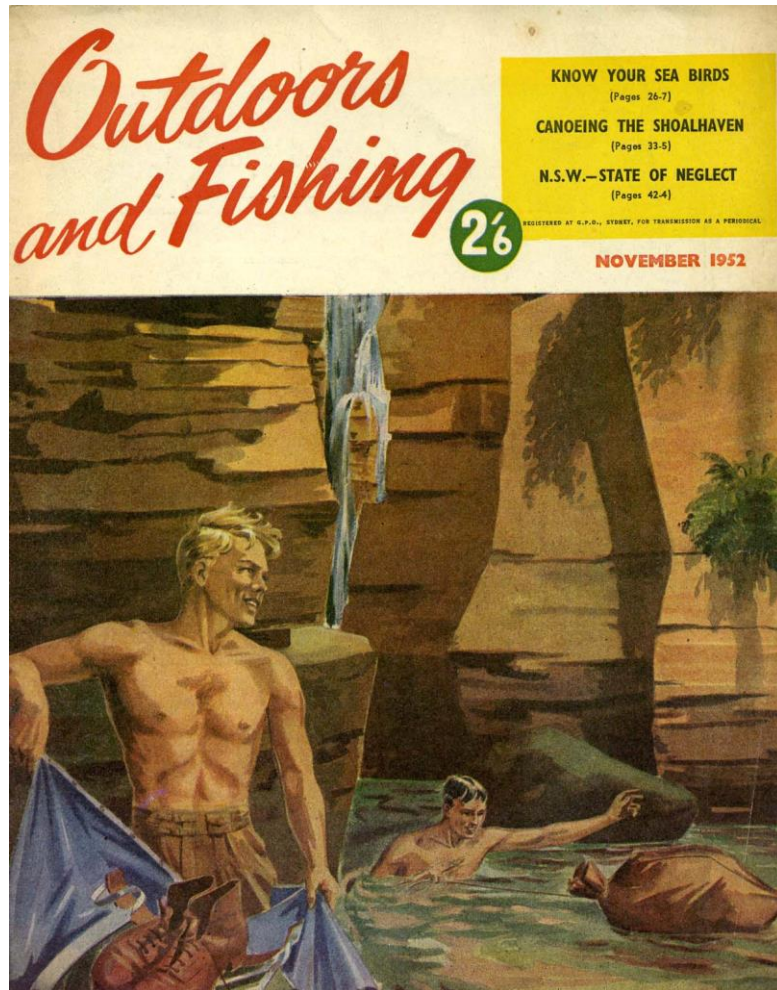
¹⁵⁵⁶ R eprinted in 1999 as Daphne Kingston, *Highways and By-Ways of the Sydney Region: A Selection of Pencil Drawings of 19th Century Barns, Buildings, Farmhouses & Cottages*, Macquarie Lighthouse Press, North Ryde, 1999

¹⁵⁵⁷ Lacey, op. cit.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Park, op. cit.

advertising for advertising recreational consumables, the literature of the outdoors was in itself a booming field of consumption.

Vicariously there: armchair travel



Outdoors and Fishing, November 1952

So successful was the literature of the outdoors that it in itself became an important, if vicarious site of suburban interaction with the outdoors. Where the rationalisation of time and space had allowed a boom in recreational adventure, it was also the case that demand for more vicarious enjoyment of the outdoors increased. The newly mobile eagerly consumed the literature of travel, whether as a guide for their own expeditions or a replacement for them. Publishing on travel boomed, as did filmed and televised travel. Indeed, the television was to rival the motor car as a means of exploring the Australia that lay beyond suburbia. These media assisted in the annexing of the outdoors by ‘the Australian way of life’ in ways that the modernist visions of post-war reformers had not accounted for. If outdoor leisure showed Australians new ways to consume, it was in their

lounge rooms that they came to consume the outdoors as image. The phenomenon was of course international, and not without precedent. There was a tradition of British writing about Australian nature, beginning with Banks' *Florilegium*.¹⁵⁵⁹ British writers published profusely on British nature, such books as Duncan and Duncan's *The Book of the Countryside* appearing often in British and Australian shelves.¹⁵⁶⁰ North America produced a formidable library of outdoors writing. For the purposes of this thesis it suffices to establish that there was a boom in the media attention to the outdoors during the post-war period.

At its least post-modern, outdoors literature was a guide – and guides abounded. Charles Barrett's *Highways of Australia* appeared in 1950, as did Colin Roderick's *Wanderers in Australia* and Herbert Palmer's *The Roving Angler*. K. S. Thompson set out on a gruelling round Australia test for the Hunter Minor the following year.¹⁵⁶¹ In 1953 *Outdoors* began serialising G.D. Mitchell's 'Around Australia by car and caravan'.¹⁵⁶² Pedr Davis announced 'Pushbutton camping' in 1959, reviewing Ford USA's 'Push-Button-Camper' with boat, shower, pop-top tent and other features built in.¹⁵⁶³ Vic McCristal detailed a humbler approach in 'Try car camping'.¹⁵⁶⁴ Importantly, recreational opportunities were within easy reach of urbanites. As discussed earlier, National Parks ringed the city with a view to recreational amenity rather than ecological preservation. Where a recreation relied on the exploitation of finite resources, as angling and hunting do, issues of sustainability arose. In 1954 Ian Bevan wrote that

Outside the cities lies a world which fascinates the urban Australian, but in an entirely academic way. He reads about it (and by far the most successful authors in the home market are garrulous bush writers such as Ion Idriess and Frank Clune), talks about it, buys paintings of it, but never goes to see it for himself.¹⁵⁶⁵

The common view among professional observers was that the typical Australian was a passive consumer of outback culture. Between the wars *Walkabout* magazine had been

¹⁵⁵⁹ British Museum, *Banks' Florilegium*, Alecto Historical Editions, London, 1980-90

¹⁵⁶⁰ F. Martin Duncan and Lucy T. Duncan, *The Book of the Countryside*, Collins, London, 1963

¹⁵⁶¹ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.7, No.6, October 1951, p 426

¹⁵⁶² *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.8, No.6, April 1952

¹⁵⁶³ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.20, No.3, January 1959, p.38

¹⁵⁶⁴ *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.27, No.5, September 1962, p.28; see also advertisement *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.11, No.8, Dec. 1953, p 488 opposite

¹⁵⁶⁵ Bevan (ed.), op. cit., p.69

established by the Australian National Travel Association, as part of the commonwealth government's program of informing Australians about their country. *Walkabout* was successful in this, and in attracting advertising.¹⁵⁶⁶ Early in the post-war period publisher K. G. Murray sought a share of this growth market, publishing *Outdoors and Fishing* magazine (or simply *Australian Outdoors* after 1959). Over the next two decades a number of spinoff magazines emerged from the K. G. Murray Empire, such as *Wheels* and *The Australian Surfrider*.¹⁵⁶⁷ These commercially produced outdoors publications were to replace government initiatives entirely, Davidson and Spearritt commenting that before it was discontinued in the seventies,

Walkabout had lost the spirit of exploration and adventure that had sustained it from 1934 to the 1960s. In the 1980s a new generation of travel magazines, including ones with such indulgent titles as *Gourmet Traveller*, captured the imagination of middle class households.¹⁵⁶⁸

All of which rather points to the success of the state in creating conditions conducive to capitalist enterprise.

K. G. Murray and Gregory's were not the only lifestyle empires to flourish as post-war leisure generated a frenzy of consumption. For a brief time in the late fifties and early sixties Keith Winser's Melbourne based Motor Manual empire blossomed. Motor Manual's catalogue included *Build It!*, a guide to building trailers and caravans; *On the Trail*, a "beautifully produced book of touring in every State . . . The only textbook of the caravanner."; *Caravanning Almanac*; *Highways of Australia*; *Wild Game of Australia*; *British Tune-Up Manual*; *American Tune-Up Manual*; *Holden Tune-Up Manual*; *Road Test Annual*;¹⁵⁶⁹ *Motor Manual's 1001 Hints*; *Australian Fishing and Hunting Guide*; and *Wild Game of Australia*.¹⁵⁷⁰

These sporting and outdoor magazines took over the niche that had been left by sporting newspapers such as *The Referee*, which featured columns on hunting, fishing and coursing, as well as the competitive sports. In the post-war era the niche was greatly expanded, and has continued to expand into post-modernity. Peter Jackson and Kate Brooks contend that

¹⁵⁶⁶ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., pp.80-2

¹⁵⁶⁷ Announced in *Australian Outdoors*, Vol.30, No.6, April 1964, p.82

¹⁵⁶⁸ Davidson and Spearritt, op.cit., p.96

¹⁵⁶⁹ Winser (ed.), op. cit. (2), inside back over

¹⁵⁷⁰ Winser (ed.), op. cit. (1)

the genre of men's magazines that flourished towards the end of the nineties had their genesis in the earlier genre specialising in sports, hobbies and pornography:

Magazines for women have existed for over a century and have been subject to numerous studies that emphasise the complex and contradictory ways in which they can be read, both affirming and challenging established notions of femininity. By contrast, the successful marketing of 'general interest' magazines for men is a relatively new development. Until recently, magazines for men were either pornographic or 'special interest' (with a specific focus on photography, football, cars, or fishing).¹⁵⁷¹

Jackson and Brooks consider the rise of the men's magazine and the causes of their popularity, but their study is limited to a sociological survey. They do not consider the extent to which the mass media has until recently been overwhelmingly masculine. The feminisation of newspapers once overwhelmingly devoted to sport and industrial relations has given rise to a men's genre in the same way that the women's magazines responded to the masculine domination of mainstream media. The sociologists' explanation is that

The magazines' commercial success might be explained in terms of the way men are responding to changing economic and political circumstances, adjusting to "life without father or Ford", or as a response to social and cultural shifts that are popularly represented as a 'crisis of masculinity'.¹⁵⁷²

This does not fully explore the extent to which men's magazines are a response to the demotion of men's issues in the mainstream media — the extent to which *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Bulletin* were until recently predominantly 'men's' publications.

In addition to outdoors publishing empires, the mainstream media were suffused with outdoors themes. Newspapers featured outdoors articles, particularly as the market for tabloid content and supplementary sections flourished. When *The Sun-Herald* appeared it included a regular fishing column, detailing catches at the Hawkesbury River, Berowra Creek, Cowan Creek, Middle Harbour, George's River, Woronora River and Port Hacking, as well as beach, rock and big game fishing.¹⁵⁷³ *The Sun-Herald* described Michael Morecombe's *Australia's National Parks*, "An excellent way to see the enormous diversity of Australia is to tour its many national parks." The guide was published by Lansdowne Press and retailed for \$12.95.¹⁵⁷⁴

¹⁵⁷¹ Peter Jackson, Kate Brooks and Nick Stevenson, 'Making sense of men's lifestyle magazines', *Society and Space*, Vol.17, pp.353-68, p.353 (Jackson et al's parentheses)

¹⁵⁷² *ibid*, p.354

¹⁵⁷³ 'Fishing and Where', *Sun Herald*, 5.3.50, p.15

¹⁵⁷⁴ 'National Parks give variety', *Sun Herald*, 8.12.74, p.101

Radio programming catered to some sections of the outdoors market. Reg Grundy hosted 'The Surfmaster Program' on 2SM, Thursday evenings at 7.15 p.m., nicely timed "to allow listeners to shape their week-end plans accordingly, it's clear that this broadcast will have a tremendous appeal." Sydney's Hi-Ho sportstore sponsored a radio quiz.¹⁵⁷⁵ In the early days off cross promotion, some journalists were unimpressed. J. R. Coates, in 'Your new rod . . . split cane or fibreglass', considered that both types of rod had something in their favour, but went on to an allegation about the promotion of angling products on radio:

To illustrate just how reliable "semi-professional" opinions are, some years ago, one of our Australian radio commentators was each week conducting an allegedly independent fishing session and, amongst other things, strongly supported split cane rods. About this time I told him how satisfied I was with an American glass rod, and was told I didn't know what I was talking about. Exactly two weeks later, he completely changed his opinion . . . This particular commentator was obviously bought and the sad part is that many prospective buyers go by his so-called advice.¹⁵⁷⁶

The market for leisure goods had inspired 'cash for comment'.

Film and television expanded the market further. Australian adventure was filmed quite early. During the mid twenties the Australian documentary series *See Australia First* was produced. During the forties West Australian cinematographer Stuart Gore and his wife Jan Kennedy toured North Western Australia in a 1929 Chrysler lorry named Annabel, subsisting on receipts from screenings of *See Australia First* and compiling another documentary, released as *Northwest Diary* in 1948. The book of the journey, *Overlanding With Annabel* was published in 1956.¹⁵⁷⁷ Nature documentaries were a later development. Cinematographer Noel Monkman made a series of documentaries about Australian wildlife, aquatic and terrestrial, in the fifties. He published a record of his work in the memoir *Escape to Adventure*.¹⁵⁷⁸ True to its nineteenth-century literary tradition, Australia's moving pictures were predominantly rural. George Johnston commented that

¹⁵⁷⁵ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.8, No.1, November 1951, p.6

¹⁵⁷⁶ *Outdoors and Fishing*, Vol.18, No.1, November 1957, p.4

¹⁵⁷⁷ *North West Diary*, 1948, State Library of West Australia EO807; Stuart Gore, *Overlanding With Annabel*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1956

¹⁵⁷⁸ Monkman, op. cit.

It is worth noting that film producers, to whom formula is an old god, will not even consider shooting anything about Australia that is not packed with gum trees, dust, blackfellows, men with lean sunburnt faces and hordes of cattle (sheep or even kangaroos can sometimes be substituted).¹⁵⁷⁹

Clearly he had Chips Rafferty in mind. It took over thirty years for the theme to be varied enough to include a crocodile. The Australian Film Development Corporation reinforced this trend in Australian film in the seventies, funding films of the bush legend (Breaker Morant, Gallipoli, Sunday Too Far Away) and period pieces (Picnic at Hanging Rock, My Brilliant Career).¹⁵⁸⁰ Documentary makers built on the genre of printed travelogues, making the journey, or more often nature itself the subject of their films. Harry Butler's 'In the Wild Series' included spin off books, including a collaboration with Rolf Harris.¹⁵⁸¹ By 1977 Harry Butler was sufficiently ensconced in the national consciousness that he dared tell Sydneysiders of his dislike for wild cats.¹⁵⁸² Beginning with their first successful T.V offering *Down the Darling* in 1963 and continuing into the seventies the 'Leyland Brothers', or to be correct the brothers and their wives worked to produce a series of adventure documentaries celebrating and the Australian interior.¹⁵⁸³ More recent entrants include Don Burke with *Burke's Backyard*, who began broadcasting in the late eighties after urban consolidation policies had taken effect.¹⁵⁸⁴ The British fascination with rural drama that had, according to Paul McGuire, given rise to 'subtopia' in England¹⁵⁸⁵ inspired such drama as "Emmerdale Farm", "All Creatures Great and Small" and "To the Manor Born".¹⁵⁸⁶ Australia was not to be outdone in these fictions. The radio drama "Blue Hills"¹⁵⁸⁷ permeated the Australian consciousness. Television produced successful imitators, such as Seven's "A Country Practice" which was set in the mythical 'Wandin Valley' but filmed in the rural residential tracts of the Hawkesbury from 1981 until 1993, feeding a false rural consciousness to its predominantly suburban audience.¹⁵⁸⁸

¹⁵⁷⁹ George Johnston, op. cit., p.150

¹⁵⁸⁰ Waterhouse, op. cit., p.220

¹⁵⁸¹ Serventy and Harris, op. cit.

¹⁵⁸² Dale Plummer, 'Harry's not wild about those cats', *The Sun-Herald*, 20.3.77

¹⁵⁸³ Mike and Mal Leyland, *Leyland Brothers Trekabout*, Golden Press, Sydney, 1977, pp. 7-15

¹⁵⁸⁴ 'The good earth', *Sydney Morning Herald The Guide*, 22.9.97, p.23

¹⁵⁸⁵ McGuire, op. cit., 112-3

¹⁵⁸⁶ Sarah James, op. cit., p.17

¹⁵⁸⁷ Michelle Arrow, *Upstaged: Australian Women Dramatists in the Limelight at Last*, Currency Press, Strawberry Hills, NSW, 2002

¹⁵⁸⁸ Julia Morrell, *Forty Years of Television: The Story of ATN 7, Channel Seven*, Sydney, 1996, pp.118-25

With the commodification of the outdoors as image we witness the final, post-modern phase of a process that began with the provision of leisure time and space by the state as part of post-war reconstruction. Television ratings, publishing empires, retail trade, import businesses, boat hire businesses, caravan dealers, tent makers . . . a whole economy based on the suburbanite's propensity to 'get away from it all'. As Gary Cross observes, the "entertainment of film, radio, and television created both a uniform and privatised 20th-century leisure."¹⁵⁸⁹ While televised sport was admittedly a far more important form of leisure consumption than the outdoors, the outdoors (or at least a fictional rurality) was a significant feature of televised entertainment.

Whether the commodification of outdoor recreation is a cause for complaint or celebration depends on one's perspective. In his history of leisure Gary Cross explains that

Modern people congratulate themselves for creating an economy that has freed the masses from drudgery and endless hours of work, and many are proud of the varied choices that leisure time has brought. Yet others lament that increased free time has undermined a commitment to competitive work and has led to untrained, even unrestrained, pursuit of pleasure. An unintended consequence of industrialization, according to this view, is mass hedonism that threatens Western economic and cultural influence in the world. Still others express disappointment that the masses have failed to utilise their free time for personal and social growth and instead have become enslaved to a new tyrant: no longer is that master the parasitical feudal lord or slave-driving factory owner, but the manipulators of mindless consumption.¹⁵⁹⁰

Outdoor recreation did indeed fulfil some demands for democratisation of leisure, freeing the masses from toil and from the city, if only for a while. If the masses didn't all learn such useful knowledge as the joys of parallax through their hobbies, as W. G. Young had hoped they might, some certainly picked up unaccustomed skills and most enjoyed that de-radicalising level of affluence that post-war reformers had hoped for.¹⁵⁹¹ It is doubtful that outdoor recreation was economically damaging; while the boom lasted outdoor recreation was a substantial driver of consumer demand. The 'leisure ethic', which some had feared would subvert the work ethic¹⁵⁹² instead proved to be a valuable reinforcement to that institution of industrial capitalism. If some counter cultural rejection of work would emerge

¹⁵⁸⁹ Cross, op. cit., p.180

¹⁵⁹⁰ *ibid*, p.1

¹⁵⁹¹ R. S. Jackson, *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates*, 12 Sept, 1950, p.11

¹⁵⁹² White et al., op. cit., p.150

towards the end of the boom,¹⁵⁹³ most leisure was the concomitant of work and not an alternative. The resurfacing of class tensions, exhaustion of new markets, overconsumption and overaccumulation were hardly confined to outdoor recreation and it is not suggested here that the commodification of outdoor leisure lead to the end of the long boom. The changes to outdoor recreation and the tensions within it were symptomatic of broader social trends, however, and it would be fair to suppose that they contributed to the general malaise of the time. Whether the changes to outdoor recreation were cause or effect, with the stagflationary spiral that beset Australia and the Western world in the mid seventies a new set of social relationships began, and this history ends.

¹⁵⁹³ *ibid.*, p.151

CONCLUSION

This thesis has explored the commodification of outdoor recreation in post-war Sydney, tracing its development from an ideological commitment, then the vicissitudes of its implementation that were overwhelmingly resolved in commercialisation. The thesis is therefore structured around planning and popular, political and published reaction to planning, and to the commercial development that planning fostered. The long boom opened with a commitment to post-war reconstruction that revived and renewed a commitment to open space and leisure. The ideological thrust of this commitment can be traced to vitalism, concepts of imperial masculinity and a Western tradition of anti-urbanism. The central tenet of these ideological positions was that greater leisure and accessible space would ameliorate the perceived evils of urban life – that “reformers must plant corrective qualities into cities”.¹⁵⁹⁴ The Second World War brought a renewed modernist impetus, mandating a degree of state control and encouraging popular expectation of reform and technological innovation. As part of a larger post-war dialectic, the boom brought with it economic and demographic conditions that overwhelmed programs of reform, however, and also wrought a change on Australia’s political economy that undermined support for ‘control’. The provision of space and the enjoyment of leisure time continued, however, and outdoor recreation came to assume centrality in the increasingly conservative construction of ‘the Australian way of life’. The more successful attempts to provide leisured space did not seek to place constraints on urban expansion or capitalist production. Indeed, in providing leisured space for Sydney’s population the state expanded the market for goods and services. Butsch asserts that such commercialisation

. . . represents a fundamental shift in the nature of hegemony, which now operates not through the traditional authority and personalities of local elites, nor through the power of capitalist employers, middle class reformers and state intervention, but rather through the impersonal, even apparently “natural” structures of corporate industries and mass markets. Class conflict, direct and personal in the nineteenth century, is submerged in relations between leisure industries and consumers. This impersonal hegemony was and is delivered not as law or the pronouncements of elites but through the forms of leisure commodities, which do much to shape leisure practices. Hegemony is the child of the

¹⁵⁹⁴ Michael Roe, op. cit., p.70

marriage of corporate profits and consumer “fun”; social control and class expression are merged in the same practices.¹⁵⁹⁵

In their recreation Australians tended to restate relationships of class, gender and ethnicity that were increasingly conservative. Attempts to mitigate the influence of urban industrial capitalism resulted in the extension of its influence in the lives of Australian citizens. Conversely, it can also be argued that where reformers had aimed to reduce radical foment, to build the economy and bolster the nation during a time of rapid social change, they were demonstrably successful. If outdoor recreation was not all that reformers had hoped it was certainly a defining principle of the emergent ‘Australian way of life’, reshaping social relations according to a leisure ethic that reinforced the consumer economy.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Butsch, op. cit., p.19

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Appendix 1: Sydney classified listings

Sydney's classified listings have been used to collect data on economic activity at three sample periods. The data shows only the number of listings, and not the size of stores or volume of sales. During the seventies the figures are further distorted by the advent of 'umbrella listings' by franchises. There was some argument for offsetting the figures against the growth of Sydney's population; the nearest census data shows an increase of almost 33 per cent in Sydney's population. Generally this would have flattened the graphs: public infrastructure generally kept pace with population growth, while private capitalisation exceeded it. It was decided that any tampering with the figures would only obscure the picture, however, as the census dates do not correlate exactly with available classified data. Instead, comment has been made in the text of the thesis.

Sydney had two classified listings during the boom. The *Universal Business Directory (UBD)* was supplanted by the *Sydney Classifieds (Pink Pages and Yellow Pages)*. The *UBD* was not an exchange listing, whereas the *Sydney Classifieds* listed only those businesses with the telephone. A comparison of the two listings is interesting in that it shows the take-up of the telephone in Sydney, but this is not the focus of this thesis. The *Sydney Classifieds* show a more marked increase in business listings, reflecting the spread of the telephone as well as business formation. The resulting data gives an exaggerated proof of this thesis. For reference and particularly for the purpose of creating charts, the two sets of data have been amalgamated in the interests of clarity. In all cases the highest value is used, it being assumed that there is a good deal of duplication between the listings, and that the highest figure is representative.

<u>Universal Business Directory (UBD)</u>	<u>1954</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1974</u>
baths - swimming	24	43	20
baths - turkish	8	9	5
billiard tables	6	10	26
boat - builders and repairers (i.e. sales)	130	118	118
boat - hire	152	85	50
bowling green construction contractors	2	4	3
bowls testers	1	1	1
boy scout supplies	6	9	10
camping gear	0	23	0
camping and hikers' equipment suppliers (and or hirers 1964)	9	12	16
camping equipment retail or repairers	0	7	11
camping grounds and caravan parks	9	16	0
caravan chassis body builders	5	15	6
caravan dealers (and or hirers 1974)	18	36	46
caravan hirers	33	45	0
caravan towing services	7	2	2
clubs and sports bodies	265	633	121
cycle dealers and accessories	176	115	41
cycle hirers	2	0	0
cycle manufacturers	25	12	5
disposal stores	33	84	96
farriers	15	9	2
fencing teachers	1	0	0
fish bait dealers	6	13	17
fishing tackle importers or distributors	13	20	21
fishing tackle manufacturers or dealers	89	56	24
flying schools	3	4	11
golf tutors	6	11	0
gunsmiths	19	17	23
lawn mower sales and service	54	84	26
map publishers	7	9	13
physical culture teachers and gymnasiums	28	28	25
physical education	5	6	4
riding outfitters	3	2	3
riding schools	25	6	4
skin and hide merchants ('buyers' in 1964, 1974)	12	11	7
spear fishing equipment distributors (spearfishing and underwater equipment 1964, 1974)	1	6	14
sports goods manufacturers	54	61	65
sports goods repairers	15	8	4
sports goods retailers	203	188	126
sportswear retailers	78	70	68
surfing equipment manufacturers	4	11	27
swimming pool construction contractors (including an above ground manufacturers' listing in 1974)	7	25	36

Universal Business Directory (UBD) Continued

	<u>1954</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1974</u>
taxidermists	1	0	0
tennis coaches	12	0	0
tennis court construction contractors	12	7	11
tents and tarpaulins	49	33	27
tours - motor services	0	10	13
town planning consultants	9	15	13
toy retailers	261	269	250
travel agents	96	172	168
travel goods retailers	122	103	50
whip manufacturers	6	2	3

<u>Sydney Classifieds (Pink Pages and Yellow Pages)</u>	<u>1954</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1974-5</u>
baths - swimming (swimming pools 1974)	37	82	86
baths - turkish	3	3	2
billiard tables	5	13	36
boats and launches - builders and or for sale	57	176	249
boat and launches - hire	58	91	108
bowling green construction contractors	0	0	8
bowls equipment and or apparel	0	0	3
camp supplies	15	32	51
caravan and tourist parks ('camps and camping grounds' in 1954)	1	24	39
caravans and or equipment (including hire and towing) (just 'caravans' in 1954)	80	139	188
clubs - total (see sheet 2 for categories)	434	825	984
bicycles and accessories	82	71	66
farriers	7	10	18
fishing bait	0	6	8
fishing tackle (and or bait in 1954)	41	47	47
flying schools	0	0	14
golf coaches	5	29	37
gunsmiths	12	27	51
lawn mowers, repairers (and spare parts 1954, 1964)	38	79	173
map publishers	6	9	16
physical culture	26	62	54
riding outfitters	3	4	5
riding schools	14	28	42
hide and skin merchants	42	24	0
sports goods manufacturers and or wholesale	51	96	0
sports goods retailers	136	147	164
sportswear retailers	34	85	119
surfboard manufacturers and or suppliers	0	26	52
swimming pool construction and or equipment	0	46	246
taxidermists	0	2	4
tennis coaches	21	45	83
tennis court builders	5	14	13
tents, tarpaulins and canvas (just 'tents' 74-5)	45	55	47
tours - motor services (coaches)	6	19	49
town and country planners	0	23	0
toy shops	26	78	127
tourist agencies (travel agents 1974-5)	79	192	555
travelling goods - retail	20	27	13
whip makers	5	4	4
department stores	33	76	49

Appendix 2: Australian import statistics

The Australian Bureau of Statistics *Historical Statistics: Overseas Trade Bulletin* (microform) ref 54-019, 20 has been used in the compilation of data relating to the importation of selected items. The usefulness of this data has limitations. Actual demand can only be hinted at through the figures, although it is fair to suggest that actual consumption was higher than indicated by imports, given the heavy tariff protection in operation; the sharp incline in all figures after 1972 is doubtless due to a reduction in tariffs as much as it is to the stagflationary spiral of the time.

It was not possible to tabulate useful data on some imports since the records have not been kept consistently, or only values have been shown for extended periods. Tabulation of values was considered, through the use of a deflator, but the switch to decimal currency made the resulting equations and charts too convoluted.

	1944- 45	1945- 46	1946- 47	1947- 48	1948- 49	1949- 50	1950- 51	1951- 52	1952- 53	1953- 54
non-military										
small-arms	1989	9212	564	2411	8492	21168	35156	57499	4511	17672
golf clubs	352	210	2036	4368	15373	18545	12483	17539	860	2888
cricket bats	5378	7522	62192	66437	67006	37170	28039	22094	2948	19104
tennis rackets	24	33	8409	3870	737	11848	8938	10087	2147	4092
bowls, lawn		64	0	4	4	10	204	1184	12	148
bowls exports			30781	38741						
	1954- 55	1955- 56	1956- 57	1957- 58	1958- 59	1959- 60	1960- 61	1961- 62	1962- 63	1963- 64
non-military										
small-arms	30406	21431	18666	24951	30585	51592	60538	47234	50836	68218
golf clubs	11060	4233	2128	2734	3531	14369	36223	52729	45204	29321
cricket bats	34719	32352	21511	38419	29142	33851	50055	64021	99598	108878

	1964- 65	1965- 66	1966- 67	1967- 68	1968- 69	1969- 70	1970- 71	1971- 72	1972- 73	1973- 74
non-military										
small-arms	103505	80247	73466	88389	80760	88144	101181	109315	111027	204442
golf clubs	38095	18538	22422	26307	18200	25536	28094	47486	98610	157627
cricket bats	127454	76391	82945	88156	117976	135195	141735	158361	223357	242549
tennis rackets			76573	48922	59651	96750	79911	72257	97816	176983
bowls, lawn		265								
fishing rods						73427	105812	137872	200388	265498
fishing reels						280678	343879	402113	460305	513660
hunting and sporting ammunition, cartridges	97499206		41054357							
	1974- 75	1975- 76	1976- 77							
non-military										
small-arms	220829	236949	244881							
golf clubs	311581	386079	308618							
cricket bats	168952	100110	255162							
tennis rackets	279360	331089	382303							
fishing rods	363374	385784	495080							
fishing reels	669832	811761	686609							